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Dictionary

of the

Apostolic Church

Dictionary
of the
Apostolic Church

EDITED BY

JAMES HASTINGS, D.D.

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WITH THE ASSISTANCE OF

JOHN A. SELBIE, D.D.

AND

JOHN C. LAMBERT, D.D.

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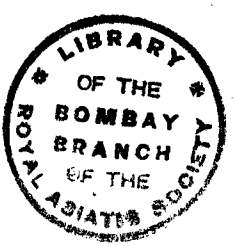

VOLUME I

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PREFACE

IT has often been said that the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels* is of more practical value than a Dictionary of the Bible. From all parts of the world has come the request that what that Dictionary has done for the Gospels another should do for the rest of the New Testament. The DICTIONARY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH is the answer. It carries the history of the Church as far as the end of the first century. Together with the *Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels*, it forms a complete and independent Dictionary of the New Testament.

The Editor desires to take the opportunity of thanking the distinguished New Testament scholars who have co-operated with him in this important work.

AUTHORS OF ARTICLES IN THIS VOLUME

ALLEN (WILLOUGHBY CHARLES), M.A.
Archdeacon of Manchester; Principal of Egerton Hall, Manchester; author of 'The Gospel according to St. Matthew' in *The International Critical Commentary*.
Anointing, Children of God, Gospels, Kingdom of God.

ALLWORTHY (THOMAS BATESON), M.A. (Camb.), B.D. (Dublin).
Perpetual Curate of Martin-by-Timberland, Lincoln; Founder and First Warden of S. Anselm's Hostel, Manchester.
Ampliatus, Andronicus, Apelles, Aristobulus, Asyncritus, Epænetus, and other proper names.

BANKS (JOHN S.), D.D.
Emeritus Professor of Theology in the Wesleyan Methodist College, Headingley, Leeds; author of *A Manual of Christian Doctrine*.
Christian, Contentment.

BATIFFOL (PIERRE), Litt.D.
Prêtre catholique et prélat de la Maison du Pape, Paris; auteur de *Tractatus Origenis de libris scripturarum* (1900), *Les Odes de Salomon* (1911), *La Paix constantinienne et le Catholicisme* (1914).
Ignatius.

BECKWITH (CLARENCE AUGUSTINE), A.B., A.M., S.T.D.
Professor of Systematic Theology in Chicago Theological Seminary; author of *Realities of Christian Theology*; departmental editor of the *New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge*.
Beast, Blindness, Blood, Dysentery, Fever, Gangrene, Lamb, Lion.

BERNARD (JOHN HENRY), D.D. (Dublin), Hon. D.D. (Aberd.), Hon. D.C.L. (Durham).
Archbishop of Dublin; sometime Archbishop King's Professor of Divinity, Dublin, and Dean of St. Patrick's Cathedral.
Descent into Hades.

BOYD (WILLIAM FALCONER), M.A., B.D. (Aberd.), D.Phil. (Tübingen).
Minister of the United Free Church of Scotland at Methlick.
Alexander, Crown, Desert, Gog and Magog, Israel, Jew, Jewess, and other articles.

BROOKE (ALAN ENGLAND), D.D.
Fellow, Dean, and Lecturer in Divinity at King's College, Cambridge; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of S. Alban's; author of *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Johannine Epistles*.
James and John, the Sons of Zebedee, John (Epistles of).

BULCOCK (HARRY), B.A., B.D.
Minister of the Congregational Church at Droylsden, Manchester.
Anger, Care, Cheerfulness, Comfort, Commendation, Fool, Grief, and other articles.

BURKITT (FRANCIS CRAWFORD), M.A., F.B.A., Hon. D.D. (Edin., Dublin, St. And.), D. Theol. h.c. (Breslau).
Norrisian Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge; author of *The Gospel History and its Transmission*.
Baruch (Apocalypse of).

BURN (ANDREW E.), D.D.
Vicar of Halifax and Prebendary of Lichfield; author of *The Apostles' Creed* (1906), *The Nicene Creed* (1909), *The Athanasian Creed* (1912).
Confession, Hallelujah, Hymns, Intercession.

CARLYLE (ALEXANDER JAMES), M.A., D.Litt., F.R. Hist. Soc.
Lecturer in Economics and Politics at University College, Oxford.
Alms, Community of Goods.

CASE (SHIRLEY JACKSON), M.A., B.D., Ph.D.
Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago; author of *The Historicity of Jesus, The Evolution of Early Christianity*; managing editor of *The American Journal of Theology*.
Allegory, Interpretation.

CLARK (P. A. GORDON).
Minister of the United Free Church at Perth.
Divination, Exorcism, Lots.

CLAYTON (GEOFFREY HARE), M.A.
Fellow of Peterhouse, Cambridge.
Corinthians (Epistles to the), Eucharist, Love-Feast.

CLEMENS (JOHN SAMUEL), B.A., Hon. D.D. (St. And.).
Governor of the United Methodist College at Ranmoor, Sheffield.
Bondage, Constraint, Liberty, Lord's Day.

COBB (WILLIAM FREDERICK), D.D.
Rector of the Church of St. Ethelburga the Virgin, London; author of *Origines Judaicæ, The Book of Psalms, Mysticism and the Creed.*
Antipas, Balaam, Euphrates, Hymenæus, Jannes and Jambres, Jezebel, and other articles.

COOKE (ARTHUR WILLIAM), M.A.
Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at Wallasey, Cheshire; author of *Palestine in Geography and in History.*
Elamites, Galilee.

COWAN (HENRY), M.A. (Edin.), D.D. (Aberd.), D.Th. (Gen.), D.C.L. (Dunelm).
Professor of Church History in the University of Aberdeen; Senior Preacher of the University Chapel; author of *The Influence of the Scottish Church in Christendom, John Knox, Landmarks of Church History.*
Apphia, Archippus, Epaphras, Epaphroditus.

CRUICKSHANK (WILLIAM), M.A., B.D.
Minister of the Church of Scotland at Kinneff, Bervie; author of *The Bible in the Light of Antiquity.*
Arts, Clothes, Games, Jerusalem, Key, Lamp, and other articles.

DAVIES (ARTHUR LLYWELYN), M.A.
Simcox Research Student, Queen's College, Oxford.
Ascension of Isaiah, Assumption of Moses, Enoch (Book of).

DEWICK (EDWARD CHISHOLM), M.A. (Camb.).
Tutor and Dean of St. Aidan's College, Birkenhead; Teacher of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Liverpool; author of *Primitive Christian Eschatology.*
Eschatology.

DIMONT (CHARLES TUNNACLIFF), B.D. (Oxon.).
Principal of Salisbury Theological College; Prebendary of Salisbury; Chaplain to the Bishop of Salisbury.
Business, Labour.

VON DOBSCHÜTZ (ERNST), D.Theol.
Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Breslau.
Communion, Fellowship, Hellenism, Josephus.

DONALD (JAMES), M.A., D.D. (Aberd.).
Minister of the Church of Scotland at Keithhall and Kinkell, Aberdeenshire.
Dispersion, Gentiles, Heathen, Libertines.

DUNCAN (JAMES WALKER), M.A.
Minister of the United Free Church at Lassodie, Dunfermline.
Canaan, Haran.

DUNDAS (WILLIAM HARLOE), B.D.
Rector of Magheragall, near Lisburn.
Authority, Dominion.

FAULKNER (JOHN ALFRED), B.A., B.D., M.A., D.D.
Professor of Historical Theology in Drew Theological Seminary, Madison, N.J.
Benediction, Doxology.

FELTOE (CHARLES LETT), D.D.
Rector of Ripple, near Dover; sometime Fellow of Clare College, Cambridge; author of *Sacramentarium Leonianum, The Letters and other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria.*
Akeldama, Candace, Chamberlain, Ethiopians, Ethiopian Eunuch, Judas Iscariot.

FLETCHER (M. SCOTT), M.A., B.D., B.Litt.
Master of King's College, University of Queensland, Brisbane, Australia; author of *The Psychology of the New Testament.*
Edification, Enlightenment, Exhortation.

FREW (DAVID), D.D.
Minister of the Church of Scotland at Urr.
Barnabas, Esdras (The Second Book of), Herod.

GARVIE (ALFRED ERNEST), M.A. (Oxford), D.D. (Glas.).
Principal of New College, London; author of *The Ritschlian Theology, Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus, Studies of Paul and his Gospel.*
Evil, Fall, Good.

GORDON (ALEXANDER REID), D.Litt., D.D.
Professor of Hebrew in M'Gill University, and of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Presbyterian College, Montreal; author of *The Poets of the Old Testament.*
Judgment-Hall, Judgment-Seat, Justice, Lawyer.

GOULD (GEORGE PEARCE), M.A., D.D.
Principal of Regent's Park College, London; Ex-President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland.
Berenice, Drusilla, Felix, Festus, Lysias.

GRANT (WILLIAM MILNE), M.A.
Minister of the United Free Church at Drumoak, Aberdeenshire; author of *The Religion and Life of the Patriarchal Age, The Founders of Israel.*
Assembly, Building, Day-Star, Foundation, Genealogies, Gospel, and other articles.

GRENSTED (LAURENCE WILLIAM), M.A., B.D.
Vice-Principal of Egerton Hall, Manchester; joint-author of *Introduction to the Books of the New Testament.*
Colossians (Epistle to the), Ephesians (Epistle to the).

GRIEVE (ALEXANDER JAMES), M.A., D.D.
Professor of New Testament Studies and Christian Sociology in the Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford.
Form, Friendship, Fruit, Image.

GRIFFITH-JONES (EBENEZER), B.A. (Lond.), D.D. (Edin.).
Principal, and Professor of Dogmatics, Homiletics, and Practical Theology, Yorkshire United Independent College, Bradford; author of *The Ascent through Christ, Types of Christian Life, The Economics of Jesus, The Master and His Method, Faith and Verification.*
Abiding, Abounding, Acceptance, Access, Account, Answer.

HAMILTON (HAROLD FRANCIS), M.A., D.D.
Ottawa, Canada; formerly Professor in the University of Bishop's College, Lennoxville, Quebec.
Barnabas (Epistle of).

HANDCOCK (P.S.P.), M.A.
Member of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law; Lecturer of the Palestine Exploration Fund; formerly of the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum; author of *Mesopotamian Archæology, Latest Light on Bible Lands.*
Dog, Eagle, Goat, Hospitality, Locust, and other articles.

HOOKE (SAMUEL HENRY), M.A. (Oxon.), B.D. (Lond.).
Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature in Victoria College, Toronto.
Heaven, Immortality, Lake of Fire.

JAMES (JOHN GEORGE), M.A., D.Lit.
Author of *Problems of Personality, Problems of Prayer, The Coming Age of Faith, The Prayer-Life.*
Cross, Crucifixion, Custom, Dream.

JORDAN (HERMANN), Ph.D.
Professor of Church History and Patristics in the University of Erlangen.
Catholic Epistles, Epistle, Letter.

LAKE (KIRSOPP), M.A. (Oxford), D.D. (St. And.).
Professor of Early Christian Literature in Harvard University; author of *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul.*
Acts of the Apostles, Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal), Luke.

LAMBERT (JOHN C.), M.A., D.D.
Fenwick, Kilmarnock; author of *The Sacraments in the New Testament.*
Antichrist, Body, Conscience, Flesh, Life and Death, Light and Darkness, and other articles.

LAW (ROBERT), D.D. (Edin.).
Professor of New Testament Literature in Knox College, Toronto; author of *The Tests of Life: A Study of the First Epistle of St. John.*
Covetousness, Formalism, Fulness, Generation, Glory, Hour.

LIGHTLEY (JOHN WILLIAM), M.A., B.D.
Professor of Old Testament Language and Literature and Philosophy in the Wesleyan College, Headingley, Leeds.
Epicureans.

LOFTHOUSE (WILLIAM F.), M.A.
Professor of Philosophy and Old Testament Language and Literature in the Wesleyan College, Handsworth, Birmingham; author of *Ethics and Atonement, Ethics and the Family.*
Conversion, Creation, Forgiveness, Freedom of the Will.

MACKENZIE (DONALD), M.A.
Minister of the United Free Church at Oban; Assistant Professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the University of Aberdeen, 1906–1909.
Abstinence, Feasting, Fornication, Harlot, Lust, and other articles.

MACLEAN (ARTHUR JOHN), D.D. (Camb.), Hon. D.D. (Glas.).
Bishop of Moray, Ross, and Caithness; author of *Dictionary of Vernacular Syriac*; editor of *East Syrian Liturgies.*
Adoption, Angels, Ascension, Baptism, Demon, Family, and other articles.

MAIN (ARCHIBALD), M.A. (Glas.), B.A. (Oxon.), D.Litt. (Glas.).
Minister of the Church of Scotland at Old Kilpatrick; examiner in Modern and Ecclesiastical History and in Political Economy in St. Andrews University; member of the Examining Board of the Church of Scotland.
Cymbal, First-Fruit, Harp.

MARSH (FRED. SHIPLEY), M.A.
Sub-Warden of King's College Theological Hostel and Lecturer in Theology, King's College, London; formerly Tyrwhitt and Crosse Scholar in the University of Cambridge.
Clement of Rome (Epistle of), Galatians (Epistle to the), Hebrews (Epistle to the).

MARTIN (A. STUART), M.A., B.D.
Formerly Pitt Scholar and Examiner in Divinity in Edinburgh University and Minister of the Church of Scotland at Aberdeen; author of *The Books of the New Testament.*
Grace, Justification.

MARTIN (G. CURRIE), M.A., B.D.
Lecturer in connexion with the National Council of Adult School Unions; formerly Professor of New Testament at the Yorkshire United College and Lancashire College.
Hell.

MATHEWS (SHAILER), A.M., D.D. (Colby, Oberlin, Brown).
Dean of the Divinity School, and Professor of Historical Theology, in the University of Chicago; President of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America; author of *The Messianic Hope in the New Testament.*
Assassins, Judas the Galilæan.

MAUDE (JOSEPH HOOPER), M.A.
Rector of Hilgay, Downham Market; formerly Fellow and Dean of Hertford College, Oxford; author of *The History of the Book of Common Prayer.*
Ethics.

MITCHELL (ANTHONY), D.D.
Bishop of Aberdeen and Orkney; formerly Principal and Pantonian Professor of Theology in the Theological College of the Episcopal Church in Scotland.
Hermas (Shepherd of).

MOE (OLAF EDVARD), Dr. Theol.
Professor of Theology in the University of Christiania.
Commandment, Law.

MOFFATT (JAMES), D.Litt., Hon. D.D. (St. And.), Hon. M.A. (Oxford).
Professor of Church History in the United Free Church, Glasgow; author of *The Historical New Testament, The New Testament: A New Translation.*
Gospels (Uncanonical).

MONTGOMERY (WILLIAM), M.A. (Cantab.), B.D. (London).
Lecturer in Divinity in the University of Cambridge; author of *St. Augustine.*
Book of Life, Book with the Seven Seals, James the Lord's Brother, James (Epistle of).

MONTGOMERY (W. S.), B.D.
Minister of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland at Ballacolla, Queen's County.
Beating, Buffet, Chain, Fire, Jailor.

MORGAN (WILLIAM), M.A., D.D. (Aberd.).
Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics in Queen's Theological College, Kingston, Ontario; Kerr Lecturer for 1914.
Judgment.

MOSS (RICHARD WADDY), D.D.
Principal, and Tutor in Systematic Theology, Didsbury College, Manchester; author of *The Range of Christian Experience.*
Aaron, Aaron's Rod, Anathema, Condemnation, Curse, Levite.

MOULTON (WILFRID J.), M.A. (Cantab.).
Professor of Systematic Theology in the Wesleyan College, Headingley, Leeds; author of *The Witness of Israel.*
Covenant.

MUIRHEAD (LEWIS A.), D.D.
Minister of the United Free Church at Broughty-Ferry; author of *The Terms Life and Death in the Old and New Testaments, The Eschatology of Jesus.*
Apocalypse.

NICOL (THOMAS), D.D.
Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University of Aberdeen; Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1914.
Assurance, Education, Election, Foreknowledge, and other articles.

NIVEN (WILLIAM DICKIE), M.A.
Minister of the United Free Church at Blairgowrie; co-examiner in Mental Philosophy in the University of Aberdeen.
Cerinthus, Doctor, Ebionism, Emperor-Worship, Essenes, Gnosticism.

PEAKE (ARTHUR SAMUEL), M.A., D.D.
Rylands Professor of Biblical Exegesis in the University of Manchester and Tutor in the Hartley Primitive Methodist College; sometime Fellow of Merton College and Lecturer in Mansfield College, Oxford; author of *The Problem of Suffering in the Old Testament, A Critical Introduction to the New Testament, Christianity: its Nature and its Truth.*
Cainites, Jude the Lord's Brother, Jude (Epistle of).

PLATT (FREDERIC), M.A., B.D.
Professor of Systematic and Pastoral Theology in the Wesleyan College, Handsworth, Birmingham; author of *Miracles: An Outline of the Christian View.*
Atonement.

PLUMMER (ALFRED), M.A., D.D.
Late Master of University College, Durham; formerly Fellow and Senior Tutor of Trinity College, Oxford; author of 'The Gospel according to S. Luke' in *The International Critical Commentary,* and other works.
Apostle, Bishop, Church, Deacon, Evangelist, and other articles.

POPE (R. MARTIN), M.A. (Cantab. and Manchester).
Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at Keswick; author of *Expository Notes on St. Paul's Epistles to Timothy and Titus,* and other works.
Abba, Christian Life, Conversation, Gifts, Judging.

REID (JOHN), M.A.
Minister of the United Free Church at Inverness; author of *Jesus and Nicodemus, The First Things of Jesus, The Uplifting of Life*; editor of *Effectual Words.*
Æon, Age, Aged, Honour.

ROBERTS (JOHN EDWARD), M.A. (London), B.D. (St. Andrews).
Minister of the Baptist Church at Manchester; author of *Christian Baptism, Private Prayers and Devotions.*
Apollos, Aquila and Priscilla, Bar-Jesus, Gallio, and other articles.

ROBERTS (ROBERT), B.A. (Wales), Ph.D. (Leipzig).
Rhuallt, St. Asaph.
Expediency.

ROBERTSON (ARCHIBALD THOMAS), M.A., D.D., LL.D.
Professor of Interpretation of the New Testament in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.; author of *A Grammar of the Greek New Testament in the Light of Historical Research,* and other works.
Bond, Debt, Deliverer, Destruction.

ROBINSON (GEORGE L.), Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.
Professor of Biblical Literature and English Bible in M'Cormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.
Cæsarea.

ROBINSON (HENRY WHEELER), M.A. (Oxon. and Edin.).
Professor of Church History and of the Philosophy of Religion in the Baptist College, Rawdon; sometime Senior Kennicott Scholar in the University of Oxford; author of 'Hebrew Psychology in Relation to Pauline Anthropology' in *Mansfield College Essays, The Christian Doctrine of Man, The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament.*
Adorning, Ear, Eye, Feet, Hair, Hand, Head.

SANDAY (WILLIAM), D.D., LL.D., Litt.D., F.B.A.
Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity, and Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Chaplain in Ordinary to H.M. the King.
Inspiration and Revelation.

VON SCHLATTER (ADOLF).
Professor of New Testament Introduction and Exegesis in the University of Tübingen.
Holy Spirit.

SCOTT (CHARLES ANDERSON), M.A., D.D.
Professor of the Language, Literature, and Theology of the New Testament in Westminster College, Cambridge; author of *The Making of a Christian,* and other works.
Christ, Christology.

SIDNELL (HENRY CARISS JONES), B.A., B.D. (London).
Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at Ilkley.
Admonition, Chastisement, Discipline, Excommunication.

SMITH (SHERWIN), M.A., B.D.
Minister of the Wesleyan Methodist Church at Burnley.
Abomination, Clean and Unclean.

SOUTER (ALEXANDER), M.A., D.Litt.
Regius Professor of Humanity and Lecturer in Mediæval Palæography in the University of Aberdeen; formerly Professor of New Testament Greek and Exegesis in Mansfield College, Oxford; author of *A Study of Ambrosiaster, The Text and Canon of the New Testament.*
Augustus, Cæsar, Caligula, Citizenship, Diana, Domitian, and other articles.

SPOONER (WILLIAM ARCHIBALD), D.D.
Warden of New College, Oxford; Hon. Canon of Christ Church, Oxford; Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Peterborough.
Lucius.

STEVENSON (MORLEY), M.A.
Principal of Warrington Training College; Hon. Canon of Liverpool; author of *Handbook to the Gospel according to St. Luke*, and other works.
Author and Finisher, Circumcision, Divisions, Forerunner, Heresy, Judaizing.

STEWART (GEORGE WAUCHOPE), M.A., B.D.
Minister of the Church of Scotland at Haddington (First Charge); author of *Music in the Church.*
King, King of Kings and Lord of Lords, Lord.

STEWART (ROBERT WILLIAM), M.A., B.Sc., B.D.
Minister of the United Free Church at Duthil (Carr Bridge).
Apostolic Constitutions.

STRACHAN (ROBERT HARVEY), M.A. (Aberd.), B.A. (Cantab.).
Minister of the Presbyterian Church of England at Cambridge.
Consecration, Fast (The), Holiness, Holy Day.

STRAHAN (JAMES), M.A., D.D.
Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Criticism in the M'Crea Magee Presbyterian College, Londonderry; Cunningham Lecturer; author of *Hebrew Ideals, The Book of Job, The Captivity and Pastoral Epistles.*
Abraham, Colours, Elements, Galatia, Hypocrisy, and other articles.

THUMB (ALBERT).
Professor of Comparative Philology in the University of Strassburg; author of *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular.*
Hellenistic and Biblical Greek.

TOD (DAVID MACRAE), M.A., B.D. (Edin.).
Minister of the Presbyterian Church of England at Huddersfield; formerly Hebrew Tutor and Cunningham Fellow, New College, Edinburgh.
Faith, Faithfulness, Ignorance, Knowledge.

VOS (GEERHARDUS), Ph.D., D.D.
Charles Haley Professor of Biblical Theology in the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton, N.J.
Brotherly Love, Goodness, Joy, Kindness, Longsuffering, Love.

WATKINS (CHARLES H.), D.Th.
Minister of the Baptist Church at Liverpool; Lecturer in the Midland Baptist College and University College, Nottingham; author of *St. Paul's Fight for Galatia.*
Ambassador, Blessedness, Brethren, Conspiracy.

WATT (HUGH), B.D.
Minister of the United Free Church of Scotland at Bearsden; Examiner for the Church History Scholarships of the United Free Church of Scotland.
Didache.

WELLS (LEONARD ST. ALBAN), M.A. (Oxon.).
Vicar of St. Aidan's, South Shields; sub-editor of the Oxford *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha.*
Alpha and Omega, Amen.

WILLIS (JOHN ROTHWELL), B.D.
Canon of St. Aidans, Ferns, and Rector of Preban and Moyne.
Angels of the Seven Churches, Collection, Contribution.

WORSLEY (FREDERICK WILLIAM), M.A., B.D.
Subwarden of St. Michael's College, Llandaff; author of *The Apocalypse of Jesus.*
Areopagite, Baal, Babbler, Calf, Damaris, Dioscuri, Idolatry, Jupiter.

ZENOS (ANDREW C.), D.D., LL.D.
Professor of Historical Theology in the M'Cormick Theological Seminary, Chicago.
Dates.

ZWAAN (J. DE), D.D. (Leiden).
Professor of New Testament Exegesis in the University of Groningen.
'Acts of Thomas' in **Acts of the Apostles (Apocryphal).**

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

I. General

App. = Appendix.
Arab. = Arabic.
art., artt. = article, articles.
A.S. = Anglo-Saxon.
Assyr. = Assyrian.
AT = Altes Testament.
AV = Authorized Version.
AVm = Authorized Version margin.
Bab. = Babylonian.
c. = *circa*, about.
cf. = compare.
ct. = contrast.
ed. = edited, edition.
Eng. = English.
Eth. = Ethiopic.
EV, EVV = English Version, Versions.
f. = and following verse or page.
ff. = and following verses or pages.
fol. = folio.
fr. = fragment, from.
Fr. = French.
Germ. = German.
Gr. = Greek.
Heb. = Hebrew.
Lat. = Latin.
lit. = literally, literature.
LXX = Septuagint.
m., marg. = margin.
MS, MSS = manuscript, manuscripts.
n. = note.
NT = New Testament, Neues Testament.
N.S. = new series.
OT = Old Testament.
pl. = plural.
q.v., *qq.v.* = *quod vide*, *quæ vide*, which see.
Rhem. = Rhemish New Testament.
rt. = root.
RV = Revised Version.
RVm = Revised Version margin.
Sem. = Semitic.
sing. = singular.
Skr. = Sanskrit.
Syr. = Syriac.
Targ. = Targum.
tr. = translated, translation.
TR = Textus Receptus, Received Text.
v. = verse.
v.l. = *varia lectio*, variant reading.
VS, VSS = Version, Versions.
Vulg., Vg. = Vulgate.

II. Books of the Bible

Old Testament.

Gn = Genesis.
Ex = Exodus.
Lv = Leviticus.
Nu = Numbers.
Dt = Deuteronomy.
Jos = Joshua.
Jg = Judges.
Ru = Ruth.
1 S, 2 S = 1 and 2 Samuel.
1 K, 2 K = 1 and 2 Kings.
1 Ch, 2 Ch = 1 and 2 Chronicles.
Ezr = Ezra.
Neh = Nehemiah.
Est = Esther.
Job.
Ps = Psalms.
Pr = Proverbs.
Ec = Ecclesiastes.
Ca = Canticles.
Is = Isaiah.
Jer = Jeremiah.
La = Lamentations.
Ezk = Ezekiel.
Dn = Daniel.
Hos = Hosea.
Jl = Joel.
Am = Amos.
Ob = Obadiah.
Jon = Jonah.
Mic = Micah.
Nah = Nahum.
Hab = Habakkuk.
Zeph = Zephaniah.
Hag = Haggai.
Zec = Zechariah.
Mal = Malachi.

Apocrypha.

1 Es, 2 Es = 1 and 2 Esdras.
To = Tobit.
Jth = Judith.
Ad. Est = Additions to Esther.
Wis = Wisdom.
Sir = Sirach or Ecclesiasticus.
Bar = Baruch.
Three = Song of the Three Children.
Sus = Susanna.
Bel = Bel and the Dragon.
Pr. Man = Prayer of Manasses.
1 Mac, 2 Mac = 1 and 2 Maccabees.

New Testament.

Mt = Matthew.
Mk = Mark.
Lk = Luke.
Jn = John.
Ac = Acts.
Ro = Romans.
1 Co, 2 Co = 1 and 2 Corinthians.
Gal = Galatians.
Eph = Ephesians.
Ph = Philippians.
Col = Colossians.
1 Th, 2 Th = 1 and 2 Thessalonians.
1 Ti, 2 Ti = 1 and 2 Timothy.
Tit = Titus.
Philem = Philemon.
He = Hebrews.
Ja = James.
1 P, 2 P = 1 and 2 Peter.
1 Jn, 2 Jn, 3 Jn = 1, 2, and 3 John.
Jude.
Rev = Revelation.

III. Bibliography

AGG = Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.
AJPh = American Journal of Philology.
AJTh = American Journal of Theology.
ARW = Archiv für Religionswissenschaft.
AS = Acta Sanctorum (Bollandus).
BJ = Bellum Judaicum (Josephus).
BL = Bampton Lecture.
BW = Biblical World.
CE = Catholic Encyclopedia.
CIA = Corpus Inscrip. Atticarum.
CIG = Corpus Inscrip. Græcarum.
CIL = Corpus Inscrip. Latinarum.
CIS = Corpus Inscrip. Semiticarum.
CQR = Church Quarterly Review.
CR = Contemporary Review.
CSEL = Corpus Script. Eccles. Latinorum.
DB = Dict. of the Bible.
DCA = Dict. of Christian Antiquities.
DCB = Dict. of Christian Biography.
DCG = Dict. of Christ and the Gospels.
DGRA = Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities.
DGRB = Dict. of Greek and Roman Biography.
DGRG = Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography.
EBi = Encyclopædia Biblica.
EBr = Encyclopædia Britannica.
EGT = Expositor's Greek Testament.
ERE = Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics.
Exp = Expositor.
ExpT = Expository Times.
GAP = Geographie des alten Palästina (Buhl).
GB = Golden Bough (J. G. Frazer).
GGA = Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen.
GGN = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
GJV = Geschichte des jüdischen Volkes (Schürer).
Grimm-Thayer = Grimm's Gr.-Eng. Lexicon of the NT, tr. Thayer.
HDB = Hastings' Dict. of the Bible (5 vols.).
HE = Historia Ecclesiastica (Eusebius, etc.).
HGHL = Historical Geography of the Holy Land (G. A. Smith).
HI = History of Israel (Ewald).
HJ = Hibbert Journal.
HJP = History of the Jewish People (Eng. tr. of *GJV*).
HL = Hibbert Lecture.
HN = Historia Naturalis (Pliny).
ICC = International Critical Commentary.
ISS = International Science Series.
JA = Journal Asiatique.
JBL = Journal of Biblical Literature.
JE = Jewish Encyclopedia.
JHS = Journal of Hellenic Studies.
JPh = Journal of Philology.
JPTh = Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie.
JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review.
JRS = Journal of Roman Studies.
JThSt = Journal of Theological Studies.
KAT^2 = Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament^2 (Schrader, 1883).
KAT^3 = Zimmern-Winckler's ed. of the preceding (a totally distinct work), 1902–03.
KIB = Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek.
LCBl = Literarisches Centralblatt.
LNT = Introd. to Literature of the New Testament (Moffatt).
LT = Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah (Edersheim).
MGWJ = Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums.
NGG = Nachrichten der königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.
NKZ = Neue kirchliche Zeitschrift.
NTZG = Neutestamentliche Zeitgeschichte (Holtzmann and others).
OED = Oxford English Dictionary.
OTJC = Old Testament in the Jewish Church (W. R. Smith).
Pauly-Wissowa = Pauly-Wissowa's Realencyklopädie.
PB = Polychrome Bible.
PC = Primitive Culture (E. B. Tylor).
PEF = Palestine Exploration Fund.
PEFSt = Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.
PRE = Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.
PSBA = Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology.
RA = Revue Archéologique.
RB = Revue Biblique.
REG = Revue des Études Grecques.
RGG = Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart.
RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions.
Roscher = Roscher's Ausführliches Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie.
RS = Religion of the Semites (W. Robertson Smith).
SBAW = Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie der Wissenschaften.
SBE = Sacred Books of the East.
Schaff-Herzog = The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia (Eng. tr. of *PRE*).
SDB = Hastings' Single-vol. Dictionary of the Bible.
SEP = Memoirs of Survey of Eastern Palestine.
SK = Studien und Kritiken.
SWP = Memoirs of Survey of Western Palestine.
ThLZ = Theologische Litteraturzeitung.
ThT = Theol. Tijdschrift.
TS = Texts and Studies.
TU = Texte und Untersuchungen.
Wetzer-Welte = Wetzer-Welte's Kirchenlexikon.
WH = Westcott-Hort's Greek Testament.
ZATW = Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft.
ZDMG = Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.
ZKG = Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte.
ZKWL = Zeitschrift für kirchl. Wissenschaft und kirchl. Leben.
ZNTW = Zeitschrift für die neutest. Wissenschaft.
ZTK = Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche.
ZWT = Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie.

DICTIONARY OF THE APOSTOLIC CHURCH

A

AARON.—By name Aaron is mentioned in the NT only by St. Luke (Lk 1^5, Ac 7^{40}) and by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (5^4 7^{11} 9^4), and in his personal history very little interest is taken. Officially, he was represented to be the first of a long line of high priests, specifically appointed such (Ex $28^{1ff.}$) in confirmation of the status already allowed him in Arabic usage (Ex 4^{14}); and, though his successors were probably not all in the direct line of descent, they found it convenient to claim relationship with him (Ezr $2^{61f.}$), and gradually the conceptions involved in high-priesthood were identified with the name of Aaron. That continued to be the case in the apostolic period; and it became a familiar thought that the high priest was a type of Christ, who was viewed as the antitype of all true sacerdotal persons and ministries.

In this typical relation between Aaron as the embodiment of priestly ideas and Christ as their final expression, an attempt was made to trace differences as well as correspondences. Christ was thought of, not as identical with His prototype, but as invested with higher qualities, of which only the germ and promise are to be found in Aaron.

1. In regard to **vocation**, both were appointed by God (He 5^4); yet to the priesthood of Christ no Aaronic (7^{11}), or Levitical (7^{14}), or legal (9^9) measure may be put. He was a man like Aaron ($2^{16f.}$), capable of sympathy both by nature and from experience (4^{15}); yet His priesthood is distinctly of a higher and eternal order (5^9), limited neither to an earthly sanctuary (9^{24}), nor to the necessity of repeating the one great sacrifice ($9^{25f.}$), nor in efficiency to the treatment of offences that were chiefly ceremonial or ritual ($9^{9.\ 14}$).

2. In the **consecration** of the high priest the supreme act was anointing with oil (Lv 8^{12}), from which, indeed, the designation *Messiah* ('anointed one') arose. Yet such was the lofty position of Jesus, and such was His consciousness, that He could say, 'I consecrate myself' (Jn 17^{19m}), on the very eve of His priestly sacrifice.

3. In **function** Aaron stood between God and the congregation, representing each to the other. On the one hand, not only were the priests gathered together into an embodied unity in him, but in his annual approach to God he brought a sacrifice even for the 'ignorances' of the people (He 9^7), and purified the sanctuary itself from any possible defilements contracted through the sins of its frequenters ($9^{19ff.}$; cf. Lv 16^{16}). As the representative of God, he wore the sacred Urim and Thummim in the pouch of judgment upon his heart (Ex 28^{30}), indicating his qualification to communicate God's decision on matters that transcended human wit; and through him and his order the blessing of God was invoked. In the Christian thought of the apostolic age all these functions pass over to Jesus Christ, with modifications emphasizing their ethical effect and the intrinsically spiritual benefit that follows. One of the most general statements is He 2^{17}, where the phrase 'things pertaining to God' covers both sides of the relations between God and man, though prominence is given, as in the passages that speak of Christ as our Advocate with God, to the work done by Him as representing men. Much the same is the case with the great passage on mediatorship (1 Ti 2^5). As He is the Saviour, so He is the High Priest, of all men, 'specially of them that believe' (1 Ti 4^{10}). In virtue of His immanence as God, as well as of His priestly rank and sympathy, He fitly represents all men before God, while for those who have put themselves into a right attitude towards Him He acts as Paraclete (1 Jn 2^1), promoting their interests and completing their deliverance from sin. On the other hand, as representative of God, He bestows gifts upon men (Eph 4^8), communicating to them the will of God and enriching them with every spiritual blessing. He is not only the Revealer of the Father; but, just as He offers His sacrifice to God in the stead of man, so He represents to man what God is in relation to human sin, and what God has devised and does with a view to human redemption. Between God and man He stands continuously, the medium of access on either side, the channel of Divine grace and of human prayer and praise.

See, further, art. MELCHIZEDEK.

LITERATURE.—See art. 'Aaron' in *HDB*, *DCG* and *JE*, and Comm. on Hebrews, esp. those of A. B. Davidson and B. F. Westcott, A. S. Peake (*Century Bible*), E. C. Wickham (*Westminster Com.*); also Phillips Brooks, *Sermons in English Churches*, 1883, p. 43; J. Wesley, *Works*, vii. [London, 1872] 273.

R. W. MOSS.

AARON'S ROD.—Aaron's rod is mentioned only in He 9^4, which locates the rod in the ark. An earlier tradition (Nu 17^{10}; cf. 1 K 8^9) preserves it

'before' the ark, on the spot on which it had budded (see *HDB* i. 3[b]). In either case the object was to secure a standing witness to the validity of the claims of the Aaronic priesthood (so Clement, *1 Cor.* § 43). The rod has sometimes been identified as a branch of the almond tree; and both Jewish and Christian fancy has been busy with it. For early legends associating it symbolically with the cross, or literally with the transverse beam of the cross, see W. W. Seymour, *The Cross in Tradition, History, Art*, 1898, p. 83. R. W. Moss.

ABADDON.—The word is found in the NT only in Rev 9^{11}. In the OT text *'ăbhaddôn* occurs six times (only in the Wisdom literature), AV in each case rendering 'destruction,' while RV gives 'Destruction' in Job 28^{22} 31^{12}, Ps 88^{11}, but 'Abaddon' in Job 26^{6}, Pr 15^{11} 27^{20}, on the ground, as stated by the Revisers in their Preface, that 'a proper name appears to be required for giving vividness and point.' Etymologically the word is an abstract term meaning 'destruction,' and it is employed in this sense in Job 31^{12}. Its use, however, in parallelism with Sheol in Job 26^{6}, Pr 15^{11} 27^{20} and with 'the grave' in Ps 88^{11} shows that even in the OT it had passed beyond this general meaning and had become a specialized term for the abode of the dead. In Job 28^{22}, again, it is personified side by side with Death, just as Hades is personified in Rev 6^{8}. So far as the OT is concerned, and notwithstanding the evident suggestions of its derivation (from Heb. *'ābhadh*, 'to perish'), the connotation of the word does not appear to advance beyond that of the parallel word Sheol in its older meaning of the general dwelling-place of all the dead. In later Heb. literature, however, when Sheol had come to be recognized as a sphere of moral distinctions and consequent retribution, Abaddon is represented as one of the lower divisions of Sheol and as being the abode of the wicked and a place of punishment. At first it was distinguished from Gehenna, as a place of loss and deprivation rather than of the positive suffering assigned to the latter. But in the Rabbinic teaching of a later time it becomes the very house of perdition (Targ. on Job 26^{6}), the lowest part of Gehenna, the deepest deep of hell (*Emek Hammelech*, 15.3).

In Rev 9^{11} Abaddon is not merely personified in the free poetic manner of Job 28^{22}, but is used as the personal designation in Hebrew of a fallen angel described as the king of the locusts and 'the angel of the abyss,' whose name in the Greek tongue is said to be **Apollyon.** In the LXX *'ăbhaddôn* is regularly rendered by ἀπώλεια; and the personification of the Heb. word by the writer of Rev. apparently led him to form from the corresponding Gr. verb (ἀπολλύω, later form of ἀπόλλυμι) a Gr. name with the personal ending ων. Outside of the Apocalypse the name Abaddon has hardly any place in English literature, while Apollyon, on the contrary, has become familiar through the use made of it in the *Pilgrim's Progress* by Bunyan, whose conception of Apollyon, however, is entirely his own. Abaddon or Apollyon was often identified with Asmodæus, 'the evil spirit' of To 3^{8}; but this identification is now known to be a mistake.

LITERATURE.—The artt. *s.vv.* in *HDB* and *EBi*; art. 'Abyss' in *ERE*; *ExpT* xx. [1908-09] 234 *f.* J. C. LAMBERT.

ABBA.—Abba is the emphatic form of the Aram. word for 'father' (see Dalman, *Aram. Gram.* p. 98, for אב and its various forms; also Maclean, in *DCG*, *s.v.*). It is found only in three passages in the NT, viz. Mk 14^{36}, Ro 8^{15}, Gal 4^{6}; in each case ὁ πατήρ is subjoined to Ἀββᾶ, the whole expression being a title of address. [The use of ὁ πατήρ, nominative with the article, as a vocative, is not a Hebraism, as Lightfoot thought, but an emphatic vocative not unknown to classical Greek and common in the NT: 'nearly sixty examples of it are found in NT'; see Moulton, *Gram. of NT Greek*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 70.]

Lightfoot on Gal 4^{6} argues that the bilingual expression is a liturgical formula originating with Hellenistic Jews, who, while clinging to the original word which was consecrated by long usage, added to it the Greek equivalent; but he supports an alternative theory that it took its rise among Jews of Palestine after they had become acquainted with the Greek language, and is simply an expression of importunate entreaty, and an example of that verbal usage whereby the same idea is conveyed in different forms for the sake of emphasis. As illustrations of this repetition, he quotes Rev 9^{11} (Ἀπολλύων, Ἀβαδδών) 12^{9} 20^{2} (Σατανᾶς, Διάβολος). Thayer, in *HDB* (*s.v.*), points out that, though devotional intensity belongs to repetition of the same term (*e.g.* κύριε, κύριε), it is also expressed by such phrases as ναὶ ἀμήν, 'Hallelujah, Praise the Lord,' where the terms are different. The context of each passage where '*Abba*, Father' is found appears to prove that the Greek addition is not merely the explanation of the Aramaic word, such as, *e.g.*, St. Peter might have added in his preaching—a custom to be perpetuated by the Evangelists, as suggested by the passage in Mk.; but is rather an original formula, the genesis of which is to be sought further back, perhaps in the actual words used by our Lord Himself. Thus Sanday-Headlam on Ro 8^{15} (*ICC*, 1902) remark:

'It seems better to suppose that our Lord Himself, using familiarly both languages, and concentrating into this word of all words such a depth of meaning, found Himself impelled spontaneously to repeat the word, and that some among His disciples caught and transmitted the same habit. It is significant however of the limited extent of strictly Jewish Christianity that we find no other original examples of the use than these three.'

Thus, the double form is due to the fact that the early Christians were a bilingual people; and the duplication, while conveying intensity to the expression, 'would only be natural where the speaker was using in both cases his familiar tongue.' F. H. Chase (*TS* I. iii. 23) suggests that the phrase is due to the shorter or Lucan form of the Lord's Prayer, and that the early Christians repeated the first word in the intensity of their devotion, coupling a Hellenistic rendering with the Aramaic *Abba*. He argues that the absence of such a phrase as ὅ ἐστιν, or ὅ ἐστι μεθερμηνευόμενον, in Mk 14^{36} is due to the familiarity of the formula; and that, while the Pauline passages do not recall Gethsemane, they suggest the Lord's Prayer as current in the shorter form. Moulton (*op. cit.* p. 10), combating Zahn's theory that Aramaic was the language of St. Paul's prayers—a theory based on the Apostle's '*Abba*, Father'—remarks that 'the peculiar sacredness of association belonging to the first word of the Lord's Prayer in its original tongue supplies a far more probable account of its liturgical use among Gentile Christians.' He mentions the analogy (see footnote, *loc. cit.*) of the Roman Catholic 'saying *Paternoster*,' but adds that 'Paul will not allow even one word of prayer in a foreign tongue without adding an instant translation'; and further refers to the Welsh use of *Pader* as a name for the Lord's Prayer.

It seems probable (1) that the phrase, '*Abba*, Father,' is a liturgical formula; (2) that the duality of the form is not due to a Hebraistic repetition for the sake of emphasis, but to the fact that the early Christians, even of non-Jewish descent, were familiar with both Aramaic and Greek; (3) that *Abba*, being the first word of the Lord's Prayer, was held in special veneration, and was quoted

with the Greek equivalent attached to it, as a familiar devotional phrase (like *Maran atha* [1 Co 16[22]], which would be quite intelligible to Christians of Gentile origin, though its Greek translation, ὁ Κύριος ἐγγύς [Ph 4[5]], was also used; cf. *Did.* 10[6], where 'Maran atha' and 'Amen' close a public prayer); and (4) that our Lord Himself, though this cannot be said to be established beyond doubt, used the double form in pronouncing the sacred Name, which was invoked in His prayer.

In conclusion, it should be noted that, while the phrase is associated with the specially solemn occasion of the Gethsemane agony, where our Lord is reported by St. Mark to have used it, both examples of its use in the Pauline writings convey a similar impression of solemnity as connected with the Christian believer's assurance of sonship—and sonship (let it be noted) not in the general sense in which all humanity may be described as children of God, but in the intimate and spiritual connotation belonging to *υἱοθεσία*, or 'adoption,' into the family of God.

LITERATURE.—See art. 'Abba' in *HDB*, *DCG*, and *JE*, an art. in *ExpT* xx. [1909]-356, and the authorities cited above.

R. MARTIN POPE.

ABEL.—Abel (Ἄβελ) has the first place in the roll of 'the elders' (οἱ πρεσβύτεροι, He 11[2]), or men of past generations, who by their faith pleased God and had witness borne to them. It is recorded of him that he offered unto God a more excellent sacrifice (πλείονα θυσίαν) than his elder brother (He 11[4]). In the original story (Gn 4[1-7]) his offering was probably regarded as more pleasing on account of the material of his sacrifice. It was in accordance with primitive Semitic ideas that the occupation of a keeper of sheep was more pleasing to God than that of a tiller of the ground, and accordingly that a firstling of the flock was a more acceptable offering than the fruit of the ground. The ancient writer of the story (J) evidently wished to teach that animal sacrifice alone was pleasing to God (Gunkel, *Genesis*, 38; Skinner, 105). The author of Hebrews gives the story a different turn. The greater excellence of Abel's sacrifice consisted in the disposition with which it was offered. The spirit of the worshipper rather than the substance of the offering is now considered the essential element. Abel's sacrifice was the offering of a man whose heart was right. Through his faith he won God's approval of his gifts, and through his faith his blood continued to speak for him after his death. In a later passage of Heb. (12[24]) that blood is contrasted with 'the blood of sprinkling,' by which the new covenant is confirmed. The blood of Abel cried out from the ground for vengeance (cf. Job 16[18], Is 26[21], 2 K 9[26]; also Rev 6[9. 10]); it was such a cry as is sounded in Milton's sonnet, 'Avenge, O Lord, thy slaughtered saints'; but the blood of the eternal covenant intercedes for mercy.

St. John (1 Jn 3[12]) uses the murder of Abel by his brother to illustrate the absence of that spirit of love which is the essence of goodness. The writer indicates that the new commandment, or message (ἀγγελία), which has been heard from the beginning of the Christian era, was also the fundamental law of the moral life from the beginning of human history. Cain was of the evil one (ἐκ τοῦ πονηροῦ), and slaughtered (ἔσφαξεν) his brother.

LITERATURE.—Besides the artt. in the Bible Dictionaries, see W. G. Elmslie, *Expository Lectures and Sermons*, 1892, p. 164; J. Hastings, *Greater Men and Women of the Bible*, vol. i. [1913] p. 53; G. Matheson, *The Representative Men of the Bible*, i. [1902] 45; A. P. Peabody, *King's Chapel Sermons*, 1891, p. 317; A. Whyte, *Bible Characters*, i. [1896] 44.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ABIDING.—As in the Gospels, so in Acts and Ephesians we find both the local and the ethical connotations of this word, which in almost every case is used to render *μένω* or one of its numerous compounds (*ἐπι-*, *κατα-*, *παρα-*, *προσ-*, *ὑπο-*). With the purely local usages we have here no concern; but there is a small class of transitional meanings which lead the way to those ethical connotations which are the distinctive property of the word. Among these may be mentioned the several places in 1 Co 7, where St. Paul, dealing with marriage and allied questions (? in view of the Parousia), speaks of *abiding* in this state or calling. In the same Epistle note also 3[14] 'If any man's work *abide*,' and 13[13] 'And now *abide* faith, hope, love.'* Similarly we are told of the persistence (*a*) of Melchizedek's priesthood (He 7[3]), (*b*) of the Divine fidelity even in face of human faithlessness (2 Ti 2[13]), and (*c*) of the word of God (1 P 1[23]).

It is, however, in the 1st Ep. of John, as in the Fourth Gospel, that we get the ethical use of *abiding* most fully developed and most amply presented. But, while in the Gospel the emphasis is laid on the Son's *abiding* in the Father and Christ's *abiding* in the Church, in 1 Jn 2[24. 27] the stress is rather on the mutual *abiding* of the believer and God (Father and Son). Note the following experimental aspects of the relation in question.

1. The believer as the place of the abiding.—A somewhat peculiar expression is found in 1 Jn 2[27], where we read: 'The anointing . . . abideth in you.' By χρῖσμα is meant the gift of the Holy Spirit (cf. 2 Co 1[21]), whose presence in the heart gives the believer an independent power of testing whatever teaching he receives (cf. 'He shall take of mine and shall show it unto you,' Jn 16[15]).† In 1 Jn 2[14] it is said that the word of God abideth in 'young men'; but it is also the meaning in v.[24]; while in 3[24] Christ is mentioned as *abiding* in them 'by the Spirit.' In each passage we have a subtle instance of the perfectly natural way in which the operation of the risen Christ on the heart is identified with that of the Spirit. The believer's soul is thus mystically thought of as the *matrix* in which the Divine energy of salvation, conceived of in its various aspects, is operative as a cleansing, saving, and conserving power, safeguarding it from error, sin, and unfaithfulness.

2. The abiding place of the believer.—In 1 Jn 2[24] we have the promise that 'if the [word] heard from the beginning' remains in the believer's heart, he shall 'continue in the Son' and in the Father (cf. 3[6]). This reciprocal relation between the implanted word and the human environment in which it energizes is peculiarly Johannine. Secondary forms of the same idea are found in 2[10] ('he that loveth his brother abideth in the light'), and in 3[14] ('he that hateth his brother abideth in death'). In 2[6] we have the fact that the believer abides in Christ made the ground for a practical appeal for consistency of life, and in v.[28] the reward of such living is that the believer 'abideth for ever,' *i.e.* has eternal life. As a general principle, in the use of this word we find a striking union of the mystical and the ethical aspects of the Christian faith.

LITERATURE.—G. G. Findlay, *The Things Above*, 1901, p. 237; G. H. Knight, *Divine Upliftings*, 1906, p. 85; F. von Hügel, *Eternal Life*, 1912, p. 365 f.; and also the art. 'Abiding' in *DCG*, and the literature there cited.

E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

ABOMINATION (*βδέλυγμα*). — Like the word 'taste'—originally a physical, then a mental term,—'abomination' denotes that for which God and His people have a violent distaste. It refers in the OT to the feeling of repulsion against prohibited foods (Lv 11[10], Dt 14[3]), then to everything

* Popular opinion, based on a well-known hymn (Par. 491st.), very erroneously makes faith and hope pass away, only love abiding.

† As indicated in *HDB* i. 101[b], the words of 1 Jn 2[27] gave rise to the practice of anointing with oil at baptism.

connected with idolatry (Dt 7^{25}, Ro 2^{22} [Gr.]).* Thence it acquires a moral meaning, and together with fornication stigmatizes all the immoralities of heathendom (Rev $17^{4.5}$). Its intensest use is reserved for hypocrisy, the last offence against religion (Lk 16^{15}, Tit 1^{16}, Rev 21^{27}).

SHERWIN SMITH.

ABOUNDING.—The English word 'abound' in the Epistles of the NT is the translation of the Gr. words *πλεονάζω* and *περισσεύω*. There is nothing of special interest in these terms; perhaps the former has the less lofty sense, its primary connotation being that of superfluity. As used by St. Paul, however, there seems little to choose between them, although it is worth noting that, where he speaks (Ro 5^{20}) of the 'offence' and 'sin' abounding, he uses *πλεονάζειν*. Yet he employs the same term in Ro 6^{1} of the 'abounding of grace,' and in Ph 4^{17} of the fruit of Christian giving. His favourite term, however, is *περισσεύω* (in one case *ὑπερπερισσεύω*, 'overflow,' Ro 5^{20}), whether he is speaking of the grace of God (Ro 5^{15}), the sufferings of Christ (2 Co 1^{5}), or the Christian spirit that finds expression in liberality (2 Co 8^{7} 9^{8}), contentment (Ph $4^{12.18}$), hope (Ro 5^{15}), service (1 Co 15^{58}). This list of references is not exhaustive, but it is representative. These words and the way in which they are used give us a suggestive glimpse into—

1. The religious temperament of the Apostle.—His was a rich and overflowing nature, close-packed with vivid, ever-active qualities of mind and heart. His conception of the gospel would be naturally in accordance with the wealth of his psychic and moral nature; he would inevitably fasten on such aspects of it as most thoroughly satisfied his own soul; and he would put its resources to the full test of his spiritual needs and capacities. It is fortunate that Christianity found at its inception such a man ready to hand as its chief exponent to the primitive churches, and that his letters remain as a record of the marvellous way in which he opened his heart to its appeal, and of the manifold response he was able to make to that appeal. In all ages our faith has been conditioned by the human medium in which it has had to work. The ages of barrenness in Christian experience have been those which have lacked richly-endowed personalities for its embodiment and exposition; and *vice versa*, when such personalities have arisen and have given themselves wholeheartedly to the Divine Spirit, there has been a wide-spread efflorescence of religious experience in the Church at large. Ordinary men and women are pensioners religiously, to a peculiar degree, of the great souls in the community. St. Paul, Origen, Augustine, Bernard, Luther, Wesley, etc., have been the focal points through which the forces of the gospel have radiated into the world at large, and lifted its life to higher levels.

2. The superabundant wealth of the gospel as a medium of the Divine energies of redemption.—The Christian faith is full of spiritual resources on which the soul may draw to the utmost of its needs. In the teaching of our Lord, the prodigality of His illustrations, their varied character, and the frequency with which He likens the Kingdom to a 'feast,' with all its suggestions of a large welcome and an overflowing abundance of good things, are very characteristic of His own attitude towards the gospel He preached; and St. Paul is pre-eminent among NT writers for the way in which he has grasped the same idea, and caught the spirit of the Master in his exposition of spiritual realities. (Cf. 'How many hired servants of my father's have bread enough and to spare' [Lk 15^{17}] with 'the grace of God, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many' [Ro 5^{15}; also vv. $^{17.19.20.21}$], and many other passages.)

3. The call for an adequate response on the part of believers to the varied and abundant resources of the gospel.—Here, again, St. Paul exhausts the power of language in urging his converts to allow the Divine energies of salvation to have their way with them. The normal type of Christian is not reached till his nature is flooded with the grace of God, and he in turn is lifted into a condition which is characterized by an abounding increase of hope, grace, love, good works, and fruitfulness of character. 'Therefore, as ye abound in (everything), see that ye abound in this grace also' (2 Co 8^{7}) expresses one of his favourite forms of appeal. He was not satisfied to see men raised to a slightly higher plane by their faith in Christ; they were to be 'transformed in the spirit of their minds' (Ro 12^{2}); they were always to 'abound in the work of the Lord' (1 Co 15^{58}; cf. 2 Co 9^{8}); and, as 'they had received' of him how they might walk and 'to please God,' they were exhorted to 'abound more and more' (1 Th 4^{1}), and that especially because they knew what commandments 'had been given them by the Lord Jesus' (1 Th 4^{2}). It was a subject for joyfulness to him when he found his converts thus responding to the power of God (see 2 Co $8^{1f.}$). As regards his realization of this Divine abundance in his own experience, we find him breaking out into an ecstasy of thanksgiving at the thought of what God has done for him, and of the sense of inward spiritual abundance which he consequently enjoys, so that he feels quite independent of all outward conditions, however hard they may be (cf. Ph 4^{11-13}). This is the language of a man who enjoys all the resources of the Godhead in his inner life, and who can, therefore, be careless of poverty, misfortune, sickness, and even the prospect of an untimely end.

LITERATURE.—See Sanday-Headlam, and Lightfoot (especially *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*), on the passages referred to, also Phillips Brooks, *The Light of the World*, 1891, p. 140, and *ExpT* viii. [1897] 514a.

E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

ABRAHAM (*Ἀβραάμ*).—Addressing a Jewish crowd in the precincts of the Temple, St. Peter emphasizes the connexion between the Hebrew and the Christian religion by proclaiming that 'the God of Abraham . . . hath glorified his servant (*παῖδα*; cf. RVm) Jesus' (Ac 3^{13}). This Divine title, which is similarly used in St. Stephen's speech (7^{32}), was full of significance. All through the OT and the NT the foundation of the true religion is ascribed neither to the Prophets nor to Moses, but to Abraham. Isaac (Gn 26^{24}) and Jacob (31^{42}) worshipped the God of Abraham, but Abraham did not worship the Elohim whom his fathers served beyond the River (Jos $24^{2.14.15}$). He was the head of the great family that accepted Jahweh as their God. Jews, Muslims, and Christians are all in some sense his seed, as having either his blood in their veins or his faith in their souls. To the Jews he is 'our father Abraham' (Ac 7^{2}, Ro 4^{12}, Ja 2^{21}), 'our forefather (*τὸν προπάτορα*) according to the flesh' (Ro 4^{1}). To the Muhammadans he is the 'model of religion' (*imām*, or priest) and the first person 'resigned (*muslim*) unto God' (*Qur'ān*, ii. 115, 125). To the Christians he is 'the father of all them that believe' (Ro 4^{11}), 'the father of us all' (4^{16}). Taking the word Abraham to mean (according to the popular word-play, Ro 4^{17} ‖ Gn 17^{5}) 'a father of many nations,' St. Paul regards it as indicating that Abraham is the spiritual ancestor of the whole Christian Church.

1. In the Epistles of St. Paul.—As Abraham was the renowned founder of the Jewish nation and faith, it was crucially important to decide

* Cf. the well-known expression, 'abomination of desolation,' applied to a heathen altar (Dn 12^{11}; cf. 1 Mac 1^{54}, Mt 24^{15}, Mk 13^{14}). See art. 'Abomination of Desolation' in *HDB*.

whether the Jews or the Christians could claim his support in their great controversy on justification. The ordinary Jews regarded Abraham as a model legalist, whose faith in God (Gn $15^{5f.}$) consisted in the fulfilment of the Law, which he knew by a kind of intuition. According to the Jewish tradition (*Bereshith Rabb.* 44, Wünsche), Abraham saw the whole history of his descendants in the mysterious vision recorded in Gn $15^{12ff.}$. Thus he is said to have 'rejoiced with the joy of the Law' (Westcott, *St. John* [in *Speaker's Com.*], 140). In the philosophical school of Alexandria there was a much higher conception of faith, which was regarded as 'the most perfect of virtues,' 'the queen of virtues,' 'the only sure and infallible good, the solace of life, the fulfilment of worthy hopes, . . . the inheritance of happiness, the entire amelioration of the soul, which leans for support on Him who is the cause of all things, who is able to do all things, and willeth to do those which are most excellent' (Philo, *Quis rer. div. her.* i. 485, *de Abr.* ii. 39). In these passages faith, in so far as it expresses a spiritual attitude towards God, does not differ much from Christian faith. Nor could anything be finer than the Rabbinic *Mechilta* on Ex 14^{31}: 'Great is faith, whereby Israel believed on Him that spake and the world was. . . . In like manner thou findest that Abraham our father inherited this world and the world to come solely by the merit of faith whereby he believed in the Lord; for it is said, *and he believed in the Lord, and He counted it to him for righteousness*' (Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 162). But the ordinary tendency of Judaism was to give Abraham's life a predominantly legal colour, as in 1 Mac 2^{52} 'Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness?'

To St. Paul faith is the motive power of the whole life, and in two expositions of his doctrine —Ro 4, Gal 3—he affirms the essential identity of Abraham's faith with that of every Christian. He does not, indeed, think (like Jesus Himself in Jn 8^{56}) of Abraham as directly foreseeing the day of Christ, but he maintains that Abraham's faith in God as then partially revealed was essentially the same as the Christian's faith in God as now fully made known in Christ. Abraham had faith when he was still in uncircumcision (Ro 4^{11}), faith in God's power to do things apparently impossible (4^{17-19}), faith by which he both strengthened his own manhood and gave glory to God (4^{20}). Abraham believed 'the gospel' which was preached to him beforehand, the gospel which designated him as the medium of blessing to all the nations (Gal 3^{8}). And as his faith, apart from his works, was counted to him for righteousness, he became the representative believer, in whom all other believers, without distinction, may recognize their spiritual father. It is not Abraham's blood but his spirit that is to be coveted (3^{2}); those who are of faith (οἱ ἐκ πίστεως) are 'sons of Abraham,' are 'blessed with the faithful Abraham' (3^{7-9}); upon the Gentiles has come 'the blessing of Abraham' (3^{14}); all who are Christ's, without any kind of distinction, are 'Abraham's sons,' fulfilling, like him, the conditions of Divine acceptance, and inheriting with him the Divine promises.

St. Paul uses the narratives of Genesis as he finds them. Before the dawn of criticism the theologian did not raise the question whether the patriarchal portraits were real or ideal. To St. Paul Abraham is a historical person who lived 430 years before Moses (Gal 3^{17}), and who was not inferior to the great prophets of Israel in purity of religious insight and strength of inward piety. It is now almost universally believed that the faith ascribed to the patriarchs was itself the result of a long historical evolution. But, while the maturer conceptions of a later age are carried back to Abraham, the patriarch is not dissolved into a creation of the religious fancy. 'The ethical and spiritual idea of God which is at the foundation of the religion of Israel could only enter the world through a personal organ of divine revelation; and nothing forbids us to see in Abraham the first of that long series of prophets through whom God has communicated to mankind a saving knowledge of Himself' (Skinner, *Genesis* [*ICC*, 1910], p. xxvii).

2. In the Epistle of St. James.—St. James (2^{21-23}) uses the example of Abraham to establish the thesis, not that 'a man is justified by faith apart from the works of the law' (Ro 3^{28}), but that 'by works a man is justified, and not only by faith' (Ja 2^{24}). While the two apostles agree that Christianity is infinitely more than a creed, being nothing if not a life, they differ in their conception of faith. The meaning which St. James attaches to the word is indicated by his suggestion of believing demons and dead faith ($2^{19, 20}$). St. Paul would have regarded both of these phrases as contradictions in terms, since all believers are converted and all faith is living. Asked if faith must not prove or justify itself by works, he would have regarded the question as superfluous, for a faith that means self-abandonment in passionate adoring love to the risen Christ inevitably makes the believer Christlike. St. James says in effect: 'Abraham believed God, proving his faith by works, and it was counted to him for righteousness.' With St. Paul righteousness comes between faith and works; with St. James works come between faith and righteousness. Had St. James been attacking either Galatians or Romans, and in particular correcting St. Paul's misuse of the example of Abraham, his polemic would have been singularly lame. Such a theory does injustice to his intelligence. But, if he was sounding a note of warning against popular perversions of evangelical doctrine, St. Paul, who was often 'slanderously reported' (Ro 3^{8}), must have been profoundly grateful to him. See, further, art. JAMES, EPISTLE OF.

It is interesting to note that Clement of Rome co-ordinates the doctrines of the two apostles. Taking the typical example of Abraham, he asks, 'Wherefore was our father Abraham blessed?' and answers, 'Was it not because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith?' (*Ep. ad Cor.* § 31). If the two types of doctrine could be regarded as complementary sets of truths, justice was done to both apostles. But the difference assumed a dangerous form in the hard dogmatic distinction of the Schoolmen between *fides informis* and *fides formata cum caritate*, the latter of which (along with the 'epistle of straw' on which it seemed to be based) Luther so vehemently repudiated.

3. In the Epistle to the Hebrews.—The writer of Hebrews bases on the incident of Abraham's meeting with Melchizedek (He 7; cf. Gn 14) an argument for a priesthood higher than the Aaronic order (v.$^{11ff.}$). To the king-priest of Salem Abraham gave tithes, and from him received a blessing, thereby owning his inferiority to that majestic figure. As Abraham was the ancestor of the tribe of Levi, the Aaronic priesthood itself may be said to have been overshadowed in that hour and ever afterwards by the mysterious order of Melchizedek. This is the conception of the writer of Ps 110, who identifies God's vicegerent, seated on the throne of Zion, not with the Aaronic order, but with the royal priesthood of Melchizedek. When the Maccabees displaced the house of Aaron, and concentrated in their own persons the kingly and priestly functions, they found their justification in the priestly dignity of Melchizedek, and called themselves, in his style, 'priests of the Most High' (Charles, *Book of Jubilees*, 1902, pp. lix and 191). Finally, when Christ had given a Messianic interpretation of Ps 110, it was natural that the writer of Hebrews should see the Aaronic priesthood superseded by an eternal King-Priest after the ancient consecrated order of Melchizedek.

For divergent critical views of the Abraham-Melchizedek pericope of Gn 14 see Wellhausen, *Comp.*^{2}, 1889, p. 211 f.; Gunkel, *Genesis*, 253; Skinner, *Genesis*, 269 f. Against Wellhausen's theory that the story is a post-exilic attempt to glorify the priesthood in Jerusalem, Gunkel and Skinner argue for an antique traditional basis.

The writer of Hebrews illustrates his definition of faith (11[1]) by three events in the life of Abraham. —(1) The patriarch left his home and kindred, and 'went out not knowing whither he went' (He 11[8]). His faith was a sense of the unseen and remote, as akin to the spiritual and eternal. In obedience to a Divine impulse he ventured forth on the unknown, confident that his speculative peradventure would be changed into a realized ideal. The doubting heart says, 'Forward, though I cannot see, I guess and fear'; the believing spirit, 'Look up, trust, be not afraid.'—(2) Abraham remained all his life a sojourner (*πάροικος καὶ παρεπίδημος* = גֵּר וְתוֹשָׁב, Gn 23[4]) in the Land of Promise (He 11[9]). He left his home in Chaldæa, and never found another. Wherever he went he built an altar to God, but never a home for himself. He was encamped in many places, but naturalized in none. His pilgrim spirit is related to his hope of an eternal city—a beautiful conception transferred to Genesis from the literature of the Maccabæan period (*En.* 90[28. 29], *Apoc. Bar.* 32[3. 4] etc.).—(3) By faith Abraham offered up Isaac, 'accounting that God is able to raise up, even from the dead' (He 11[19]). Here again the belief of a later age becomes the motive of the patriarch's act of renunciation. The narrative in Gn 22 contains no indication that the thought of a resurrection flashed through his agonized mind.

LITERATURE.—**F. W. Weber**, *Syst. der altsyn. palästin. Theol. aus Targum, Midrasch, u. Talmud*, 1880, ch. xix.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, 1865, p. 158 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], 1902, p. 102 ff.; **W. Beyschlag**, *NT Theology*, 1894–96, i. 364 ff.; **A. B. Bruce**, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1896, p. 116 f.; **G. B. Stevens**, *Theology of the NT*, 1901, p. 289; **B. Weiss**, *Biblical Theology of the NT*, 1882–83, i. 437 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ABSTINENCE.—*Introduction.*—The whole of morality on its negative side may be included under Abstinence. Christian moral progress (sanctification) includes a holding fast (*κατέχεσθαι*) of the good, and an abstaining from (*ἀπέχεσθαι*) every form of evil (1 Th 5[21f.]). While Christianity has general laws to distinguish the good from the bad, yet for each individual Christian these laws are focused in the conscience, and the function of the latter is to discriminate between the good and the bad—it cannot devolve this duty on outward rules. With it the ultimate decision rests, and on it also lies the responsibility (Ro 14[5], He 5[14]). The lists of vices and virtues,* of 'works of the flesh' and 'fruits of the spirit,' given in the NT are not meant to be exhaustive, but typical; nor are they given to make needless the exercise of Christian discernment. The NT is not afraid to place in the Christian conscience the decision of what is to be abstained from and what is not, because it believes in the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, and because it exalts personal responsibility. It is necessary to make this clear, because, as we shall see, the ultimate tribunal of appeal in matters of abstinence in the ordinary sense (*i.e.* in the sphere of things indifferent) is the Christian conscience. The ideal of Christian conduct is sometimes said to be self-realization, not self-suppression; consecration, not renunciation. These antitheses are apt to be misleading. In the self with which Christianity deals there are sinful elements that have to be extirpated. Christian sanctification takes place not in innocent men, but in sinners who have to be cleansed from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit (2 Co 7[1]). To purify oneself (1 Jn 3[3]) is not simply to realize oneself; it is to do no sin.

In all moral conduct there is suppression; in Christian conduct there is extirpation. This negative side of Christian conduct is abstinence. It is the crucifying of the flesh—death unto sin—and it is the correlative of 'living to righteousness,' 'being risen with Christ,' etc. Abstinence in this sense is an essential and ever-present moment in the Christian life.

More narrowly interpreted, abstinence is a refraining from certain outward actions—as eating, drinking, worldly business, marriage, etc. It is thus applied to outward conduct, while continence (*ἐγκράτεια*) is used of inward self-restraint. Cicero makes this distinction, though, from the nature of the case, he cannot always consistently apply it (see Lewis and Short, *Lat. Dict.*, *s.v.* 'Abstinentia').

We may look first at the outward side of abstinence, and then try to find out what the Christian principles are (as these are unfolded in the apostolic writings) that determine its nature and its limits.

I. *ASCETIC PRACTICES.*—**1. Fasting.**—(*a*) Fasting, or abstinence from food and drink, may be *unavoidable* or *involuntary* (*e.g.* Ac 27[21. 22], 1 Co 4[11], 2 Co 6[5] * 11[27],* Ph 4[12]). Such fastings have a religious value only indirectly. They may overtake the apostate as well as the apostle. If they are caused by devotion to Christian service, they are, like all other privations so caused, badges of fidelity; and they may be referred to with reasonable pride by Christ's ministers (2 Co 6[4f.] 11[23]). They ought to silence criticism (cf. Gal 6[17], where St. Paul speaks of his bruises as *στίγματα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ*), and they enforce Christian exhortation (Col 4[18], Eph 4[1]). On the principle that he who chooses the end chooses the means, such fastings are real proofs of fidelity to Christ. They are like the scars of the true soldier.

(*b*) *An absorbing pre-occupation with any pursuit* may be the cause of fasting. The artist or the scientist may forget to take food, in the intensity of his application to his work; or any great emotion like sorrow may make one 'forget to take bread.' Such a fast we have in Ac 9[9], where St. Paul, we are told, was without food for three days after his conversion. As Jesus fasted in the wilderness (Mt 4[1-11]), or at the well forgot His hunger (Jn 4[31f.]), so the ferment of the new life acted on St. Paul thus also. Fasting is not the cause of such pre-occupation, but the effect; and so its value depends on the nature of the emotion causing it.† Such involuntary privations, however, are not fasting in the proper sense. In themselves they are morally indifferent, as they may overtake any one irrespective of moral conditions; but, when borne bravely and contentedly in the line of Christian duty, they are not only indications of true faith, but in turn they strengthen that faith (Ro 5[3-5], Ph 4[11]).

(*c*) Real fasting is *purposive and voluntary*. It is a total or partial abstinence from food for an unusual period, or from certain foods always or at certain times, for a moral or religious end. Such a fast is mentioned in Ac 13[2. 3] 14[23] in connexion with ordination. It is associated with prayer. Some hold that it was the form to 'be permanently observed' in such cases (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 1895, p. 122). There is no mention, however, of fasting at the appointment of Matthias (Ac 1[24]), or of the seven (6[6]). We cannot, therefore, take it as inherently binding on Christian Churches at such solemnities. It is rather the survival of ancient religious practices (like the fasting on the Day of Atonement), which on the occasions referred to were adopted through the force of custom, and served

* See Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., 1904, p. 406 ff., for lists.

* These are sometimes explained as voluntary fasts—to use Hooker's expression (*Ecc. Pol.* v. 72. 8)—but the contexts seem decisive against that view.

† This was probably what Jesus had in view in the saying in Mt 9[15].

to solemnize the proceedings. The Atonement fast (Ac 27[9]) is mentioned only as a time limit after which navigation was dangerous. It is not said that St. Paul fasted on that day, though probably he did.

These Jewish survivals were conserved without investigation by the Palestinian Church, though, after what Jesus had said on fasting, we may believe that the spiritual condition of the believer, rather than the performance of the outward rite, would be the essential element. Pharisaism, however, follows so closely on the heels of ritual that in some quarters it very early influenced Christianity (cf. *Did.* i. 3: 'Fast for those who persecute you'; and Epiph. *Hær.* lxx. 11: 'When they [*i.e.* the Jews] feast, ye shall fast and mourn for them'; cf. also Polycarp, vii. 2; Hermas, *Vis.* iii. 10. 6; and, in the same connexion, the interpolations in the NT [Mt 17[21], Mk 9[29], Ac 10[30], 1 Co 7[5]]). Even the Pharisaic custom of fasting twice a week (Monday and Thursday) was adopted in some quarters, though these days were changed to Wednesday and Friday (*Did.* viii. 1). These are the later *dies stationum* or στάσεις (cf. Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vii. 12, p. 877). See *ERE* v. 844[b].

To evaluate the practice of fasting, we must look to the end aimed at and the efficacy of this means to attain that end. (1) In many cases it would be mainly *a matter of tradition.* On any eventful occasion men might practise fasting, to ratify a decision or induce solemnity, as those Jews did who vowed to kill St. Paul (Ac 23[12]). Under such a category would fall the Paschal and pre-baptismal fasts. Though not mentioned in the NT, they were early practised in the Christian Church (Eus. *HE* v. 24; *Did.* vii.; Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 61). There can be no doubt that ordination and baptismal and Paschal fasts may serve to solemnize these events, yet there is no warrant for making them an ecclesiastical rule. In such traditional fasting there is often, consciously or unconsciously, implicated the feeling that God is thereby pleased and merit acquired, and the result in such cases is Pharisaic complacency and externalism. Jesus, following the great prophets (Is 58[5-7], Zec 8[19]), had relegated outward rites to a secondary place. He demanded secrecy, sincerity, and simplicity in all these matters, and the Apostolic Church never wholly lost sight of His guidance. St. James, while emphasizing the value of prayer (5[17-20]), says nothing of fasting, and he makes real ritual consist in works of mercy and blameless conduct (1[27]). Even when fasting was enjoined, the danger of externalism was recognized (Hermas, *Sim.* v. 1; Barn. ii. 10; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 15). St. Paul had to prove that such fastings could not be redemptively of any value, that they were not binding, that they did not place the observer of them on a higher spiritual plane than the non-observer, that even as means of discipline they were of doubtful value, and that they were perpetually liable to abuse (Col 2[20ff.]).

(2) Fastings were used in certain cases *to induce ecstatic conditions.* This is a well-known feature in apocalyptic writings. Perhaps the Colossian heretics did this (cf. ἃ *ἑόρακεν ἐμβατεύων*, Col 2[18]). St. John and the other Apostles with him are said to have fasted three days before writing the Fourth Gospel (Muratorian fragment). The Apocalypse, however, though a ὅρασις (vision), is lacking in the usual accompaniments of a vision, viz. prayer and fasting (contrast Hermas, *Sim.* v. 1). St. Peter's vision (Ac 10[9-16]) was preceded by hunger, but it was not a voluntary fast; nor is there any reference to fasting in the case of St. Paul's visions (Ac 16[9] 18[9f.], 2 Co 12[1f.]), and the reference in the case of Cornelius (Ac 10[30]) is a later interpolation. It was more when direct prophetic inspiration became a memory rather than when it was a reality that men resorted to fasting in order to superinduce it.

(3) Fasting was resorted to also *that alms might be given out of the savings.*

'If there is among them a man that is poor and needy, and they have not an abundance of necessaries, they fast for two or three days, that they may supply the needy with necessary food' (Aristides, *Apology*, xv.). Cf. also Hermas, *Sim.* v. 3. 7: 'Reckon up on this day what thy meal would otherwise have cost thee, and give the amount to some poor widow or orphan, or to the poor.'

Origen (hom. *in Levit.* x.) quotes an apostolic saying which supports this practice:

'We have found in a certain booklet an apostolic saying, "Blessed is also he who fasts that he may feed the poor"' ('Invenimus in quodam libello ab apostolis dictum—Beatus est qui etiam jejunat pro eo ut alat pauperem').

This saying might legitimately be deduced from such passages as Eph 4[28] and Ja 2[16], but the practice easily associated itself with the idea of fasting as a work of merit.

'More powerful than prayer is fasting, and more than both alms.' 'Alms abolish sins' (2 Clem. xvi. 4; cf. Hermas, *Sim.* v. 3).

Fasting done out of Christian love to the brethren is noble; but, when done to gain salvation, it becomes not only profitless but dangerous. 'Though I give all my goods to feed the poor and have not love, it profiteth me nothing' (1 Co 13[3]).

(4) Again, fasting may have been viewed as *giving power over demons* (cf. *Clem. Hom.* ix. 9; Tertullian, *de Jejuniis*, 8: 'Docuit etiam adversus diriora demonia jejuniis praeliandum'; cf. Mt 17[21], Mk 9[29]). Some find this view in the narrative of the Temptation (see *EBi*, art. 'Temptation'). This view of fasting, grotesque as it appears to us, is akin to the truth that surfeiting of the body dulls the spiritual vision, and that the spiritual life is a rigorous discipline (cf. 1 Co 9[24-27]).

What strikes one in the apostolic writings generally, as contrasted with later ecclesiastical literature, is the scarcity of references to fasting as an outward observance. Nowhere is the traditional Church ascetic held up to imitation in the NT, as Eusebius (*HE* ii. 23) holds up St. James, or Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* ii. 1) St. Matthew, or the *Clem. Hom.* (xii. 6, xv. 7) St. Peter, or Epiphanius (*Hær.* lxxviii. 13) the sons of Zebedee.

In the NT the references to fasting are almost all incidental, and apologetic or hostile. It is regarded as due to weakness of faith, or positive perversion. Neither St. John, St. James, St. Jude, nor St. Peter once mentions it as a means of grace. This silence, it is true, ought not to be unduly pressed; yet it is surely a proof that they considered fasting as of no essential importance. Its revival in the Christian Church was due to traditionalism and legalism on the one hand, and to ascetic dualism (Orphic, Platonic, Essenic) on the other. In the NT the latter influence is strenuously opposed (Colossians and Pastorals), and the former is as vigorously rejected when it makes itself necessary to salvation, although it is tenderly treated when it is only a weak leaning towards old associations. The whole spirit of apostolic Christianity regards fasting as of little or no importance, and the experience of the Christian Church seems to be that any value it may have is infinitesimal compared with the evils and perversions that seem so inseparably associated with it. According to Eusebius (*HE* v. 18), Montanus was the first to give laws to the Church on fasting. The NT is altogether opposed to such ecclesiastical laws. The matter is one for the individual Christian intelligence to determine (Ro 14[5]).

St. Paul's language in 1 Co 9[24ff.] has been adduced in support of self-torture of all kinds; but, while we must not minimize the reality of Christian

discipline, nothing can be legitimately deduced from this passage or any other in favour of fasting or flagellation as a general means of sanctification, nor is the Apostle's view based on a dualism which looks on matter and the human body as inherently evil. It may be said 'that interpolations like 1 Co 7^5 (cf. Ac 10^{30}, Mt 17^{21}, Mk 9^{29}) reveal the beginnings of that ascetic resurgence which reached its climax in monastic austerities, and that there is at least a tinge of ascetic dualism in certain Pauline passages (*e.g.* Ro 8^{13}, 1 Co 5^5 $7^{1\text{-}8}$ 9^{27}, 2 Co $4^{10.\,11}$, Col 3^5); but even those who hold this view of these Pauline passages admit 'that there is very little asceticism, in the ordinary sense, in St. Paul's Epistles, while there is much that makes in the opposite direction' (McGiffert, *Apostol. Age*, 1897, p. 136). We shall see, however, when we come to deal with the principles of abstinence as unfolded by St. Paul, that even this minimum residuum has to be dropped.

We may conclude, then, that, according to the NT, fasting is not enjoined or even recommended as a spiritual help. The ideal is life with the Risen Christ, which involves not only total renunciation of all sinful actions but self-restraint in all conduct. When the individual Christian finds fasting to be a part of this self-restraint, then it is useful; but one fails to find any proof in the NT that fasting is necessarily an element of self-restraint. When it is an effect of an absorbing spiritual emotion, or when practised to aid the poor, or involuntarily undergone in the straits of Christian duty, then it is highly commendable.

2. The use of wine.—While drunkenness as well as gluttony is sternly condemned, nowhere is total abstinence, in our sense, enforced. In one passage it has even been contended that St. Paul indirectly opposes it (1 Ti 5^{23}), but his words in our time would be simply equivalent to medical advice to the effect that total abstinence as a principle must be subordinated to bodily health. Thus, while total abstinence is in itself not an obligatory duty, it may become so on the principle that we ought not to do anything by which our brother stumbles, or is offended, or is made weak (1 Co 8^{13}). This principle, which is equally applicable to fasting, must be considered in deciding the Christian attitude towards all outward observances. While Christianity recognizes the indifferent nature of these customs, while its liberty frees Christians from their observance, yet cases may arise when this liberty has to be subordinated to love and the interests of Christian unity. In 1 Co 8 the Apostle is dealing with the conditions of his own time; our conditions did not engage his attention. Christian abstainers can find an adequate defence for their position in the degrading associations of strong drink in our modern life. On the other hand, total abstinence from strong drink is no more a universally binding duty than fasting is, nor are ecclesiastical rules called for in the one case more than in the other.* Both these customs fall within the sphere of things indifferent, and are to be determined by the individual in the light of the nature of the Christian life, which is 'neither meat nor drink, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost' (Ro 14^{17}).

3. Marriage and celibacy.—We are not here concerned with the NT doctrine of marriage (*q.v.*) in its totality, but with the question as to whether celibacy is commanded as a superior grade of living, and as to whether this is based on a dualistic view which regards the sexual functions as in their very nature evil. To begin with, marriage is viewed by St. Paul as being in general a human necessity, as indeed a preventive against incontinency. It is a 'part of his greatness that, in spite of his own somewhat ascetic temperament, he was not blind to social and physiological facts' (Drummond, quoted in *EGT* on 1 Th 4^5). He recommends those who can to remain single as he is himself. In view of the approaching world-end in which he believed, marriage meant the multiplication of troubles that would make fidelity to Christ more difficult; and perhaps in this light also the propagation of the race was undesirable. It is possible also that he may have been here influenced unconsciously by his Rabbinical training, and that he interpreted his own case as too generally applicable. He was a celibate for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake (Mt $19^{10\text{-}12}$), and he may have made the mistake of desiring to universalize his own exceptional case.

Yet there is no ground for the view that celibacy in itself is a superior form of life.* St. Paul does not say that it can produce that life or is necessary to it, but when it is a consequence of it, then it is of value. It is the supremacy of single-hearted devotion to Christ that he holds out as an ideal, and his view is that in some cases marriage endangers this. Again, marriage is not to him simply a preventive against uncleanness (see art. SOBERNESS). It is also the object of sanctification, and its relations have their own honour (1 Th 4^4; see MARRIAGE, VIRGINITY). He uses it as an illustration of the highest relationship; he opposes those who prohibit it (1 Ti 4^2) owing to a false asceticism. It is true he does not there give reasons, as he does in the case of abstinence from food, because the same principle applies to both cases. While, then, we may admit that on this question his view was narrow, we may say with Sabatier (*The Apostle Paul*, Eng. tr., 1891, p. 164) that 'this narrowness, for which he has been so greatly blamed, does not arise from a dualistic asceticism. There is no dualism to be found in Paul's doctrine.'

4. World-flight is not encouraged in the NT. Slaves even are warned to abide in their situations, knowing that they are God's freemen (see art. ABUSE). The necessity of labour is unfolded in the Thessalonian Epistles, against the practice of those who had given up work under eschatological influences. World-flight is not conquering the world, but rather giving up the idea of conquering it, abandoning the battlefield, and, as such, is contrary to the apostolic view. St. Paul did not, it is true, expatiate after the manner of modern moralists on the dignity of labour,† but he did insist on 'the divineness of those obligations and ties which constitute man's social life. . . .' The institutions of society—'marriage, the state, the rights of possession—are of Divine appointment, and must be upheld and honoured, however short the time before the order to which they belong shall pass away forever' (Stevens, *Theol. of NT*, 1899, p. 454).

II. *ASCETIC PRINCIPLES.*—Abstinence is wider than fasting or outward observances; it implies principles by which these external actions are determined, and it keeps in view also the inner reality of which they are the expression. It includes character as well as conduct. Indeed, it is this inward reality which is mainly of value in the Christian ideal of abstinence.

1. The verb ἀσκεῖν occurs only once in the NT (Ac 24^{16}), in this sense of a life whose activities are explained, in the way both of omission and commission, by an inner principle. St. Paul was accused of deliberately offending Jewish legal sus-

* The 'water-folk' found in the Eastern Church in the 3rd cent. (who objected to wine at the Lord's Supper), cannot appeal to NT principles for a justification of their actions.

* Harnack (on *Did.* xi. 8) thinks Eph 5^{32} recommends celibacy as a higher life for the Christian. See, however, Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual*, 1885, p. 202.

† See Harnack's *What is Christianity?* (Eng. tr., 1904, p. 123 ff.) for remarks qualifying the idea underlying the phrase, 'the dignity of labour.'

ceptibilities. He denies the charge. While he adheres to the heresy of 'the Way,' he does so without intentionally coming into collision with the customs or prejudices of others. Not only so, but his plan is a studied attempt to conform to all customs of Jew and Gentile, of 'weak' and 'strong,' consistently with his faithfulness to God and his being under law to Christ. This is his ἄσκησις for the gospel's sake (1 Co 9^{19-23}). His whole life is an illustration of this. He yielded to Jewish susceptibilities (Ac 16^3 18^{18} 21^{26}), and bore with Gentile immaturity (1 Th 2^{7-12}). This conduct was not due to fickleness or guile (1 Co 2^{15}, 1 Th 2^3), but to love (2 Co $5^{13f.}$), and it was done in simplicity and godly sincerity of conscience (2 Co 1^{12}, Ac 24^{16}). It was different from the loveless superior liberty of Corinthian liberalism, and from the servile man-pleasing of weak Judaism (Gal 1. 2). It was, in short, a reproduction of that κένωσις of self (so different from selfish human acquisitiveness) which was the great feature of the life of Christ (Ph 2^8).

To St. Paul this involved very real asceticism. In striking language he figures himself as in the course of his Christian race undergoing privations, abstinences, and self-discipline as great as any runner for the Isthmian prize or as any pugilist. It is not simply that this asceticism involved abstinence from sin—Christianity demands that from all; it involved also the giving up of privileges and rights, and the denial to self of anything that would hinder his being sure of the prize or that would weaken others or cause them to stumble. It is a warning to Christian liberalism in Corinth not to degenerate into licence and so to fall. Christian asceticism is the remedy against this. We are not to infer that St. Paul practised bodily torture, that he went, as it were, out of his way to invent austerities, self-imposed fastings, or flagellations. What he refers to here is the effect on his whole life of his absorbing passion for men's salvation. That was the expulsive power which made him an ascetic in this sense, which made him abnegate his rights of maintenance at Thessalonica and Corinth, which made him work at night though preaching through the day, which overcame his bodily weaknesses, which brought him into dangers by land and sea without being deterred by the fear of pain or privation.

Nor was this ἄσκησις of his a superior form of life which was binding only on a few choice souls. St. Paul has no double morality. No one can empty himself too much for Christ or endure too much for Him. In this way must we explain the manifold passages where the Christian life is compared to a race, to an athletic contest, to military life and warfare. Just as these involve abstinence, so also does Christianity. This asceticism is, however, not arbitrarily imposed or cunningly invented; it is the consequence of fidelity to Christ's cause. It arises out of the very nature of the Christian life. Its outward manifestation is accidental. What is essential is the presence of the self-denying spirit, which spends and is spent willingly out of love to Christ. It is a complete perversion to suppose that outward austerities can create this spirit. Outward hardships of any sort must be effects, not causes. This Christian asceticism is not due to any disparagement of the body or undervaluation of earthly relationships or a false view of matter. The asceticism born of these is at best only a σωματικὴ γυμνασία* (1 Ti $4^{7f.}$), while Christian asceticism is one whose end is piety. The one is of little profit, the other of eternal worth. This gymnastic for holiness arises out of the providential disciplines furnished copiously by a strict adherence to the line of Christian duty. It is the κοπιᾶν καὶ ὀνειδίζεσθαι, the exhaustive labouring, and the abuse (or earnest conflict [ἀγωνίζεσθαι]) of the man who sets his hope on the living God (1 Ti 4^{10}).

* This σωματικὴ γυμνασία is not athletics in our sense; it is a bodily discipline dictated by a philosophico-religious view of the body—a dualistic view of things (cf. 1 Ti 4^3).

2. What, then, are the principles that determine the nature and limits of Christian abstinence? We may learn these by considering the general word for 'abstinence' (ἀπέχεσθαι) in the NT (Ac $15^{20.\ 29}$, 1 Th 4^3 5^{22}, 1 Ti 4^3, 1 P 2^{11}). These principles did not disengage themselves all at once in the Church's consciousness. The first real attempt at such a disengagement is found in the so-called Apostolic Decree (Ac 15). This was nothing more than a working compromise to ease the existing situation. Attempts have been made often and early to moralize it and so find in it a valid basis for Christian abstinence. Thus 'blood' was explained as 'homicide,' and 'things strangled' were omitted, as in Codex D; but such attempts are beside the point as surely as the attempts to judaize the document completely by making 'fornication' mean 'marriage within the prohibited degrees.' For our purpose the Decree is valuable historically rather than morally. It is a land-mark in the liberating of Christianity from ceremonial Judaism, similar to the evangelizing of Samaria by Philip and his baptizing of the eunuch, or the dealing of St. Peter with Cornelius. It does not, however, supply a logical or lasting basis for abstinence. Such a basis is furnished by St. Paul (1 Th 4^{1-8}, 1 Co 6^{12-20}, Gal 5^{18} etc.; cf. 1 P 2^{11}). The ground of Christian abstinence is found in the nature of the Christian life, which is a holy calling—a fellowship with the Holy One—whose animating principle is the Holy Spirit. The Christian man—body, soul, and spirit—is in union with Christ. Hence the very nature of the Christian life gives a positive principle of abstinence. Everything carnal is excluded. 'The carnal mind is enmity against God, it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be' (Ro 8^7). This determines positively what is of necessity to be avoided, and lists of these sins are given in the NT (see above, *Introduction*). These are 'the works of the flesh.' At the very lowest foundation of the Christian life there must be personal purity. ἁγιασμός is wholly opposed to ἀκαθαρσία (1 Th 4^7).

Some have maintained that St. Paul tends to regard sanctification as mainly absence from sensual sin (Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Eng. tr., 1904, ii. 334), and others that he, possibly from his own bitter experience of this sin, emphasized this aspect of sanctification (A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894, p. 264). But St. Paul's view of sanctification includes the whole personality. He was keenly alive to the 'inconceivable evil of sensuality,' although he himself had the charism of continence (1 Co 7^7). The reason for his emphasis on personal purity is found in the immoral state of Grecian cities—'the bottomless sexual depravity of the heathen world' (Schaff, *op. cit.* p. 202)—and in the sensual bias of human nature. Christians had to learn this grace of purity (1 Th 4^4).

The Christian life, then, is a positive life—a life that is being sanctified; and this includes all along a negative element, for Christianity does not deal with innocent men, but with sinners. Hence the crucifying of the flesh, with its affections and lusts, and the mortifying of the bodily members are just the negative side of advance in holiness.

It is sometimes held that at first St. Paul's teaching on this point was tinged with dualism, and that he tended to regard the body itself as essentially evil, and that it was only later on, when the full consequences of his early views were carried into effect, as in Colossians and the Pastorals,

that he came to repudiate this dualistic asceticism (Baring Gould, *A Study of St. Paul*, 1897 [see Index, under 'Asceticism']), or it is maintained that his attitude towards the flesh changes—that at times he views it as something to be extirpated, while at other times and oftener 'his exhortations to his Christian readers have reference commonly not to the Christian's attitude towards his fleshly nature, but to his relation to Christ or the Divine Spirit within him' (McGiffert, *Apostol. Age*, p. 137 f.). The truth is that the change was not in St. Paul's principle, but in the circumstances and conditions with which he happened to be at any time dealing, and that this opposition between a negative and a positive attitude is not a contradiction, but only exhibits the opposite sides of the one Christian principle of sanctification. Abstaining and retaining, pruning and growth, are not contradictories but complements. Even McGiffert, as we have seen, admits that 'there is very little asceticism, in the ordinary sense, in Paul's epistles, while there is much that makes in the opposite direction' (*op. cit.* p. 136). These distinctions, however, are largely irrelevant. To St. Paul the Christian life was a life of sanctification, and this included both aspects.

This positive principle, then, of Christian abstinence is found in the very nature of the Christian life, which includes the affirmation of all the personality and its relationships as instruments of the spirit, and also the negation of the flesh and the world, or of personality and its relationships as alienated from the Spirit of God.

This principle, just because it contained these two moments, was apt to be misunderstood. Its twofold unity was apt to be disrupted, and we may well believe that the later Gnostic dualism and licentious libertinism may both have appealed to the authority of St. Paul. The Apostle, however, had a second principle of abstinence which helps us to correct this antagonism. He clearly distinguished between those things that in their very nature were hostile to the Christian life and those things that were indifferent. The neglect or abuse of this principle is apt to confuse the whole question of abstinence. The difficulty is intensified by the fact that in this region of the indifferent we are dealing with the application of a universal principle to changing conditions, so that, to use logical language, while the major premiss is the same, the minor premiss varies, and thus the right conclusion has to be discovered from the nature of the conditions with which we are for the moment dealing. Thus we find that the conditions at Rome and Corinth were not the conditions present in Colossians or the Pastorals, and accordingly St. Paul deals with each according to its merits. His general principle in regard to indifferent things is, 'All things are lawful.' This is universally applicable only inside this universe of discourse. It is not applicable to our relation to those things that by their very nature are inimical to the Christian life. To apply the principle to the latter sphere is to degenerate into libertinism such as St. John, St. Jude, and St. Peter had to face.

While St. Jude and St. Peter are content with combating this libertinism mainly by denunciation and exhortations to Christians, St. John applies St. Paul's positive principle of abstinence to refute it. He points out the inadmissibility of sin (1 Jn $2^{29f.}$). By this neither he nor St. Paul means perfectionism, nor yet are they speaking ideally of the Christian life. It is not true, as the Gnostics say, that the gold of Christianity is not injured by the mud of impurity (Irenæus, *c. Hær.* i. 6. 2). Some so explained the saying ascribed to Nicholas (cf. Rev $2^{6.\ 15}$), δεῖν παραχρῆσθαι τῇ σαρκί ('the flesh must be abused'). According to Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii. 20), 'abandoning themselves like goats to pleasure, as if insulting the body, they lead a life of self-indulgence.' It is this that St. John is confuting in these perfectionist passages, just as St. Paul confutes ascetic severity towards the body in Colossians, by pointing to the nature of the new life the Christian has in Christ.

This Christian principle of abstinence, then, 'All things are lawful,' does not apply to sin. It has further limitations. These are unfolded in 1 Cor. and Romans. The abstainers in both these cases were in the minority. They did not base their views on a material dualism. They were under the influence of an atmosphere rather than a system, and they were apt to be treated in a high-handed fashion. They were not endangering the very basis of Christianity as a free service of God, as the Galatians were. Hence they had to be defended rather than condemned. St. Paul says all he can in their favour, although he ranges himself in principle on the other side. He tells the advocates of liberty that love is superior to the Christian's freedom towards things indifferent, that it makes liberty look as much on the weakness of others as on its own strength. The interests of brotherly love and Christian unity make liberty impose restraints on itself. This restraint is a noble asceticism. 'The liberty of faith is found in the bondage of love' (Sabatier, *Paul*, p. 163). He warns the advocates of liberty also that they may apply this principle to matters that are essential and not indifferent. This warning was necessary, because idolatry was so identified with all social functions that it was difficult to escape it. Why not—to advert to the coming conditions—adore the image of the Emperor? Why not throw incense into the fire? Just because by so doing the first and major principle of Christian abstinence was destroyed, viz. that it was a holy life in fellowship with the risen Christ; and its second principle of freedom in things indifferent did not consequently apply.

Yet this second principle was distinctly valuable. It was a great step in advance to have it clearly enunciated. For the weak brother, as in Galatia, might become intolerant; he might become the victim of false views, which would look on the observance of indifferent rites as a necessary qualification of full salvation and Christian privilege. Then Christian liberty in its fullness must be maintained (Gal 5^{1}). This liberty—rightly understood—contains in itself the real principle of abstinence from what is sinful. Nowhere have we fuller lists of the works of the flesh given than in the Galatian Epistle.

Or, again, as in Colossians and the Pastorals, a false asceticism might be present which regarded matter and body as evil, in which case both principles would be used to destroy such a view.

(*a*) In regard to indifferent matters like food and drink God has given freedom. The argument is the same as that used by Jesus when He purified all meats (Mk 7^{19}). These minutiæ of fasting are human inventions, not Divine commands; and to respect them casuistically is to blur the distinction between the essential and the indifferent. We get what God meant us to get from perishable meats when we joyfully use them with a thankful spirit towards God. They, like the bodily appetites which they satisfy, do not belong to the eternal world, but to the natural. Yet the natural world and its relations to us, our bodies and their requirements, are of God and can all be used to His glory. Our bodies, souls, and spirits are His. It is not by using severity towards the body or by abstaining from marriage or leaving our earthly callings that we can gain further sanctification. In

fact, St. Paul says that this *ἀφειδία σώματος*—severity towards the body—is of little practical value (Col 2^{23}). Its aim is to destroy the body, not to fit it for God's service. Logically carried to its issue, this false asceticism would not only enfeeble the soul by debasing the body, but would destroy the body and matter altogether. But God's ideal for the body is different (cf. Ph 3^{21}), so that what is to be aimed at by the Christian is the destruction of the flesh (*σάρξ*), not of the body as such (*σῶμα*).

But (*b*) the Apostle uses the primary principle of Christian abstinence to refute this dualistic asceticism. He shows that Christianity is not a matter of prohibitions, but of a renewed life—a walking in the Spirit. Asceticism at its best leaves the house empty. It is doubtful from history and physiology if it can even do that, but the new life in Christ has an expulsive power against sin and a constructive power of holiness.

These, then, are the principles that govern Christian abstinence: (1) The Christian life as a 'holy calling' demands abstinence from all sin. This prohibits not only sinful actions but sinful thoughts. This is what may be called essential abstinence. (2) Besides this, there may be abstinence in indifferent matters, but it rests with the individual conscience to determine when this is necessary for the furtherance of the new life in Christ. This sphere by its very nature is not subject to obligatory ecclesiastical rules, nor must such abstinence be made the basis of salvation or of a higher moral platform, nor must it be based on a false view of matter or of the human body or of human relationships.

See also artt. SELF-DENIAL and TEMPERANCE.

LITERATURE.—Consult the books referred to in the article and the various Commentaries. See also J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*[8], 1879, p. 397 ff.; C. E. Luthardt, *Christian Ethics before the Reformation*, tr. Hastie, Edinburgh, 1889; O. Zöckler, *Kritische Gesch. der Askese*, Frankfurt am M., 1897; A. Harnack, *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr., 1894–99; H. J. Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*, Tübingen, 1911, bk. iv. ch. vii.; A. B. D. Alexander, *The Ethics of St. Paul*, Glasgow, 1910; A. Ritschl, *Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*, Bonn, 1857, p. 173 ff.; E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* (Hibbert Lecture, 1888), London, 1890, Lecture vi.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

ABUSE, ABUSERS.—The Latin *abūtor* means either (1) 'use badly,' 'misuse,' or (2) 'use to the full.' In this second sense Cicero uses the word of spending one's whole leisure time with a friend (see Lewis and Short, *Latin Dict.*, *s.v.* 'Abūtor').

The Greek verb *καταχράομαι* had both these meanings. Thus in Plato (*Menex.* 247 A) it means 'use wrongly'; and Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* i. (p. 142, Potter) speaks of 'using fully every device of wisdom.' In older English the verb had both meanings. Cranmer's Bible has 'abuse'='use to the full' in Col 2^{22}. In both 1 Co 7^{31} and 9^{18} *καταχράομαι* means 'use to the full.' The RV translates it so in 9^{18} and marginally so in 7^{31}.

(*a*) **1 Co 7^{31}.**—The connexions (*e.g.* marriage), circumstances (*e.g.* sorrow and joy), and concerns (*e.g.* business and wealth) of life have in Christianity an emotional interest. Stoicism would expel these emotions and leave the soul empty. Christianity determines them eschatologically (cf. 1 Co $7^{29a, 31b}$). To avoid abuse of the world is to use it *sub specie finis*. Abuse here borders on our meaning of misuse (cf. French *abuser—on abuse celui qui se laisse captiver*; and Mark Pattison's note on Pope's *Essay on Man*, ii. 14); and that perhaps is why RV retains 'abuse.' Texts like this apply in their original freshness and strength to times of crisis (cf. Luther's hymn, 'Gut, Ehre, Kind, und Weib . . . lass fahren dahin'), when the dissolution of society seems imminent, but in essence they are applicable to all time, as human life is always uncertain. They do not, however, encourage aloofness from or slackness in social duties (cf. St. Paul's attitude towards the non-workers in Thessalonica, 2 Th $3^{10ff.}$).

(*b*) **1 Co 9^{18}.**—One phase of St. Paul's accommodating conduct (*συγκατάβασις*) for the gospel's sake was the voluntary abridgment of his rights of maintenance by the Corinthians (1 Co 9^{7-14}, 2 Co 11^{8}). This accommodation must be distinguished from men-pleasing (cf. Gal 1^{10}). As the height of right may be the height of injury (*summum ius summa iniuria*), so conversely the abnegation of Christian rights for the gospel's sake enhances the power of both Evangelist and Evangel (cf. Mk 10^{29b}).

Summary.—A lawful use of the world (1 Co 7^{31}) or even of Christian rights (9^{18}) becomes harmful when dissociated from eternal issues, or pursued without regard to others. The lower planes of life gain significance in subordination to the highest. Rights legally due may, if pressed without regard to love, become injurious.

(*c*) In 1 Co 6^{9} and 1 Ti 1^{10} *ἀρσενοκοῖται* is translated 'abusers of themselves with mankind' (cf. Ro 1^{27} written from Corinth). This unnatural vice is that known in Greek literature as *παιδεραστία*. In St. Paul's view sins of uncleanness were the inevitable Divine penalty of forgetfulness of God—a view strengthened by the association between uncleanness and the worship of Aphrodite in places like Corinth.

LITERATURE. — Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.* *καταχράομαι*; *HDB*, vol. i. art. 'Abuse'; the Comm. on above passages, *e.g.* Edwards in *EGT* and *Hand-Com.*; cf. also C. J. Vaughan, *Lessons of Life and Godliness*, London, 1870, Sermon xix.; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, vol. iii. sermon xiv.; W. G. Blaikie, *Present Day Tracts*, no. 4, 'Christianity and the Life that now is.' On *παιδεραστία* consult W. A. Becker, *Charikles*, 3 vols., Berlin, 1877–78, vol. ii. p. 252 ff.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

ABYSS.—This is the RV rendering of the word *ἄβυσσος* which occurs in Lk 8^{31}, Ro 10^{7}, Rev $9^{1.2.11}$ 11^{7} 17^{8} $20^{1.3}$. In Lk. and Rom., AV translates 'deep'; in Rev., 'bottomless pit'—no distinction, however, being made between *τὸ φρέαρ τῆς ἀβύσσου* in $9^{1.2}$ (RV 'the pit of the abyss') and *ἡ ἄβυσσος* simply in the remaining passages (RV 'the abyss'). *ἄβυσσος* (from *α* intens. and *βυσσός*, Ion. for *βυθός*, 'the depth') occurs in classical Greek as an adj. meaning 'bottomless,' but in biblical and ecclesiastical Greek almost invariably as a substantive denoting 'the bottomless place,' 'the abyss.' The word is found frequently in the LXX, usually as a rendering of the Heb. *tᵉhōm*, and primarily denotes the water-deeps which at first covered the earth (Gn 1^{2}, Ps 103 (104)[6]) and were conceived of as shut up afterwards in subterranean storehouses (32 (33)[7]). In Job $38^{16f.}$ the abyss in the sense of the depths of the sea is used as a parallel to Hades; and in 41^{23} (LXX) the sea-monster regards the Tartarus of the abyss as his captive. In Ps 70 (71)[20] 'the abyss' is applied to the depths of the earth, and is here evidently a figurative equivalent for Sheol, though it is nowhere used in the LXX to render the Heb. word. In the later Jewish eschatology, where Sheol has passed from its OT meaning of a shadowy under world in which there are no recognized distinctions between the good and the bad, the wicked and the weary (cf. Job 3^{17}, Ec 9^{5}), and has become a sphere of definite moral retribution, the conception of the abyss has also undergone a moral transformation. The Ethiopian *Book of Enoch* is especially suggestive for the development of the eschatological conceptions that appear in pre-Christian Judaism; and in the earliest part of that book the fallen angels and demons are represented as cast after the final judgment into a gulf (*χάος*) of fire ($10^{13.14}$), while in 21^{7} the chasm (*διακοπή*) filled with fire (cf. *τὸ φρέαρ* in Rev $9^{1.2}$) is described as bordered by the abyss. Apparently

the abyss was conceived of as the proper home of the devil and his angels, in the centre of which was a lake of fire reserved as the place of their final punishment.

The previous history of the word explains its use in the NT. In Ro 10^{7}, where he is referring to Dt 30^{13}, St. Paul uses it simply as the abode of the dead, Sheol or Hades—a sense equivalent to that of Ps 70 (71)^{20}. In Lk 8^{31} the penal aspect of the abyss comes clearly into view; it is a place of confinement for demons. In Rev. we are in the midst of the visions and images of apocalyptic eschatology. In $9^{1.2}$ 'the pit of the abyss' sends forth a smoke like the smoke of a great furnace. The abyss has an angel of its own whose name is Abaddon (*q.v.*) or Apollyon (v.^{11}). From it 'the beast' issues (11^{7} 17^{8}), and into it 'the old serpent which is the Devil and Satan' is cast for a thousand years (20^{1-3}).

LITERATURE.—The Commentaries and Bible Dictionaries; art. 'Abyss' in *ERE*.

J. C. LAMBERT.

ACCEPTANCE.—The noun itself is not found in the AV of the NT, though we come very near it in 'acceptation' (ἀποδοχή), 1 Ti 1^{15} 4^{9}. Instances of the verb and adjective are frequent, and are mostly equivalents of δέχομαι and its derivatives, as the following list shows: δέχομαι, 2 Co 6^{1} 8^{17} 11^{4}; δεκτός, Ph 4^{18}; ἀπόδεκτος, 1 Ti 2^{3} 5^{4}; προσδέχομαι, He 11^{35}; εὐπρόσδεκτος, Ro $15^{16.31}$, 2 Co 6^{2} 8^{12}, 1 P 2^{5}. We also find λαμβάνω, Gal 2^{6}; εὐάρεστος,* Ro $12^{1.2}$ 14^{18}, 2 Co 5^{9}, Eph 5^{10}, Ph 4^{18}, Col 3^{20}, Tit 2^{9}, He 13^{21}, and εὐαρέστως,* He 12^{28}; χάρις, 1 P 2^{20}; and χαριτόω, Eph 1^{6}. It should be noticed that in the RV the adjective 'well-pleasing' often takes the place of the AV 'acceptable'; and that in Eph 1^{6} the familiar expression '(his grace) wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved' gives place to the more correct 'which he freely bestowed upon us,' etc. See the commentaries of Westcott and Armitage Robinson, *in loc.*

2 Co 8^{17} (Titus 'accepted the exhortation') and He 11^{35} ('not accepting deliverance') do not call for comment. With 2 Co 11^{4} on the non-acceptance of another gospel than that of Paul, compare 1 Ti 1^{3} and 4^{1}, 2 Ti 1^{15} 4^{10}; see also for the 'accepted time' (the day of opportunity for accepting the Divine message) 2 Co 6^{1-2} (cf. Lk 4^{19}). In Ro 15^{31} St. Paul hopes that the collection for the Jerusalem poor may be acceptable to the saints; and, referring to the same project in 2 Co 8^{12}, lays down the principle that contributions are acceptable in proportion to the willingness with which they are given.

We are now left with the passages which speak of God's acceptance of man. Christians are 'children of light,' are to 'prove what is acceptable (or well-pleasing) to the Lord' (Eph 5^{10}; cf. Col 3^{20}), to test and discern the Lord's will (Ro 12^{2}). They are 'to make it their aim,' whether living or dying, 'to be well-pleasing to him' (2 Co 5^{9}).

What then are the principles and practices that ensure this happy consummation? We may first notice the familiar negative proposition set forth in Gal 2^{6} and Ac 10^{34} 'God accepteth no man's person' (*i.e.* the mere outward state and presence); and over against it the comprehensive declaration of Ac 10^{35} 'In every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is acceptable to him.' This furnishes a starting-point for a detailed enumeration of the courses which are 'well-pleasing' to God, and which may be set forth as follows: the offering of our bodies as a living sacrifice (Ro 12^{2}); the serving of Christ by not putting stumbling-blocks before weaker brethren (14^{18}); missionary work—the 'offering up' of the Gentiles (15^{16}); the gift of the Philippian Church to St. Paul in prison (Ph 4^{18}; cf. Mt 25^{31-46}); filial affection to a widowed mother (1 Ti 5^{4}); supplication and intercession for all men (1 Ti 2^{3}); undeserved suffering patiently endured (1 P 2^{20}). All these may be looked upon as examples of the 'spiritual sacrifices' (1 P 2^{5}), the offering of 'service with reverence and awe' (He 12^{28}; cf. 13^{16}), which are 'acceptable' to God. He it is who 'works in us that which is well-pleasing in his sight through Jesus Christ' (He 13^{21}).

It is interesting and instructive to compare the grounds of 'acceptance' in the circle of OT thought with those in the NT. In the former these grounds are partly ceremonial (Lv 22^{20}), and partly ethical (Is 1^{12-15}, Jer 6^{20} etc.), though here and there a higher note is struck (cf. Pr 21^{3}, Mic 6^{8}, Dt 10^{4}); in the latter the ceremonial association has entirely vanished except in a metaphorical sense, and become purely ethico-spiritual, as the above references prove. It was largely due to the prophets that the old ceremonial ground was gradually ethicized; and, though it never died out under the earlier 'dispensation' (which, indeed, reached its most rigid and mechanical development in the degenerate Pharisaic cult of NT times), the way was effectually prepared for the full proclamation of the spiritual message of the gospel by Jesus, who was Himself the perfect embodiment of all that was acceptable and well-pleasing to God (cf. Mk 1^{11}, Mt 17^{5}, Jn 8^{29} etc.).

There is a theological problem of importance raised by these passages—What is it that constitutes the *ground* of our acceptance with God? The full treatment of this problem must be sought under the art. JUSTIFICATION, but the following considerations may be properly adduced here. Unquestionably the Christian religion is a religion of Grace, as contra-distinguished from Judaism and other faiths, which are religions of Law. Salvation, according to the NT throughout (explicitly in the writings of St. Paul, more or less implicitly elsewhere), is of God, and not of man; not *our own doings*, but willingness to accept *what He has done for* us, and what He is ready to do *in* us, is the condition of initial inclusion within the Kingdom of Divine love and life. This is the watershed which determines the direction and flow of all subsequent doctrinal developments in Christian theology; it is what settles the question whether our thoughts and practice are distinctively Christian or not. There are, however, two alternative perils to be carefully avoided—antinomianism, on the one hand, which assumes our continued acceptance with God irrespective of our moral conduct afterwards; and the doctrine of salvation by works, on the other, which makes moral conduct the condition of acceptance, thus surreptitiously introducing the legal view of religion once more. This 'Either—Or' is, however, a false antithesis, from which we are saved by the recognition of the 'mystical union' of the believer with God in Christ. By that act of faith, in virtue of which the sinner 'accepts' Christ and appropriates all that He is and has done, he passes from a state of condemnation into a state of grace (Ro 8^{1}), and is henceforth 'in Christ'—organically united to Him as the member is to the body (1 Co $12^{12f.}$), as the branch is to the vine (Jn 15^{1-4}). This 'justifying faith' is, however, not an isolated act; it is an act that brings us into a permanent relation with the source of spiritual life. Now, 'good works' in the Christian sense are a necessary proof and outcome of this relation, and as such are well-pleasing or 'acceptable' to God, because (*a*) they are a manifestation of the spirit of Christ in us (Gal 2^{20}; cf. v.^{21}); and (*b*) a demonstration of the continuance of the believer 'in Christ' (Jn 15^{5}; cf. Mt 5^{16}, Ph $1^{10f.}$). The relation of the believer to Christ, in other words, while it is religious in its root, is

* On the use of these words in inscriptions see A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, 214 f. The use of ἀρεστός, 'pleasing,' and the verb ἀρέσκω in the NT should also be noted.

ethical in its fruit, and the quality and abundance of the latter naturally show the quality and potency of the faith-life of which it is the expression and outcome. Thus our 'works' do not constitute our claim for acceptance with God *after* entering the Kingdom of Grace any more than *before*; but they determine our place *within* the Kingdom. There is an aristocracy of the spiritual as well as of the natural life; the saved are one in the fact of salvation, but not in the magnitude of their attainments or the quality of their influence; and they are more or less acceptable to God according to the entireness of their consecration and the value of their service. There is thus an adequate motive presented to us for perpetual striving after perfection, and St. Paul's spiritual attitude—'not as though I had already attained, but I follow after' (Ph 3^{12})—is the normal attitude of every true believer (cf. Col $1^{10\text{-}12}$, 1 Th $4^{1\text{-}8}$, 1 Jn 3^{22}). It was given only to One to be altogether well-pleasing to God; but it is the unfading ideal, and the constant endeavour of His true disciples to follow in His steps, and in all things to become more and more like Him, as well as 'well-pleasing' to Him.

See, further, artt. JUSTIFICATION, etc., and Literature there specified. E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

ACCESS.—This word in the Epistles of the NT is the translation of the Greek word προσαγωγή (Ro 5^2, Eph 2^{18} 3^{12}; cf. 1 P 3^{18}, where the verb is used actively). It has been treated very thoroughly in *DCG* (*s.v.*). Here we shall confine ourselves to—

1. The connotation of the word.—In classical Greek, the term προσαγωγεύς was used primarily for 'one who brings to,' 'introduces to another as an intermediary,' mainly in a derogatory sense (cf. προσαγωγεὺς λημμάτων, one who hunts for another's benefit—a jackal [Dem. 750. 21; cf. Aristid. ii. 369, 395]; the spies of the Sicilian kings were called προσαγωγεῖς, 'tale-bearers' [Plut. ii. 522 D]). It was, however, used later in a technical sense, the court προσαγωγεύς being a functionary whose business it was to bring visitors or suppliants into the king's presence. προσαγωγή came thus to mean access to the royal presence and favour. It is from this association of ideas that the word derives its religious connotation in the NT. God is conceived in the kingly relation (as frequently in the OT), as one whose favour is sought and found, and Christ as the προσαγωγεύς who introduces the sinner into the Divine presence. It is thus a form of words representing Him in the light of a Mediator between God and man; and it throws light on the relation of the three parties in the transaction.

2. The light thrown on the character and attitude of God towards man.—The kingly concept represents God as supreme, one to whom all allegiance is due, and who has the power of life and death over all His subjects. In the OT, Jahweh, especially in the Psalms, is often represented as the King of His people Israel (cf. Ps 10^{16} $24^{8\text{-}10}$ 44^4 47^2 68^{24} etc.). It is noticeable, however, that in most of these passages the Oriental awe in which all potentates were habitually held is suffused with a sense of joy and pride in God as Israel's King; His power, favour, and victorious character are mainly dwelt on. The idea which lies behind the NT references, however, is rather that of the difficulty of approach to the King's presence, not merely on account of His loftiness and majesty, but of His alienation, which demands a process of reconciliation. It suggests that the normal relation of the King and His subjects has been disturbed by rebellion or wrong-doing. The Divine dignity has been outraged, and His claim to obedience set at defiance. There is thus no longer a right of admittance to the Divine presence, unless the wrong is righted and the lost favour restored; and, till that has been secured, the protection and kindly attitude of God can no longer be relied on.

3. The light thrown on the condition and attitude of man towards God.—The suggestion is that man is conscious of being alienated from God by sin; that he has no confidence in approaching God in consequence, being uncertain of his reception; that he knows of nothing which he can do to restore the lost relation; and that he is deeply sensible of the shame and peril of his condition. The conception of the effects of evil-doing as separating God and man is one that runs through the priestly ritual of Judaism (cf. also the prophetic declaration in Is 59^2 'your iniquities have separated between you and your God'), and corresponds to a fact in the consciousness of all awakened sinners. In the earlier experience of St. Paul this feeling was evidently poignantly emphasized; and the sense of deliverance that came to him through the gospel may be taken as the measure of the pain and sorrow from which he had been delivered.

4. The function fulfilled by Christ as the One through whom the renewal of the lost relation between God and man was accomplished.—The word προσαγωγή is insufficient to represent this function. In itself it stands for the work of a functionary whose rôle is to act as a merely official link between the two parties, having no active part in the process of reconciliation, and having therefore no claim to the gratitude of the beneficiary in the process. On the other hand, the apostolic use of the word in its reference to the person and work of Christ includes the suggestion that the 'access' to God referred to has been accomplished by Christ Himself, and an overwhelming sense of gratitude is awakened by this fact. This appears in the four passages in which the word is used, especially in the last (I P 3^{18}). According to this, the bringing of man to God is effected through the work of Christ in His Passion; 'because Christ also suffered for sins once (ἅπαξ, meaning here 'once for all'=a fact accomplished), the righteous for the unrighteous, that He might bring us (προσαγάγῃ) to God,' *i.e.* restore us to His favour, and lead us to the benefits of the Divine reconciliation. In Ro 5^2, again, the 'access' receives its meaning and privilege through its consummation in and by Christ, 'through whom we have also (καί, 'copulat et auget' [Toletus], 'answering almost to our "as might be expected"' [Alford]) got (ἐσχήκαμεν) our (τὴν) access (introduction) by our (τῇ) faith, into this grace wherein we stand' (see *DCG* i. 13^a). Here the Person of the προσαγωγεύς is chiefly thought of ('this has come to us through Him'); and the resulting benefit is urged as a reason for holy exultation, since it means justification as a ground for 'rejoicing in the hope of glory.' In Eph 2^{18} a slightly different emphasis is suggested: 'for through Him we both (*i.e.* Jew and Gentile) have our access in one spirit unto the Father.' Here that revelation of God, not as universal King but as the All-Father, which came through Jesus Christ, is included in the benefit secured by Him for mankind at large, and the reconciliation of humanity at variance with itself as well as with God is brought into the circle of mediation (cf. v.^{14} 'for he is our peace [*i.e.* He is the peace-maker, the προσαγωγεύς between us, Jew and Gentile, who were once far off from each other] who hath made both one' by His blood [v.^{13}]). Through this word we are thus led into the deep places of the gospel as the reconciling agency of God to man, man to God, and man to man.

LITERATURE.—To the literature in the *DCG* add John Foster, *Lectures*, 1853, ii. 69; R. W. Dale, *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church*, 1877, p. 205; A. J. Gordon, *The Twofold Life*, 1886, p. 175; W. M. Macgregor, *Jesus Christ the Son of God*, 1907, p. 175.

E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

ACCOUNT.—It will be sufficient merely to mention the use of the verb 'account' (λογίζομαι) in the sense of 'reckon,' 'deem,' 'consider' (Ro 8[36], 1 Co 4[1], He 11[19], 2 P 3[15]). Simple uses of the noun are found in Ac 19[40], when the 'town-clerk' (*q.v.*) of Ephesus warns his fellow-citizens of the difficulty of giving 'account (λόγος) of this concourse'; and in Ph 4[17] 'the fruit that increaseth to your account.' The only significant passages where the word is found are those dealing with the Judgment.

The declaration in Ro 14[12], 'Each one of us shall give account of himself to God,' must be studied in the light of the paragraph (vv.[7-12]) of which it is the conclusion. Those who are themselves liable to judgment must not set themselves up as judges of one another, either to make light of sincere scruples or to reprove laxity. For one man to judge another is to usurp the prerogative of God, to whom alone (as universal sovereign and object of worship) man is answerable. The passage should be compared with 2 Co 5[10], where the 'judgment-seat' is called Christ's; see also 1 Co 4[5]. St. Paul applies this doctrine, which is found in the Synoptic Gospels and was an integral part of primitive Christian teaching, to Jew and Gentile, to himself and his converts, to those who have died before the Parousia and those who are alive at it. The life in the body provides the opportunity for moral action, and by the use they have made of it men are sentenced (cf. Gal 6[8]). A. Menzies (*Com. on 2 Cor.*) calls attention (*a*) to this aspect of the Judgment in contrast with that which represents the saints as judging the world and angels (1 Co 6[2f.]; cf. Mt 19[28]); (*b*) to the inconsistency between the doctrine of justification by faith alone, and the doctrine of final judgment of men according to their actions. There is, however, in the present writer's opinion, no inconsistency here. The NT generally represents the *saved* as judged as well as the unsaved. The judgment of the latter, however, is retributory and involves rejection; that of the former is for a place, higher or lower, within the heavenly Kingdom; and this place is in accordance with the faithfulness and quality of their service while in the body. St. Paul, as the above references prove, is emphatic as to the fact and nature of this judgment (cf. 1 Co 3[12-15]), and shows that, however true it is that salvation is by grace, there will be gradations in standing and in reward in the after-life. This is in harmony with the teaching of our Lord in the Synoptics, especially in the parables of service and reward (Lk 19[18-20] etc.; cf. Mk 10[40]). Cf. also, as to the fact of the saints having to give an account of their earthly stewardship, He 13[17], 1 P 4[5]: '[evil-doers and slanderers of Christians] shall give account to him that is ready to judge the quick and the dead' (in 1[17] to the Father, in 1[13] and 5[4] to Christ). These may be regarded as special instances of the General Judgment already referred to. The expression ἀποδιδόναι λόγον generally implies that defence is not easy.

LITERATURE.—See lit. on art. JUDGMENT; the Comm. *in locc.*; W. N. Clarke, *An Outline of Christian Theol.*, 1898, p. 459 ff.

E. GRIFFITH-JONES.

ACCURSED.—See ANATHEMA.

ACCUSATION.—See TRIAL-AT-LAW.

ACELDAMA.—See AKELDAMA.

ACHAIA.—Achaia ('Αχαΐα) was, in the classical period, merely a strip of fertile coast-land stretching along the south of the Gulf of Corinth, from the river Larisus, which separated it from Elis, to the Sythas, which divided it from Sicyonia, while the higher mountains of Arcadia bounded it on the south. Its whole length was about 65 miles, its breadth from 12 to 20 miles, and its area about 650 sq. miles.

The Achæans were probably the remnant of a Pelasgian race once distributed over the whole Peloponnesus. Though they were celebrated in the heroic age, they rarely figured in the great Hellenic period, keeping themselves as far as possible aloof from the conflicts between the Ionian and Doric States, happy in their own almost uninterrupted prosperity. It is not till the last struggle for Hellenic independence that they appear on the stage of history.

The cities which formed the famous Achæan League became the most powerful political body in Greece; and, when the Romans subdued the country (146 B.C.), they at once honoured the brave confederation and spared the feelings of all the Hellenes by calling the new province not Greece but Achaia. As constituted by Augustus in 27 B.C., the province included Thessaly, Ætolia, Acharnania, and part of Epirus (Strabo, XVII. iii. 25), being thus almost co-extensive with the modern kingdom of Greece. As a senatorial province Achaia was governed by a proconsul, who was an ex-prætor. In A.D. 15 Tiberius took it from the Senate, adding it to Macedonia to form an Imperial province under the government of a *legatus*; but in 44 Claudius restored it to the Senate. 'Proconsul' (ἀνθύπατος, Ac 18[12]) was therefore the governor's correct official title at the time of St. Paul's residence in Corinth. Nero, as 'a born Philhellene,' wished to make Greece absolutely free.

'In gratitude for the recognition which his artistic contributions had met with in the native land of the Muses . . . [he] declared the Greeks collectively to be rid of Roman government, free from tribute, and, like the Italians, subject to no governor. At once there arose throughout Greece movements, which would have been civil wars, if these people could have achieved anything more than brawling; and after a few months Vespasian re-established the provincial constitution, so far as it went, with the dry remark that the Greeks had unlearned the art of being free' (Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 262).

To the end of the empire Achaia remained a senatorial province. The administrative centre was Corinth (*q.v.*), where the governor had his official residence. During a prolonged mission in that city, St. Paul was brought into contact with the proconsul Gallio (*q.v.*), the brother of Seneca. The rapid progress of the gospel in Achaia is partly explained by the fact that Judaism had already for centuries been working as a leaven in many of the cities of Greece. Sparta and Sicyon are named among the numerous free States to which the Romans sent letters on behalf of the Jews about 139 B.C. (1 Mac 15[23]), and Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium* (§ 36) testifies to the presence of Jews in Bœotia, Ætolia, Attica, Argos, and Corinth. Only three Achæan cities are mentioned in the NT—Athens, Corinth, and Cenchreæ—but the address of 2 Cor. to 'all the saints who are in the whole of Achaia,' and the liberality of 'the regions of Achaia' (2 Co 9[2] 11[10]), prove that there must have been many other unnamed centres of Christian faith and life in the province. While 1 Co 16[15] refers to the house of Stephanas as 'the firstfruits of Achaia,' Ac 17[34] rather indicates that the Apostle's brief visit to Athens had already borne some fruit, 'Dionysius, Damaris, and others with them' being Achæan believers. Athens (*q.v.*) was either reckoned by itself or else entirely overlooked.

LITERATURE.—The Histories of Polybius and Livy; A. Holm, *History of Greece*, Eng. tr. London, 1894-98, vol. iv.; T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*[2], Eng. tr., London, 1909, i. 260 ff.; J. Marquardt, *Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, new ed., Leipzig, 1885, i. 321 f.; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr. i.[2] [London, 1897] p. 303 ff.; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 256 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ACHAICUS.—One of many worthies whose character adorned the early Church, and whose service edified it, but whom we know only by a casual reference in the NT. In 1 Co 16[17] St. Paul rejoices 'at the coming of Stephanas and Fortunatus and Achaicus.' Probably they formed a

deputation from the Corinthian Church; they may have been bearers of the letter of inquiry which St. Paul answers in ch. 7 ff. His language suggests that their coming somewhat reassured him after the disquieting news brought by Chloe's household, and other ugly rumours (1 Co 5[1]). Perhaps they represented the parties in Corinth; yet they must have been trusted by the Church and must also have shown themselves loyal to the Apostle. Achaicus is such a rare name that some authorities call it 'Greek,' others 'Roman.' The suggestion that Achaicus was a slave—either of Stephanas or of Chloe—does not comport either with his position as a delegate or with St. Paul's appeal to the Church to 'acknowledge such,' *i.e.* to recognize the quality of their service and to treat them with becoming deference.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* on 'Achaicus,' and 'I. Corinthians,' i. 487[a]; Comm. on 1 Cor. by Findlay (*EGT*), 950, and by Godet, ii. 467; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i.[2] [London, 1897] pp. 113, 305, 319, ii. [do. 1895] p. 320; *Expositor*, 8th ser. i. [1911] 341 f. J. E. ROBERTS.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.—

I. Text—
1. Greek MSS.
2. The Latin Versions.
3. The Syriac Versions.
4. The Egyptian Versions.
5. Secondary Versions.
6. Early Quotations.
7. Textual theories: Westcott and Hort, Rendel Harris, Chase, Blass, von Soden.
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1. The obvious facts.
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3. The sources used in Acts.
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(*a*) The Antiochene tradition.
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1. The Gospel of Luke and Ac 1.
2. The Jerusalem and Galilæan traditions.
VI. Chronology of Acts—
1. The death of Herod Agrippa.
2. The famine in Judæa.
3. Gallio's proconsulate.
4. The expulsion of the Jews from Rome.
5. The arrival of Festus in Judæa.
VII. The theology of Acts—
1. Christology.
2. Eschatology.
3. The OT and Jewish Law.
4. The Spirit.
5. Baptism.

I. *TEXT.*—The text of the Acts is preserved in Greek MSS, in Latin, Syriac, Sahidic, Bohairic, Armenian, and other secondary Versions, and quoted extensively, though not nearly so fully as the Gospels, by the early Fathers.

1. Greek MSS.—The most complete study of the whole mass of Greek MSS is that of von Soden in his *Schriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin, 1902–10). As his grouping of the MSS is almost entirely independent of his theories as to the early history of the text, and represents facts which cannot be overlooked, it is best to give the main outlines of his classification, dividing the MSS into *H*, *K*, and *I* recensions, and following his numeration; in the brackets are given the numbers of these MSS in Gregory's *Prolegomena* to Tischendorf's Editio Major octava. It has not seemed necessary to give also Gregory's new numeration, as this is not any better known than von Soden's, and does not belong (and apparently will not belong in the immediate future) to a full critical edition.

(1) *H.*—This is represented by δ1 (B), δ2 (ℵ), δ3 (C), δ4 (A), δ6 (ψ), δ48 (13), 74 (389), 1008 (Pap. Amh. 8. sæc. v.–vi.), 103 (25), 162 (61), 257 (33). Of these MSS δ1 and δ2 represent a common archetype δ1–2, which is much the best authority for *H*. δ1 is better than δ2; which is, however, somewhat better in Acts, apart from scribal errors, than it is in the Gospels. 74 and 162 are specially good representatives of *H*, but no single witness is free from *K* or *I* contamination. There is a special nexus between δ48 and 257, but δ48 is considerably the better of the two.

(2) *K.*—It is impossible to give here the full list of *K* MSS; roughly speaking, 90 per cent of the later MSS belong to this type. Two groups may be distinguished from the purer *K* MSS:—*K*[r], a mediæval revision of *K* for lectionary purposes, critically quite valueless; and *K*[c], a text with enough sporadic *I* readings to raise the question whether it be not an *I* text which has been almost wholly corrected to a *K* standard; it is called *K*[c] because MSS of this type seem to be represented in the Complutensian edition.

(3) *I.*—The *I* recension is found in three forms: *I*[a] *I*[b] *I*[c]. *I*[a] is best represented by δ5 (D=Codex Bezæ*), 1001 (E=Codex Laudianus†); by three pairs of connected MSS, 7 (Apl. 261)–264 (233), 200 (83)–382 (231), 70 (505)–101 (40); and by a few other MSS which have suffered more or less severely from *K* contamination. It is also well represented in the text of the commentary of Andreas (A[TP]). *I*[b] is found in two branches, *I*[b1] and *I*[b2]. The best representatives of *I*[b1] are 62 (498), δ602 (200), 365 (214=a[ser]) and a few other minuscules; the best representatives of *I*[b2] are the pair 78 ('von der Goltz's MS') and 171 (7) which are almost doublets, and 157 (29). *I*[c] is also found in two branches *I*[c1] and *I*[c2]. The best representatives of *I*[c1] are 208 (307), 370 (353), 116 (–), 551 (216); the best representatives of *I*[c2] are 364 (137)‡ and a series of other MSS contaminated in varying degrees by *K*.

2. The Latin Versions.—The Old Latin or ante-Hieronymian text is not well represented. As in the Gospels, it may be divided into two main branches, African and European.

(1) The *African* is represented by Codex Floriacensis (h), now at Paris, formerly at Fleury, containing a text which is almost identical with that of Cyprian; it is in a very fragmentary condition, but fortunately the quotations of Cyprian and Augustine (who uses an African text in Acts, though he follows the Vulgate in the Gospels) enable much of the text to be reconstructed. (The best edition of h is by E. S. Buchanan, *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, v. [Oxford, 1907].) According to Wordsworth and White, a later form of the African text can be found in the pseudo-Augustinian *de Divinis Scripturis sive Speculum* (*CSEL* xii. 287–700), but the character of this text is still somewhat doubtful.

(2) The *European* text is best represented by g (Gigas) at Stockholm, which can be supplemented and corrected by the quotations in Ambrosiaster and Lucifer of Cagliari (see esp. A. Souter, 'A Study of Ambrosiaster,' *TS* vii. 4 [1905]). A branch of the European text of a Spanish or Provençal type is found in p, a Paris MS from Perpignan, and in w, a Bohemian MS now in Wernigerode, but in both MSS there is much Vulgate contamination. Other primarily European mixed MSS are s, a Bobbio palimpsest (sæc. v.–vi.) at Vienna, x in Oxford, and g[2] in Milan.

A Spanish lectionary of perhaps the 7th cent. known as the *Liber Cōmicus*, which has many early readings, has been edited by G. Morin from a Paris MS of the 11th cent. and is quoted by Wordsworth and White as t.

(3) Besides these purely Latin MSS, we have the Latin sides of the Græco-Latin MS δ5 (D) or d (Codex Bezæ), and of the Latino-Greek MS 1001 (E) or e. The latter of these agrees in the main with the European text as established by g-Ambrosiaster-Lucifer, but the text of d is in many ways unique, and may possibly have been made for the private use of the owner of δ5, or perhaps of the archetype of δ5.

(4) *The Vulgate.*—It is impossible here to enumerate the hundreds of Vulgate MSS of the Acts. Their study is a special branch of investigation, which has little bearing on the Acts, and for all purposes, except that of tracing the history of the Vulgate, the edition of Wordsworth and White may be regarded as sufficient.

3. The Syriac Versions.—It is probable from the quotations in Aphraates and Ephraim that there existed originally an Old-Syriac Version of Acts, corresponding to the *Evangelion da-Mepharreshe* represented by the Curetonian and Sinaitic MSS; but no MS of this type has survived.

* This MS is adequately described by F. G. Kenyon (*Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*[2], 88 ff.) or in other well-known handbooks.

† Besides the details noted in the handbooks, it should be observed that this MS, after being used by Bede in Northumbria, passed to Germany, whence it was probably obtained by Laud, who gave it to the Bodleian Library.

‡ As an instance of the advance in knowledge which von Soden's labours have produced, it should be noted that this MS used to be regarded as one of the principal authorities for the 'Western' text, and was at one time deemed worthy of a separate edition.

(1) The oldest Syriac Version of the Acts is therefore the *Peshiṭta*, probably made by Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (411–135) (see F. C. Burkitt, 'S. Ephraim's Quotations from the Gospel,' *TS* vii. 2 [1901] p. 57 f.). (*N.B.*—The Peshiṭta is quoted by Tischendorf as Syr^{sch}.)

(2) Besides the Peshiṭta we have the *Harklean* made by Thomas of Heraclea. This was based on an earlier Syriac text, made in 506 by Polycarp for Philoxenus, Bishop of Mabug (Hierapolis, the modern Membij on the Euphrates), which is no longer extant for Acts. Thomas of Heraclea revised the Philoxenian with the help of Greek MSS in the Library of the Enaton at Alexandria, and enriched his edition with a number of critical notes giving the variants of these Greek MSS which often have a most remarkable text agreeing more closely with Codex Bezæ than with any other known Greek MS. (*N.B.*—It is quoted by Tischendorf as Syr^{p}.)

(3) There is also a lectionary of the so-called 'Palestinian' type, which was probably in use about the 7th cent. in the neighbourhood of Antioch. (On the nature of the 'Palestinian' Syriac literature see F. C. Burkitt, *JThSt* ii. [1901] 174–185.)

4. The Egyptian Versions.—The two Versions, Bohairic and Sahidic, which are extant for the Gospels, exist also for Acts, and there are a few fragments of Versions in other dialects. The relative date of these Versions has not been finally settled, but the opinion of Coptic scholars seems to be increasingly in favour of regarding the Sahidic as the older form. The Bohairic agrees in the main with the *H* text, but the Sahidic has many *I* readings (see E. A. W. Budge, *Coptic Biblical Texts*, London, 1912, for the best Sahidic text).

5. Secondary Versions.—Versions of Acts are also found in Arabic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Georgian, Persian, and other languages; but none of them is of primary importance for the text.

6. Quotations in early writers.—The earliest quotations long enough to have any value for determining the text are in Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, who may be regarded as representing the text of the end of the 2nd cent. in Gaul, Africa, and Alexandria. For the 3rd cent. we have Origen and Didymus, representing the Alexandrian school; Cyprian for Africa, and Novatian for Italy. For the 4th cent. Athanasius and Cyril represent the later development of the Alexandria text; Lucifer, Jerome, and Ambrosiaster represent the text of Rome and Italy; Augustine, that of Africa; Eusebius and Cyril of Jerusalem the Palestinian text, which according to von Soden is *I*; the later Church writers mostly use the *K* text, though they sometimes show traces of probably local contamination with *H* and *I*.

7. Textual theories.—As soon as textual criticism began to be based on any complete view of the evidence, it became obvious that the chief feature to be accounted for in the text of Acts was the existence of a series of additions in the text in the Latin Versions and Fathers, usually supported by the two great bilingual MSS δ5 and 1001 (D and E), frequently by the marginal readings in Syr^{Harcl}, and sporadically by a few minuscules; opposed to this interpolated text stood the Alexandrian text of δ1, δ2 (B ℵ), and their allies; while between the two was the text of the mass of MSS agreeing sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, and sometimes combining both readings.

(1) The first really plausible theory to meet even part of the facts was Westcott and Hort's (*The New Testament in Greek*, vol. ii. [Cambridge, 1882]), who suggested that the later text (*K*) was a recension based on the two earlier types. They regarded δ5 (Codex Bezæ) as representing the 'Western' text, and δ1 and δ2 as representing as nearly as possible the original text. The weak point in their theory was that they could not explain the existence of the Western text.

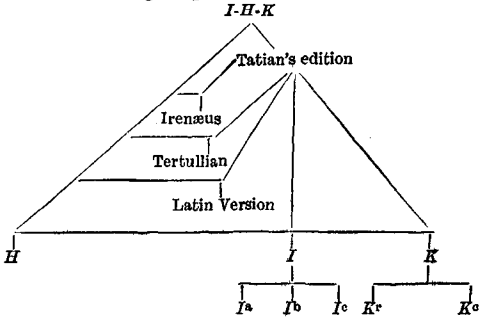
(2) Founded mainly on the basis of their work, two theories were suggested to supply this deficiency.

(*a*) Rendel Harris ('A Study of Codex Bezæ' in *TS* ii. 1 [1891], and *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, Cambridge, 1894) and F. H. Chase (*The Old Syriac Element in the Text of Codex Bezæ*, London, 1893) thought that retranslation from Latin and Syriac would solve the problem; but no amount of retranslation will account for the relatively long Bezan additions.

(*b*) F. Blass (*Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*, Leipzig, 1897, and also in his commentary, *Acta Apostolorum*, Göttingen, 1895) thought that Luke issued the Acts in two forms: one to Theophilus (the Alexandrian text), and the other for Rome (the Western text); but his reconstruction of the Roman text is scarcely satisfactory, and the style of the additions is not sufficiently Lucan.

(3) More recently von Soden (*Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*, 1902–1910, p. 1834 ff.), using the new facts as to the MSS summarized above, has revived Blass's theory in so far that he thinks that the interpolated text witnessed to by δ5 and the Latin Versions and Fathers really goes back to a single original; but, instead of assigning this original to Luke, he attributes it to Tatian, who, he thinks, added a new recension of Acts to his *Diatessaron*. The weak point in this theory is that the only evidence that Tatian edited the Acts is a passage in Eusebius* which states that he emended 'the Apostle.' This may refer to Acts, but more probably refers to the Epistles. According to von Soden, the *I* text did not contain all the interpolations, *K* contained still fewer, and *H* contained none. He thinks that in the 2nd cent. there existed side by side the Tatianic text and a non-interpolated text which he calls *I-H-K*. From these two texts there arose the Latin Version—predominantly Tatianic—and most of the early Fathers were influenced by Tatian. Later on, in the 4th cent., three revisions were made: (*α*) *H*, by Hesychius in Alexandria, which preserved in the main the text of *I-H-K* without the Tatianic additions, but with a few other corruptions; (*b*) *K*, by Lucian, in Antioch, which had many Tatianic corruptions, as well as some of its own; (*c*) *I*, in Palestine, possibly in Jerusalem, which preserved many Tatianic additions, though in a few cases keeping the *I-H-K* text against *H*. δ5 (D) is the best example of this text, but has suffered from the addition of a much greater degree of Tatianic corruption than really belongs to the *I* text, owing to Latin influence.

The general relations of the various forms of the text, according to von Soden, can be shown roughly in the following diagram:



Obviously this complicated theory cannot be dismissed without much more attention than it has yet received. It may prove that the 'text with additions' is not Tatianic but is nevertheless a single text in origin. It is also very desirable to investigate how far it is possible to prove that there was an *I* text, derived from *I-H-K*, which

* τοῦ δ' ἀποστόλου φασὶ τολμῆσαί τινας αὐτὸν μεταφράσαι φωνάς ὡς ἐπιδιορθούμενον αὐτῶν τὴν τῆς φράσεως σύνταξιν (Eus. *HE* iv. 29. 6). This scarcely sounds as though a series of interpolations was intended.

nevertheless did not possess, in its original state, all the 'Bezan' interpolations.* If it were possible to say that the interpolations were a connected series (whether Tatianic or not is of minor importance), the text in which they are imbedded would become extremely valuable, and we should have no right to argue, as is now often done, that, because the interpolations are clearly wrong, therefore the text in which they are found is to be condemned. For instance, in Ac 15^{28} the Latin text interpolates the Golden Rule into the Apostolic decrees. That is no doubt wrong. But it does not follow that the text omitting πνικτοῦ, in which this interpolation is placed, is not original.

LITERATURE.—The general textual question can be studied in H. von Soden, *Die Schriften des NT*, Berlin, 1902–1910, esp. pp. 1649–1840; F. G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the NT*[2], London, 1912; E. Nestle, *Einführung in das griech. NT*[3], Göttingen, 1909 (the Eng. tr. is from an older edition of the period before von Soden); K. Lake, *The Text of the NT*[6], London, 1911. Important for the study of the Latin are von Soden, 'Das lat. NT in Afrika zur Zeit Cyprians,' *TU* xxxiii. [Leipzig, 1909]; and Wordsworth-White, *Nov. Test. Dom. nost. Ies. Christi secundum edit. S. Hieronymi*, vol. ii. pt. i. [Oxford, 1905] which also gives a clear statement of the best editions of the separate MSS of the Old Latin and the Vulgate (pp. v–xv).

II. *TRADITION AS TO AUTHORSHIP.*—So far back as tradition goes, the Acts is ascribed to St. Luke, the author of the Third Gospel, and companion of St. Paul (see, further, LUKE). This tradition can be traced back to the end of the 2nd cent. (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* v. 12; Tertull. *de Jejuniis*, 10; Iren. *adv. Hær.* I. xxiii. 1, III. xii. 12 ff., IV. xv. 1; and the Canon of Muratori). If the connexion with the Third Gospel be accepted, as it certainly ought to be, the fact that Marcion used the Gospel is evidence for the existence of Acts, unless it be thought that the Gospel was written by a contemporary of Marcion who had not yet written Acts. Farther back tradition does not take us: there are no clear proofs of the use of Acts in the Apostolic Fathers (see *The New Testament in the Apostolic Fathers*, Oxford, 1905) or in the early Apologists. (For the later traditions concerning Luke and his writings see LUKE.)

The value of this tradition must necessarily depend on the internal evidence of the book itself. The arguments can best be arranged under the two heads of favourable and unfavourable to the tradition.

1. In favour of the tradition of Luke's authorship is the evidence of the 'we-sections,' or passages in which the writer speaks in the first person. These are Ac $16^{10\text{-}17}$ 20^{4} 21^{18} 27^{1} 28^{16}. They form together an apparent extract from a diary, which begins in Troas and breaks off in Philippi, on St. Paul's second journey; begins again in Philippi, on his last journey to Jerusalem; and continues (with only the apparent break of the episode of St. Paul and the Ephesian elders [$20^{18\text{-}38}$] which is told in the third person) until Jerusalem is reached and St. Paul goes to see James; then breaks off again during St. Paul's imprisonment in Jerusalem and Cæsarea; begins again when St. Paul leaves Cæsarea; and continues until the arrival in Rome, when it finally ceases.

It is, of course, theoretically possible that these sections are merely a literary fiction, but this possibility is excluded by the facts (*a*) that there is no conceivable reason why the writer should adopt this form of writing at these points, and these only, in his narrative; (*b*) that by the general consent of critics these passages have all the signs of having really been composed by an eye-witness of the events described. It is, therefore, only necessary to consider the other possibilities: (1) that we have here from the writer of the whole work the description of incidents which he had himself seen; (2) that the writer is here using an extract from the writing of an eye-witness and has preserved the original idiom.

The only way of deciding between these two possibilities is to make use of literary criteria, and this has been done in recent years with especial thoroughness by Harnack in Germany and Hawkins in England. For any full statement of the case reference must be made to their books; the principle, however, and the main results can be summarized.

If the writer of Acts is merely using the first person in order to show that he is claiming to have been an eye-witness, the writer of the 'we-clauses' is identical with the redactor of the Gospel and Acts. Now, in the Gospel we know that he was using Mark in many places, and, by noting the redactorial changes in the Marcan sections of Luke, we can establish his preference for certain idioms. If these idioms constantly recur in the 'we-clauses,' it must be either because the 'we-clauses' were written by the redactor, or because the redactor also revised the 'we-clauses,' but without changing the idiom. As a fact we find that the 'we-clauses' are more marked by the characteristic phraseology of the redactor than any other part of the Gospel or Acts. We are, therefore, apparently reduced to a choice between the theory that the redactor of the Gospel and Acts wrote the 'we-clauses,' and the theory that he redacted them with more care than any other part of his compilation, except that he allowed the first person to stand. The former view certainly seems the more probable, but not sufficient attention has been paid to the observation of E. Schürer (*ThLZ*, 1906, col. 405) that the facts would also be explained if the writer of the 'we-clauses' and the redactor of Acts came from the same *Bildungssphäre*. It would be well if some later analyst would eliminate from both sides the idioms which are common to all writers of good Greek at the period, for undoubtedly an element of exaggeration is introduced by the fact that in the Marcan source there were many vulgarisms which all redactors would have altered, and mostly in the same way. It should also be noted that there are a few 'Lucanisms' which are not to be found in the 'we-clauses.'

The details on which this argument is based will be found best in J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*[2], Oxford, 1909, pp. 174–193; A. Harnack, *Lukas der Arzt*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 19–85. There is also a good résumé in J. Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 294 ff.

2. Against the tradition it is urged (1) that the presentment of St. Paul is quite different from that in the Pauline Epistles, (2) that on definite facts of history the Acts and Epistles contradict each other; and it is said in each case that these facts exclude the possibility that the writer of Acts was Luke the companion of St. Paul.

(1) *The presentment of St. Paul in the Epistles and in Acts.*—It has been urged as a proof that the writer of Acts could not have been a companion of St. Paul, that whereas St. Paul in the Epistles is completely emancipated from Jewish thought and practice, he is represented in the Acts as still loyal to the Law himself, and enjoining its observance on Jews. The points which are really crucial in this argument are (α) St. Paul's circumcision of Timothy (Ac 16^{3}), as contrasted with his teaching as to circumcision in the Epistles; (β) his acceptance of Jewish practice while he was in Jerusalem (Ac $21^{21\text{ff.}}$), as contrasted with his Epistles, especially Galatians and Romans; (γ) the absence of 'Pauline' doctrine in the speeches in Acts; (δ) St. Paul's acceptance of a compromise at the Apostolic

* The *de Rebaptismate* has not yet been sufficiently studied from this point of view. A monograph analyzing its evidence on the lines of F. C. Burkitt's *Old Latin and the Itala* might be valuable.

Council (Ac 15), as contrasted with the complete silence of the Epistles as to this agreement.

If these four propositions were sound, they would certainly be strong evidence against the Lucan authorship of Acts. But there is much to be said against each of them on the following lines.

(*a*) In Ac 16[3], St. Paul circumcises Timothy, but the reason given is that he was partly Jewish. There is no evidence in the Epistles that the Apostle would ever have refused circumcision to a Jew: it was part of the Law, and the Law was valid for Jews. The argument in the Epistles is that it is not valid for Gentiles; and, though logic ought perhaps to have led St. Paul to argue that Jews also ought to abandon it, there is no proof that he ever did so. It is also claimed that the incident of Titus in Gal 2[3] shows St. Paul's strong objection to circumcision; but in the first place it is emphatically stated that Titus was not a Jew, and in the second place it is quite doubtful whether Gal 2[3] means that Titus, being a Greek, was *not* compelled to be circumcised, or that, being a Greek, he was not *compelled* to be circumcised, though as an act of grace he actually was circumcised. (*β*) It is quite true that in Ac 21[21ff.] St. Paul accepts Jewish custom: what is untrue is that it can be shown from his own writings that he was likely to refuse. (*γ*) There certainly is an absence of 'Pauline' doctrine in the speeches in the Acts, if we accept the reconstructions which are based on the view that in the Epistles we have a complete exposition of St. Paul's teaching. But, if we realize that the Epistles represent his treatment by letter of points which he had failed to bring home to his converts while he was with them, or of special controversies due to the arrival of other teachers, there is really nothing to be said against the picture given in the Acts. (*δ*) If the exegesis and text of Acts be adopted which regard the Apostolic decrees as a compromise based on food-laws, it is certainly very strange that St. Paul should have said nothing about it in Galatians or Corinthians, and this undoubtedly affords a reasonable argument for thinking that the account in Ac 15 is unhistorical, and that it cannot have been the work of Luke. But it must be remembered that there is serious reason for doubting (i.) that the text and exegesis of Ac 15[28] point either to a food-law or to a compromise, (ii.) that Galatians was written after the Council (see G. Resch, 'Das Aposteldecret,' *TU* xxviii. [1905] 3; J. Wellhausen, 'Noten zur Apostelgeschichte,' in *GGN*, Göttingen, 1907; A. Harnack, *Apostelgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 188 ff.; K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911, pp. 29 ff., 48 ff.).

(2) Rather more serious are the *objections raised to the accuracy of certain definite statements, in the light of contrasting statements in the Epistles*, and the conclusion suggested that the writer of Acts cannot have been a companion of St. Paul. Many objections of this kind have been made, but the majority are trivial, and the serious ones are really only the following: (*a*) the description of glossolalia in Ac 2 as compared with 1 Co 12 ff.; (*b*) the account of St. Paul's visits to Jerusalem in Acts as compared with Gal 2; (*c*) the movements of St. Paul's companions in Macedonia and Achaia in Ac 17[15] 18[5] as compared with 1 Th 3[1f. 6].

(*a*) *The account given of glossolalia* in 1 Co 14 shows that it was in the main unintelligible to ordinary persons. 'He that speaketh in a tongue edifieth himself, but he that prophesieth edifieth the congregation' (1 Co 14[4]; cf. vv.[5. 14. 23]); 'If any man speaketh in a tongue let one interpret' (1 Co 14[27]). On the other hand, the narrative in Ac 2 describes the glossolalia of the disciples as a miraculous gift of speech that was simultaneously intelligible to foreigners of various nations, each of whom thought that he was listening to his own language. It is argued that this latter glossolalia is as unknown to the historian of psychology as the glossolalia described in 1 Cor. is well known; and it is suggested that Luke or his source has given a wrong account of the matter. In support of this it must be noted that the immediate judgment of the crowd, on first hearing the glossolalia of the disciples, was that they were drunk, and Peter's speech was directed against this imputation. It is not probable that any foreigner ever accused any one of being drunk because he could understand him, and so far the account in Acts may be regarded as carrying its own conviction, and showing that behind the actual text there is an earlier tradition which described a glossolalia of the same kind as that in 1 Co 12–14. But, if so, is it probable that a companion of St. Paul would have put forward so 'un-Pauline' a description of glossolalia? There is certainly some weight in this argument; but it is to a large extent discounted by the following considerations. (*a*) It is not known that Luke was ever with St. Paul at any exhibition of glossolalia. Certainly there is nothing in Acts to suggest that he was in Corinth. (*β*) In all probability we have to deal with a tradition which the writer of Acts found in existence in Jerusalem more than twenty years after the events described. Let any one try to find out, by asking surviving witnesses, exactly what happened at an excited revivalist meeting twenty years ago, and he will see that there is room for considerable inaccuracy. (*γ*) To us glossolalia of the Pauline type is a known phenomenon and probable for that reason; it is a purely physical and almost pathological result of religious emotion, while glossolalia of the 'foreign language' type as described in Acts is improbable. But to a Christian of the 1st cent. both were wonderful manifestations of the Spirit, and neither was more probable than the other.

The whole question of glossolalia can be studied in H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*, Göttingen, 1899; H. Lietzmann's Commentary on 1 Cor. in his *Handbuch zum NT*, iii. 2, Tübingen, 1909; J. Weiss, '1 Cor.' in Meyer's *Krit.-Exeg. Kommentar*, Göttingen, 1910 (9th ed. of '1 Cor.').

(*b*) *The accounts given in Acts and Galatians of St. Paul's visits to Jerusalem.*—The points of divergence, which are serious, are concerned with (*a*) St. Paul's actions immediately after the conversion; (*β*) his first visit to Jerusalem; (*γ*) his second visit to Jerusalem.

(*a*) *St. Paul's actions immediately after the conversion.*—The two accounts of this complex of incidents are Ac 9[10-30] and Gal 1[15-24]. The main points in the two narratives may be arranged thus in parallel columns:—

Acts.	Galatians.
1. Visit to Damascus immediately after the conversion.	1. Visit to Arabia immediately after the conversion.
2. Escape from Damascus and journey to Jerusalem.	2. A 'return' to Damascus.
3. Retreat from Jerusalem to Tarsus in Cilicia.	3. A visit to Jerusalem 'after three years.'
	4. Departure to the 'districts of Syria and Cilicia.'

The difference between these accounts is obvious, and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Acts is here inaccurate. It should be noted, however, that the inaccuracy apparently consists in telescoping together two visits to Damascus and omitting the Arabian journey which came between them. St. Paul, by speaking of his 'return' to Damascus, implies that the conversion had been in that city, and in 2 Co 11[32f.] ('in Damascus the ethnarch of Aretas the king guarded the city of the Damascenes to take me, and I was let down in a basket through a window') we have a corroboration of the

escape mentioned in Acts, though it clearly must come after the visit (probably of a missionary character) to Arabia, in order to account for the hostility of Aretas. Thus, so far as the enumeration of events is concerned, the inaccuracy of Acts resolves itself into the omission of the Arabian visit, and the consequent telescoping together of two visits to Damascus along with a proportionate shortening of the chronology.

(β) *St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem.*—The details of this visit are a more serious matter, and Acts and Galatians cannot fully be reconciled, as is plain when the narratives are arranged in parallel columns.

Ac 9^{26-30}.	Gal 1^{18-23}.
'And when he was come to Jerusalem, he assayed to join himself to the disciples: and they were all afraid of him, not believing that he was a disciple. But Barnabas took him, and brought him to the apostles, and declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way, and that he had spoken to him, and how at Damascus he had preached boldly in the name of Jesus. And he was with them going in and coming out at Jerusalem, and he spake and disputed against the Hellenists; but they went about to kill him.'	'After three years I went up to Jerusalem to become acquainted with Cephas, and tarried with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother. Now touching the things which I write to you, before God, I lie not. Then I came into the districts of Syria and Cilicia. And I was still unknown by face unto the churches of Judæa which were in Christ: but they only heard say, He that persecuted us once now preacheth the faith of which he once made havoc.'

No argument can alter the fact that Acts speaks of a period of preaching in Jerusalem which attracted sufficient attention to endanger St. Paul's life, while Galatians describes an essentially private visit to Peter; probably both documents refer to the same visit, as they place it between St. Paul's departure from Damascus and his arrival in Cilicia, but they give divergent accounts of it.

(γ) *St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem.*—It is possible that the difficulties here are due to a mistaken exegesis rather than to any real divergence between Acts and Galatians. If we start from the facts, it is clear that St. Paul describes in Gal 2^{1-10} his second visit to Jerusalem. In the course of this he held a private interview with the apostles in Jerusalem, in consequence of which he was free to continue his preaching to the Gentiles without hindrance. It is also clear from Ac $11^{27ff.}$ 12^{25} that St. Paul's second visit to Jerusalem was during the time of the famine. If we accept the identification of the second visit according to Acts with the second visit according to Galatians, there is no difficulty beyond the fact that Acts does not state that St. Paul and the other apostles discussed their respective missions when they met in Jerusalem; but, since this discussion altered nothing—the Gentile mission had already begun—there was no special reason why Luke should have mentioned it. Usually, however, critics have assumed that the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in Gal 2^{1-10} is not the second but the third visit referred to in Acts, so that the interview with the apostles described in Gal 2 is identified with the 'Apostolic Council' in Ac 15. Great difficulties then arise: it is obviously essential to St. Paul's argument that he should not omit any of his visits to Jerusalem, and it is not easy to understand why, if he is writing after the Apostolic Council, he does not mention the decrees. There would seem to have been a party in Galatia which urged that circumcision was necessary for all Christians; this point had been settled at the Apostolic Council. If the Council had taken place, why did St. Paul not say at once that the judaizing attitude had been condemned by the heads of the Jerusalem Church?

These difficulties have been met in England since the time of Lightfoot by assuming that the Apostolic decrees had only a local and ephemeral importance, in which case it does not seem obvious why they are given so prominent a place in Acts. In Germany this difficulty has been more fully appreciated, and either the account in Ac 15—identified with Gal 2—has been abandoned as wholly unhistorical, or the suggestion has been made that the account in Gal 2 is really a more accurate statement of what happened during St. Paul's interview with the apostles, which probably took place during the famine, while the 'decrees' mentioned in Acts really belong to a later period—perhaps St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem—and have been misplaced by Luke.

All these suggestions (and a different combination is given by almost every editor) agree in giving up the accuracy of Ac 15. On the other hand, if the view be taken that Gal 2 refers to an interview between St. Paul and the Jerusalem apostles during the time of the famine, and that it settled not the question of circumcision, but that of continuing the mission to the Gentiles which had been begun in Antioch, there is no further difficulty in thinking that Ac 15 represents the discussion of the question of circumcision which inevitably arose as soon as the Gentile mission expanded. It is, therefore, desirable to ask whether the reasons for identifying Gal 2 and Ac 15 are decisive. The classical statement in English is that of Lightfoot (*Epistle to the Galatians*, p. 123 ff.), who formulates it by saying that there is an identity of geography, persons, subject of dispute, character of the conference, and result. Of these identities only the first is fully accurate; and it applies equally well to the visit to Jerusalem in the time of the famine. The persons are not quite the same, for Titus and John are not mentioned in Acts. The subject is not the same at all, for in Galatians the question of the Law is not discussed (and was apparently raised only by St. Peter's conduct later on in Antioch), but merely whether the mission to the uncircumcised should be continued,* while in Acts the circumcision of the Gentiles is the main point. The character of the conference is not the same at all, for in Galatians it is a private discussion, in Acts a full meeting of the Church; and the result is not the same, for the one led up to the Apostolic decrees, while the other apparently did not do so. Lightfoot to some extent weakens these objections by suggesting that St. Paul describes a private conference before the Council, but in so doing he weakens his own case still more, for he can give no satisfactory reason why St. Paul should carefully describe a private conference, but omit the public meeting and official result to which it was preliminary.

Thus, if the identification of Gal 2 and Ac 15 be abandoned, the objections which are raised against the account in Acts fall to the ground, and the resultant arguments against the identification of the writer of Acts with Luke are proportionately weakened.

The question may be studied in detail in C. Clemen, *Paulus*, Giessen, 1904; A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897; A. Harnack, *Apostelgesch.*, Leipzig, 1908; J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, Cambridge, 1865; K. Lake, *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, London, 1911; C. W. Emmet, *Galatians*, London, 1912.

(c) *The movements of St. Paul's companions in Macedonia and Achaia in Ac 17^{15} 18^{5} compared with 1 Th $3^{1f.\ 6}$.*—The difference between these narratives is concerned with the movements of Timothy and Silas. According to Acts, when St.

* From the context it is clear that τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τῆς ἀκροβυστίας . . . τῆς περιτομῆς means the gospel for the Uncircumcision (*i.e.* the Gentiles) and the Circumcision (*i.e.* the Jews).

Paul went to Athens he left Timothy and Silas in Berœa, and sent a message to them either from Athens or from some intermediate point, asking them to rejoin him as soon as possible, but they did not actually join him until he reached Corinth (Ac 18[5]). This arrival of Timothy at Corinth is mentioned in 1 Th 3[6], but, according to the implication of 1 Th 3[1f.], Timothy (and Silas?) had already reached Athens and been sent away again with a message to Thessalonica. In this case Acts omits the whole episode of Timothy's arrival at and departure from Athens, and telescopes together two incidents in much the same way as seems to have been done with regard to St. Paul's visits to Damascus immediately after the conversion. This is the simplest solution of the question, though it is possible to find other conceivable theories, such as von Dobschütz's suggestion that 1 Th 3[1] need not mean that Timothy came to Athens, as the facts would be equally covered if a message from St. Paul had intercepted him on his way from Berœa to Athens and sent him to Thessalonica.

The best account of various ways of dealing with the question is given by E. von Dobschütz, 'Die Thessalonicherbriefe,' in Meyer's *Krit.-Exeget. Kommentar*[7], Göttingen, 1909.

Summary.—The general result of a consideration of these divergences between Acts and the Epistles suggests that the author was sometimes inaccurate, and not always well informed, but it is hard to see that he makes mistakes which would be impossible to one who had, indeed, been with St. Paul at times but not during the greater part of his career, and had collected information from the Apostle and others as opportunity had served. On the other hand, the argument from literary affinities between the 'we-clauses' and the rest of Acts remains at present unshaken; and, until some further analysis succeeds in showing why it should be thought that the 'we-clauses' have been taken from a source not written by the redactor himself, the traditional view that Luke, the companion of St. Paul, was the editor of the whole book is the most reasonable one.

III. *Date of Acts and Reception in the Canon.*—The evidence for the date is very meagre. If the Lucan authorship be accepted, any date after the last events chronicled, *i.e.* a short time before A.D. 60 to *c.* A.D. 100, is possible. The arguments which have been used for fixing on a more definite point are: (1) the date of the Lucan Gospel, which by the evidence of Ac 1[1] is earlier; (2) the abrupt termination of Acts; (3) the possibility that the writer knew the *Antiquities* of Josephus, which cannot be earlier than A.D. 90.

1. The date of the Lucan Gospel.—It has usually been assumed that this must be posterior to the fall of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, but it is doubtful whether there are really any satisfactory proofs that this was the case. The only argument of importance is that in the apocalyptic section of Mark (ch. 13) expressions which might be supposed to refer to the fall of Jerusalem have been altered to correspond with the real facts of the siege. Actually, however, the most striking change is merely that the vague Marcan reference to Daniel's 'abomination of desolation' has been replaced by a description of Jerusalem surrounded by armies. Of course, if we knew that Luke was later than the fall of Jerusalem, it would be a rational assumption to think that the change was due to the influence of the facts on the writer; but the force of the argument is not so great if we reverse the proposition, for to explain 'the abomination of desolation' as a prophecy of a siege is not specially difficult. The most, therefore, that can be said is that this argument raises a slight presumption in favour of a date later than A.D. 70.

2. The abrupt termination of Acts.—Acts ends apparently in the middle of the trial of St. Paul: he has been sent to Rome, and has spent two years in some sort of modified imprisonment, but no verdict has been passed. From this Harnack has argued (*Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, p. 65 ff.) that the Acts must have been written before the end of the trial was known.

This argument would be important if it were the only explanation of the facts. But two other possibilities have to be considered. In the first place, it is possible, though perhaps not very probable, that Luke wrote, or intended to write, a third book beginning with the account of St. Paul's trial in Rome. In the second place, it is possible that the end of Acts was not so abrupt to the ears of contemporaries as it is to us, for the two years may be the recognized period during which a trial must be heard, and after which, if the prosecution failed to appear, the case collapsed. The case of St. Paul had been originally a prosecution by the Jews, and probably it still kept this character, even though the venue was changed to Rome. But the Jews, as Luke says in Ac 28[21], did not put in an appearance, and therefore the case must have collapsed for lack of a prosecution, after a statutory period of waiting. What this period was we do not know, but a passage in Philo's *in Flaccum* points to the probability that it was two years. According to this, a certain Lambon was accused of treason in Alexandria, and the Roman judge, knowing that he was dangerous, but that the evidence was insufficient to justify a condemnation, kept him in prison for two years (διετίαν), which Philo describes as the 'longest period' (τὸν μήκιστον χρόνον). If this be so, Luke's termination of Acts is not really so abrupt as it seems, but implies that St. Paul was released after the end of the two years, because no Jews came forward to prosecute; it is easy to understand that, as this was not a definite acquittal, Luke had no interest in emphasizing the fact.

3. The knowledge of Josephus shown in Acts.—The evidence for this is found in the case of Theudas. The facts are as follows. In Ac 5[36] Gamaliel is made to refer to two revolts which failed—first, that of Theudas, and after him that of Judas the Galilæan in the days of the Census (*i.e.* A.D. 6). Both these revolts are well known, and are described by Josephus; but the difficulty is that Judas really preceded Theudas, whose revolt took place in the procuratorship of Fadus (*c.* A.D. 43–47).

The revolt of Theudas was thus most probably later than the speech of Gamaliel, and the reference to it must be a literary device on the part of Luke, who no doubt used the speeches which he puts into the mouths of the persons in his narrative with the same freedom as was customary among writers of that period. But the remarkable point is that Josephus in *Ant.* XX. also mentions Judas of Galilee after speaking of Theudas;* and the suggestion is that Luke had seen this and was led into the not unnatural mistake of confusing the dates. He apparently knew the correct date of Judas, and remembered only that Josephus had spoken of him after Theudas, and was thus led into the mistake of thinking that Theudas must have been earlier than Judas.

If the case of Theudas be admitted, it is also possible that in the description of the death of Herod Agrippa some details have been taken by Luke from the description of the death of Herod the

* After describing Theudas' revolt, Josephus continues: πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἰούδα τοῦ Γαλιλαίου ἀνήχθησαν, τοῦ τὸν λαὸν ἀπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστήσαντος Κυρινίου τῆς Ἰουδαίας τιμητεύοντος, ὡς ἐν τοῖς πρὸ τούτων ἐδηλώσαμεν, Ἰάκωβος καὶ Σίμων οὓς ἀνασταυρῶσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος (*Ant.* XX. v. 2).

Great as given by Josephus. But the evidence is here much less striking, and, if Theudas be not conceded, has no real strength. The case of Theudas is, however, very remarkable; it falls short of demonstration, but not so far short as the other arguments for dating the Acts.

So far it has been assumed that Luke was the writer of Acts; and in this case the probable length of his life gives the *terminus ad quem* for dating his writings, i.e. *c.* A.D. 100. If his authorship be disputed, the *terminus ad quem* is the earliest known use of the book or of its companion Gospel. This is to be found in the fact that Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140) used the Gospel of Luke. It is, of course, possible that some of the isolated Evangelical quotations in the Apostolic Fathers may be from Luke; but no proof of this can be given. As, however, Marcion's text is a redaction of the canonical text, and Luke's Gospel was taken into the Four-Gospel Canon not long afterwards, it must have been in existence some time previously, so that, even if the Lucan authorship be doubted, A.D. 130 is the latest date that can reasonably be suggested. Even this appears to be very improbable if attention be paid to some of the characteristics of Acts. For instance, Acts never uses the triadic formula: baptism is always in the name 'of the Lord,' or 'of Jesus'; there is no trace of the developed Docetic controversy of the Johannine Epistles or of Ignatius; χριστός is habitually used predicatively, and not as a proper name, and in this respect Acts is more primitive than St. Paul.

On the other hand, the weakening of the eschatological element, and the interest in the Church, as an institution in a world which is not immediately to disappear, point away from the very early date advocated by Harnack and others. The decennium 90–100 seems, on the whole, the most probable date, but demonstrative proof is lacking, and it may have been written thirty years earlier, or (but only if the Lucan authorship be abandoned) thirty years later.

4. Reception in the Canon.—There is no trace of any collection of Christian sacred books which included the Four-Gospel Canon, but omitted the Acts. That is to say, throughout the Catholic Church within the Roman Empire, Acts was universally received as the authoritative and inspired continuation of the Gospel story.

It appears also probable that in the Church of Edessa Acts was used from the earliest time as the continuation of the *Diatessaron*, for the *Doctrine of Addai* specifies as the sacred books 'the Law and the Prophets and the Gospel . . . and the Epistles of Paul . . . and the Acts of the Twelve Apostles,' of which the last item probably means the canonical Acts (see F. C. Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904, p. 59).

Moreover, the Marcionites and other Gnostic Christians do not appear to have ever used the Acts. Later on the Manichæans seem to have used a *corpus* of the five *Acts* of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew, and Thomas, as a substitute for the canonical Acts; and the Priscillianists in Spain so far adopted this usage as to accept this *corpus* as an adjunct to the canonical Acts. (For the more detailed consideration of these *Acts*, both as a *corpus* and as separate documents, see ACTS OF THE APOSTLES [Apocryphal].)

IV. *THE COMPOSITION OF ACTS.*—The question of the composition of this or any other book is one partly of fact, partly of theory. In the sense of determining the arrangement of the sections, and the relations which they bear to one another, it is a question of fact and observation; but, when the question is raised why the sections are so arranged, and how far they represent older sources used by the writer, it becomes a question of theory and criticism.

1. The obvious facts.—The first point, therefore, is the establishment of the facts, and in the main these admit of little discussion. Acts falls immediately into two chief parts—the Pauline, and the non-Pauline parts—with a short intermediate section in which St. Paul appears at intervals. The Pauline section, again, falls into the natural divisions afforded by his two (or three) great journeys; and a cross-division can also be made by noting that the author sometimes uses the first person plural, sometimes writes exclusively in the third person. The earlier sections in the same way can be divided—though the division is here much less clear—into those in which the centre of activity is Jerusalem, and those in which it is Antioch, while a further series of subdivisions can be made according as the chief actor is Peter, Philip, or Stephen. Finally, still smaller subdivisions can be made by dividing the narrative into the series of incidents which compose it.

The table on p. 22 serves to give a general conspectus of the facts; a somewhat more minute system of subdivision has been adopted in the earlier chapters, which are especially affected by the question of sources, than in the—from this point of view—more straightforward later chapters. This analysis is sufficient to show that the writer must have been drawing on various sources or traditions for his information, and we have to face three problems: What was the purpose with which the writer put together this narrative? How far is it possible to distinguish the sources, written or oral, which he used? What is the relative value of the sources which he used?

2. The purpose with which the whole narrative was composed.—It is, of course, clear that the writer has not attempted to give a colourless story of as many events as possible, but is using history to commend his own interpretation of the facts. This is corroborated by his own account at the beginning of the Gospel, in which he defines his purpose as that of convincing Theophilus of the certainty of the 'narratives in which he had been instructed' (ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς περὶ ὧν κατηχήθης λόγων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν [Lk 1^4]). In other words, he wishes to tell the story of the early days of Christianity in order to prove the Christian teaching.

If we consider the narrative from this point of view, we can see several motives underlying it. (*a*) The desire to show that the Christian Church was the result of the presence of the Spirit (πνεῦμα, τὸ πνεῦμα, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα are the usual expressions, but πνεῦμα κυρίου in 5^9 8^{39} [the text is doubtful], τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ in 16^7), which is the fulfilment of the promise of Jesus to send it to His disciples (Ac $1^{5ff.}$; cf. Lk 3^{16} $24^{48f.}$). The Spirit manifested itself in glossolalia, in the working of miracles of healing, and in the surprising growth of Christianity. This is perhaps the main object of Luke's writings, and to it is subordinated, both in the Gospel and in Acts, the eschatological expectation which is most characteristic of Mark and Matthew; though many traces of this still remain.—(*b*) The desire to show the unreasonableness and wickedness of Jewish opposition is also clearly marked, and is contrasted with the attitude of Roman officials. It is, therefore, not impossible that the writer desired to dissociate Christianity from Judaism, and to defend Christians from the imputation of belonging to a sect forbidden by the State. If we knew the time when Christianity was, as such, first forbidden and persecuted, this might be a valuable indication of date, but at present all that is known with certainty is that (cf. Pliny's correspondence with Trajan) it was

forbidden by the beginning of the 2nd cent., and that in 64 it was probably (but not certainly) not forbidden, as the Neronic persecution was not of the Christians as such, but of Christians as suspected of certain definite crimes. It is, however, in any case clear that this feature of Acts supports the view that one purpose cherished by the writer was the desire to protest against the view that Christians had always been, or could ever be, regarded as a danger to the Empire.—(*c*) As a means towards the accomplishment of his other purposes, the writer is desirous of showing how Christianity had spread from Jerusalem to the surrounding districts, from there to Antioch, and from Antioch through the provinces to Rome. He also explains in what way the Christians came Church, and the early history of the Church in Jerusalem. In discussing them it is simplest to begin with the most marked feature—the 'we-clauses'—and then work back to the earlier chapters.

(1) *The 'we-clauses.'*—As was shown above, the balance of evidence seems at present to be strongly in favour of the view that the writer of these sections intended to claim that he had been a companion of St. Paul, and that he was himself the editor of the whole book. If this be so, we have for the rest of the 'Paul' narrative a source ready to our hand—the personal information obtained by Luke from St. Paul himself, or from other companions of St. Paul whom he met in his society. This may cover as much as Ac 9^{1-30} 11^{27-30}

Reference.	Place.	General Description.	Chief Actors.
1^{1-11}.	Jerusalem.	The Ascension and promise of the Spirit.	Jesus and the Twelve.
1^{12-26}.	,,	Choice of Matthias.	Peter and the Twelve.
		Speech of Peter.	
2^{1-47}.	,,	Gift of the Spirit.	Peter and the Twelve.
		Glossolalia.	
		Speech of Peter.	
3^{1-26}.	,,	Healing miracle by Peter and John.	Peter [and John].
		Speech of Peter.	
4^{1-22}	,,	Imprisonment of Peter and John.	Peter [and John].
		Speech of Peter.	
4^{22-31}.	,,	Their release.	Peter [and John].
		Meeting of the Church.	
		Gift of the Spirit.	
4^{32}–5^{16}.	,,	Communism in the Church.	Peter, Barnabas [Ananias, Sapphira].
5^{17-42}.	,,	Imprisonment of Peter and John.	Peter [and John].
		Speech of Gamaliel.	
6^{1-7}.	,,	Appointment of the Seven.	The apostles.
6^{8-15}.	,,	Preaching of Stephen.	Stephen.
		His arrest.	
7^{1}–8^{3}.	,,	Speech of Stephen.	Stephen.
		His death.	
8^{4-25}.	Samaria.	Philip's preaching.	Philip, Peter [and John].
		Simon Magus.	Simon Magus.
8^{26-40}.	The road to Gaza.	Philip's conversion of the Ethiopian.	Philip.
9^{1-31}.	The road to Damascus.	Conversion of Saul, and extension of the Church.	Paul.
9^{32}–10^{48}.	Lydda, Joppa, Cæsarea.	Peter's journey through Lydda, Joppa, Cæsarea.	Peter.
		Conversion of Cornelius.	
		Speech of Peter.	
11^{1-18}.	Jerusalem.	Peter's speech on Cornelius' conversion.	Peter.
11^{19-26}.	Antioch.	Foundation of Gentile Christianity.	Hellenistic Jews, Barnabas, Paul.
11^{27-30}.	,,	Collection for Jerusalem.	Barnabas, Paul.
12^{1-24}.	Jerusalem.	Herod's persecution.	Peter.
		Peter's imprisonment.	
		Death of Herod.	
12^{25}.		Return of Barnabas and Saul to Antioch.	Barnabas, Paul.
13^{1}–14^{28}.	Journey.	First missionary journey.	Paul.
15^{1-35}.	Jerusalem.	Apostolic Council.	Peter, James, Paul.
15^{36}–18^{22}.	Journey.	Second missionary journey.	Paul.
18^{23}–21^{16}.	,,	Third missionary journey.	Paul.
21^{17}–23^{11}.	Jerusalem.	Paul's dealings with James. His arrest. Speech to Sanhedrin.	Paul.
23^{12}–26^{32}.	Cæsarea.	Paul's imprisonment in Cæsarea. Felix. Festus. Agrippa.	Paul.
27^{1}–28^{16}.	Journey.	Journey to Rome.	Paul.
28^{17-31}.	Rome.	Paul and Jews in Rome.	Paul.

to preach to Gentiles without insisting on the Jewish Law, and how this had been perceived to be the work of the Spirit by the Jewish apostles who recognized the revelation to this effect to St. Paul and to St. Peter (Ac $9^{15ff.}$ 22^{21} 11^{18} $15^{1ff.}$).

3. The sources used in Acts.—The most superficial examination of Acts shows that it is divided most obviously into a 'Peter' part and a 'Paul' part; it is, therefore, not strange that the critics of the beginning of the 19th cent. thought of dividing Acts into narratives derived from a hypothetical 'Acts of Peter' and a hypothetical 'Acts of Paul.' But further investigation has gone behind this division: it has been seen that important questions are involved in the relation of the 'we-clauses' to the rest of the narrative relating to St. Paul, the story of the Antiochene 12^{25-31} or even more. There is nothing in these sections which cannot have come from St. Paul or his entourage, and the inaccuracies in the narrative, as compared with the Epistles, do not seem to point to any greater fallibility on the part of the writer than that to be found in other historical writers who are in the possession of good sources. At the same time, this does not mean that the assignment of these chapters to a 'Paul' source is final or exclusive of others. Some sections within these limits (*e.g.* Ac 15) may come from some other Jerusalem or Antiochene source, and some sections outside them (*e.g.* the story of Stephen's death) may have come from the 'Paul' source.

If, on the other hand, it should ultimately appear that the evidence from style has been

exaggerated or misrepresented, it will be necessary to regard the 'we-sections' as representing a separate source, and consider the question whether the rest of the chapters mentioned above came from one or several sources. At present, however, no one has shown any serious ground for thinking that we can distinguish any signs of change of style, or of doublets in the narrative, to point in this direction.

(2) The problems presented by *the earlier chapters* are much more complicated. The chief point which attracts attention is that in the first half of these chapters the centre of interest is Jerusalem, or Jerusalem and the neighbourhood, while in the second half it is Antioch. Here again it is easier to begin by taking the later chapters first, and to discuss the probable limits of the Antiochene tradition, together with the possibility that it may have lain before the writer of Acts as a document, before considering the Jerusalem tradition of the opening chapters.

(*a*) *The Antiochene tradition.*—The exact limits of this tradition are difficult to fix. It is clear that to it the section describing the foundation of the church at Antioch and its early history (Ac $11^{19ff.}$) must be attributed; but difficulties arise as soon as an attempt is made to work either backwards or forwards from this centre, as the later sections, which can fairly be attributed to Antiochene tradition, can also be attributed to the Pauline source, while the earlier sections of the same kind might be attributed to the Jerusalem tradition. It is obvious that the οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες of Ac 11^{19} picks up the narrative of 8^{1-4}. In $8^{1.4}$ the story of Stephen's death is brought to a close by the statement that ἐγένετο δὲ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ διωγμὸς μέγας ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τὴν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις· πάντες δὲ διεσπάρησαν κατὰ τὰς χώρας . . . οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες διῆλθον εὐαγγελιζόμενοι τὸν λόγον. Then the writer gives two instances of this evangelization by Philip and Peter in Samaria, and by Philip alone on the road to Gaza. Next he explains how the conversion of St. Paul put an end to the persecution, and how the conversion of Cornelius led to the recognition of preaching to Gentiles by the Jerusalem community. Finally, he returns to where he started from, and picks up his story as to the Christians who were dispersed after the death of Stephen, with the same formula—οἱ μὲν οὖν διασπαρέντες in 11^{19}.

Thus there is an organic unity between 8^4 and 11^{19}. But 8^4 is the end of the story of the Hellenistic Jews, their seven representatives, and the persecution which befell them; and the beginning of this story is in 6^6. Between 6^6 and 8^4 there is no break—unless it be thought that the whole speech of Stephen is the composition of the editor, as may very well be the case. Is, then, 6^6–8^4 to be regarded as belonging to the Antiochene tradition? Harnack thinks so, and it is very probable. But it is also true that 6^6–8^4 might have come either from Jerusalem or from St. Paul himself, and it is hard to see convincing reasons why the Antiochene source which Harnack postulates should not have come from the 'Paul' source.

The same sort of result is reached by considering the sections following 11^{19-24}. Is 11^{25-30} 'Pauline' or 'Antiochene'? The following section, 12^{1-24}, is clearly part of the Jerusalem tradition, but what follows, 12^{25}–13^3, might again be either Pauline or Antiochene, and the same is true of 15^{1-35}, in which the account of the Council might be Antiochene or Pauline, but is less likely to represent Jerusalem tradition. These exhaust the number of the passages which are ever likely to be attributed to the Antiochene source. To the present writer it seems that, unless it prove possible (so far it has not been done) to find some literary criterion for distinguishing between the 'Pauline' and 'Antiochene' sources, it will remain permanently impossible to draw any line of demarcation between what Luke may have heard about the early history of Antioch from St. Paul and what he may have learnt from other Antiochene persons. It also seems quite impossible to say whether he was using written sources. This, of course, does not deny that the so-called 'Antiochene source' represents Antiochene tradition. All that is said is that this Antiochene tradition may have come from St. Paul quite as well as from any one else. On the merits of the case we can go no further (for the possibility that Luke was himself an Antiochene see LUKE).

(*b*) *The Jerusalem tradition.*—It is obvious that Ac 1^1–5^{42} represents in some sense a Jerusalem tradition, and it is scarcely less clear that 8^{5-40} 9^{31}–11^{18} 12^{1-24} represent a tradition which is divided in its interests between Jerusalem and Cæsarea. It is, therefore, necessary to deal first with the purely Jerusalem sections, and afterwards with the Jerusalem-Cæsarean narrative, before considering whether they are really one or more than one in origin.

(*a*) *The purely Jerusalem sections.*—The most important feature of Ac 1^1–5^{42} is that 2^{1-47} seems to contain doublets of 3^1–4^{35}, and that the suggestion of a multiplicity of sources is supported by some linguistic peculiarities.

2^{1-13}	The gift of the Spirit, accompanied by the shaking of the house in which the Apostles were.	4^{31}
2^{14-36}	A speech of Peter.	3^{1-26}
2^{37-41}	The result of this speech is an extraordinarily large number of converts (5000, 3000).	4^4
2^{42-47}	The communism of the Early Church.	$4^{34.35}$

Of this series of doublets the twice-told story of the early 'communism' of the first Christians and the repetition of the shaking of the house at the outpouring of the Spirit are the most striking, but the cumulative effect is certainly to justify the view that we have two accounts, slightly varying, of the same series of events.

This result finds remarkable corroboration in certain linguistic peculiarities of Ac 3 f. as compared with ch. 2. In the former the word ἀναστήσας is used in the sense 'raised up to preach' (3^{26}; cf. 3^{22}), and ἤγειρε is used of the Resurrection, but in the latter ἀναστήσας is used of the Resurrection. In Ac 3 f. Jesus is described as a παῖς θεοῦ ($3^{13.26}$ $4^{27.30}$), but in ch. 2 as ἄνδρα ἀποδεδειγμένον ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ. In Ac 3 f. Peter is almost always accompanied by John ($3^{1.3.4.11}$ 4^{19}), but in ch. 2 he appears alone or 'with the other apostles.'

That Ac 2 and 3 f. are doublets is thus probable; moreover, as the linguistic characteristics of 3 f. are peculiar and not Lucan, it is more probable here than anywhere else in Acts that we are dealing with traces of a written Greek document underlying Acts in the same way as Mark and Q underlie the Lucan Gospel. To this branch of the Jerusalem tradition Harnack has given the name of 'source A,' and to Ac 2 the name of 'source B.' According to him, the continuation of A can be found in 5^{1-16}, and he also identifies it with the Jerusalem-Cæsarean source (see below). B is continued in 5^{17-42}. Ac 1 more probably, he thinks, belongs to B than to A, but may have a separate origin.

If A be followed, we get a clear and probable narrative of the history of the Jerusalem Church, but it begins in the middle. According to it, Peter and John went up to the Temple and healed a lame man; in connexion with the sensation caused by this wonder Peter explained that he wrought the cure in the name of Jesus, whom he announced as the predestined Messiah. As the result of this missionary speech a great number of converts were made (about 5000 [4^4]). Peter and John were arrested, but later on released after a speech by

Peter, and a practical defiance of the command of the authorities not to preach in the name of Jesus. Then follows a description of the joy of the Church at the release of Peter and John, and an account of their prayer—δὸς τοῖς δούλοις σου μετὰ παρρησίας πάσης λαλεῖν τὸν λόγον σου. In answer to their prayer, the Spirit was outpoured amid the shaking of the room in which they were, after which they were able, as they had asked, to speak the word μετὰ παρρησίας. Finally, a picture is drawn of the prosperity of the Church, and of the voluntary communism which prevailed.

The narrative gives an intelligible picture of the events which led to the growth of the Jerusalem Church and of an organization of charitable distribution that ultimately led to the development described in Ac 6. Moreover, it has several marks of individuality, and an early type which suggests that we have here to do with a source used by Luke, probably in documentary form, rather than a Lucan composition. This applies especially to Peter's speech, which is in some ways one of the most archaic passages in the NT. Peter does not describe Jesus as having been the Messiah, but as a παῖς θεοῦ (more probably 'Servant of God' than 'Child of God,' and perhaps with a side reference to the 'Servant of Jahweh' in Is 53, etc.)—a phrase peculiar to source A, 1 Clement, the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, and the *Didache*. He then goes on to announce that God has glorified this παῖς by the Resurrection, and that He is the predestined Messiah (τὸν προσκεχειρισμένον Χριστόν), who will remain in the Heavens until the 'restoration of all things.' Recent research in the field of eschatology and Messianic doctrine has brought out clearly the primitive character of this speech. The same can also be said of the prayer of the Church in $4^{24ff.}$, in which the phrase τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου Ἰησοῦν, ὃν ἔχρισας ('made Christ'?) is very remarkable.

Thus source A commends itself as an early and good tradition, but it begins in the middle and tells us nothing about the events previous to the visit of Peter and John to the Temple. Apparently it was to fill up this gap that Luke turned to source B, which seems to relate some of the same events, but in a different order; and, though Harnack doubts this, it seems, on the whole, probable that Ac 1, or at least vv.$^{6\text{-}12}$, ought to be regarded as belonging to it. According to this narrative, the disciples received the Spirit on the Day of Pentecost amid the shaking of the room, after which Peter made a speech, in many points resembling that in Ac 3, but without the characteristic phraseology of A, and with the addition of many more 'testimonia' as to the Resurrection. A great number of converts (about 3000) were made; and, in the enthusiasm which prevailed, a spirit of voluntary communism flourished, and an organization of charitable distribution came into being.

This narrative does not seem so convincing as that of source A. But if Ac 1 be regarded as belonging to it, it has the advantage of connecting the story of the Church at Jerusalem directly with the events that followed the Crucifixion—a period on which A is silent. Now, it is tolerably clear that A was a written Greek source used by Luke, just as he used Mark in the Gospel; for, although it has been 'Lucanized,' it still retains its own characteristic expressions. Presumably, therefore, a copy of this document came into Luke's possession, and he supplemented it at the beginning with B; but, whether B was a written source or oral tradition, it is impossible to say. The question presents in this respect a remarkable parallel to the state of things in the last chapters of the Gospel of Luke. Here also the writer made use of a Greek document—Mark—and supplemented it with a Jerusalem tradition—whether written or oral it is impossible to say—either because the Marcan narrative broke off, as it breaks off in the existent text of Mark, or because he desired to correct the Marcan tradition. It is, moreover, plain that this Jerusalem tradition at the end of Luke is the same as that in source B of the Acts. The question then suggests itself whether source A—the written source of Acts—may not belong to the same document as 'Mark'—the written source of the Gospel. If we suppose that the original Mark contained a continuation of the Gospel story down to the foundation of the Church in Jerusalem, and either that Luke disliked the section referring to the events after the Crucifixion, or perhaps that his copy had been mutilated, the composition of this part of Acts becomes plain;* but it also becomes a question whether the John who accompanies Peter in source A (and nowhere else) is not John Mark, rather than John the son of Zebedee.

All this, however, is hypothetical. The actual existence of the source A in ch. 3 f. and of the supplementary source B in ch. 2 is a point for which comparative certainty may be claimed.

The problem then arises, how far these sources can be traced in the following chapters of Acts. Harnack is inclined to see in $5^{17\text{-}41}$ a doublet of $4^{1\text{-}22}$, and to assign the latter to A, the former to B. This is not improbable, but it is not so certain as the previous results. It is, for instance, by no means improbable that the apostles were twice arrested, and, as the story is told, 5^{17} seems a not unnatural continuation of ch. 4. It is, however, true that the characteristic 'Peter and John' is not found in $5^{17ff.}$; but, on the other hand, the rather curious phrase ἀρχηγόν is applied to Jesus in 3^{15} and 5^{31} (elsewhere in NT only in He 2^{10} 12^{2}), which militates somewhat against the view that these chapters belong to different sources. In the same way the story of Ananias and Sapphira in Ac $5^{1\text{-}11}$ would fit quite as well on to B as on to A, with which Harnack connects it. Linguistically there is no clear evidence, but it may be noted that φόβος is a characteristic of the Christian community in B in 2^{43}, and is repeated in $5^{5.\ 11}$. It is not found in A, though from the circumstances of the case not much weight can be attached to this. It therefore must remain uncertain whether Ac 5 ought to be regarded as wholly A, wholly B, or be divided between the two sources.

(β) *The Jerusalem-Cæsarean sections.*—These are Ac $8^{5\text{-}40}$ 9^{31}–11^{18} $12^{1\text{-}23}$, which describe Philip's evangelization of Samaria, followed by the mission of Peter and John, Philip's conversion of the Ethiopian on the road to Gaza, and his arrival in Cæsarea, Peter's mission to Lydda, Joppa, and Cæsarea, and return to Jerusalem, Peter's arrest, imprisonment, and escape in Jerusalem, and Herod's death in Cæsarea. Harnack thinks that all these passages represent a Jerusalem-Cæsarean tradition, which he identifies with source A. It is certainly probable that $8^{14\text{-}25}$ belongs to A, owing to the characteristic combination of Peter and John, and it may be regarded as reasonable to think that this also covers the rest of the section, so that $8^{5\text{-}40}$ may be attributed to A. It is more doubtful when we come to the two other sections. If, however, any weight be attached to the suggestion that A is connected with Mark, it is noteworthy that $12^{1\text{-}23}$ is also very clearly connected with the house of Mark and his mother.

The section 9^{31}–11^{18} remains. This is much more clearly Cæsarean than either of the others, and might possibly be separated from them and as-

* See Burkitt, *Earliest Sources of the Gospels*, London, 1911, p. 79 f., where the suggestion is made that the early part of Acts may represent a Marcan tradition, though the bearing on this theory of the double source A and B in Acts is not mentioned.

cribed to a distinct Cæsarean source. If so, the suggestion of Harnack and others that the source might be identified with the family of Philip, which was settled in Cæsarea, is not impossible; from 21^{8} (a 'we-clause') we know that Luke came into contact with him there. It is also obvious that the information given by Philip might be the source of much more of that which has been tentatively attributed to source A, or on the other hand might conceivably be identified with source B; the truth is, of course, that we here reach the limit of legitimate hypothesis, and pass into the open country of uncontrolled guessing.

The result, therefore, of an inquiry into the sources of the Jerusalem tradition is to establish the existence of a written Greek source, A, in Ac 3 f., with a parallel narrative B—apparently the continuation of the Lucan Jerusalem narrative in the Gospel; and these two sources, or one of them, are continued in ch. 5. In $8^{5\text{-}40}$ is a further narrative which has points of connexion with A. Ac 9^{31}–11^{18} is a Cæsarean narrative, probably connected with Philip, and this raises difficulties in relation to A, for $8^{5\text{-}40}$ has also points of connexion with Philip. Finally $12^{1\text{-}23}$ is a Jerusalem narrative connected with Peter and Mark; but here also the possibility of a connexion with Cæsarea remains open.

V. *HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE VARIOUS TRADITIONS.*—So far as the 'we-clauses' and the probably Pauline tradition are concerned, this question has already been discussed. While there are traces of probable inaccuracy, there is no reason to doubt the general trustworthiness of the narrative. The Antiochene narrative and the Jerusalem-Cæsarean narrative (the 'Philip' clauses) can be judged with more difficulty, as we have no means of comparing the narratives with any other contemporary statements. Here, however, we have another criterion. It is probable that Luke is dealing with traditions, and, at least in the case of A, with a document. We cannot say how far he alters his sources, for we have no other information as to their original form, but we can use the analogy of his observed practice in the case of the Gospel. Here we know that he made use of Mark; and we can control his methods, because we possess his source. In this way we can obtain some idea of what he is likely to have done with his sources in Acts. On the whole, it cannot be said that the application of this criterion raises the value of Acts. In the Gospel, Luke, though in the main constant to his source Mark, was by no means disinclined to change the meaning of the story as well as the words, if he thought right. It is possible that he was justified in doing so, but that is not the question. The point is that he did not hesitate to alter his source in the Gospel; it is therefore probable that he did not hesitate to do so in the Acts.

Besides this, on grounds of general probability, various small points give rise to doubt, or seem to belong to the world of legend rather than to that of history—for instance, the removal of Philip by the Spirit (or angel?) from the side of the Ethiopian to Azotus; but the main narrative offers no real reason for rejection. The best statement of all the points open to suspicion is still that of Zeller-Overbeck (*The Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., London, 1875–76), but the conclusions which Zeller draws are often untenable. He did not realize that in any narrative there is a combination of really observed fact and of hypotheses to explain the fact. The hypotheses of a writer or narrator of the 1st cent. were frequently of a kind that we should now never think of suggesting. But that is no reason why the narrative as a whole should not be regarded as a statement of fact. The existence, in any given narrative, of improbable explanations as to how events happened is not an argument against its early date and general trustworthiness, unless it can be shown that the explanation involves improbability not only in fact but also in thought—it must not only be improbable that the event really happened in the manner suggested, but it must be improbable that a narrator of that age would have thought that it so happened. Judged by this standard, the Antiochene and Jerusalem-Cæsarean traditions seem to deserve credence as good and early sources.

The same thing can be said of source A in the purely Jerusalem tradition. But the problem raised by source B is more difficult. If it be assumed that Ac 1 does not belong to it, it can only be compared with source A. To this it seems inferior, but on the whole it narrates the same events, and it would certainly be rash to regard B as valueless. No doubt it is true that, if the events happened in the order given in A, they cannot have happened in the order given in B, but it is quite possible that many details in B may be correct in spite of the fact that they are told otherwise or not told at all in A.

If, on the other hand, Ac 1 be assigned to B, the question is more complicated. According to Ac 1, the Ascension took place near Jerusalem forty days after the Resurrection, and the inference is suggested that the disciples, including Peter, never left Jerusalem after the Crucifixion. That this was Luke's own view is made quite plain from the Gospel, except that there does not appear to be any room in the Gospel narrative for the forty days between the Resurrection and the Ascension. The problems which arise are therefore: (1) How far can the Gospel of Luke and Acts 1 be reconciled? (2) Is it more probable that the disciples stayed in Jerusalem or went to Galilee?

1. How far can the Gospel of Luke and Acts 1 be reconciled?—Various attempts have been made to find room in the Gospel for the 'forty days.' They have not, however, been successful, as the connecting links in the Gospel narrative are quite clear from the morning of the Resurrection to the moment of the Ascension, which is plainly intended to be regarded as taking place on the evening of the same day. According to Lk $24^{5ff.}$, the sequence of the events was the following. Early on Sunday morning certain women went to the tomb, and to them two men appeared who announced the Resurrection; the women believed, but failed to convince the disciples. Later on in the same day (*ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*) two disciples saw the risen Lord on the way to Emmaus, and at once returned to Jerusalem to tell the news (*ἀναστάντες αὐτῇ τῇ ὥρᾳ*). While they were narrating their experience the Lord appeared, led them out to Bethany, and was taken up to heaven. The only place where there is any possibility of a break in the narrative is v.^{44} (*εἶπεν δέ*), but this possibility (in any case contrary to the general impression given by the passage) is excluded by the facts that *εἶπεν δέ* is a peculiarly Lucan phrase (59 times in Luke, 15 times in Acts, only once elsewhere in the NT), and that it never implies that a narrative is not continuous, and usually the reverse. Moreover, that Lk 24^{52}, whatever text be taken, refers to the Ascension is rendered certain by the reference in Ac 1^{2}. Thus, there is no doubt that the Gospel places the Ascension on the evening or night of the third day after the Crucifixion. It is equally clear that Acts places the Ascension forty days later, if the text of 1^{3} (*δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα*) is correct; and, though there is, it is true, some confusion in the text at this point, it is not enough to justify the omission of 'forty days' (see esp. F. Blass, *Acta Apostolorum secundum formam quæ videtur Romanam*, Leipzig, 1896, p. xxiii). The only possible suggestion,

therefore, is that the writer found some reason to modify his opinions in the interval between writing the Gospel and the Acts. Whether he was right to do so depends on the judgment passed on various factors, which cannot be discussed here, but may be summed up in the question whether the evidence of the Pauline Epistles does not suggest that the earliest Christian view was that Ascension and Resurrection were but two ways of describing the same fact, and whether this is not also implied in the speeches of Peter in Ac 2 and 3* (cf. especially Ro 8^{24}, Ph 1^{23}, Ac 2^{33} 3^{13-15}). The evidence is not sufficient to settle the point, but it shows that the problem is not imaginary.

2. Is it more probable that the disciples stayed in Jerusalem or went to Galilee?—The evidence that the disciples went to Galilee is found in Mark.† The end of Mark is, of course, missing, but there are in the existing text two indications that the appearances of the risen Christ were in Galilee, and therefore that the disciples must have returned there after the Crucifixion. (*a*) Mk $14^{27f.}$, 'All ye shall be offended: for it is written, I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered. But after I am risen, I will go before you into Galilee.' This seems intended to prepare the way for the flight of the disciples after the arrest in Gethsemane; the meaning of the second part, 'I will go before you into Galilee,' is obscure, but in any case it implies a return to Galilee. (*b*) Mk 16^{7} (the message of the young man at the tomb), 'Go, tell his disciples and Peter that he is going before you into Galilee, there shall you see him.' Here it is quite clearly stated that the first appearance of the risen Christ to the disciples is to be in Galilee, and once more it must be urged that this implies that the disciples went there.

On the other hand, the evidence of Luke and the Acts is that the disciples did not leave Jerusalem, and that, so far from the risen Lord announcing His future appearance to the disciples in Galilee, He actually told them to remain in Jerusalem.

That the two traditions thus exist cannot be questioned, nor can they be reconciled without violence. If, however, we have to choose between them, the Galilæan tradition seems to deserve the preference. It is in itself much more probable that the disciples fled to Galilee when they left Jesus to be arrested by Himself, than that they went into Jerusalem. If they were, as the narrative says, panic-stricken, Jerusalem was the last place to which those who were not inhabitants of that city would go. Moreover, it is not difficult to see that the tendency of Christian history would have naturally emphasized Jerusalem and omitted Galilee, for it is certainly a fact that from the beginning the Christian Church found its centre in Jerusalem and not in Galilee. Why this was so is obscure, and there is a link missing in the history of the chain of events. This must be recognized, but what either source B or Luke himself (if Ac 1 be not part of source B) has done is to connect up the links of the chain as if the Galilæan link had never existed. So far as this goes, it is a reason for not accepting Ac 1 as an accurate account of history; and this judgment perhaps reflects on source B and certainly in some measure on Luke. It must, however, be noted that it ought not seriously to affect our judgment on Luke's account of later events. The period between the Crucifixion and the growth of the Jerusalem community was naturally the most obscure point in the history of Christianity; and, even if Luke went wrong in his attempt to find out the facts at this point, that is no special reason for rejecting his evidence for later events when he really was in a position to obtain sound information. All that is really shown is that, unlike Mark, he was never in close contact with one of the original Galilæan disciples.

VI. *CHRONOLOGY OF ACTS.*—There are no definite chronological statements in the Acts, such as those in Lk 3^{1}. But at five points synchronisms with known events can be established and used as the basis of a chronological system. These are the death of Herod Agrippa I. (Ac $12^{23f.}$); the famine in Judæa ($11^{27ff.}$ 12^{25}); Gallio's proconsulate in Corinth (18^{12}); the decree of Claudius banishing all Jews from Rome (18^{2}); and the arrival of Festus in Judæa (25^{1}).

1. The death of Herod Agrippa.—Agrippa I., according to the evidence of coins* (if these be genuine), reigned nine years. The beginning of his reign was immediately after the accession of Caligula, who became Emperor on 16 March, A.D. 37, and within a few days appointed Agrippa, who was then in Rome, to the tetrarchy of Philip, with the title of king; to this in 39–40 the tetrarchy of Antipas was added. Later on, Claudius added Judæa, Samaria, and Galilee. The difficulty is that Josephus says that Agrippa died in the seventh year of his reign. This would be between the spring of 43 and that of 44, but it does not agree with the evidence of the coinage, unless it be supposed that Agrippa dated his accession from the death of Philip rather than from his appointment by Caligula.

2. The famine in Judæa.—Our information for the date of this event is found in Josephus and Orosius. Josephus (*Ant.* XX. v.) says that the famine took place during the procuratorship of Alexander. Alexander's term of office ended in A.D. 48, and this is therefore the *terminus ad quem* for the date of the famine. His term of office began after that of Fadus. It is not known when Fadus retired, but he was sent to Judæa after the death of Herod Agrippa I. in A.D. 44, so that Alexander's term cannot have begun before 45, and more probably not before 46. Thus Josephus fixes the famine within a margin of less than two years on either side of 47.

Orosius (VII. vi.), a writer of the 5th cent., is more definite, and fixes the famine in the fourth year of Claudius, which, on his system of reckoning (see Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?* London, 1898, p. 223, which supplements and corrects the statement in *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, do. 1895, p. 68 f.), was probably from Sept. 44 to Sept. 45, or possibly from Jan. 45 to Jan. 46. This statement has, of course, only the value which may be attributed to the sources of Orosius, which are unknown; but it supports Josephus fairly well, and it is not probable that Orosius was acquainted with the *Antiquities*, so that his statement has independent value.

3. Gallio's proconsulate.—This date has recently been fixed with considerable definiteness by the discovery of a fragment of an inscription at Delphi† which contains a reference to Gallio as proconsul (which must be proconsul of Achaia), and bears the date of the 26th 'acclamation' of the Emperor Claudius. This acclamation was before 1 Aug. A.D. 52 (*CIL* vi. 125b), as an inscription of that date refers to the 27th acclamation, and after 25 Jan. 51, as his 24th acclamation came in his 11th tribunician year (*i.e.* 25 Jan. 51–24 Jan. 52). Moreover, it must have been some considerable time after 25 Jan. 51, as the 22nd, 23rd, and 24th acclamations

* Of course, if this be so, there is a contradiction between Ac 1 and 2, and it becomes more probable (*a*) that Ac 1 is from a separate tradition from source B; (*b*) that source B, like A, was a written document when used by Luke.

† Secondary evidence is to be found in Mt 28, Jn 21, and the 'Gospel of Peter,' but Mark is the primary evidence.

* See F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, London, 1881, p. 130.

† First published by A. Nikitsky in Russian, in *Epigraphical Studies at Delphi*, Odessa, 1893, and now most accessible in Deissmann's *Paulus*, Tübingen, 1911.

all came in the 11th tribunician year, and the 25th acclamation has not yet been found, so that really the end of 51 is the earliest probable date for the 26th acclamation.' Thus the Delphi inscription must be placed between the end of 51 and 1 Aug. 52. At this time Gallio was in office. The proconsul usually entered on his office in the middle of the summer (cf. Mommsen, *Röm. Staatsrecht*[3], ii. [Leipzig, 1888] 256), and normally held it for one year only, though sometimes he continued in it for another term. According to this, Gallio must have come to Corinth in July 51. Twelve months later is not absolutely impossible, though it is improbable, for we do not know whether Claudius had been acclaimed for a long or a short time before 1 Aug. 52, merely that by then his 27th acclamation had taken place. According to Ac 18[12], St. Paul's trial took place Γαλλίωνος δὲ ἀνθυπάτου ὄντος, and this is usually taken to mean 'as soon as Gallio became proconsul.' Probably this is correct exegesis, though scarcely an accurate translation; and, if so, St. Paul's trial must have been in the summer of 51, or, with later date for Gallio, in the summer of 52.

4. The expulsion of the Jews from Rome.—According to Ac 18[2], the Emperor Claudius banished all Jews from Rome. The same fact is mentioned by Suetonius (*Claudius*, 25), who says: 'Iudæos, impulsore Chresto, assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit,' but no date is given. Tacitus does not mention the fact; nor does Josephus. Orosius (VII. vi. 15) states that it was in the ninth year of Claudius, which probably means Sept. 49–Sept. 50. He states that this date is derived from Josephus, which is clearly a mistake, unless he is referring to some other writer of that name (cf. Deissmann, *Paulus*), but the date agrees very well with that of Gallio's proconsulate; for, if the trial before Gallio was in Aug. 51, and St. Paul had been in Corinth 18 months (Ac 18[12]), the Apostle must have reached Corinth in April 50, at which time Aquila had just arrived in consequence of the decree of Claudius.

5. The arrival of Festus in Judæa.—This date is unfortunately surrounded by great difficulties. The facts are as follows: Eusebius, in his *Chronicon*, places the arrival of Festus in the second year of Nero, which probably means not Oct. 55–Oct. 56—the true second year of his reign—but, according to the Eusebian plan of reckoning, Sept. 56–Sept. 57. Josephus states that Felix, whom Festus replaced, was prosecuted on his return to Rome, but escaped owing to the influence of Pallas his brother. But Pallas was dismissed, according to Tacitus, before the death of Britannicus, and Britannicus was, also according to Tacitus, just 14 years old. Britannicus was born in Feb. 41, so that Festus must have entered on his office, according to this reckoning, before A.D. 55. Nevertheless, Josephus appears to place the greater part of the events under Felix in Nero's reign, and this can hardly be the case if he retired before Nero had reigned for three months. It is thought, therefore, either that Tacitus made a mistake as to the age of Britannicus, or that Pallas retained considerable influence even after his fall. Various other arguments have been used, but none is based on exact statements or has any real value. Thus, in view of the fact that the combination of statements in Josephus and Tacitus seems to give no firm basis for argument, we have only Eusebius and general probability to use. General probability really means in this case considering whether the Eusebian date fits in with the date of St. Paul's trial by Gallio, and has, therefore, most of the faults of circular reasoning. Still, the Eusebian date comes out of this test fairly well. St. Paul was tried by Gallio in Aug. A.D. 51. We may then reconstruct as follows:—

Trial by Gallio—Aug. 51.
Corinth to Antioch—end of 51.
Arrival at Ephesus—summer of 52.
Departure from Ephesus and arrival at Corinth—autumn of 54.
Arrival at Jerusalem and arrest—summer of 55.
Two years' imprisonment—55 to summer 57.
Trial before Festus—summer 57.

In view of the evidence as to Gallio, this is the earliest possible chronology, unless we suppose that two years in prison means June 55–summer 56, which is, indeed, part of two years, though it is doubtful whether it could have been described as διετίας πληρωθείσης—the phrase used in Ac 24[27].

Summary.—These are the only data in Acts for which any high degree of probability can be claimed. The date of Gallio is by far the most certain. If we combine with them the further data in Galatians, we obtain a reasonably good chronology as far back as the conversion of St. Paul. The second visit to Jerusalem in Galatians is identical either with the time of the famine or with that of the Council. If the former, it can be placed in ±46, if the latter, in ±48; and the conversion was either 14 or 17 years before this, according to the exegesis adopted for the statements in Galatians; though, owing to the ancient method of reckoning, 14 may mean a few months more than 12, and 17 a few months more than 15. Thus the earliest date for the conversion would be A.D. 31, the latest 36.

It should, however, be remembered that the period of 14 years reckoned between the first and second visits of St. Paul to Jerusalem depends entirely on the reading ΔΙΑΙΔΕΤΩΝ in Gal 2[1], which might easily have been a corruption for ΔΙΑΔΕΤΩΝ (='after 4 years'), and that the 14 years in question are always a difficulty, as events seem to have moved rapidly before and after that period, but during it to have stood relatively still. The possibility ought not to be neglected that the conversion was 10 years later than the dates suggested, *i.e.* in 41 or 46. This is especially important, in view of the fact that the evidence of Josephus as to the marriage of Herod and Herodias suggests that the death of John the Baptist, and therefore the Crucifixion, were later than has usually been thought (see K. Lake, 'Date of Herod's Marriage with Herodias and the Chronology of the Gospels,' in *Expositor*, 8th ser. iv. [1912] 462).

LITERATURE.—For literature on the subject see A. Harnack, *Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1897–1904, i. 233–9; the art. in *HDB* on 'Chronology' by C. H. Turner (older statements are almost entirely based on K. Wieseler's *Chronol. des apost. Zeitalters*, Hamburg, 1848); C. Clemen, *Paulus*, Giessen, 1904.

VII. *THE THEOLOGY OF ACTS.*—The theology of Acts is, on the whole, simple and early, showing no traces of Johannine, and surprisingly few of Pauline, influence. In common with all other canonical writings, it regards the God of the Christians as the one true God, who had revealed Himself in time past to His chosen people the Jews; and it identifies Jesus with the promised Messiah, who will come from heaven to judge the world, and to inaugurate the Kingdom of God on the earth. There is, however, just as in the Third Gospel, a noticeably smaller degree of interest in the Messianic kingdom than in Mk. and Mt., and a proportionately increased interest in the Spirit. This may probably be explained as due to the fact that the writer belonged to a more Gentile circle than those in which Mk. and Mt. were written. It is strange that in some respects Acts is less 'Gentile' or 'Greek' than the Epistles. This is partially explained by the fact that much of so-called *Paulinismus* has been read into the Epistles; but, even when an allowance

has been made for this fact, the difficulty remains. The points on which the theology of Acts requires discussion in detail are its christology, eschatology, attitude to the OT and Jewish Law, doctrine of the Spirit, and doctrine of baptism.

1. Christology.—In Acts Jesus is recognized as the Christ, but the Christology belongs to an early type. There is no suggestion of the Logos-Christology of the Fourth Gospel, or even of the Epistles of the Captivity. 'The Christ' appears to have the quite primitive meaning of 'the king of the kingdom of God, who is appointed by God to judge the world' (cf. *ἔστησεν ἡμέραν ἐν ᾗ μέλλει κρίνειν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ ᾧ ὥρισεν, πίστιν παράσχων πᾶσιν ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ νεκρῶν*, 17^{31}). At what point Jesus became Christ, according to Acts, is not quite clear. Harnack (*Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgesch.*, p. 75 ff.) thinks that Luke regarded the Resurrection as the moment, in agreement with one interpretation of Ro 1^4. In favour of this view can be cited Ac $13^{32f.}$ (St. Paul's speech at Antioch in Pisidia), *ταύτην [i.e. ἐπαγγελίαν] ὁ θεὸς ἐκπεπλήρωκεν τοῖς τέκνοις ἡμῶν ἀναστήσας Ἰησοῦν, ὡς καὶ ἐν τῷ ψαλμῷ γέγραπται τῷ δευτέρῳ υἱός μου εἶ σύ, ἐγὼ σήμερον γεγέννηκά σε*, which, strictly interpreted, must mean that Jesus became God's Son at the Resurrection, for in the context *ἀναστήσας* can be given no other translation. On the other hand, it must be remembered that many critics think that this same quotation from Ps 2 is connected with the Baptism in Lk 3^{22},* in which case the further quotation in Lk 4^{18}, *πνεῦμα κυρίου ἐπ' ἐμέ, οὗ εἵνεκεν ἔχρισέν με*, κτλ., acquires increased force, for the connexion of *ἔχρισεν* with *Χριστός* is obvious. This, again, reflects light on Ac 10^{38} (*ὡς ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς πνεύματι ἁγίῳ καὶ δυνάμει*) and the similar phrase in 4^{27}. It must remain a problem for critics how far this difference between Ac $13^{32f.}$ and 10^{38} and 4^{27} is accidental (or merely apparent), and how far it is justifiable to connect it with the fact that Ac 13 (which agrees with Ro 1^4) belongs to the Pauline source, while Ac 4 and 10 belong to the Jerusalem source A and the closely connected or identical Jerusalem-Cæsarean source (which agree with at all events one interpretation of the meaning of the Baptism in Mk 1).

The possible difference must, however, in any case not be exaggerated. The whole of early Christian literature outside Johannine influence is full of apparent inconsistencies, because *Χριστός* sometimes means 'the person who is by nature and predestination the appointed Messiah,' sometimes more narrowly 'the actual Messiah reigning in the Kingdom of God.' In the former sense it was possible to say *εἶναι τὸν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν* † (Ac 18^{28}), or that *ἔδει παθεῖν τὸν Χριστόν* (17^3). In the latter sense it was possible to speak of Jesus as *τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χριστόν* (3^{20}), where, in the light of the whole passage, the *τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν* most probably has reference to the Resurrection, though other interpretations are possible; or to say *κύριον αὐτὸν καὶ Χριστὸν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τοῦτον τὸν Ἰησοῦν* (2^{36}), which with less doubt may be referred to the Resurrection. The point seems to be that, on the one hand, Luke wishes to say that Jesus is the Christ, and that, on the other, he does not wish to say that the life of Jesus was the Messianic Parousia or 'Coming,' and does wish to say that by the Resurrection Jesus became the heavenly, glorious Being who would come shortly to judge the world.

It should be noted, as an especially archaic characteristic, that in Acts *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός* is not used as a name except in the phrase *τὸ ὄνομα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* (2^{38} 3^6 4^{10} 8^{12} 10^{48} 15^{26} 16^{18}); elsewhere *Χριστός* is always predicative. In this respect Acts seems to be more archaic than the Pauline Epistles.

The death of the Christ has in Acts but little theological importance. In one place only (20^{28} *τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ κυρίου* [but *θεοῦ* ℵ B vg, a few other authorities, and the TR] *ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*) is there anything which approaches the Pauline doctrine, and it is noticeable that this passage is from the speech of Paul to the Ephesian elders. In the speeches of Peter and Stephen, the death of the Christ is regarded as a wicked act of the Jews rather than as a necessary part of a plan of salvation. The most important passage is $3^{17ff.}$: *καὶ νῦν, ἀδελφοί, οἶδα ὅτι κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐπράξατε, ὥσπερ καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἃ προκατήγγειλεν διὰ στόματος πάντων τῶν προφητῶν παθεῖν τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ ἐπλήρωσεν οὕτως. μετανοήσατε οὖν, καὶ ἐπιστρέψατε, πρὸς τὸ ἐξαλειφθῆναι ὑμῶν τὰς ἁμαρτίας, ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι καιροὶ ἀναψύξεως ἀπὸ προσώπου τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἀποστείλῃ τὸν προκεχειρισμένον ὑμῖν Χριστὸν Ἰησοῦν, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν μὲν δέξασθαι ἄχρι χρόνων ἀποκαταστάσεως πάντων*, κτλ. Here there is a verbal connexion between the suffering of the Christ and the blotting out of sins, but no suggestion of any causal connexion. The writer says that the Jews put the Messiah to death, as had been foretold, but they did it in ignorance; and, if they repent, this and other sins will be blotted out, and Jesus will come as the predestined Messiah. The cause of the blotting out of sins is here, as in the OT prophets, repentance and change of conduct (*ἐπιστρέψατε*); nothing is said to suggest that this would not have been effective without the suffering of the Messiah.

2. Eschatology.—There is comparatively little in Acts which throws light on the eschatological expectation of the writer. As compared with Mark or St. Paul, he seems to be less eschatological, but traces of the primitive expectation are not wanting. In 1^{11} the Parousia of the Messiah is still expected: 'This Jesus who has been taken up into Heaven shall so come as ye have seen him go into Heaven'; and, though it is not here stated that the witnesses of the Ascension shall also live to see the Parousia, this seems to be implied. The same sort of comment can be made on $3^{20ff.}$ and 17^{31}; but otherwise there is little in Acts to bear on the eschatological expectation. This was, indeed, to be expected in a book written by Luke, who in his Gospel greatly lessened the eschatological elements found in Mark and Q.

3. The OT and Jewish Law.—For the writer of Acts the OT was the written source of all revelation. The sufficient proof of any argument or explanation of any historical event was to be found in the fact that it had been prophesied. Like all Greek-writing Christians, he uses the LXX and does not stop to ask whether it is textually accurate.

But a distinction must be made between the OT as prophecy and the OT as Law. In the latter sense the position taken up in Acts is that the Law of the OT is binding in every detail on Jewish Christians, but not binding at all on Gentile Christians. The most remarkable example of this is the picture given in ch. 25 of St. Paul's acceptance of the Law in Jerusalem, and the circumcision of Timothy. Whether this can be reconciled with the Apostle's own position is a point for students of the Epistles to settle; the present

* The text is doubtful: the editors usually give *σὺ εἶ ὁ υἱός μου ὁ ἀγαπητός, ἐν σοι ηὐδόκησα* with ℵ B L 33 fam 1, fam 13, and the mass of MSS (*i.e.* the *H* and *K* texts, and at least two important branches of *I* [*J* and H^r]), but Harnack prefers to read the quotation from Ps 2 with D a b c ff al. Aug. $Clem^{alex.}$ (thus possibly the text of I^a and certainly of a text coeval with *I*-*H*-*K* [if such a text existed]); probably he is right.

† This must mean that the Messiah (of whom all men know) is Jesus (of whom they had previously not heard); and emphasizes the fact that, whereas Christology means to most people of this generation an attempt to give an adequate doctrinal statement of Jesus, it meant for the earliest generation an attempt to show that Jesus adequately fulfilled an already existing doctrinal definition of the Messiah.

writer believes that in this respect Acts gives a faithful representation of St. Paul's own view (see the admirable discussion in Harnack, *Apostelgesch.*, pp. 8 and 211–217). The reason for thinking that the Law was still binding on Jews but not on Gentiles must be sought in a distinction between the Law as source of salvation—it was not this for any one—and the Law as command of God—this it was for the Jew, but not for the Gentile.

As prophecies, the OT books are accepted without question, and there is no trace of the Jewish controversy which raised the dispute as to the correct exegesis of the OT. This controversy can be traced in the *Epistle of Barnabas*, and found its extreme result in the attitude of Marcion, but in Acts it cannot be found, and apparently this is because the dispute had not yet arisen. (For the best summary of this question see Harnack, *Apostelgesch.*, p. 8 n.)

4. The Spirit.—It is not quite clear whether Acts regards all Christians as inspired by the Holy Spirit, but it is at least certain that it regards this as true of all the leaders, and of all who were fully Christians. It would appear possible, however, from such episodes as that of the Christians in Ephesus who had been baptized only in John's baptism, that a kind of imperfect Christianity was recognized; these Ephesians are described as *μαθηταί*, even before they had been baptized. On the other hand, the inadequacy of their baptism was discovered by St. Paul because they had not received the Spirit, so that even from this passage it would seem that Christians were regarded normally as inspired by the Holy Spirit. This Holy Spirit is usually referred to as *τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον* or *τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα* (21 times), or as *τὸ πνεῦμα* (9 times), or as *πνεῦμα ἅγιον* (16 times), once as *πνεῦμα κυρίου*, once as *τὸ πνεῦμα κυρίου*, and once as *τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ*.

A problem which has as yet scarcely received the attention which it deserves is, whether the Spirit was regarded as one or many (or, in other words, what is the difference between *τὸ πνεῦμα* and *πνεῦμα*). The exact meaning of the very important phrase *τὸ πνεῦμα Ἰησοῦ* is also obscure. Was it the Spirit which had been in Jesus, with which God had anointed (*ἔχρισεν*) Him? Or was it the Spirit-Jesus, as He had become after the Resurrection, in agreement with the Pauline phrase 'The Lord is the Spirit' (2 Co 3^{17})? In any case it is clear that the gift of the Spirit was regarded as in some sense the work of the exalted Jesus (Ac 2^{33}; cf. Lk 24^{49}) but ultimately derived from God.

A further development is found in Acts—that the gift of the Spirit can be ensured either by baptism (see § 5) or, more probably, by the 'laying on of hands' of the Apostles (*ἐπίθεσις χειρῶν*; cf. $8^{17ff.}$ 9^{17} 19^{6}), though this power, if one may judge from $8^{17ff.}$, was not shared by all other Christians.

This developed doctrine of the Spirit is the most marked feature of Acts, and the Lucan Gospel is clearly intended to lead up to it. The Christians were inspired by the Holy Spirit, and the Resurrection and Ascension of the Christ are related to this fact, rather than, as seems to be the case in Mark, to the coming of the Messianic kingdom. It is true that in Ac 2 the gift of the Spirit and the consequent glossolalia are explained as a sign that the last days are at hand, but the whole tendency of the Acts is to look on the possession of the Spirit as the characteristic of the Church, rather than of an eschatological kingdom, and the work of Christ is already regarded as the foundation of this inspired Church in the world, rather than as the inauguration of the Kingdom of God instead of the world. In some respects Luke is more archaic than St. Paul, but not in this.

5. Baptism.—There is no doubt that the writer of Acts regarded baptism as the normal means of entry into the Christian Church. There is also no doubt that he represents an early stage of Christian practice in which baptism was 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' (or 'of Jesus Christ'), not in the triadic formula (Ac 2^{38} 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^{5}). This agrees with the practice of St. Paul so far as it can be discovered (Ro 6^{3}, Gal 3^{27}; cf. 1 Co $1^{14ff.}$), with *Didache* 8 (but not 7), Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 17. 4, and the Eusebian text (if that refer, as is probable, to baptism) of Mt 28^{19} (but not with the usual text of this passage, or with the later Christian practice). Difficulty is, however, raised by the question whether the writer (or his sources) makes the gift of the Spirit depend on baptism or on the laying on of hands, either invariably or as a general rule. It is, on the whole, most probable that he regards baptism as a necessary preliminary to the gift of the Spirit, but not as the direct means by which the Spirit was given, whereas the 'laying on of hands' was the direct means of imparting this gift; though, under some exceptional circumstances, the gift was directly conferred by God without any ministerial interposition.

The passages which seem at first to identify baptism with the gift of the Spirit are especially Ac 2^{38} and 19^{2-6}. In 2^{38} St. Peter says: 'Repent and be baptized . . . and ye shall receive the gift of the Spirit.' This seems decisive, but in the context we are not told that those baptized received the Spirit—only that they were added to the Church. Was this the same thing for the writer? Or did he mean that after reception into the Church they would receive it? In the same way in Ac 19^{2-6} St. Paul asks the Ephesians whether they have not received the Spirit; and, hearing that this is not so, he inquires further into their baptism. Nevertheless, in the end, the gift of the Spirit in their case is directly connected with the 'laying on of hands.' This conclusion is, of course, supported by the other passages in which baptism and the gift of the Spirit are distinguished: of these $8^{12ff.}$ and 10^{47} are the most important. (A full discussion will be found in *ERE* ii. 382 ff.)

LITERATURE.—See at the end of the various sections and throughout the article.

KIRSOPP LAKE.

ACTS OF THE APOSTLES (Apocryphal).—I. *INTRODUCTORY.*—The most important of the Apocryphal Acts are the five (Peter, Paul, John, Andrew, Thomas) which sometimes are referred to as 'the Leucian Acts,' because they are supposed to have been composed by a certain Leucius. Before they can be discussed separately, it is therefore necessary to deal with the problem of the Leucian *corpus*, and inquire whether such a collection existed in early times, what was its nature, and how far the name of 'Leucian' may be applied to it. The direct source of the later tradition that there was a Leucian *corpus* is no doubt a statement of Photius (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 114):

ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλίον, αἱ λεγόμεναι τῶν ἀποστόλων περίοδοι, ἐν αἷς περιείχοντο πράξεις Πέτρου, Ἰωάννου, Ἀνδρέου, Θωμᾶ, Παύλου· γράφει δὲ αὐτάς, ὡς δηλοῖ τὸ αὐτὸ βιβλίον, Λεύκιος Χαρῖνος.

From this it is plain that Photius had seen a *corpus* of Acts, and interpreted some passage in the text to mean that the five Acts were all written by Leucius Charinus. It is therefore desirable to examine earlier literature for (1) mention of Leucius, (2) mention of the five Acts of Peter, John, Andrew, Thomas, and Paul, either as a *corpus* or as separate writings.

1. References to Leucius.—i. IN THE EAST.—Epiphanius (*Panar.* li. 6), when speaking of the Alogi, mentions as famous heretics Cerinthus and Ebion, Merinthus and Cleobius or Cleobulus, Claudius, Demas, and Hermogenes, and says they

were controverted by St. John καὶ τῶν ἀμφὶ αὐτόν, Λευκίου καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν. Presumably, therefore, Epiphanius was acquainted with some book in which Leucius appeared as a companion of St. John, but it will be noted that he does not suggest that Leucius was in any way heretical, but rather that he controverted heretics. Apart from this solitary mention there is no trace of Leucius in Greek Christian writings until Photius.

ii. IN THE WEST.—It is quite different in the West; here there is a series of witnesses to Leucius. (1) *Pacian* († *c.* 390), bishop of Barcelona.—In *Ep.* iii. 3 Pacian writes to Semp. Novatianus concerning the Proclan party of the Montanists,* who claimed some connexion with Leucius, which Pacian denied; and the natural interpretation of his words seems to be that he regarded Leucius as an orthodox Christian to whom the Montanists tried to attach their origin; but the passage is obscure:

'Et primum hi plurimis utuntur auctoribus; nam puto et Graecus Blastus ipsorum est. Theodotus quoque et Praxeas vestros aliquando docuere: ipsi illi Phryges [*i.e.* Montanists] nobiliores, qui se animatos mentiuntur a Leucio, se institutos a Proculo gloriantur.'

(2) *Augustine.*—In the *contra Felicem*, ii. 6, written earlier in the 5th cent., Augustine says:

'Habetis etiam hoc in scripturis apocryphis, quas canon quidem catholicus non admittit, vobis autem [*i.e.* the Manichæans] tanto graviores sunt, quanto a catholico canone secluduntur . . . in actibus scriptis a Leucio (codd. 'Leutio') quos tamquam actus apostolorum scribit, habes ita positum: "etenim speciosa figmenta et ostentatio simulata et coactio visibilium nec quidem ex propria natura procedunt, sed ex eo homine qui per se ipsum deterior factus est per seductionem."'

As is shown later, Augustine was acquainted with the Apocryphal Acts of Peter, Andrew, Thomas, John, and Paul, of which the first four were accepted only by Manichæans, the last (Paul) probably by Catholics also. There is nothing, however, to show from which he is quoting here, and the passage is not in any of the extant fragments. Thomas is excluded, as we probably have the complete text, and the passage is unlike what we possess of the Acts of Peter or Paul. It is therefore probable, as Schmidt argues (*Alte Petrusakten*, p. 50), that he is referring to Andrew or John—the two Acts for which the Leucian authorship is otherwise most probable. But the point is not certain, and the possibility remains that he is referring to a Manichæan *corpus* of Acts, collected by Leucius.

(3) *Euodius of Uzala.*—In the *de Fide contra Manichæos*, ch. 38 (printed in Augustine's works [ed. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. xlii.]), written by Euodius, the contemporary of Augustine, the Acts of Andrew is attributed to Leucius. The full quotation is given by Schmidt (p. 53), who thinks that it probably, though not certainly, implies that Euodius also regarded Leucius as the author of a *corpus* of Acts, but argues that this opinion was probably based only on an interpretation of the passage of Augustine quoted above. However this may be, it remains clear that Euodius regarded the Acts of Andrew as Manichæan and the work of Leucius.

(4) *Innocent I.*—In a rescript of 405 to Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse, Innocent says:

'Cetera autem quae vel sub nomine Matthiae vel sub nomine Iacobi minoris, vel sub nomine Petri et Johannis quae a quodam Leucio scripta sunt [vel sub nomine Andreae quae a Nexocharide et Leonida philosophis], vel sub nomine Thomae et si qua sunt alia (*v.l.* talia), non solum repudianda verum etiam noveris damnanda.'

The words enclosed in brackets are probably an interpolation (see Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, 209), and Nexocharides and Leonidas the philosophers are otherwise unknown persons. The text is certainly not quite in order, but Leucius is clearly indicated as the author of the Acts of Peter and of John.

* From pseudo-Tertullian, *Refut. omn. Hær.* viii. 19, x. 26, it appears that some Montanists were κατὰ Πρόκλον, others κατὰ Αἰσχίνην (see Th. Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, p. lxvi, n. 4).

(5) The *Decretum Gelasianum* (6th cent.).—After rejecting as apocryphal the Acts of Andrew, Thomas, Peter, and Philip, the writer goes on to give a list of Apocryphal Gospels, and then continues: 'Libri omnes quos fecit Leucius discipulus diaboli, apocryphi.' As there follow several Manichæan writings, it is tolerably certain that here, as elsewhere, 'disciple of the devil' means 'Manichæan,' but it is not clear to which books reference is made. There is a slight presumption that the books made by Leucius are not identical with any already mentioned, and this would suggest either the Acts of John, which are not otherwise mentioned, or possibly the Acts of Pilate, which in the Latin version are connected with the name of Leucius Charinus. Schmidt, however, while thinking that the Acts of John are certainly intended, is inclined to believe that the writer may have meant the whole Manichæan collection.

(6) *Turribius of Astorga* (*c.* 450).—In a correspondence with his fellow-bishops, Idacius and Creponius, Turribius discusses the literature of the Manichæans and Priscillianists. Among these he mentions 'Actus illos qui vocantur S. Andreae, vel illos qui appellantur S. Ioannis, quos sacrilego Leucius ore conscripsit, vel illos qui dicuntur S. Thomae et his similia, etc.' Here clearly Leucius is regarded as the author of the Acts of John, and presumably not of the others—though, if a certain laxity of syntax be conceded, the Acts of Andrew might be added—certainly not of the Acts of Thomas.

(7) *Mellitus.*—The writer of a late Catholic version of the Acts, who took to himself the name of Mellitus, probably intending to identify himself with Melito of Sardis (*c.* 160–190), says: 'Volo sollicitam esse fraternitatem vestram de Leucio quodam qui scripsit apostolorum actus, Ioannis evangelistae et sancti Andreae vel Thomae apostoli, etc.'; so that he must have regarded Leucius as the author of these three Acts, but there is no suggestion of the full *corpus* of five. Schmidt thinks that he probably derived his knowledge from the letter of Turribius and a list of heretical writings, which was once annexed to it, though it has now disappeared; the letter was probably taken up into the works of Leo, with whom Turribius corresponded (see Schmidt, p. 61). It does not appear probable from internal evidence that Mellitus had any first-hand knowledge of the Apocryphal Acts.

(8) Further traces of Leucius, under the corrupt form of *Seleucus*, can perhaps be traced in pseudo-Hieronymus, *Ep. ad Chromatium et Heliodorum*, and in literature dependent upon it (see Schmidt, p. 62); but no importance can be attached to this late and inferior composition.

It would appear from these data that (*a*) the earliest traditions connected Leucius with St. John, and did not regard him as heretical. (*b*) A quite late tradition regarded him as the author of the *corpus* of five Acts—Paul, Peter, John, Andrew, and Thomas—which the Manichæans used as a substitute for the canonical Acts, and the Priscillianists in addition to the canonical Acts. (*c*) External evidence suggests that Leucius was probably the author of the Acts of John, and, with less clearness, of Andrew, but not of Peter, Paul, or Thomas; and this conclusion is supported by internal evidence.

2. The evidence for the Acts as a collection.—i. IN THE WEST.—(1) *Philastrius of Brescia* (383–391).—In his *Liber de Hæresibus*, 88, we have the earliest evidence for a *corpus* of Apocryphal Acts. He begins by referring to those who use 'apocryfa, id est secreta,' instead of the canonical OT and NT, and mentions as the chief of those who do this the 'Manichaei, Gnostici, Nicolaitae, Valentiniani et

alii quam plurimi qui apocryfa prophetarum et apostolorum, id est Actus separatos habentes, canonicas legere scripturas contemnunt.' Later on he gives more details in a passage where the text is unfortunately clearly corrupt:

'Nam Manichaei apocryfa beati Andreae apostoli, id est Actus quos fecit veniens de Ponto in Greciam [quos] conscripserunt tunc discipuli sequentes beatum apostolum, unde et habent Manichaei et alii tales Andreae beati et Joannis actus evangelistae beati et Petri similiter beatissimi apostoli et Pauli pariter beati apostoli: in quibus quia signa fecerunt magna et prodigia, etc.'

Whatever may be the true text of this passage, it clearly implies (*a*) that the Manichæans used a *corpus* of Apocryphal Acts in place of the canonical Acts of the Apostles; (*b*) that this *corpus* contained the Acts of Andrew, John, Peter, and Paul; (*c*) the Acts of Thomas is not mentioned (Schmidt [p. 44] thinks that this is merely accidental); (*d*) Leucius is not mentioned.

(2) *Augustine.*—In the controversial writings of Augustine against the Manichæans there are many allusions to the Apocryphal Acts. Reference may especially be made to (*a*) the *de Sermone Domini in Monte* (i. 20, 65), in which allusions can be traced to the Acts of Thomas; (*b*) the *contra Adimantum*, 17, where allusions to the Acts of Thomas and Acts of Peter can be identified; (*c*) the *contra Faustum Manicheum* (lib. xiv. and xxx.); (*d*) the *contra Felicem*; and (*e*) the *de Civitate Dei.* Schmidt (44 ff.) has shown, from the consideration of these passages, that the Manichæans used the five Acts of John, Andrew, Peter, Thomas, and Paul, while the Catholics rejected the first four, but accepted the Acts of Paul. The crucial passage for this conclusion is *c. Faustum*, xxx. 4, in which Faustus the Manichee says:

'Mitto enim ceteros eiusdem domini nostri apostolos, Petrum et Andream, Thomam et illum inexpertum veneris inter ceteros beatum Johannem . . . sed hos quidem, ut dixi, praetereo, quia eos vos [*i.e.* the Catholics] exclusistis ex canone, facileque mente sacrilega vestra daemoniorum his potestis importare doctrinas. Num igitur et de Christo eadem dicere poteritis aut de apostolo Paulo, quem similiter ubique constat et verbo semper praetulisse nuptis innuptas et id opere quoque ostendisse erga sanctissimam Theclam? quodsi haec daemoniorum doctrina non fuit, quam et Theclae Paulus et ceteri ceteris adnuntiaverunt apostoli, cui credi iam poterit hoc ab ipso memoratum, tamquam sit daemoniorum voluntas et doctrina etiam persuasio sanctimonii?'

As Schmidt says, it is clear that Faustus gave up the use of the Acts of Andrew, John, Peter, and Thomas, because his opponents refused to recognize their authority, but relied on a Pauline document relating to Thekla. Before the discovery of the Acts of Paul it was possible to think that this might be the so-called Acts of Paul and Thekla. It is now, however, fairly certain that this latter document in its present form is merely an extract from the older Acts of Paul; there is no reason, therefore, to doubt that Augustine and Faustus both recognized the Acts of Paul, which had not yet been entirely deposed from the Canon.

(3) *Innocent I. and Exsuperius.*—A correspondence (in A.D. 405) between Innocent I. and Exsuperius, bishop of Toulouse (see the quotation above), shows that the Apocryphal Acts were used in Spain not only by Manichæans but also by Priscillianists. It is not quite clear to which Acts Innocent refers. Besides mentioning the Acts of Peter and John (of which certainly the latter and probably the former also are ascribed to Leucius), he refers to Acts of Matthias and of James the less, which do not elsewhere appear in the Manichæan *corpus*, as well as to those of Andrew, which in some texts (see Zahn, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, Leipzig, 1888–92, ii. 244 ff.) are ascribed to Nexocharide (*v.l.* Xenocharide) and Leonidas; Fabricius (*Codex Apocryphus*, ii. 767) thinks that these names are a corruption of Charinus and Leucius.

(4) *Leo the Great and Turribius* (440–461).—Forty years after the time of Innocent, the correspondence between Leo and Turribius, bishop of Astorga in Spain, throws more light on the use of the Apocryphal Acts by the Priscillianists. Leo complains that the Priscillianists 'scripturas veras adulterant' and 'falsas inducunt.' Turribius found that the Priscillianists and Manichæans were making great progress in Spain, and for this reason had elicited a letter of condemnation from Leo. He also expressed himself further in his letters to Idacius and Creponius, and apparently annexed a selection of heretical passages from the Apocryphal Acts to justify his disapproval. This selection is, however, unfortunately no longer extant, but it is plain that he was acquainted with the Acts of Thomas, Andrew, and John (for text see above, 1. (6)). He also refers to a *Memoria Apostolorum*,

'in quo ad magnam perversitatis suae auctoritatem doctrinam domini mentiuntur, qui totam destruit legem veteris Testamenti et omnia quae S. Moysi de diversis creaturae factorisque divinitus revelata sunt, praeter reliquas eiusdem libri blasphemias quas referre pertaesum est.'

This *Memoria Apostolorum* is also mentioned by Orosius (*Consultatio ad Augustinum*, in *Patr. Lat.* xlii. 667), and Schmidt (p. 50) thinks that it is the source of a quotation from a Manichæan writing which Augustine could not trace:

'Sed Apostolis dominus noster interrogantibus de Judaeorum prophetis quid sentiri deberet, qui de adventu eius aliquid cecinisse in praeteritum putabantur, commotus talia eos etiam nunc sentire respondit "Demisistis vivum qui ante vos est et de mortuis fabulamini."'

ii. IN THE EAST.—(1) *Eusebius.*—In *HE* iii. 25. 6 the Acts of John and Andrew are mentioned together with 'those of the other apostles,' and are regarded as books used by heretics. In iii. 3. 2 the Acts of Peter are mentioned, and in iii. 3. 5 and iii. 25. 4 the Acts of Paul. The Acts of Thomas are not quoted, nor is any reference made to Leucius.

(2) *Ephraim Syrus* (*c.* 360).—In his commentary Ephraim says that the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians was written by the followers of Bardesanes, 'in order that under cover of the signs and wonders of the Apostle, which they described, they might ascribe to the name of the Apostle their own godlessness, against which the Apostle had striven.' This apocryphal correspondence was contained in the Acts of Paul, but it also circulated in some Syriac and Armenian NT MSS; no doubt it was an excerpt from the Acts, but it is not clear whether Ephraim knew the Acts or the excerpt. It is, however, much more probable that Ephraim is here referring to the Acts, as the correspondence alone does not seem ever to have been regarded by the Syriac Church as heretical.

(3) *Epiphanius.*—In the *Panarion* Epiphanius mentions the Acts of Thomas, Andrew, and John in connexion with the Encratites (*Pan.* xlvii. 1), the Apostolici (*ib.* lxi. 1), and other heretics (cf. xxx. 16, lxiii. 2). But there is no sign of any consciousness that there was a Manichæan *corpus*, or that there was any connexion with Leucius. At the same time a note in Photius (*Bibl.* cod. 179) states that Agapius used the Acts of Andrew, so that the Eastern Manichæans must have used at least some of the Acts.

(4) *Amphilochius of Iconium* (*c.* 374).—At the Second Council of Nicæa (787) a quotation was read from Amphilochius' lost book περὶ τῶν ψευδεπιγράφων τῶν παρὰ αἱρετικοῖς, in which he proposed δείξομεν δὲ τὰ βιβλία ταῦτα, ἃ προφέρουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ ἀπόστολοι τῆς ἐκκλησίας, οὐχὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεις ἀλλὰ δαιμόνων συγγράμματα. It also appears from the Acts of the Council that the Acts of John was quoted and condemned. It was resolved that no more copies were to be made and those already existing were to be burnt.

(5) *John of Thessalonica* (*c.* 680).—In the preface to his recension of the τελείωσις Μαρίας (M. Bonnet, *ZWT*, 1880, p. 239 ff.), John explains that the Acts of Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John were heretical productions, but seems to argue that they made use of genuine material, just as had been the case with the τελείωσις.

From this evidence, which is given with a full and clear discussion in his *Alte Petrusakten* (cf. also his *Acta Pauli*, 112 f.), C. Schmidt draws the following conclusion: (*a*) The Manichæans had formed a *corpus* of the five Acts, but were not themselves the authors of any of them. They used this *corpus* instead of the canonical Acts, and the Priscillianists used it in addition to the Canon. (*b*) In the course of the struggle between the Manichæans and the Church the view was adopted that the *corpus* was the work of a certain heretical Leucius. (*c*) The name of Leucius originally belonged to the Acts of John alone, and was erroneously attributed to the other books. (*d*) In this way the Acts of Paul, which was originally recognized as orthodox if not canonical, came to be regarded as heretical.

On the evidence as we have it no serious objection can be made to these propositions; it might, however, be a matter for investigation whether the *corpus* of the Manichæans was also used by the Eastern Manichæans, or was the peculiar possession of the Western branch.

II. THE INDIVIDUAL ACTS.—**1. The Acts of Paul.**—By far the most important discovery concerning the Apocryphal Gospels in recent years was the Coptic text of the Acts of Paul found by C. Schmidt in the Heidelberg Papyrus 1, and published by him in his *Acta Pauli*, Leipzig, 1903 (and in a cheaper form without the facsimile of the text, in 1905). This is not indeed complete, and there are still minor problems connected with the order of the incidents, but the main facts are now plain; and the general contents of the Acts may be regarded as roughly established, with the exception of certain rather serious lacunæ, especially at the beginning and in the middle. The contents, as we have them, can be divided most conveniently as follows:

(1) *In Antioch.*—Paul is in the house of a Jew named Anchares and his wife Phila, whose son is dead. Paul restores the boy to life, and makes many converts; but he is suspected of magic, and a riot ensues in which he is ill-treated and stoned. He then goes to Iconium.

(2) *In Iconium (the Thekla-story).*—Here the well-known story of Thekla is placed, and on the way to Iconium we are introduced to Demas and Hermogenes, who are represented as Gnostics with a peculiar doctrine of an ἀνάστασις not of the flesh. In Iconium Paul was entertained by Onesiphorus, and preached in his house on ἀνάστασις and ἐγκράτεια, with the result that Thekla, the daughter of Theokleia, abandoned her betrothal to Thamyris and vowed herself to a life of virginity. Theokleia and Thamyris therefore raised persecution against Paul and Thekla. Paul was scourged and banished from the town; Thekla was condemned to be burnt. From the flames she was miraculously preserved, and went to Antioch, where she found Paul. In Antioch her beauty attracted the attention of Alexander, a prominent Antiochian, and her refusal to consent to his wishes led to her condemnation to the wild beasts. A lioness protected her, but ultimately, after a series of miraculous rescues, she was forced to jump into a pond full of seals and committed herself to the water with the baptismal formula. Ultimately the protection of Queen Tryphæna and the sympathy of the women of Antioch secured her pardon. She returned to the house of Tryphæna and converted her and her servants, and then followed Paul in man's clothing to Myrrha. Then she returned to Iconium, and finally died in Seleucia. The text of this whole story is very defective in Coptic, but it is preserved separately in Greek, and enough remains in the Coptic to show that the Greek has kept fairly well to the original story.

(3) *In Myrrha.*—Thekla left Paul in Myrrha. Here he healed of the dropsy a man named Hermokrates, who was baptized. But Hermippus the elder son of Hermokrates was opposed to Paul, and the younger son, Dion, died. The text is here full of lacunæ, but apparently Paul raised up Dion, and punished Hermippus with blindness, but afterwards healed and converted him. He then went on to Sidon.

(4) *In Sidon.*—On the road to Sidon there is an incident connected with a heathen altar, and the power of Christians over the demons or heathen gods, but there is unfortunately a large lacuna in the text. In Sidon there is an incident which apparently is concerned with unnatural vice, and Paul and other Christians were shut up in the temple of Apollo. At the prayer of Paul the temple was destroyed, but Paul was taken into the amphitheatre. The text is defective, and the manner of his rescue is not clear, but apparently he made a speech and gained many converts, and then went to Tyre.

(5) *In Tyre.*—Only the beginning of the story is extant, but apparently the central feature is the exorcism of demons and the curing of a dumb child. After this there is a great lacuna, in which Schmidt places various fragments dealing with the question of the Jewish law; and it appears possible that the scene is moved to Jerusalem and that Peter is also present.

(6) *Paul in prison in the mines.*—In this incident Paul appears as one of those condemned to work in the mines (? in Macedonia), and he restores to life a certain Phrontina. Presumably he ultimately escaped from his imprisonment, but the text is incomplete.

(7) *In Philippi.*—The most important incident connected with Philippi is a correspondence with the Corinthians, dealing with certain heretical views, of which the main tenets are (*a*) a denial of the resurrection of the flesh; (*b*) the human body is not the creation of God; (*c*) the world is not the creation of God; (*d*) the government of the universe is not in the hands of God; (*e*) the crucifixion was not that of Christ, but of a docetic phantasm; (*f*) Christ was not born of Mary, nor was he of the seed of David.

(8) *A farewell scene.*—The place in which this scene is laid cannot be discerned from the fragments which remain, but it contains a prophecy of Paul's work in Rome, placed in the mouth of a certain Cleobius.

(9) *The martyrdom of Paul.*—The last episode gives an account of the martyrdom of Paul, and the text of this is also preserved as a separate document in Greek. According to it, Paul preached without any hindrance, and there is no suggestion that he was a prisoner. On one occasion, while he was preaching, Patroclus, a servant of Nero, fell from a window and was killed. Paul restored him, and he was converted. When Nero heard of this miracle, Patroclus acknowledged that he was the soldier of the βασιλεὺς Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. Nero caused him and other Christians to be arrested, condemned Paul to be beheaded, and the other Christians to be burnt. In prison Paul converted the prefect Longinus and the centurion Cestus, and prophesied to them life after death. Longinus and Cestus were told to go to his grave on the next day, when they would be baptized by Titus and Luke. At his execution milk spurted from his

neck instead of blood, and afterwards he appeared to Nero, who was so impressed that he ended the persecution. The narrative ends with the baptism of Longinus and Cestus at the grave of Paul.

The testimony of early writers to the Acts of Paul.—Since the discovery of the Coptic Acts, which show that the 'Acts of Paul and Thekla' is an extract from the Acts of Paul, there is no justification for doubting that Tertullian refers to the Acts of Paul in *de Baptismo*, 17:

'Quodsi qui Paulî perperam inscripta legunt, exemplum Theclae ad licentiam mulierum docendi tinguendique defendunt, sciant in Asia presbyterum, qui eam scripturam construxit quasi titulo Pauli de suo cumulans, convictum atque confessum se id amore Pauli fecisse loco decessisse.'

This statement is extremely valuable, because it gives us clear evidence as to the provenance of the Acts, proves that it is not later than the 2nd cent., and shows that it was composed in the great Church, not in any heretical or Gnostic sect.

Origen quotes the Acts in *de Principiis*, i. 2, 3, and in *in Johannem*, xx. 12. In both cases he gives the Acts of Paul definitely as the source of his quotation, but neither passage is found in the extant texts. He apparently regards the Acts as only slightly inferior to the Canonical Scriptures.

Eusebius in *HE* iii. 25 ranks the Acts of Paul, with the *Shepherd of Hermas*, *Ep. of Barnabas*, the *Apoc. of Peter*, the *Didache*, and possibly the Johannine Apocalypse, as among the *νόθα*. But he does not appear to place it with the Acts of Andrew and John and 'the other apostles' (perhaps the Acts of Peter and Thomas) which are *ἄτοπα πάντη καὶ δυσσεβῆ*. Hence he probably did not regard the Acts of Paul as heretical.

In the Claromontane list of books of the OT and NT the Acts of Paul comes at the end in the company of 'Barnabae epistula, Johannis revelatio, Actus Apostolorum, Pastor, Actus Pauli, Revelatio Petri,' which suggests somewhat the same judgment as that of Eusebius.

From the Commentary of Hippolytus on Dn 3^{29} it seems clear that he regarded the Acts of Paul as definitely historical and trustworthy. Combating those who doubted the truth of the story of Daniel in the lions' den, he says:

εἰ γὰρ πιστεύομεν ὅτι Παύλου εἰς θηρία κατακριθέντος ἀφεθεὶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ λέων εἰς τοὺς πόδας ἀναπεσὼν περιέλειχεν αὐτόν, πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Δανιὴλ γενόμενα πιστεύσομεν;

This incident is not extant in the Coptic texts, but a full account, stated to be taken from the *Περίοδοι Παύλου*, is given by Nicephorus Callistus (cf. Zahn, *Gesch. d. NT Kanons*, ii. 2. p. 880 ff.), and there is therefore no doubt but that Hippolytus regarded the Acts of Paul as little less than canonical.

Finally, the passage quoted above from Augustine, c. *Faust.* xxx., makes it clear that in the Church of Africa, as late as the time of Augustine, the Acts of Paul was accepted as authoritative and orthodox, even if not canonical.

The date of the Acts of Paul.—The testimony of early writers furnishes a safe *terminus ad quem*. The Acts must be earlier than Tertullian's *de Baptismo*. The precise date of this tractate is uncertain, but at the latest it is only a few years later than A.D. 200, so that the Acts must at all events belong to the 2nd century. The question is whether it is a great deal or a very little earlier. Schmidt is influenced by the frequent use of the canonical Acts and the Pastoral Epistles to choose a date not much earlier than 180; on the other hand, Harnack thinks that the complete silence as to the Montanist movement, or anything which could be construed as anti-Montanist polemics, points to a date earlier than 170. Between these two positions a choice is difficult: probably we cannot really say more than that between 160 and 200 is the most likely period for the composition of the Acts of Paul. (See especially C. Schmidt, *Acta Pauli*, 176 ff., where the whole question is thoroughly discussed, and reference made to the literature bearing on the subject.)

The theology of the Acts of Paul.—From the theological point of view the Acts of Paul has exceptional value as giving a presentment of the ordinary Christianity of Asia at the end of the 2nd cent., undisturbed by polemical or other special aims.

So far as the doctrine of God is concerned, the teaching of the Acts is quite simple—it is that 'there is one God, and his Son, Jesus Christ,' which is sometimes condensed into the statement that there is no other God save Jesus Christ alone. It is thus in no sense Arian or Ebionite, but at the same time distinctly not Nicene. It is also definitely not Gnostic, for the Supreme God is also the Creator, and the instigator if not the agent of redemption. The general view which is implied is that the world was created good, and man was given the especial favour of being the son of God. This sonship was broken by the Fall, instigated by the serpent. From that moment history became a struggle between God, who was repairing the evil of the Fall, through His chosen people Israel and through the prophets, and the prince of this world, who resisted His efforts, had proclaimed himself to be God (in this way heathen religion was explained), and had bound all humanity to him by the lusts of the flesh. The result of this process was the existence of *ἀγνωσία* and *πλάνη* followed by *φθορά*, *ἀκαθαρσία*, *ἡδονή*, and *θάνατος*, and the need of an ultimate judgment of God, which would destroy all that was contaminated. But in His mercy God had sent His Holy Spirit into Mary, in order in this way, by becoming flesh, to destroy the dominion of evil over flesh. This Holy Spirit was (as in Justin Martyr) identical with the spirit which had spoken through the Jewish prophets, so that the Christian faith rested throughout on the Spirit, which had given the prophets to the Jews and later on had been incarnate in the Christ who had given the gospel. It should be noted that there is no attempt to distinguish between the Logos and the Spirit. 'Father, Son, and Spirit' is a formula which seems to mean Father, Spirit or Logos, and the Son or Incarnate Spirit. It is clear that this is the popular theology out of which the Sabellian and Arian controversies can best be explained. For the reconstruction of late 2nd cent. Christology in popular circles the Acts of Paul is of unique value. There is also a marked survival of primitive eschatological interest: the expectation of the coming of Christ, and the establishment of a glorious kingdom in which Christians will share, is almost central. The means whereby Christians ensure this result are asceticism and baptism. The latter is probably the necessary moment, and is habitually called the *σφραγίς*; but asceticism is equally necessary, and involves an absolute abstinence from all sexual relations, even in marriage. There is no trace of any institution of repentance for sin after baptism; for this reason, baptism appears usually to be postponed, and in these respects the Acts of Paul agrees more closely with Tertullian than with Hermas. The Eucharist is primarily a meal of the community, and the theology underlying it is not clearly expressed; the most remarkable feature is that here, as in all the other Apocryphal Acts, water takes the place of wine. This feature used to be regarded as Gnostic, but in view of more extended knowledge of the Acts as a whole this opinion is untenable.

For the best statement of the theology of the Acts is in C. Schmidt's *Acta Pauli*, 183 ff. This also gives full references to earlier literature.

2. The Acts of Peter.—The Acts of Peter is no longer extant in a complete form. But, apart from late paraphrastic recensions, which re-edit older material in a form more agreeable to Catholic taste, three documents exist, two of them in a fragmentary form, which probably represent portions of the original Acts. These are (1) a Coptic text of a Πράξεις Πέτρου, (2) the Codex Vercellensis, or *Actus Petri cum Simone*, and (3) a Greek text of the *Martyrium Petri*.

(1) *The Coptic* Πράξεις Πέτρου.—This fragment was found by C. Schmidt at the end of the Gnostic Papyrus P. 8502 in the Egyptian Museum at Berlin (*Sitzungsber. d. K. Preuss. Akad.* xxxvi. [1896] 839 ff.), and published by him in *Die alten Petrusakten*, Leipzig, 1903. This relates the story of Peter's paralyzed daughter. At the beginning of the incident, Peter, who had been twitted with the paralysis of his daughter in spite of his powers of miraculous healing, cured her for a short time, and then restored her paralytic condition. Having thus shown his power, he explained that she had originally been paralyzed in answer to his own prayer, in order to preserve her virginity, which was threatened by a certain Ptolemæus. By this miracle Ptolemæus had been converted to Christianity, and dying soon afterwards left land to Peter's daughter, which Peter sold, giving the proceeds of it to the poor.

(2) *The Codex Vercellensis* (Bibliothec. capitul. Vercellensis, cviii. 1).—This MS contains either an extract from or a recension of the last part of the Acts. It begins by describing Paul's departure from Rome to Spain, and the arrival of Simon Magus, who makes Aricia his headquarters. Meanwhile, however, Peter, who had finished 'the twelve years which the Lord had enjoined on him' (on this legend see esp. Harnack's *Expansion of Christianity*, i. [1904] 48 n.), was directed to go to Rome to oppose Simon. Simon, who was first in Rome, perverted Marcellus, a convert of Paul; and, as soon as Peter arrived, a contest was waged for his faith on the question of the respective powers of Simon and Peter to raise the dead. In this contest, which is long drawn out, Peter was successful, and Simon retreated. Later on, the latter made an effort to restore his reputation by flying in the air, but the prayer of Peter caused him to fall and break his thigh. He was carried to Aricia and thence to Terracina, where he died.

The story then relates the events which led up to the martyrdom of Peter. The main reason was the decision of the converted concubines of Agrippa the prefect to refuse any further intercourse with him, and the similar conduct of Xanthippe the wife of Albinus, a friend of Nero, and of many other wives who all left their husbands. Peter was warned of the anger of Agrippa, and at first was persuaded by the Christians to leave Rome. At this point the Codex Vercellensis is defective, but the missing incidents can be restored from the *Martyrium Petri*, which overlaps the Codex Vercellensis. From this it appears that Peter on his departure from Rome was arrested by a vision of Christ going to Rome and saying, 'I am going to Rome to be crucified.' Peter therefore applied this vision to himself, and went back to Rome, where he was crucified by the orders of the prefect Agrippa. Here the Codex Vercellensis is again extant, and runs parallel with the *Martyrium* to the end. Peter at his own request was crucified head downwards, in order to fulfil the saying of the Lord, 'Si non feceritis dextram tamquam sinistram, et sinistram ut dextram, et quae sunt sursum tamquam deorsum, et quae retro sunt tamquam ab ante, non intrabitis in regna coelorum'—a saying which is also found in the Gospel of the Egyptians. After Peter's death Marcellus took down his body and buried it in his own tomb, after costly embalming. But Peter appeared to him in a vision and rebuked him for not having obeyed the precept 'Let the dead bury their dead.' Finally, the narrative explains that Nero was angry with Agrippa because he wished to have inflicted worse tortures on Peter, but, while he was planning further persecution of the Christians, he was deterred by a vision of an angel, so that Peter was the last martyr of that persecution. The Codex ends with the obviously corrupt line 'actus Petri apostoli explicuerunt cum pace et Simonis amen.' Lipsius (*Acta Apocrypha*, p. 103) suggests with great probability that 'et Simonis' is a misplaced gloss. In this case the 'actus P. apostoli explicuerunt. Amen,' would be the conclusion of the original Acts of Peter, of which the Codex Vercellensis is an extract, giving the Roman episode and martyrdom.

(3) *The Martyrium Petri.*—The text of this early extract from the Acts of Peter is preserved in two MSS. (*a*) Cod. Patmiensis 48 (9th cent.). This was copied by C. Krumbacher in 1885 and published by Lipsius in 1886 in the *Jahrbücher für Protest. Theologie*, pp. 86–106.—(*b*) Cod. Athous Vatoped. 79 (10th–11th cent.). This was copied by Ph. Meyer and published by Lipsius in his *Acta Apocrypha*. There are also Slavonic and Coptic (Sahidic) versions, the latter preserved directly in three fragments and indirectly in Arabic and Ethiopic translations (see further Lipsius, *Act. Apocr.* liv f.). Lipsius thinks that the Patmos MS is the best. The contents of the *Martyrium* are the same as the second part of the Codex Vercellensis, beginning with Simon's flight in the air, and from the comparison of the Codex with the Greek *Martyrium* it is possible that the original form of this part of the ancient Acta can be reconstructed with some probability.

The place of origin of the Acts of Peter.—There is no unanimity among critics as to the community in which the Acts of Peter was first produced. There is of course a natural tendency to consider in the first place the possibility that the document is Roman. In favour of this view the most complete statement is that of Erbes ('Petrus nicht in Rom, sondern in Jerusalem gestorben,' *ZKG* xxii. 1, pp. 1–47 and 2, pp. 161–231). He lays special emphasis on the fact that the writer is acquainted with the entrance to Rome both from the sea and by road, and knows that the paved way from Puteoli to Rome is bad to walk upon and jars the pilgrims who use it. He also emphasizes the correctness of the narrative in placing the contest between Peter and Simon Magus in the Forum Julium, on the ground that, according to Appian (*de Bello Civili*, ii. 102), this forum was especially reserved for disputes and closed to commerce. He makes other points of a similar nature, but not of so striking a character.

Against this it is urged by Harnack (*Altchristl. Litteraturgesch.* ii. 559) and Zahn (*Gesch. des NT Kanons*, ii. 841) that the local references to Rome are really very small, and do not give more knowledge than was easily accessible to any one in the 2nd or 3rd century. For instance, that Aricia and Terracina are towns not far from Rome is a fact which must have been quite generally known.

Other arguments seem to point to Asia rather than Rome for the composition of the Acts. Apart from the OT and NT, the books which clearly were made use of by the redactor of the Acts of Peter are the Acts of Paul and the Acts of John. Now we know with tolerable certainty that the Acts of Paul was written in Asia, and it is usually thought that the Acts of John came from Ephesus or the neighbourhood. It is, therefore, not improbable that the Acts of Peter came from the

same district. Other possibilities are Antioch or Jerusalem, but there is less to be said in favour of these than either Rome or Asia.

The date of the Acts of Peter.—The *terminus ad quem* is some time earlier than Commodian the African Christian poet, who was clearly acquainted with both the Acts of Paul and the Acts of Peter, probably in a Latin version, and appears to have regarded them as undoubted history (cf. esp. Commodian, *Carmen Apologeticum*, 623 ff.). Commodian is generally supposed to have written *c.* A.D. 250, so that some years earlier than this (to allow for the spread of the Acts, their translation, and the growth of their prestige) is the earliest possible date. The *terminus a quo* is more difficult to find. It is generally conceded that the date + 165 adopted by Lipsius (*Apokr. Apostelgesch.*, ii. 1, p. 275) is too early, and opinion usually fixes on the decennium either side of the year 200 as the most probable for the writing of the Acts. Harnack thinks that early in the 3rd cent. is the most probable time (*Altchr. Lit.*, ii. 553 ff.), but Erbes and C. Schmidt incline rather to the end of the 2nd century. The most important argument is concerned with the compassionate attitude towards the *lapsi*, which is very marked in the Acts. Harnack thinks that this is not intelligible until 230, while Erbes and Schmidt maintain that in the light of the *Shepherd of Hermas* a much earlier date is possible. Obviously this sort of reasoning is somewhat tentative, and it is apparently not possible at present to say more than that 180–230 seems to be the half-century within which the composition ought probably to be placed.

The sources used by the Acts of Peter.—Apart from the OT and NT, both of which the writer uses freely and accepts as equally inspired, the use can clearly be traced of the following books. (*a*) The Acts of Paul. Apart from various smaller points of contact, the whole account of the martyrdom of Peter is clearly based on the martyrdom of Paul. The whole subject is worked out in full detail by C. Schmidt in his *Petrusakten* (p. 82 ff.); but it should be added that there is perhaps still room for doubt whether that portion of the Codex Vercellensis which deals with Paul really belongs to the Acts of Peter, and is not an addition made by the redactor who formed the excerpt, rather than by the author of the Acts itself. The fullest statement of this possibility is given by Harnack (*TU* xx. 2 [1900], p. 103 ff.), and a discussion tending to negative his conclusions is to be found in Schmidt's *Petrusakten*, 82 f. —(*b*) The Acts of John. The frequent verbal dependence of the Acts of Peter on the Acts of John is demonstrated by the long list of parallel passages given by M. R. James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. p. xxiv ff. James, however, thought at that time that this list proved the identity of authorship of the two books; but Schmidt has shown conclusively that the facts must be explained as due to dependence rather than to identity of authorship. His most telling argument is the large use of the OT and NT made by the Acts of Peter as contrasted with their very limited use in the Acts of John.—(*c*) Schmidt also argues that the Acts used the Κήρυγμα Πέτρου. Probably he is right, but our knowledge of the Κήρυγμα is too small to enable the question to be satisfactorily settled.

The theology of the Acts of Peter.—In general the account given above of the theology of the Acts of Paul will serve also for the Acts of Peter. But in some passages which depend on the Acts of John there is an appearance of a pronounced Modalism or almost of Docetism. Lipsius and others, who believed, with Zahn and James, that the Acts of Peter was written by the author of the Acts of John, used to think that these passages pointed to a heretical and Gnostic origin. But Harnack (*Altchr. Lit.* ii. 560 ff.) and Schmidt (*Petrusakten*, p. 111 ff.) have argued very forcibly that this is not the case, and that the Acts of Peter represents the popular Christianity of the end of the 2nd cent. rather than any Gnostic sect.

No complete edition of the text exists: the Codex Vercellensis and the Greek text of the *Martyrium* are critically edited by R. A. Lipsius in *Acta Apocrypha*, i. (Leipzig, 1891); the Coptic Πράξεις Πέτρου by C. Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten* (*TU* xxiv. 1), Leipzig, 1903. Very important is the treatment of Harnack in his *Chronologie*, 1897, i. 559 ff., and the article of Erbes in *ZKG* xxii. 1, p. 1 ff. and 2, p. 161 ff. under the title 'Petrus nicht in Rom, sondern in Jerusalem gestorben.'

3. The Acts of John.—Recent research has added much to our knowledge of the Acts of John; and, though the text is fragmentary and uncertain, it is now possible to reconstruct the greater part of the original. No single MS is complete, but, from the comparison of many, the following incidents can be arranged:

(1) *In Ephesus.*—John comes from Miletus to Ephesus and meets Lykomedes, with whom he lodges. Here Cleopatra, the wife of Lykomedes, dies, and her husband also falls dead from grief, but John raises both to life. Lykomedes obtains a picture of the Apostle, and worships it in his room until John discovers it and shows him his mistake. The next episode at Ephesus is in the theatre, where John makes a long speech and heals many sick. John is then summoned to Smyrna, but determines first to strengthen the Ephesian community. On the feast day of Artemis he goes to the Temple, and after a speech inflicts death on the priest. He then encounters a young man who has killed his father because he had accused him of adultery. John raises the father, and converts both father and son; he then goes to Smyrna.

(2) *Second visit to Ephesus.*—John returns to Ephesus to the house of Andronicus, who had been converted during his first visit. Drusiana, the wife of Andronicus, dies from the annoyance caused her by a young man Kallimachus, but after her burial John goes to the tomb and sees Christ appear as a young man; he is instructed to raise up Drusiana and also a young man, Fortunatus, who has been buried in the same place. Fortunatus is, however, not converted, and soon dies again.

(3) The most important fragment of the Acts is that which seems to follow upon the episode of Drusiana, as she remains one of the chief persons. This was discovered in 1886 by M. R. James in Cod. Vind. 63 (written in 1324) and published in 1897 in *TS* v. 1. It gives a long and extremely Docetic account of the Passion of Christ, and of a revelation which the true Christ made to the disciples while the phantasmal Christ was being crucified, and includes a hymn which was used, among others, by the Priscillianists (Augustine, *Ep.* 237 [253]).

(4) *The death of John.*—During the Sunday worship John makes a speech, and partakes with the brethren of the Eucharist. He then orders his grave to be dug, and after prayer, and emphasis on his virgin life, lies down in the grave and either dies or passes into a permanent trance.

The testimony of early writers, and the date of the Acts of John.—The earliest writer to use the Acts of John is Clement of Alexandria. In the *Adumbrationes* to 1 Jn 1[1] (ed. Potter, p. 1009) he says:

'Fatur ergo in traditionibus quoniam Johannes ipsum corpus quod erat extrinsecus tangens manum suam in profunda misisse et ei duritiam carnis nullo modo reluctatam esse sed locum manui tribuisse discipuli.'

This is a certain reference to the Acts of John (ed. Bonnet, 195 f.), and these Latin 'adumbrationes' are generally recognized as derived from the *Hypotyposes*. A similar reference, but less certain, is in *Strom.* vi. 9. 71:

ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦ σωτῆρος τὸ σῶμα ἀπαιτεῖν ὡς σῶμα τὰς ἀναγκαίας ὑπηρεσίας εἰς δαιμονὴν γέλως ἂν εἴη, ἔφαγεν γὰρ οὐ διὰ τὸ σῶμα, δυνάμει συνεχόμενον ἁγίᾳ, ἀλλ' ὡς μὴ τοὺς συνόντας ἄλλως περὶ αὐτοῦ φρονεῖν ὑπειαέλθοι, ὥσπερ ἀμέλει ὕστερον δοκήσει τινὲς αὐτὸν πεφανερῶσθαι ὑπέλαβον, αὐτὸς δὲ ἁπαξαπλῶς ἀπαθὴς ἦν εἰς ὃν οὐδὲν παρεισδύεται κίνημα παθητικόν, κτλ.

Perhaps later than Clement, but probably early in the 3rd cent., is the writer of the Monarchian Prologues, in which the statement as to John, 'qui virgo electus a Deo est quem de nuptiis volentem nubere vocavit Deus,' clearly refers to the Acts of John (ed. Bonnet), p. 212: *ὁ θέλοντί μοι ἐν νεότητι γῆμαι ἐπιφανεὶς καὶ εἰρηκώς μοι, Χρῄζω σου, Ἰωάννη.* It is noteworthy that neither Clement nor the author of the Prologues seems to have any consciousness that he has used a source of doubtful orthodoxy.

Later on, Augustine and other writers against the Manichæans make tolerably frequent mention of the Acts; a full collection of all the quotations is given by Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* i. 83 ff. Here, of course, there is no longer any doubt as to the heterodoxy of the book, which is condemned together with the other Acts, with the sole exception of the Acts of Paul.

The evidence of Clement is the chief, if not the only, testimony as to the date of the Acts of John. It proves that it belongs to the 2nd cent., but there is really no evidence to say how much earlier than Clement it may be. Twenty years either side of 160 seem to represent the limits.

The provenance of the Acts of John.—This remains quite uncertain. The only evidence is that the centre of the Acts is Ephesus, and this points to Asia as the place of origin. Nor is there any serious argument against this view, for there is certainly no connexion between the destruction of the temple of Artemis by the Goths in 282 and the attack on this temple attributed to John and his friends in the Acts. Probably, therefore, Ephesus, or more generally Asia, may be taken as the place of composition, but not much should be built on this view.

The theology and character of the Acts.—The theology of the Acts appears to be markedly Docetic and Gnostic. It represents Jesus as possessing a body which varied from day to day in appearance, and was capable even of appearing to two observers at the same time in quite different forms. His feet left no mark on the ground. This certainly seems Docetic, but it is curious that Clement of Alexandria quotes part of this passage as historical without any hesitation in accepting it, and Clement was not a Docete. The fact that at the moment of the Crucifixion Jesus appears to John on the Mount of Olives is also *prima facie* Docetic, but it is hard to say where mysticism ends and Docetism begins.

The Gnosticism of the document is chiefly supported by the reference in the great hymn to an Ogdoad and a Dodecad, but it is not certain that this is really a reference to a Gnostic system. The Ogdoad is sun, moon, and planets, and the Dodecad is the signs of the zodiac. The distinction between Gnosticism and Catholicism was not that one believed in an Ogdoad and the other did not, but in the view which they took of it. In just the same way the Valentinians and others explained that the Demiurge had made seven heavens above the earth, and while Irenæus resisted this teaching, he never denied the existence of the seven heavens, as is shown by his 'Apostolic Preaching.'

The best statement of the case against the Gnostic theory is in C. Schmidt, *Petrusakten*, 119 ff. The case for a Gnostic origin is best given, though very shortly, by M. R. James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. (*TS* v. 1), Cambridge, 1897, p. xviii ff., and for a definitely Valentinian origin, by Zahn (*NKZ* x. 211 ff.).

Apart from the suspicion of Docetism and Gnosticism, the theology of the Acts is not unlike that of the Acts of Paul. Especially noticeable is the ascetic objection to marriage; in this respect the Acts of John is quite as stern as the Acts of Paul or of Thomas. But in other respects the Acts of John seems to come from a far higher mystical religion, and is altogether finer literature than the Acts of Paul. Some of the mystical passages reach a magnificent level, and may be ranked with the best products of 2nd cent. religion.

The Acts of John may be studied best in Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apostolorum Apocrypha*, ii. 1, Leipzig, 1898. This is the only complete text of all the known fragments. See also M. R. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. (*TS* v. 1); Th. Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, Erlangen, 1880, and E. Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904, and *Handbuch zu den Neutest. Apokr.*, do. 1904. Especially important is the section on the Acts of John in C. Schmidt, *Die alten Petrusakten* (*TU* xxiv. 1), Leipzig, 1903, p. 120 ff.

4. The Acts of Andrew.—No MS is extant which gives even as good a representation of the original Acts as is found in the other early Acts. We possess in quotations of Euodius of Uzala (end of the 4th cent.) some valuable fragments, of which traces are also found in Augustine; from these, and on the grounds of general resemblance to the Acts of John, it appears probable that a fragment in Cod. Vatican. Gr. 808 (10th–11th cent.), dealing with Andrew in prison, belongs to the early Acts; and from a variety of sources it is also possible to reconstruct with some accuracy the story of the martyrdom of Andrew.

The text of the fragment in Cod. Vat. 808 begins in the middle of a speech of Andrew, who is in prison in Patras. The general situation is that the Apostle is being prosecuted by a certain Ægeates—which is perhaps 'an inhabitant of Ægea' rather than a personal name—because he perverted his wife Maximilla by Encratitic doctrine against married life. A prominent part is also played by Patrocles the brother of Ægeates but a friend of the Apostle. The fragment ends, as it begins, abruptly in the middle of a speech by Andrew.

The death of Andrew was by crucifixion, but the legend ascribing an unusual shape to the cross used seems to be of later origin. For three days and three nights he remained on the cross exhorting the multitude; at the end of this time a crowd of 20,000 men went to the proconsul to demand that Andrew should be released. Ægeates was obliged to comply, but Andrew refused, and prayed that having once been joined to the cross he might not be separated from it. He then died, and was buried by Stratolles and Maximilla.

The date and provenance of the Acts of Andrew.—These points depend largely on the view taken of the authorship of the Acts. If, as is usually thought, the Acts of Andrew is really Leucian, *i.e.* written by the same author as the Acts of John, Asia is the most probable place for its origin, and the end of the 2nd cent. the most probable date. If this view be given up, Greece, in which the scene of the Acts is laid, becomes the most probable place, and the date must be decided by internal evidence, for the Acts appears not to be quoted before the time of Origen (Eus. *HE* iii. 1). At present the Leucian hypothesis perhaps holds the field (see esp. James, *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. pp. xxix ff.), but it is not at all certain.

The theology of the Acts.—So far as the fragments preserved enable us to discover, the theology

of the Acts of Andrew resembles most closely that of the Acts of John, and thus supports the Leucian theory. There is the same emphasis on asceticism even in marriage, and the cross also plays a large part.

The text is given in Lipsius and Bonnet, *Acta Apocrypha*, ii. 1, and valuable discussions are given in Harnack, *Chronol.* ii. 175, and by M. R. James in *Apocrypha Anecdota*, ii. p. xxix ff. Somewhat out of date, but still valuable in some respects, is R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, Brunswick, 1883–87, i. 543 ff.

5. The Acts of Thomas.—(1) *Contents.*—Judas Thomas is sold by Jesus to the messenger of an Indian prince. At the wedding-feast of the daughter of the king of Andrapolis he is discovered to be an inspired person and forced by the king to pray over the bride and bridegroom. On entering the inner room Jesus is found sitting with the bride. He explains to the bridegroom that He is not Thomas, and converts the couple to a complete abstinence from sexual relations (Act i.). Thomas is ordered by his master, King Gundaphorus, to build a palace. Spending the money on alms, he erects a palace in heaven which is shown to the disembodied soul of the king's deceased brother, who is afterwards restored to life and receives the Eucharist with his brother, both being 'sealed' with oil by the Apostle. On this occasion the Lord appears as a youth bearing a lamp. Having preached to the people, Thomas is ordered by the Lord to depart (ii.). Thomas finds a youth killed by a dragon, which forthwith appears, acknowledging Thomas as 'twin of the Christ,' and professes to be the serpent from paradise. The dragon is summoned to suck the venom again out of the body, after doing which it perishes. The youth is restored to life, and says that he saw Thomas as a double person: one exactly like him standing by and telling him to resuscitate the body (iii.). While this happens, the colt of an ass addresses the Apostle as the 'twin of the Christ,' and invites him to ride on its back to the town (iv.). A woman is delivered from a demon that had been doing violence to her for five years. To protect her for the future, she is 'sealed' and partakes of the Eucharist (v.). At this moment a young man's hands are withered in the act of taking the Eucharistic bread. He confesses that he has murdered a woman for repudiating him after her conversion by Thomas. Restored to life, she recounts horrible visions from the lower world. After a general conversion, Thomas's final words culminate in an exhortation to abstinence from marriage and in emphasis on the permanence of spiritual possession (vi.). All India being evangelized, a general of king Misdæus visits Thomas and prays him to deliver his wife and daughter from a cruel pair of demons (vii.). On the road the Apostle asks the general to command some wild asses to draw his carriage. One of these is afterwards ordered by the Apostle to summon the demons from the house. In the courtyard this same ass preaches a sermon to the multitude, and exhorts the Apostle to give the bodies of the women back to life, since they had died as the demons were leaving them (viii.). Mygdonia, a relative of the royal family, comes to hear Thomas preaching. The same night her husband Charisius has a dream which contains a foreboding of the consequences of this preaching for the married life. On the next day and night this comes true. His wife flees from his embraces. In the morning Thomas is arrested, and while in prison sings the 'Hymn of the Soul.' At home, however, Charisius finds his fervent supplications again scorned. His wife escapes to receive the 'seal,' and encounters Thomas on her way proceeding as a prince with many lights (ix.). Thomas follows her and returns to prison, having administered the sacraments to her and her foster-mother. That morning Mygdonia preaches a sermon to her husband on Jesus as the heavenly bridegroom. Thomas is now ordered by the king and besought by Charisius to make Mygdonia alter her conduct; but his feeble commands are refuted by her from his own teaching (x.). Tertia the queen pays a visit to Mygdonia and returns convinced (xi.). Thomas is again imprisoned, and converts Vazanes the king's son. An attempted torture being miraculously frustrated, he is conducted back and speaks a long prayer (xii.). Jesus, mostly in the form of Thomas, leads the converts and with them Mnesara, the wife of Vazanes, to the prison. They enter Vazanes' house, where they are 'sealed' and baptized by Thomas. After the Eucharistic meal, Thomas returns to the prison (*Martyrium*). The Apostle, followed by a multitude, is taken to a mountain and there pierced with swords. On the mountain Sifor the general and Vazanes receive orders as presbyter and deacon (xiii.).

(2) *Original language.*—After Schröter (*ZDMG*, 1871, p. 327 ff.), Nöldeke (*ib.* 670–679 and in Lipsius, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii.[2] [1884] 423–425), and Macke (*Th. Quartalschr.*, 1874, pp. 3–70), Burkitt has settled the question (*JThSt* i. [1900] 280–290). The existence of a Syriac original is proved by a series of errors in the Greek arising from Syriac idioms or writing.

(3) *Text.*—(*a*) The *Syriac* (ed. Wright, *Apocr. Acts*, Lond. 1871, i. 172–333, text; ii. 146 ff., translation) is preserved in Br. Mus. Syr. Add 14645 (A.D. 936). Another MS is at Berlin: Sachau 222, a double of this at Cambridge (P. Bedjan, *Act. Mart. and Sanct.* iii. Paris, 1892, gives variants from the Berlin MS). Fragments from the 6th cent. in a Sinai palimpsest, Syr. Sin. 30, have been published by Burkitt (*Stud. Sin.*, Cambridge, 1900, vol. ix. app. 7). Search should be made in the East for MSS of this text and its Oriental and Greek versions. Our present text is not always superior to the Greek version. On the text of the hymns (in Acts i. and ix.), cf. A. A. Bevan, 'The Hymn of the Soul,' *TS* v. 3 [1897]; Hoffmann, *ZNTW*, 1903, pp. 273–309; E. Preuschen, *Zwei gnost. Hymnen*, Giessen, 1904; but see Burkitt, *ThT*, Leyden, 1905, pp. 270–282; Duncan Jones, *JThSt* vi. [1905] 448–453.

(*b*) The *Greek version* (ed. Bonnet, *Acta Apost. Apocr.*, ii. 2, Leipzig, 1903). The 13 "Acts" + the *Martyrium* exist as a whole in two MSS. The best text is Cod. U (Rome, Vallicell. B 35, 11th cent.). This is the only Greek MS of the 'Hymn of the Soul' (Act ix. chs. 108–113). On the text of this Hymn in Nicetas of Salonica, cf. Bonnet, Preface, p. xxiii. The other complete MS is P (Paris. græc. 1510, 12th or 13th cent.). The (19) other MSS give but selections. We must, therefore, review separately the MSS for part (A)=Acts i. ii., part (B)=Acts iii.–xii., part (C)=Act xiii. + *Martyrium*. Besides UP, 15 copies preserve (A), of which CXBHTG have no trace of (B) or (C), while V gives here only the exordium of (A); 9 copies preserve (B), of which VYRD have no selections beyond Act viii., while SFQZL give here no more than the 'prayers' of Act xii., which, against the order of these MSS and P, Bonnet has inserted here, following U + Syr.; 11 copies preserve (C), of which KOM omit (A) and (B) altogether, while Q gives here only the exordium of Act xiii. Identical selections: FRGX (pp. 99–146[20] Bonnet), BH (99–145[24]), SFZL (251[10]–258[20], see Pref. p. xxii), SFZ (275[10]–288). The genealogy is still obscure. In part (A) Bonnet distinguishes two types of text: Γ and Δ. The Γ text=GHZ and B (1st half). The Δ text=A (Paris. græc. 881, 10th cent.) + fam. Φ (=the rest of the MSS, U and P included). Both types have several unimportant variations in common, which must derive from a not very distant ancestor. But, as they more often differ on serious points, the tradition of the Greek text appears to be not very reliable. In part (C) again two types occur, viz. A + fam. Ω (=KORUV) and P + fam. Σ (=FLSZ). All these MSS belonged to the Δ text in part (A), Z only excepted (Petersb. imp. 94, 12th cent.); cf. 'identical selections' above. In part (B) the MSS are grouped on their textual merits and in a descending order: UVYR, P, D. On the MSS neglected by Bonnet cf. Pref. p. xxiv ff. A Brussels MS (ii. 2047) might be of some interest. Several MSS are still hidden in Smyrna, Jerusalem, Athos (the catalogues of the most important libraries, Lavra and Vatopedi, are still unpublished). Bonnet's text might be improved. Only from pp. 197–250 could due influence be allowed to the Syriac and its ally, Cod. U, Burkitt having then convinced the editor that the Greek was but the version of a Syriac original (Pref. p. xxi).

(*c*) The *Armenian version* should be better known. A MS exists at Paris (Bibl. nat. fonds arm. 46 III), which Vetter is expected to publish in the *Or. Christ.* The 'Hymn of the Soul' is not in it. Preuschen (Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokr.* ii. 563) was impressed by its variations, not by the quality of its text. In Conybeare's opinion the Arm. version derives from the Syriac (*op. cit.* i. 475).

(*d*) Of *other versions*, the Ethiopic is wholly, the Latin not entirely, useless (cf. Fabricius, *Cod. apocr. NT*², Hamburg, 1903, ii. 687 f.; Bonnet, *Acta Thomæ*, 1883, p. 96 ff.).

(4) *Provenance and date.*—For the history of opinion, cf. Harnack, *Altchr. Lit.*, ii. 1 (1897), 545–549 with ii. 2 (1904), 175–176. Early Gnostics and Eastern Christianity have appeared to differ less in vocabulary than in other regards. Moreover, several coincidences with Gnostic phraseology have been intensified in the Greek, or are even due to wrong translation. The intellectual pursuits of the Gnostic mind are absent, while the rigoristic ethics have close parallels in early Syriac Christianity. All this exactly suits Bardesanes (A.D. 154–222) and his school (see Burkitt, *Early Eastern Christianity*, London, 1904, pp. 170 n., 199, 205 ff., and Nau, *Dict. Théol. Cath.*, Paris, 1907, ii. 391–401, artt. 'Bardésane' and 'Bardésanites'; also Krüger, *GGA*, 1905, p. 718, and Nöldeke, *ib.* p. 82). The language (with the proper names) points to Syria, the figure of Thomas to Edessa, the character and style ('Acts' ix f., the 'Hymn of the Soul' in this 'Act') to the literary capacities of Bardesanes' environment. R. Reitzenstein (*Hellenist. Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 104 ff.) raises the question whether the material of the story was created in Edessa or imported. He points out that miracle-stories ('*aretalogies*') were a literary *genre*, spread by several *petites religions* from Egypt on the waves of universal syncretism. The pagan theology of Hermetic monotheism has left its traces among the mediæval Sabians of Carrhæ (near Edessa). It seems, however, that he is over-stating the importance of the existing analogies.

The date of the Acts is fixed by Lipsius (*LCBl*, 1888, no. 44, p. 1508, *Apokr. Apostelgesch.*, ii. 2, p. 418 note [on i. p. 225 f.]) as the time of the translation of the relics of Thomas to Edessa (A.D. 232). It is impossible to clench this argument, but it is certain that one of the component parts of Act ix., the 'Hymn of the Soul,' was composed before the rise of the Sasanid power in A.D. 226, since 'Parthian kings' are mentioned in l. 38 (ed. Bevan, *TS* v. 3). Therefore we must not go much beyond that time, and may reserve the middle quarters of the 3rd cent. as the latest probable date for the whole.

(5) *Integrity.*—Suspicions are raised by the fact that most MSS of the Greek version give but selections. If this should occur also in the Oriental tradition, our collection of 13 Acts might seem the result of a process of agglomeration. Nöldeke (*GGA*, 1905, p. 82) suspects interpolations and detects a nucleus in Acts i. and ii. (except the Andrapolis episode). He supposes a rather intricate genesis for our collection. Following this line of literary criticism, the vigorous style of Acts ix.–xii. causes them to stand out as another unit. Acts iii.–viii. and the remaining parts might come in as later accretions. It seems, however, unsafe to indulge much in literary criticism before a more adequate knowledge of the original text is available. Reitzenstein has emphasized (*op. cit.*) the probability of literary sources. One author may have composed the whole by adapting pagan stories to Thomas's name. In this case the different shades of style may be due to close adherence to or free expansion of such sources. Future criticism may even see its way to combine this point of view with the first. Possible sources certainly deserve serious consideration (cf. Gutschmid, *Kleine Schriften*, ii. [Leipzig, 1890] 332 ff., advocating Buddhism; Preuschen in Hennecke, i. 477, Parsiism; Hilgenfeld, *ZWT*, 1904, p. 240, Persian influences).

(6) *Hymns.*—The Bridal 'Ode' (ch. 7, 1st Act) is in our Syriac a mystic song of the Church. It is not safe to abandon this ancient exegesis, since its Gnostic astrology and scenery do not differ in degree from the rest of the Acts. It does not even go much beyond the Apocalypse or the Patristic comments on the Song of Songs. Excision from its context is impossible without leaving scars. The 'Hymn of the Soul' (Greek, 'Psalm') in chs. 108–113 (and also a long doxology after ch. 113; only Syriac and for the largest part omitted by Sachau 222; cf. Hennecke, i. 592–594) is omitted in most MSS. It is a document of the religious life, not of the metaphysics of Gnosticism (Bevan, p. 7). An orthodox bishop of Salonica, Nicetas, explained it in the 11th cent. without any suspicion (cf. above (3) and Burkitt, *Early East. Christianity*, p. 227). This proves that its character is not obtrusively Gnostic. Preuschen (*op. cit.*, but cf. recensions in *ThT* and *JThSt*, quoted under (3)) defines the character of both hymns as Ophite or Sethian. Apart from this should be considered his exegesis of the 'psalm' of chs. 108–113 as a 'Hymn of the Christ.' Reitzenstein supports his views (for the Bridal Ode with less decision: *op. cit.* 142). He explains its curious implications—Christ cheated by demons, defiled by communion with them, serving the Lord of this world, plunged in a sleepy forgetfulness of His heavenly origin and supreme task—by assuming a 'fast rätselhaft' strong influence of pagan literature (*op. cit.* 122). On the 'sleepy forgetfulness' cf. Conybeare, *JThSt* vi. 609–610. Identification of the soul and Christ is present in the Odes of Solomon. Hilgenfeld (*ZWT*, 1904, pp. 229–241) advocates a Greek original ('the Son of the King and the Pearl') sprung from a pagan Gnostic movement in the new Sasanid empire.

All critics with this last exception, but Preuschen included (cf., however, his art. in Hennecke, i. 479), agree in ascribing the 'Hymn of the Soul' to Bardesanes or to his school. Bevan (*op. cit.* p. 5 f.) has shown that it contains just those 'heresies' for which Bardesanes, according to Ephraim, was excluded by the Edessene Church. With regard to its inclusion in the Acts, Burkitt remarks (*Early Eastern Christianity*, p. 212 note):

'I cannot help expressing a private opinion that the Hymn was inserted by the author himself, just as he used the Lord's Prayer in a later prayer of Judas Thomas. That the Hymn itself is independent of the *Acts* is certain, but it is not so clear that the *Acts* is independent of the Hymn. It may, in fact, have become a part of the recognised teaching of the sect to which the author of the *Acts* belonged (cf. Ephraim's *Commentary* on *3 Corinthians*, p. 119).'

(7) *Theology of the Acts.*—The Acts presupposes the universal acceptance of a theology counting only the supernatural world as real, and individual salvation as the chief end of man. Asceticism, especially abstinence from sexual relations even in marriage, is urged as self-evident. Even before meeting the Apostle, Vazanes had seen this (Act xiii.). Mygdonia shows a firmer grasp of the implications of his doctrine than Thomas himself (Act x.). The supernatural world is not described: the Gnostic cosmogonies and esoteric doctrines are absent. Against this fact coincidences in phraseology seem to carry little weight. Perhaps it is only its reckless Puritanism which separates the Acts of Thomas from the B'nai Q'yâmâ, Aphraates, and other leaders of early Syriac Christianity (cf. Burkitt, *Early East. Christianity*, pp. 118–154; Schwen, *Afrahat*, Berlin, 1907, pp. 96–99, 130–132).

The Church and its dignitaries are practically absent (cf. Acts v. vi. and the *Martyrium*). The sacraments are much in evidence as the only means of attaining to the life among the inhabitants of the world of light (chs. 121, 132, 158). Baptism immediately followed by the Eucharist is the rule. It occurs in the story of the woman in Act v. (ch. 49), Mygdonia, Act x. (ch. 121), Siphor, Act x.

(ch. 132), Vazanes, Act xiii. (chs. 153–158). In the story of Gundaphorus and Gad, Act ii. (chs. 25–27), the Greek and Syriac differ; both omit the Eucharist.

(8) *Ritual.*—(*a*) *Instruction* (132); (*b*) *prayer* (25, 156); (*c*) *consecration* of the oil (157); (*d*) *imposition* of hands (49); (*e*) *outpouring* of oil on the head (27 Gr. *et rell.*); (*f*) *unction* (27 Gr. 157); (*g*) *prayer* over the unction (27 Gr. 121, 157); (*h*) *immersion* (27 Syr. 121, 132, 157); (*i*) *chrism* (27 Syr.); (*j*) *prayer* over the chrism (27 Syr.); (*k*) *prayer* for the Eucharist (49, 121, 132, 158); (*l*) *allocution* before partaking (49, [121], 132, 158); (*m*) partaking of the *bread* (49, 121, 132, 158); (*n*) of the *cup* (121, 158). A response from heaven occurs in ch. 121, and a Christophany in chs. 27, 153. The fullest * account is that of chs. 153–158. The whole act of unction and immersion is called 'sealing' (121), therefore in chs. 49 and 27 (Gr.) the immersion may have been omitted. Outpouring and unction constitute a double act (157). Unction may have extended to more parts of the body for exorcistic purposes (cf. ch. 5 and *JThSt*, i. 71; F. E. Brightman, *The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis*, p. 251; Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokr.* ii. 565). While the Greek in 27 has a double unction (*JThSt* i. 251) or, perhaps, unction and chrism, the Syriac has baptism followed by chrism. Elsewhere the Eucharist seems always to occupy the place of the last part of later baptismal ritual, viz. the confirmation and 'sealing' by the chrism. Renunciation in a formal way is absent, renunciation from sexual intercourse is understood (promised, 152). Consecration of the water is not found, though running water is but once used (121). Trinitarian formulæ and Logos-terminology are used rather indiscriminately. Gnostic phraseology occurs side by side with it. The baptismal formula is always Trinitarian. Ordinary bread and water appear as Eucharistic elements. The bread seems to be more essential (body and blood in ch. 158).

(9) The most impressive element in the Acts is *Thomas's character as a twin of the Christ* (see above (1)). W. Bauer (*Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutest. Apokr.*, Tübingen, 1909, p. 445, note 3) takes this as proof that the Acts wishes to reduce the Virgin birth *ad absurdum*, and quotes ch. 2: 'I, Jesus, son of Joseph the carpenter.' This would be quite a solitary cloud of scepticism in an atmosphere saturated with syncretistic thought. Reitzenstein seems to open a field where Rendel Harris (*The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends*, London, 1903, and *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, Cambr., 1906) had already found a way. That, in fact, Dioscuric attainments are ascribed to Thomas is evident, and just here a parallel between Bardesanian literature and our Acts comes in (cf. Burkitt, 170 note and 199). The name Thomas = 'twin' has been the *point de départ*, the cult of *Aziz* (the morning star) a presupposition. Probably it was this Dioscuric god, whose month of free-markets (cf. Harris, *Cult of the Heavenly Twins*, p. 158) and whose place as a patron of Edessa Thomas was honoured with (cf. Jn 11^{16} 20^{24}; Pauly-Wissowa, i. 2644 [Cumont]; R. Duval, *Histoire politique, relig. et litt. d'Édesse*, Paris, 1892, p. 74 ff.). The ways and by-paths of syncretistic monotheism are still obscure to us, but research in this field is certainly destined to cast light on the dark places of the Acts of Thomas.

Besides the works already quoted, see F. Cumont, *Die or. Rel. im röm. Heidentum*, Leipzig, 1910; P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*, Tübingen, 1907; R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910, also *Poimandres, Stud. z. griech.-ägypt. u. frühchristl. Lit.*, do. 1904; F. J. Dölger, *Sphragis, eine altchr. Taufbezeichnung in ihren Beziehungen zur prof. und relig. Kultur des Altertums*, Paderborn, 1911; F. Haase, *Zur bardesanischen Gnosis*, Leipzig, 1910.

* The sacramental usage in the Acts is not fixed: the 14 points occur in various combinations.

6. Later Acts.—Besides the five Apocryphal Acts which have been discussed, there are several others of later date, but they are comparatively unimportant. The most valuable is the 'Acts of Philip,' which is edited by Bonnet in *Acta Apocrypha*, ii. 2. It describes the adventures of Philip in Phrygia, Asia, Samaria, etc., in the company of his sister Mariamne. It may be as early as the 3rd cent., and belongs either to a mildly Gnostic sect or to the same Modalistic Christianity as the Acts of Peter. It is discussed by Lipsius in *Die apok. Apostelgeschichten*, Supplement, pp. 65–70, and by Zahn, *Forschungen*, vi. 18–24. Besides this a series of Acts, growing ever shorter and less valuable, can be found attached to the name of every Apostle or Teacher in NT times in the *Acta Sanctorum*, arranged under the date assigned in the calendar to the saint in question.

7. Catholic recensions.—In the course of the Manichæan controversy the view was adopted that the miracles in the 'Leucian' Acts were genuine, but that the doctrine connected with them was heretical. This view finds its clearest expression in the Prologue of pseudo-Mellitus:

'Volo sollicitam esse fraternitatem vestram de Leucio quodam qui scripsit Apostolorum actus, Ioannis evangelistae et sancti Andreae vel Thomae apostoli qui de virtutibus quidem quae per eos dominus fecit, plurima vera dixit, de doctrina vero multa mentitus est.'

The result was a series of Catholic recensions which left out, speaking generally, the speeches, and preserved or even added to all the miracles. Of these Catholic recensions, which are very numerous, the most famous are the 'Prochorus' edition of the Acts of John (the text is best given by Zahn, *Acta Joannis*, Erlangen, 1880), and the so-called 'Abdias' collection. The disentanglement of various recensions of the separate Acts is very difficult, and not very profitable.

The materials for a more detailed statement of the Catholic recensions can be found in Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, Leipzig, i. [1893] p. 123 ff., and in R. A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten*, 1883–87.

KIRSOPP LAKE and J. DE ZWAAN.*

ADAM ('Αδάμ).—Adam was the first man (אָדָם = man) and the parent of the human race.—**1.** When the writer of Jude (v.[14]) thinks it worth noting that Enoch (*q.v.*) was 'the seventh from Adam' (ἕβδομος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμ), he probably has in mind the sacredness of the number seven. It seems to him an interesting point that God, who rested from His work on the seventh day, found a man to walk in holy fellowship with Him in the seventh generation.

2. In 1 Co $11^{9f.}$ and 1 Ti $2^{13f.}$ the doctrine of the headship of man and the complete subjection (πᾶσα ὑποταγή) of woman is based upon the story of creation. Man was not created for woman, but woman for man; Adam was created first and sinned second, Eve was created second and sinned first; therefore let woman ever remember that she is morally as well as physically weaker than man, and let her never attempt either to teach or to have dominion over him (αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός). With the premisses of this argument one may compare the words of Sirach (25^{24}): 'From a woman was the beginning of sin (ἀπὸ γυναικὸς ἀρχὴ ἁμαρτίας), and because of her we all die.' St. Paul did not take pleasure in this quaint philosophy of history, as many of the Rabbis did; but, with all his reverence for womanhood, he felt that the accepted

* The section on the Acts of Thomas is from the pen of de Zwaan; the rest of the art. is by Kirsopp Lake.

belief in woman's creation after and her fall before man's clearly established her inferiority. It was not a personal and empirical, but a traditional and dogmatic, judgment.

3. St. Paul had, and knew that many others had, a religious experience so vivid and intense that ordinary terms seemed inadequate to do it justice. It was the result of a Divine creative act. If any man was in Christ, there was 'a new creation' (καινὴ κτίσις); old things were passed away; behold, they were become new (2 Co 5^{17}). Not legalism or its absence, but 'a new creation' (Gal 6^{15}) was of avail. Reflexion on this profound spiritual change and all that it involved convinced the Apostle that Christ was the Head and Founder of a new humanity; that His life and death, followed by the gift of His Spirit, not merely marked a new epoch in history, introducing a new society, philosophy, ethics, and literature, but created a new world. 'Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive.' As St. Paul brooded on the stupendous series of events of which Christ was the cause, on the immeasurable difference which His brief presence made in the life of mankind, there inevitably took shape in his mind a grand antithesis between the first and the second creation, between the first and the last representative Man, between the intrusion of sin and death into the world and the Divine gift of righteousness and life, between the ravages of one man's disobedience and the redemptive power of one Man's perfect obedience (Ro 5^{12-21}).

It is to be noted that the Apostle does not advance any new theory of the first creation. He knew only what every student of Scripture could learn on that subject. He had no new revelation which enabled him either to confirm or to correct the account of the beginning of things which had come down from a remote antiquity. He no doubt regarded as literal history the account of the origin of man, sin, and death which is found in Gn 2–3. He did not imagine, like Philo, that he was reading a pure allegory; he believed, like Luther, that Moses 'meldet geschehene Dinge.' It is remarkable, however, with what unerring judgment he seizes upon and retains the vital, enduring substance of the legend, while he leaves out the drapery woven by the old time-spirit. He says nothing of a garden of Eden, a miraculous tree of life, a talking serpent, an anthropomorphic Deity. But he finds in the antique human document these facts: the Divine origin and organic unity of the human race; man's affinity with, and capacity for, the Divine; his destiny for fellowship with God as an ideal to be realized in obedience to Divine law; his conscious freedom and responsibility; the mysterious physical basis of his transmitted moral characteristics; his universally inherited tendency to sin; his consciousness that sin is not a mere inborn weakness of nature or strength of appetite, but a disregard of the known distinction between right and wrong; the entail of death, not as the law obeyed by all created organisms, but as the wages of his sin. The narrative which blends these elements in a form that appealed to the imagination of primitive peoples has a 'depth of moral and religious insight unsurpassed in the OT' (Skinner, *Genesis* [*ICC*, 1910] 52).

The teaching of St. Paul with regard to sin and death does not materially differ from that of his Jewish contemporaries and of the Talmud, in which the same sense of a fatal heredity is conjoined with a consciousness of individual responsibility. 'O Adam, what hast thou done? For if thou hast sinned, thy fall has not merely been thine own, but ours who are descended from thee' (2 Es 7^{48}). Yet 'Adam is not the cause of sin except in his own soul; but each of us has become the Adam of his own soul' (Bar 54^{19}). According to the Talmud, 'there is such a thing as transmission of guilt, but not such a thing as transmission of sin' (Weber, *System d. altsyn. palästin. Theol.*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 216).

The 'immortal allegory' of Genesis cannot now be regarded as literal history. 'The plain truth, and we have no reason to hide it, is that we do not know the beginnings of man's life, of his history, of his sin; we do not know them historically, on historical evidence; and we should be content to let them remain in the dark till science throws what light it can upon them' (Denney, *Studies in Theol.*, London, 1894, p. 79). Science knows nothing of a man who came directly from the hand of God, and it cannot accept the pedigree of Adam as given by Moses or by Matthew. Its working hypothesis is that man is 'a scion of a Simian stock,' and it is convinced that man did not make society but that society made man. Beyond this it has not yet done much to enlighten theology. 'We do not know how Man arose, or whence he came, or when he began, or where his first home was; in short we are in a deplorable state of ignorance on the whole subject' (J. A. Thomson, *The Bible of Nature*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 191).

4. Art has made it difficult to think of our first parents without adorning them with all graces and perfections. 'But when we get away from poetry and picture-painting, we find that men have drawn largely from their imaginations, without the warrant of one syllable of Scripture to corroborate the truth of the colouring' (F. W. Robertson, *Corinthians*, 242). To St. Paul (1 Co 15^{45-49}) the primitive man was of the earth, earthy (χοϊκός), a natural as opposed to a spiritual man, crude and rudimentary, with the innocence and inexperience of a child. 'The life of the spirit is substantially identical with holiness; it could not therefore have been given immediately to man at the time of his creation; for holiness is not a thing imposed, it is essentially a product of liberty, the freewill offering of the individual. God therefore required to begin with an inferior state, the characteristic of which was simply freedom, the power in man to give or withhold himself' (Godet, *Corinthians*, ii. 424). St. Paul's conception is that, while 'the first man Adam,' as akin to God, was capable of immortality—*potuit non mori*—his sin made him subject to death, which has reigned over all his descendants. Cf. 2 Es 3^{7}: 'And unto him (Adam) thou gavest thy one commandment: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death for him and in his generations.' Formally as a deduction from the story of Adam, but really as his own spiritual intuition, the Apostle thus teaches the unnaturalness of human death. This is apparently opposed to the doctrine of science, that death is for all organisms a natural law, which reigned in the world long before the ascent of man and the beginning of sin—a debt which, as it cannot be cancelled, man should pay as cheerfully as possible. And yet his sense of two things —his own greatness and God's goodness—convinces him that it is radically *contra rerum naturam*.

> 'He thinks he was not made to die,
> And Thou hast made him, Thou art just.'
> (Tennyson, *In Memoriam*).

Christianity confirms his instinctive feeling that death is in his case a dark shadow that should never have been cast upon his life. Acknowledging that it is not the mere natural fate of a physical organism, but the wages of sin, the Christian believes that it is finally to be abolished. 'In Christ shall all be made alive.' 'The last Adam,' having vanquished death, 'became a life-giving spirit' (1 Co $15^{22, 45}$). See also artt. LIFE AND DEATH, SIN.

LITERATURE.—B. Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the NT*, 1882–83, i. 331 ff., 409 ff.; W. Beyschlag, *NT Theology*, 1894–96, ii. 48 ff.; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, 1894–95, i. 149 ff.; G. B. Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, 1906, p. 122 ff., *Theology of the NT*, 1901, p. 349 ff.; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1896, p. 125 ff.; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, 1897, p. 36 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], 1902, p. 136 ff.; A. Deissmann, *St. Paul*, 1912, pp. 59, 107, 155 ff.; H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, 1911, p. 112 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ADJURE.—See OATH.

ADMINISTRATION.—The word occurs in the AV in two places, 1 Co 12[28] and 2 Co 9[12], in both of which the RV has substituted 'ministration,' just as in 2 Co 8[19f.] 'administer' (AV) has given place to 'minister' (RV; Gr διακονέω). In 1 Co 12[5] and 2 Co 9[12] the word is the tr. of Gr. διακονία, which originally means 'the service (or duty) rendered by a διάκονος,' *i.e.* a servant, particularly a waiter at table (Lat. *minister*), who pours out wine to the guests individually. In 1 Co 12[5] the aspect alluded to is especially that of practical service rendered to a master [including that of 'deacon' rendered to our 'Lord'], whereas in 2 Co 9[12] it is particularly the concrete form of that service which is intended, in its Godward and manward aspects.

The administration of the Roman Empire is never directly referred to in the NT, and is best considered under its various aspects (CÆSAR, PROCONSUL, etc.).

A. SOUTER.

ADMONITION.—Obedience to God's law and submission to His will are essential for progressive spiritual life. Human nature being what it is, there is need for constant admonition (2 P 1[10-21]). In the NT reference is made to this subject in its family, professional, and Divine aspects.

1. νουθετέω and νουθεσία (a later form for *νουθέτησις*) are not found in the NT outside the Pauline Epp., except in St. Paul's speech, Ac 20[31]. For the former see Ro 15[14], 1 Co 4[14], Col 1[28] 3[16], 1 Th 5[12.14], 2 Th 3[15]; for the latter 1 Co 10[11], Eph 6[4], Tit 3[10]; cf. Is 8[16] 30[8ff.], Hab 2[2f.], Dt 31[19ff.]. The terms are used in classical Greek (*e.g.* Aristoph. *Ranæ*, 1009), but are more common in later Greek (Philo, Josephus). The root idea is 'to put in mind' (*ἐν τῷ νῷ τιθέναι*), to train by word, always with the added suggestion of sternness, reproof, remonstrance, blame (cf. Æsch. *Prom.* 264; Aristoph. *Vesp.* 254; Plato, *Gorg.* 479A). The implication is 'a monitory appeal to the *νοῦς* rather than a direct rebuke or censure' (Ellicott). To admonish is the duty of a father or parent (Eph 6[4]; cf. Wis 11[10], *Pss.-Sol.* 13[8]), or brother (2 Th 3[15]). The object and reason of such admonition must be realized if it is to be a means of moral discipline. The admonition and teaching of Col 1[28] correspond to the 'repent and believe' of the gospel message.

2. παραινέω signifies 'recommend,' 'exhort,' 'admonish' (Ac 27[9. 22]; cf. 2 Mac 7[25. 26], 3 Mac 5[17] 7[12] A). This word is common in classical Greek, and is also found in the Apocrypha. St. Luke would be familiar with it as a term used for the advice of a physician. Its presence in a 'We' section is suggestive. St. Paul as a person of position and an experienced traveller gives advice in an emergency, as a skilled doctor would admonish a patient in a serious illness (see Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*, 1899, p. 153).

3. χρηματίζω in the active signifies 'transact business' (*χρῆμα*), 'give a Divine response to one consulting an oracle,' 'give Divine admonition' (cf. Jer 25[30] 31[2], Job 40[8]). The passive is used of the admonition given (Lk 2[26]; cf. *χρηματισμός*, Ro 11[4], 2 Mac 2[4]), and of the person thus admonished (Mt 2[12. 22], Ac 10[22]; cf. 11[26] and Ro 7[3] where 'called' is the translation; He 8[5] 11[7]; cf. 12[25]). This meaning of 'Divine oracle' is found chiefly in the NT, with the underlying idea that the mind and heart must be suitably prepared for its reception. For private and public exhortation by preachers, teachers, and communities, see Gal 2[14], 1 Th 2[2], 1 Ti 4[13], 2 Ti 4[2]. See also CHASTISEMENT and DISCIPLINE.

H. CARISS J. SIDNELL.

ADOPTION.—**1. The term.**—The custom of adopting children is explicitly alluded to by St. Paul alone of biblical writers; he uses the word 'adoption' (*υἱοθεσία*, Vulg. *adoptio filiorum*, Syr. usually *simath bᵉnayā*) five times: Ro 8[15. 23] 9[4], Gal 4[5], Eph 1[5]. This Greek word is not found in classical writers (though *θετὸς υἱός* is used for 'an adopted son' by Pindar and Herodotus), and it was at one time supposed to have been coined by St. Paul; but it is common in Greek inscriptions of the Hellenistic period, and is formed in the same manner as *νομοθεσία*, 'giving of the law,' 'legislation' (Ro 9[4]; also in Plato, etc.), and *ὁροθεσία*, 'bounds,' lit. 'fixing of bounds' (Ac 17[26]). It is translated 'adoption' in Rom., but 'adoption of sons' in Gal., 'adoption as sons' (RV; AV 'adoption of children') in Ephesians. The classical Greek word for 'to adopt' is *εἰσποιεῖσθαι*, whence *εἰσποίησις*, 'adoption.'

2. The custom.—St. Paul in these passages is alluding to a Greek and Roman rather than to a Hebrew custom. Its object, at any rate in its earliest stages, was to prevent the dying out of a family, by the adopting into it of one who did not by nature belong to it, so that he became in all respects its representative and carried on the race. But, though the preventing of the extinction of a family was thought important by the Israelites, and though adoption was a legal custom among the Babylonians (Box, in *ERE* i. 114), it was not in use among the Hebrews. With them childlessness was to some extent met by the levirate, or in the patriarchal period by polygamy (cf. Gn 16[1ff.]), or at a later date by divorce. The few instances of adoption in the OT (*e.g.* Moses by Pharaoh's daughter, Esther by Mordecai) exhibit a different reason for the act from that stated above, and are the result of foreign surroundings and influence. On the other hand, the custom was very common among both Greeks and Romans. It was at first largely connected with the desire that the family worship of dead ancestors should not cease—a cultus which could be continued only through males (Woodhouse, in *ERE* i. 107 and 111). In Greece it dates from the 8th cent. B.C. It was afterwards used as a form of will-making. If a man had a legitimate son, he could not make a will; but, if he had no legitimate son, he often adopted one that he might secure the inheritance to him rather than to relatives, who would otherwise be heirs. The adopted son at once left his own family and became a member of that of his adopter, losing all rights as his father's son. If he was adopted while his adopter was still living, and sons were afterwards born to the latter, he ranked equally with them; he could not be disinherited against his will. Roman adoption was founded on the same general ideas; it was called *arrogatio* if the person adopted was *sui juris*, but *adoptio* if he was under his own father's *potestas* (Woodhouse, *loc. cit.*). In the latter case he came under the adopter's *potestas* as if he were his son by nature.

It appears, then, that St. Paul in the five passages named above is taking up an entirely non-Jewish position; so much so that some have doubted whether a Jew, even after he had become a Christian, could have written Epistles which contained such statements (cf. Ramsay, *Galatians*, p. 342). This, however, is one of the many instances of the influence of Greek and Roman ideas on St. Paul. W. M. Ramsay has endeavoured to show that, in so far as these differed from one another

in the matter under discussion, it is to Greek custom rather than to 'the Roman law of adoption in its original and primitive form' that the Apostle refers in dealing with Gal $3^{6ff.}$, but that he uses a metaphor dependent on Roman law when writing to the Romans in Ro 4^{11} (*ib.* pp. 339, 343; see also art. HEIR). But this has been disputed.

3. St. Paul's metaphor of adoption.—The Apostle applies the metaphor to the relation of both Jews and Christians to the Father. (*a*) Somewhat emphatically he applies it to the Jews in Ro 9^{4}. The adoption, the glory [the visible presence of God], the covenants [often repeated], the giving of the Law, the service [of the Temple], the promises, the fathers, all belonged to the Israelites, 'my kinsmen according to the flesh,' of whom is Christ concerning the flesh—a passage showing the intense Jewish feeling of St. Paul, combined with the broader outlook due to his Græco-Roman surroundings (see above, § 2). Here the sonship of Israel, for which see Ex 4^{22} ('Israel, my son, my first-born'), Dt 14^{1} $32^{6.\ 19f.}$, Ps 68^{5} 103^{13}, Jer 31^{9}, Hos 11^{1}, Mal 2^{10}, etc., is described as 'adoption.' It is noteworthy that the adoption is *before* the Incarnation, although it could only be 'in Christ.' Lightfoot (on Gal 4^{5}) observes that before Christ's coming men were *potentially* sons, though actually they were only slaves (v.^{3}). Athanasius argues that, since before the Incarnation the Jews were sons [by adoption], and since no one could be a son except through our Lord [cf. Jn 14^{6}, Gal 3^{26}, Eph 1^{5}, and see below, § 5], therefore He was a Son before He became incarnate (*Orat. c. Arian.* i. 39, iv. 23, 29).

(*b*) But more frequently St. Paul applies the metaphor of adoption to Christians. 'Sonship in the completest sense could not be proclaimed before the manifestation of the Divine Son in the flesh' (Robinson, *Eph.*, p. 27 f.). We Christians 'received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father,' for 'we are children of God' (Ro $8^{15f.}$). It was not till the fullness (*τὸ πλήρωμα*—for the word see Robinson, pp. 42, 255) of the time came that God sent forth His Son that we might receive adoption (Gal $4^{4f.}$). In its highest sense adoption could not be received under the Law, but only under the Gospel. The context in these passages shows that the Spirit leads us to the Father by making us realize our sonship; He teaches us how to pray, and puts into our mouth the words 'Abba, Father' (cf. *κρᾶζον* Gal 4^{6} with *κράζομεν* Ro 8^{15}). We notice that St. Paul, though addressing those who were not by any means all Jewish Christians, but many of whom, being Gentiles, had come directly into the Church, yet seems at first sight to speak as if Christ's coming was only to give adoption to those whom, being under the Law, He redeemed. But, as Lightfoot remarks (*Com. in loc.*), the phrase used is *τοὺς ὑπὸ νόμον*, not *ὑπὸ τὸν νόμον*; the reference is not only to those who were under the Mosaic Law, but to all subject to any system of positive ordinances (so perhaps in 1 Co 9^{20}). The phrase 'redeem . . .' is thought to reflect the Roman idea that the adopter purchased a son from the father by nature; adoption was effected before a prætor and five witnesses, by a simulated sale.

(*c*) Just as the adoption of Jews was inferior to that of Christians, so that of Christians is not yet fully realized. Adoption is spoken of in Ro 8^{23} as something in the future. It is the redemption (*ἀπολύτρωσις*) of our body, and we are still waiting for it; it can be completely attained only at the general resurrection. The thought closely resembles that of 1 Jn 3^{2}; we are *now* the children of God, but 'if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him'; the sonship will then be perfected.

4. Equivalents in other parts of NT.—Although no NT writer but St. Paul uses the *word* 'adoption,' the idea is found elsewhere, even if expressed differently. Thus in Jn $1^{12f.}$ those who 'receive' the Word and believe on His name are said to be given by Him the right to *become* children of God. On this passage Athanasius remarks (*Orat. c. Arian.* ii. 59) that the word 'become' shows an adoptive, not a natural, sonship; we are first said to be *made* (Gn 1^{26}), and afterwards, on receiving the grace of the Spirit, to be *begotten*. As Westcott observes (*Com., in loc.*), 'this right is not inherent in man, but "given" by God to him. A shadow of it existed in the relation of Israel to God.' This passage is closely parallel to Gal 3^{26}, where we are said to be all sons of God, through faith, in Christ Jesus. So in 1 Jn 3^{1}, it is a mark of the love bestowed upon us by the Father that we should be *called* children of God [the name bestowed by a definite act—*κληθῶμεν*, aorist]; and (the Apostle adds) 'such we are.' The promise of Rev 21^{7} to 'him that overcometh' equally implies adoption, not natural sonship: 'I will be his God, and he shall be my son'; and so (but less explicitly) do the sayings in He 2^{10} 12^{9} that Jesus 'brings many sons unto glory' (see below, § 5), and that God deals with us 'as with sons.' The figure of adoption appears as a 're-begetting' in 1 P $1^{3.\ 23}$; we are begotten again unto a living hope by 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' by means of the resurrection of Jesus (see below, § 5), and therefore call on Him as Father (v.^{17}). And, indeed, our Lord's teaching implies adoption, inasmuch as, while He revealed God as Father of all men, He yet uniformly (see next section) differentiates His own Sonship from that of all others.

5. A Son by nature implied by the metaphor.—The use by St. Paul of the figure of adoption in the case of Jews and Christians leads us by a natural consequence to the doctrine that our Lord is the Son of God by nature. In the same context the Apostle speaks of Jesus as God's 'own Son' (*τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν*), *sent* in the likeness of sinful flesh, therefore pre-existent (Ro 8^{3}; cf. v.^{32} *τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ*). In Gal $4^{4f.}$ he says that God sent forth His Son (*τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ*) . . . that *we* might receive adoption; Jesus did not receive it, because He was God's own Son. And so our Lord explicitly in Jn 20^{17} makes a clear distinction between His own sonship (by nature) and our sonship (by adoption, by grace): 'my Father and your Father,' 'my God and your God.' He never speaks of God as 'our Father,' though He taught His disciples to do so. Athanasius cites the ordinary usage of our Lord in speaking of 'My Father' [it is so very frequently in all the Gospels, and in Rev 2^{27} 3^{5}; cf. also Mk 8^{38}] as a proof that He is 'Son, or rather that Son, by reason of whom the rest are made sons' (*Orat. c. Arian.* iv. 21 f.). The same thing follows from the language of those NT writers who use phrases equivalent to those of St. Paul. If Christians *become* children of God (Jn 1^{12}; see § 4 above), Christ is the Only-begotten Son of God, who was sent into the world that we might be saved, or live, through Him (Jn $3^{16\text{-}18}$, 1 Jn 4^{9}). If we are the sons brought to glory by Jesus (He 2^{10}), He is emphatically 'a Son over [God's] house' (He 3^{6} RVm; cf. Nu 12^{7}). St. Peter speaks of God as the Father of Jesus in the very verse in which he speaks of our being begotten again by Him (1 P 1^{3}, see § 4 above). It is this distinction between an adoptive and a natural sonship which gives point to the title 'Only-begotten' (*q.v.*); had Jesus been only one out of many sons, sons in the same sense, this title would be meaningless (for endeavours to evacuate its significance see Pearson, *On the Creed*^{5}, art. ii. notes 52, 53). The distinction of Jn 20^{17} is maintained throughout the NT.

As Augustine says (*Exp. Ep. ad Gal.* [4^{5}] § 30, ed. Ben. iii. pt. 2, col. 960), St. Paul 'speaks of adoption, that we may clearly understand the only-begotten (*unicum*) Son of God. For we are sons of God by His lovingkindness and the favour (*dignitate*) of His mercy; He is Son by nature who is one with the Father (*qui hoc est quod Pater*).'

6. Adoption and baptism.—We may in conclusion consider at what period of our lives we are adopted by God as His sons. In one sense it was an act of God in eternity; we were foreordained unto adoption (Eph 1^{5}). But in another sense St. Paul speaks of it as a definite act at some definite moment of our lives: '*Ye received* (ἐλάβετε: aorist, not perfect) the spirit of adoption' (Ro 8^{15}). This points to the adoption being given on the admission of the person to the Christian body, in his baptism. And so Sanday-Headlam paraphrase v.^{15} thus: 'When you were first baptized, and the communication of the Holy Spirit sealed your admission into the Christian fold,' etc. We may compare Ac 19^{2} RV: 'Did ye receive (ἐλάβετε) the Holy Ghost when ye believed (πιστεύσαντες)?'—a passage in which the tenses 'describe neither a gradual process nor a reception at some interval after believing, but a definite gift at a definite moment' (Rackham, *Com., in loc.*; cf. Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*, 1909, pp. 204, 342). The aorists can mean nothing else. In the case of the 'potential' adoption of the Jews (to borrow Lightfoot's phrase), it is the expression of the covenant between God and His people, and therefore must be ascribed to the moment of entering into the covenant at circumcision, the analogue of baptism. Yet in neither case is the adoption fully realized till the future (above, § 3 (*c*)). In view of what has been said, we can understand how 'adoption' came in later times to be an equivalent term for 'baptism.' Thus Payne Smith (*Thesaur. Syr.*, Oxford, 1879–1901, ii. 2564) quotes a Syriac phrase to the effect that 'the baptism of John was of water unto repentance, but the baptism of our Lord [*i.e.* that ordained by Him] is of water and fire unto adoption.' And in the later Christian writers *vioθεσία* became a synonym for 'baptism' (Suicer, *Thes.*^{3}, 1846, *s.v.*).

LITERATURE.—Athanasius, *Orationes contra Arianos, passim* (the general subject of this magnificent work is the Sonship of Christ); J. Pearson, *On the Creed* (ed. Burton, Oxford, 1864), art. i. p. 49, art. ii. note 57, p. 250; W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Com. on the Galatians*, London, 1899, § xxxi.; G. H. Box, in *ERE*, art. 'Adoption (Semitic)'; W. J. Woodhouse, *ib.*, artt. 'Adoption (Greek)' and 'Adoption (Roman)'; J. S. Candlish, in *HDB*, art. 'Adoption'; H. G. Wood, in *SDB*, art. 'Adoption.' See also J. B. Lightfoot, *Com. on Galatians* (1st ed., 1865, many subsequent edd.); Sanday-Headlam, *Com. on Romans* (1st ed., 1895); J. Armitage Robinson, *Com. on Ephesians* (1st ed., 1903). A. J. MACLEAN.

ADORNING.—Simplicity of personal attire has been no infrequent accompaniment of moral and religious earnestness, even when not matter of prescription. Two passages of the NT (1 Ti 2$^{9.10}$, 1 P 3$^{3.4}$) warn Christian women against excessive display in dress, fashion of the hair (see the art. HAIR), and use of ornaments, and contrast it with the superior adornment of the Christian virtues. At the end of the 2nd cent. both Clement Alex. (*Pæd.* ii. 10 f. [Eng. tr. 11 f.]) and Tertullian (*de Cultu Feminarum*) found it necessary to protest in much detail against the luxurious attire, etc., prevalent even amongst Christians of their day. The better adornment is frequently named in the intervening literature. The righteous, like their Lord, are adorned with good works (1 Clem. xxxiii. 7), and with a virtuous and honourable life (ii. 8). Ignatius contrasts the adornment of obedience to Christ with that of a festal procession to some heathen shrine (*Eph.* ix.).

The reference to the subject in 1 P 3$^{3.4}$ has some psychological interest. The adornment which is praised is that of 'the hidden man of the heart,' the meek and quiet spirit which is precious in God's sight, and incorruptible. This use of 'man' in the sense of personality suggests the well-known Pauline contrast between the inner and the outer man (2 Co 4^{16}; cf. Ro 7^{22}, Eph 3^{16}), and may be a further example of that dependence of 1 Peter on Pauline writings which is now generally recognized (Moffatt, *LNT*^{2}, p. 330). It has often been maintained (*e.g.* by Holtzmann, *Lehrbuch der NT Theol.* ii. 14, 15) that this contrast is a product of Hellenistic dualism. But it can be adequately explained from that Hebrew psychology which is the real basis of the Pauline and Petrine ideas of personality. The heart (or, in Pauline terminology, the 'mind' [Ro 7^{23}]) *is* the inner personality, as the apparelled members are the outer personality. Both are necessary, according to Hebrew thought, to make the unity of the whole man. See further on this point the article MAN. H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

ADRAMYTTIUM (Ἀδραμύττιον; in the NT only the adjective Ἀδραμυττηνός [Ac 27^{2}] is found; WH Ἀδραμυνηνός).—This flourishing seaport of Mysia was situated at the head of the Adramyttian Gulf, opposite the island of Lesbos, in the shelter of the southern side of Mt. Ida, after which the Gulf was also called the 'Idæan.'

Its name and origin were probably Phœnician, but Strabo describes it as 'a city founded by a colony of Athenians, with a harbour and roadstead' (XIII. i. 51). Rising to importance under the Attalids, it became the metropolis of the N.W. district of the Roman province of Asia, and the head of a *conventus juridicus*. Through it passed the coast-road which connected Ephesus with Troy and the Hellespont, while an inland highway linked it with Pergamos.

It was in 'a ship of Adramyttium'—larger than a mere coasting vessel—probably making for her own port, that St. Paul and St. Luke sailed from Cæsarea by Sidon and under the lee (to the east) of Cyprus to Myra in Lycia, where they joined a corn-ship of Alexandria bound for Italy (Ac 27$^{2-6}$). The modern town of *Edremid*, which inherits the name and much of the prosperity of Adramyttium, is 5 miles from the coast.

LITERATURE.—Conybeare-Howson, *St. Paul*, 1877, ii. 381 f.; J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*^{4}, 1880, p. 62 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 316. JAMES STRAHAN.

ADRIA (ὁ Ἀδρίας [WH Ἀδρίας], 'the Adrias,' RV 'the [sea of] Adria').—The name was derived from the important Tuscan town of Atria, near the mouths of the Padus, and was originally (Herod. vi. 127, vii. 20, ix. 92) confined to the northern part of the gulf now called the Adriatic, the lower part of which was known as the 'Ionian Sea.' In later times the name 'Adria' was applied to the whole basin between Italy and Illyria, while the 'Ionian Sea' came to mean the outer basin, south of the Strait of Otranto. Strabo, in the beginning of our era, says: 'The mouth (strait) is common to both; but this difference is to be observed, that the name "Ionian" is applied to the first part of the gulf only, and "Adriatic" to the interior sea up to the farthest end' (VII. v. 9). Strabo, however, indicates a wider extension of the meaning by adding that 'the name "Adrias" is now applied to the whole sea,' so that, as he says elsewhere, 'the Ionian Gulf forms part of what we now call "Adrias"' (II. v. 20). Finally, in popular usage, which is followed by St. Luke (Ac 27^{27}), the term 'Adria' was still further extended to signify the whole expanse between Crete and Sicily.

This is confirmed by Ptolemy, who wrote about the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D. 'With the accuracy of a geographer, he distinguishes the *Gulf* of Adria from the *Sea* of Adria; thus, in enumerating the boundaries of Italy, he tells us that it is

bounded on one side by the shores of the Gulf of Adria, and on the south by the shores of the Adria (iii. 1); and that Sicily is bounded on the east by the Sea of Adria (4). He further informs us that Italy is bounded on the south by the Adriatic Sea (14), that the Peloponnesus is bounded on the west and south by the Adriatic Sea (16), and that Crete is bounded on the west by the Adriatic Sea (17)' (Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*[4], 163 *f.*).

The usage current in the first and second centuries is similarly reflected by Pausanias, who speaks of Alpheus flowing under Adria from Greece to Ortygia in Syracuse (viii. 54. 2), and of the Straits of Messina as communicating with the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian Sea (v. 25. 3). Procopius (*Bel. Vand.* i. 14) makes the islands of Gaulos and Melita (*Gozo* and *Malta*) the boundary between the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian Sea. The meaning of the term 'Adria' was the debatable point of the once famous controversy as to whether St. Paul suffered shipwreck on the Illyrian or the Sicilian Melita, *i.e.* on *Meleda* or *Malta* (see MELITA). His ship was 'driven through Adria' (διαφερομένων ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ Ἀδρίᾳ, Ac 27[27]); perhaps not 'driven to and fro in the sea of Adria' (RV) (unless St. Luke made a landsman's mistake), but slowly carried forward in one direction, for probably 'she had storm sails set, and was on the starboard tack, which was the only course by which she could avoid falling into the Syrtis' (Smith, *op. cit.* 114). An interesting parallel to St. Paul's experience is found in the life of Josephus, who relates that his ship foundered in the midst of the same sea (κατὰ μέσον τὸν Ἀδρίαν), and that he and some companions, saving themselves by swimming, were picked up by a vessel sailing from Cyrene to Puteoli (*Vit.* 3).

LITERATURE.—J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*[4], 1880, p. 162 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 334.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ADULTERY.—See MARRIAGE.

ADVENT.—See PAROUSIA.

ADVERSARY.—This renders three Greek words in the NT: **1.** **ἀντίδικος**, properly an adversary in a lawsuit, and used of an earthly adversary in Mt 5[25], Lk 12[58] 18[3]—all these with a legal reference. It is used of an enemy of God in 1 S 2[10] (LXX), and in 1 P 5[8] of '*the* enemy,' Satan; in this last passage **διάβολος** is anarthrous, as a proper name, while **ἀντίδικος** has the article (see DEVIL and SATAN).

2. **ἀντικείμενος**, used in Lk 13[17] of our Lord's Jewish opponents, and in 21[15] of all adversaries of the disciples, is employed by St. Paul to denote those who oppose the Christian religion, probably in all cases with the suggestion that the devil is working through them. Such are the 'adversaries' of 1 Co 16[9], Ph 1[28]; in 1 Ti 5[14] Chrysostom takes the 'adversary' to be Satan, the 'reviler' (cf. v.[15]), or he may be the human enemy as prompted by Satan. In 2 Th 2[4] 'he that opposeth' (**ὁ ἀντικείμενος**) is Antichrist (*q.v.*), whose parousia is according to the working of Satan (v.[9]); and it is interesting to note that the letter of the Churches of Vienne and Lyons (Euseb. *HE* v. i. 5) uses this expression absolutely of Satan, or of Antichrist, working through the persecutors, and 'giving us a foretaste of his unbridled activity at his future coming.'

3. **ὑπεναντίος** is used in He 10[27] of the adversaries of God, apostates from Christ, probably with reference to Is 26[11], where the LXX has the same word. A similar phrase in Tit 2[8] is 'he that is of the contrary part,' an opponent, **ὁ ἐξ ἐναντίας**. In Col 2[14] the word **ὑπεναντίος** is used of an inanimate object: 'the bond . . . which was contrary to us.'

A. J. MACLEAN.

ADVOCATE.—See PARACLETE.

ÆNEAS (**Αἰνέας**).—The name occurs only once in the NT (Ac 9[33. 34]). The person so called was a dweller in Lydda or Lod, a town on the plain of Sharon about ten miles south of Joppa, to which many of the Christians had fled after the persecution which dispersed the apostles and the church of Jerusalem. On a visit of St. Peter to the place, Æneas, who had for eight years been confined to bed as a paralytic, was healed by the Apostle. The cure seems to have had a very remarkable influence in the district, causing many of the dwellers in Sharon and Lydda to accept Christianity. Nothing further is known of the man. Probably he became a Christian at the date of his cure.

W. F. BOYD.

ÆON (**αἰών, αἰῶνες**, 'age,' 'ages').—There is some uncertainty as to the derivation of the word *αἰών*. Some relate it with *ἄημι*, 'to breathe,' but modern opinion connects it with *ἀεί, αἰεί* (=*αἰϝών*), and finds as other derivatives the Latin *ævum* and the English 'aye.' In the LXX *αἰών* is used to translate עוֹלָם in various forms, as מֵעוֹלָם, Gn 6[4]; עַד עוֹלָם, 1 K 1[31]; אֶל עוֹלָם, Gn 21[33]; מֵהָעוֹלָם, Ec 3[11]. It is of frequent occurrence in the NT. The instances number 125 in TR, and 120 in critical editions. Following these, it is noteworthy that in the Gospels and Acts, where it occurs 34 times, it is only once used in the plural (Lk 1[33]). In the rest of the NT the use of the plural predominates (54 out of 86 instances). In Rev. the word occurs with great frequency (26 times). In every case it is used in the plural, and, except in two places, in the intensive formula *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων*—a form which is never found in the Gospels or Acts. *αἰών* is variously translated as 'age,' 'for ever,' 'world,' 'course,' 'eternal.' It expresses a time-concept, and under all uses of the word that concept remains in a more or less definite degree.

1. It expresses the idea of long or indefinite past time, *ἀπ' αἰῶνος*, 'since the world began' (EV; Lk 1[70], Ac 3[21] 15[18]; cf. מֵעוֹלָם, Gn 6[4], Is 64[4], *ἐκ τοῦ αἰῶνος*, Jn 9[32]). In these instances, the phrases express what we mean when, speaking generally and indefinitely of time past, we say 'from of old' or 'from the most ancient time.'

2. The common classical use of *αἰών* for 'lifetime' is not found in the NT; but there are instances where the phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* seems to have that significance; *e.g.* 'The servant abideth not in the house *for life*, but the son abideth *for life*,' Jn 8[35] (also Mt 21[19], Jn 13[8], 1 Co 8[13]).

3. The phrase *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* or *τοὺς αἰῶνας* is frequently found in the NT as a time-concept for a period or 'age' of indefinite futurity, and may be translated 'for ever.' Strictly speaking, in accordance with the root idea of *αἰών*, the phrase indicates futurity or continuance as long as the 'age' lasts to which the matter referred to belongs. The use of the intensive form *εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων* (Gal 1[5], Eph 3[21], He 13[21], and Rev. *passim*) indicates the effort of Christian faith to give expression to its larger conception of the 'ages' as extending to the limits of human thought, by duplicating and reduplicating the original word. The larger vision gave the larger meaning; but it cannot be said that the fundamental idea of 'age,' as an epoch or dispensation with an end, is lost. In the Fourth Gospel the phrase is sometimes employed as a synonym for 'eternal life' (Jn 6[51. 58]).

4. The plural *αἰῶνες* expresses the time-idea as consisting of or embracing many ages—æons, periods of vast extent—'from all ages' (RV, Eph 3[9]), 'the ages to come' (Eph 2[7], etc.). Some of these 'ages' are regarded as having come to an end—'but now once in the end of the world ('at the end of the ages' RV) hath he appeared to put away sin' (He 9[26]). The idea of one age succeeding another as

under ordered rule is provided for in the suggestive title 'the king eternal' (EV 'the king of the ages') (1 Ti 1[17]; cf. מֶלֶךְ עוֹלָם, Gn 21[33]). In He 1[2] 'through whom also he made the worlds' (ages), and He 11[3] 'the worlds (ages) were made by the word of God,' we have the striking conception of the 'ages' as 'including all that is manifested in and through them' (Westcott, *Com. in loc.*). (In Wis 13[9] there is a curious instance of *αἰών* as referring to the actual world, 'For if they were able to know so much that they could aim at the world [*στοχάσασθαι τὸν αἰῶνα*], how did they not sooner find out the Lord thereof?')

5. There is also attached to the word the significance of 'age' as indicating a period or dispensation of a definite character—the present order of 'world-life' viewed as a whole and as possessing certain moral characteristics. It is unfortunate that there is no word in English which exactly expresses this meaning. The general translation in AV and RV is 'world,' though 'age' appears always in RVm and in the text at He 6[5]. There is undoubtedly at times a close similarity of connotation between *αἰών* and *κόσμος* as indicating a moral order. In the Gospel and Epp. of John *αἰών* is never used in this sense, but *κόσμος* is employed instead: *e.g.* 'Now is the judgment of this world; now shall the prince of this world be cast out' (Jn 12[31], also 15[19] etc.), 'If any man love the world' (1 Jn 2[15] etc.). They are almost, if not altogether, synonymous in 'Where is the disputer of this world ('age,' *αἰών*)? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world (*κόσμος*)?' (1 Co 1[20]). That St. Paul recognized a distinction between them is evident from the phrase *κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου*, which is translated both in AV and in RV 'according to the course of this world' (Eph 2[2]). Plainly *αἰών* describes some quality of the *κόσμος*. We have no term to express it exactly, but our phrase 'the spirit of the age' comes very near to what is required.

6. This 'world' or 'age' as a moral order includes the current epoch of the world's life. It is an epoch in which the visible and the transitory have vast power over the souls of men, and may become the only objects of hope and desire. It is described simply as *αἰών*, 'the world' (Mt 13[22], Mk 4[19]), and its end is emphatically affirmed (Mt 13[39. 40. 49] 24[3] 28[20]). But more frequently it is referred to as in contrast to a coming age. It is described as *ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος*, 'this world' (Mt 12[32], Lk 16[8], Ro 12[2], 1 Co 1[20], etc.); as *ὁ νῦν αἰών* (1 Ti 6[17], etc.); as *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ ἐνεστώς*, 'the present . . . world' (Gal 1[4]). The future age is described as *ὁ αἰὼν μέλλων*, 'the world to come' (Mt 12[32], He 6[5]); *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*, 'the world to come' (Mk 10[30], etc.); and as *ὁ αἰὼν ἐκεῖνος*, 'that world' (Lk 20[35]). The present 'age' has its God (2 Co 4[4]), its rulers and its wisdom (1 Co 2[6. 8]), its sons (Lk 16[8]), its fashion (Ro 12[2]), and its cares (Mt 13[22]). Men may be rich in it (1 Ti 6[17]), and love it (2 Ti 4[10]). It is an evil age (Gal 1[4]), yet it is possible to live soberly, righteously, and godly in it (Tit 2[12]), and it has an end (Mt 13[40]). In the future 'age' there is 'eternal life' (Mk 10[30], Lk 18[30]). Those who are counted worthy of it 'neither marry nor are given in marriage, neither can they die any more' (Lk 20[35f.]). It has 'powers' that may be 'tasted' in the present age (He 6[5]).

The contrast is regarded as that which is described in Jewish writings as עוֹלָם הַזֶּה and עוֹלָם הַבָּא, 'this age' and 'the age that is to come.' These are identified with the age before and after the coming of the Messiah. There is much uncertainty as to the time when this contrast first arose. Dalman says that 'in pre-Christian products of Jewish literature there is as yet no trace of these ideas to be found' (*The Words of Jesus*, p. 148). It is difficult to believe that a nation which expected so much from the advent of the Messiah did not form some idea, at a date before the days of Jesus Christ, of the vast changes which would be produced when He did come, and look upon the age which was so marked as one to be contrasted with the age in which they were living. We cannot follow Dalman when he says: 'It is not unlikely that in the time of Jesus the idea of "the future age," being the product of the schools of the scribes, was not yet familiar to those He addressed' (*ib.* p. 135). Dalman apparently doubts whether Jesus used the term Himself, but says: 'The currency of the expressions "this age," "the future age," is at all events established by the end of the first Christian century.' He makes the reservation that 'for that period the expressions characterised the language of the learned rather than that of the people' (*ib.* p. 151).

7. Among the Gnostics (see GNOSTICISM) the Æons were emanations from the Divine. But this meaning of the word belongs to a time when the Gnostic ideas and terminology were more fully developed than in the first century of the Christian era. It is enough to quote the opinion of Hort in his *Judaistic Christianity*, 'There is not the faintest sign that such words as . . . *αἰών* . . . have any reference [in the NT] to what we call Gnostic terms' (p. 133, also p. 146).

LITERATURE.—G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, Eng. tr. Edinburgh, 1902, pp. 147 ff., 162 ff.; *HDB*, art. 'World'; Westcott, *Com. on the Epistle to the Hebrews, in locis*; F. Rendall, *Expositor*, 3rd ser., vii. [1888] 266–278; Wilke-Grimm, *Clavis Novi Testamenti, s.v.*; *ERE*, artt. 'Æons' and 'Ages of the World'; F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Cambridge and London, 1894, pp. 133, 146; H. B. Swete, *Gospel according to St. Mark*, London, 1902, pp. 65, 217; J. T. Marshall, *Exp*[T], x. [1898–99] 323; Lightfoot, *Com. on Colossians and Philemon*[3], London, 1879, p. 73 ff.; C. Geikie, *Life and Words of Christ*, do. 1877, p. 625; J. Agar Beet, *Last Things*, do. 1913, pp. 70 f., 132 f.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902).

JOHN REID.

AFFLICTION.—See SUFFERING.

AGABUS ("Αγαβος, a word of uncertain derivation).—The bearer of this name is mentioned on two separate occasions in the Acts (11[27-30] 21[10-11]) and also by Eusebius (*HE* ii. 3). He is described as a prophet who resided in Jerusalem, and we find him in A.D. 44 at Antioch, where he predicted that a great famine (*q.v.*) would take place 'over all the world,' *i.e.* over all the Roman Empire. The immediate effect of this prediction was to call forth the liberality of the Christians of Antioch and lead them to send help to the poor brethren of Judæa (Ac 11[29]). The writer of the Acts tells us that this famine took place in the reign of Claudius. Roman historians speak of wide-spread and repeated famines in this reign (Sueton. *Claudius*, xviii.; Dion Cass. lx.; Tac. *Ann.* xii. 43), and Josephus testifies to the severity of the famine in Palestine and refers to measures adopted for its relief (*Ant.* III. xv. 3, xx. ii. 5, v. 2). Though Syria and the East may have suffered most on this occasion, the whole Empire could not fail to be more or less affected, and it is hypercritical to accuse the author of the Acts of 'unhistorical generalization' for speaking of a famine 'over all the world,' as is done by Schürer (*GJV*[4] i. [1901] 543, 567; cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 1895, p. 48 f., and *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*, 1898, p. 251 f.).

Again in A.D. 59 we hear of Agabus at Cæsarea, where he met St. Paul on his return from his third missionary journey. Taking the Apostle's girdle, he bound his own hands and feet, and in the symbolic manner of the ancient Hebrew prophets predicted that so the Jews would bind the owner of the girdle and hand him over to the Gentiles (Ac 21[10-11]). The prophecy failed to move St. Paul from his resolve. There is no means of ascertaining whether Agabus was a prophet in the

higher NT sense—a preacher or *forth-teller* of the Word; or whether he was merely a successful soothsayer. It is difficult to see what good end could be served by the second of his recorded predictions. Tradition makes him one of the 'seventy' and a martyr at Antioch.

W. F. BOYD.

AGE.—The general significance of 'age' is a period of time, or a measure of life. Specially, it expresses the idea of advancement in life, or of oldness. Several Greek words are employed in NT for 'age.' (1) *αἰών* (see ÆON). (2) *γενεά*, 'a generation,' loosely measured as extending from 30 to 33 years. In Eph $3^{5.\ 21}$ RV rightly puts 'generations' for 'ages.' (3) *τέλειος*, 'full-grown' or 'perfect.' In He 5^{14} for AV 'to them that are of full age' the RV substitutes 'fullgrown' in the text, and 'perfect' in the margin (cf. 1 Co 2^{6}, where the RV has 'perfect' in the text, and 'full-grown' in the margin). (4) *ἡλικία* is the most exact Greek term for 'age,' and especially for full age as applied to human life. It includes also the ideas of maturity or fitness, and of stature, as when a person has attained to full development of growth. In Eph 4^{13} 'the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (EV) is somewhat difficult to interpret. The phrase is co-ordinate with the words 'a perfect (or fullgrown, *τέλειος*) man,' which precede it in the text. Both phrases describe the ultimate height of spiritual development which the Church as the body of Christ is to reach. The latter phrase explains what the former implies. The general line of interpretation is that the whole Church as the body of Christ is to grow into 'a fullgrown or perfect man,' and the standard or height of the perfect man is the stature of Christ in His fullness (see Comm. of Meyer, Eadie, Ellicott, *in loc.*; Field, *Notes on the Tr. of the NT*, 1899, p. 6; *Expositor*, 7th ser., ii. [1906] 441 ff.). In Gal 1^{14}, where the compound *συνηλικιώτας* is used, the word has its primary meaning of 'age' (='equals in age').

The question of age was of importance as regards fitness for holding office in the Church (see NOVICE). In later times the canonical age varied, but in general it was fixed at thirty (see *Cathol. Encyc.* art. 'Age'). It was also considered in relation to the dispensing of the charity of the Church, at least in the case of widows. In 1 Ti 5^{9} it is said: 'Let none be enrolled as a widow under threescore years old.' The question naturally arises, Were only widows of advanced years eligible for assistance? It is possible that younger widows might be in greater need of help. Because of this it is supposed by some (Schleiermacher, etc.) that the reference is to an order of deaconesses—a supposition that becomes an argument for a late and un-Pauline date for the Epistle. Others think that the reference is to an order of widows who had duties which somewhat resembled those of the presbyters (Huther, Ellicott, Alford). De Wette believes that probably there were women who vowed themselves to perpetual widowhood, and performed certain functions in the Church; but evidences of such an order belong to a later date in the Church's history. On the whole, and especially if the Epistle belongs to an early date, it is best to regard the instruction as a direction about widows who were entirely dependent on the charity of the Church. Younger widows would receive help according to their need, but were not enrolled like the older widows as regular recipients of the Church's charity. The age limit for an old age pension is not a new idea. It is impossible to determine if the widows who were enrolled were bound to give some service in return for the assistance which they received. The probability is that they were not, assuming, of course, the early date of the Epistle (see H. R. Reynolds, in *Expos.*, 1st ser., iii. [1880] 382–390; *HDB*, art. 'Widows').

The dispensing of charity to widows was a great and grave problem in the early Church. The rule about enrolment only when the threescore years had been reached was evidently intended to restrict the number of those who were entitled to receive regular help. Nestle calls attention to 'the punning observation in the *Didascalia* (=*Const. Apost.* iii. 6) about itinerant widows who were so ready to receive that they were not so much *χῆραι* as *πῆραι*' (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, p. 109, note). The pun may be rendered in English as 'not so much "widows" as "wallets."'

In 1 Ti 5^{1} and 1 P 5^{5} 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) has the primitive signification of 'men of advanced age.' Cf. also the following article.

JOHN REID.

AGED.—In Philem ^{9} the writer speaks of himself as *Παῦλος πρεσβύτης* (AV and RV 'Paul the aged,' RVm 'ambassador'). In strictness the translation 'ambassador' requires *πρεσβευτής*, a word which does not occur in the NT. The two forms may have been confused in transcription or in common use. The translation 'ambassador' is more fitting because Philemon, as father of Archippus, who was old enough to hold some 'ministry' in the Church (Col 4^{17}), must have been the equal, or nearly the equal, of St. Paul in age; and there would be little or no ground for an appeal based on considerations of age. It is also to be noticed that the phrase 'ambassador and . . . prisoner of Jesus Christ' is practically repeated in Eph 6^{20}, 'an ambassador in bonds.' Taking the word as meaning 'ambassador,' the appeal would have in it a note of authority. It is not a relevant objection to say that St. Paul is beseeching Philemon 'for love's sake' (v.^{9}). It is the peculiarity of the Christian ambassador that he beseeches those whom he addresses. Love and authority are commingled in his mission, as in 2 Co $5^{14.\ 20}$. The likelihood of 'ambassador' being the right translation is strengthened by the fact that here as elsewhere (2 Co 5^{20}, Eph 6^{20}) St. Paul uses a verbal and not a noun form to express his position as an ambassador. See J. B. Lightfoot, *Com. on Col. and Philemon*^{3}, 1879, *in loc.*; and cf. art. AMBASSADOR.

JOHN REID.

AGRIPPA.—See HEROD.

AIR.—The apostles, like other Jews of their time, regarded the air as a region between earth and the higher heavens, inhabited by spirits, especially evil spirits. In Eph 2^{2} the air is the abode of Satan (see below); in Eph 6^{12} 'the heavenlies' (*τὰ ἐπουράνια*)—a vague phrase used also in Eph $1^{3.\ 20}$ 2^{6} 3^{10} to denote the heavenly or spiritual sphere, the unseen universe*—is where the wrestling of the Christian against the spiritual hosts of wickedness takes place, and is apparently in this case equivalent to 'this darkness' (cf. Lk 22^{53}, Col 1^{13} 'power of darkness,' *i.e.* tyranny of evil). In Rev 12^{7} the war between Michael and the dragon is in 'heaven.' This can hardly refer to the first rebellion of Satan, nor yet can we with Bede interpret 'heaven' as the Church; but rather the fighting is in the heavens, a struggle of Satan to regain his lost place, ended by his final expulsion. 'As the Incarnation called forth a counter-manifestation of diabolic power on earth, so after the Ascension the attack is supposed to be carried into heaven' (Swete, *Com. in loc.*). But the conception is not unlike that of St. Paul as noted above.

There are several parallels to these passages in that class of literature which is thought to be a

* The Peshitta renders it 'in heaven,' except in 6^{12} where it significantly has 'under heaven.'

Christian rehandling of Jewish apocalyptic writings. In the *Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs* (*q.v.*) we read of the 'aerial spirit Beliar' (Benj. 3). In the *Ascension of Isaiah* (*q.v.*) there is described an ascent 'into the firmament,' where were Sammael and his powers, and there was a great fight (vii. 9); Christ descends from the lowest heaven to the firmament where was continual warfare, and takes the form of the angels of the air (x. 29). In the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch* the apostate angels are suspended in the second heaven awaiting the Last Judgment (§ 7; see Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Contemp. Jewish Thought*, London, 1900, p. 176 f.). These works in their present form probably date from the latter part of the 1st or the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D. The ideas seem to have had much currency among Christians, for we find Athanasius (*de Incarn.* 25) speaking of the devil having fallen from heaven and wandering about 'our lower atmosphere,' 'there bearing rule over his fellow-spirits . . .,' 'while the Lord came to cast down the devil, and clear the air and prepare the way for us up into heaven.'

The **prince of the power of the air** (Eph 2^2) is Satan. That he had authority over the evil spirits whose abode is in the air was the general Jewish belief, except among the Sadducees. St. Paul does not, however, here say 'powers of the air,' *i.e.* evil spirits, but the 'air-power' or 'air-tyranny' (for this meaning of *ἐξουσία* see Lightfoot's note on Col 1^{13}). Satan is the arch-tyrant whose abode is in the air.

LITERATURE.—See art. DEMON. A. J. MACLEAN.

AKELDAMA ('Ακελδαμάχ WH, 'Ακελδαμά TR).—Akeldama is said to be equivalent to *χωρίον αἵματος* in Ac 1^{19}, and to *ἀγρὸς αἵματος* in Mt 27^8: in that case the word represents Aram. חֲקַל דְּמָא and the final χ (which is retained also in the best Vulg. text, *acheldemach*) transliterates א (which is only rarely so found). It has, therefore, been suggested as possible that the second part of the word represents Aram. דְּמָא = *κοιμητήριον*, 'cemetery,' which accords better with St. Matthew's explanation, though not with St. Luke's. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that we have here an instance of the occasional discrepancies and inaccuracies which have from an early period crept into the text of the NT. It would certainly seem as if the explanation of the title 'field of blood' given in Mt 27^8 is radically different from that suggested in Ac 1^{19}, and that the former is more in accordance with the facts, though still an incorrect translation of the Aram. title, while it is probable that the whole section vv.$^{18.\ 19}$ (with or without v.^{20}) of the latter passage is not part of St. Peter's speech, but a comment or gloss either by the author of the book (St. Luke) himself or even by some later editor or transcriber, who has incorporated a less trustworthy tradition in the text.

The site of Akeldama is the modern *Hakk ed-Dumm*, on the south side of the Valley of Hinnom. See, further, art. *s.v.* in *HDB* and *DCG*.

C. L. FELTOE.

ALEXANDER ('Αλέξανδρος, 'helper of men').—This name is found in the NT in five different connexions, and possibly designates as many different individuals.

1. The son of Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross to Calvary (Mk 15^{21}), and the brother of Rufus. In all probability Alexander and his brother were well-known and honoured men in the Church of Rome (cf. Ro 16^{13} and art. RUFUS), to which the Gospel of Mark was addressed, as St. Mark identifies the father by a reference to the sons. We may regard the allusion as an interesting instance of the sons being blessed for the father's sake.

2. A leader of the priestly party in Jerusalem at the period subsequent to the death of Christ. After the healing of the impotent man we are told that Alexander was present at a meeting of the Jewish authorities along with Annas, Caiaphas, and John, and 'as many as were of the kindred of the high priest' (Ac 4^6). It is probable, though not quite certain, that this indicates that Alexander belonged to the high-priestly class; and it is impossible to identify him with Alexander the 'alabarch' of Alexandria and brother of Philo.

3. A leading member of the Jewish community at Ephesus (Ac 19^{33}), who was put forward by the Jews at the time of the Ephesian riot to clear themselves of any complicity with St. Paul or his teaching, but whom the mob refused to hear. He may have been one of the 'craftsmen,' though on the whole it is unlikely that a Jew would have any connexion with the production of the symbols of idolatry. There are, however, slight variations in the MSS of Ac 19^{33}, and different views have been taken with regard to Alexander and the intention of the Jews. Meyer holds that Alexander was a Jewish Christian who was put forward maliciously by the Jews in the hope that he might be sacrificed (cf. *Com. in loco*). The omission of *τις*, 'a certain,' before his name has been regarded as an indication that Alexander was a well-known man in Ephesus at the time.

4. A Christian convert and teacher, who along with Hymenæus (*q.v.*) and others apostatized from the faith, and was excommunicated by the Apostle Paul (1 Ti 1^{19-20}).

5. Alexander the coppersmith, who did St. Paul much evil and whom the Apostle desires to be rewarded according to his works (2 Ti 4^{14-15}). This Alexander has been identified with both **3** and **4**. We are able to gather certain facts regarding him which would seem to connect him with **3**.—(1) His trade was that of a smith (see COPPERSMITH), a worker in metal, originally brass, but subsequently any other metal, which might associate him with the craftsmen of Ephesus. (2) The statement regarding him was addressed to Timothy, who was settled in Ephesus. On the other hand, we are told that Alexander greatly withstood St. Paul's words—a reference which seems to indicate a bitter personal hostility between the two men, as well as controversial disputes on matters of doctrine which might rather connect him with **4**, the associate of Hymenæus. It is possible that **3**, **4**, and **5** may be the same person, but Alexander was a very common name, and the data are insufficient to allow of any certain identification. Those who hold the Epistles to Timothy to be non-Pauline regard the statement in Ac 19^{33} as the basis of the references in the Epistles, but the only thing in common is the name, while there is no indication in Acts that Alexander had any personal connexion with St. Paul.

LITERATURE.—R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900; Comm. of Meyer, Zeller, Holtzmann; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 1895, p. 279; artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*. W. F. BOYD.

ALEXANDRIA ('Αλεξάνδρια).—The city of Alexandria almost realized Alexander the Great's dream of 'a city surpassing anything previously existing' (Plutarch, *Alex.* xxvi.). Planned by Dinocrates under the king's supervision, and built on a neck of land two miles wide interposed between the Mediterranean Sea and Lake Mareotis (*Mariut*), about 14 miles from the Canopic mouth of the Nile, it became successively the capital of Hellenic, Roman, and Christian Egypt, 'the greatest mart in the world' (*μέγιστον ἐμπόριον τῆς οἰκουμένης*, Strabo, XVII. i. 13), and next to Rome the most splendid city in the Empire. About 4 miles long from E. to W., nearly a mile wide, and about 15 miles in

circumference, it was quartered—like so many of the Hellenic cities of the period—by two colonnaded thoroughfares crossing each other at a great central square, terminating in the four principal gates, and determining the line of the other streets, so that the whole city was laid out in parallelograms. The three *regions* into which it was divided —the *Regio Judæorum*, *Brucheium*, and *Rhacôtis* —corresponded generally with the three classes of the population—Jews, Greeks, and Egyptians—while representatives of nearly all other nations commingled in its streets (Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 32), Diodorus Siculus, who visited it about 58 B.C., estimates (xvii. 52) its free citizens at 300,000, and it probably had at least an equal number of slaves.

'Its fine air,' says Strabo, 'is worthy of remark: this results from the city being on two sides surrounded by water, and from the favourable effects of the rise of the Nile,' one canal joining the great river to the lake, and another the lake to the sea. 'The Nile, being full, fills the lake also, and leaves no marshy matter which is likely to cause exhalations' (XVII. i. 7).

The name of the city does not occur in the NT, but 'Alexandrian,' as noun and adj. (Ἀλεξανδρεύς, Ἀλεξανδρινός), is found 4 times in Acts. There was a synagogue of Alexandrians in Jerusalem (6[9]), fanatical defenders of the Mosaic faith, roused to indignation by the heresies of Stephen. Apollos was 'an Alexandrian by race, a learned man (ἀνὴρ λόγιος; AV and RVm, 'eloquent'), mighty in the scriptures' (18[24]). In one Alexandrian ship St. Paul was wrecked at Melita (27[6]), and in another he continued his voyage to Puteoli (28[11]). Here are references to the three most striking aspects of the life of Alexandria—her religion, culture, and commerce. We invert the order.

1. Commerce.—Alexandria was built on a site uniquely adapted for maritime trade. Served on her northern side by the Great Harbour and the Haven of Happy Return* (εὔνοστος), which were formed by a mole seven stadia in length—the *Heptastadium*—flung across to the island of Pharos,† and on her southern side by the wharves of Mareotis, Alexandria entered into the heritage of both Tyre and Carthage, and drew to herself the commerce of three continents. Under the Ptolemys Egypt largely took the place of the lands around the Euxine as a grain-producing country, and 'corn in Egypt' became as proverbial as it had been in the days of the Pharaohs.

'The corn which was sent from thence to Italy was conveyed in ships of very great size. From the dimensions given of one of them by Lucian, they appear to have been quite as large as the largest class of merchant ships of modern times' (Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*[4], 1880, p. 71 f.).

The cruisers and coasters of Alexandria traded with every part of the Mediterranean, and it was an ordinary occurrence to find vessels bound for Italy in the harbours of Myra and Malta (Ac 27[6] 28[11]). Seneca gives a vivid picture of the arrival of the Alexandrian fleet of merchantmen at Puteoli (*Ep.* 77). The trade which came to Lake Mareotis from the Nile and the Red Sea was equally important.

'Large fleets,' says Strabo (XVII. i. 13), 'are dispatched as far as India and the extremities of Ethiopia, from which places the most valuable freights are brought to Egypt, and are thence exported to other places, so that a double amount of custom is collected, arising from imports on the one hand, and from exports on the other.'

2. Culture.—It was the great ambition of the Ptolemys to make their capital not only the commercial but the intellectual centre of the world. Alexandria really succeeded in winning for herself the crown of science, and was for centuries the foster-mother of an international Hellenic culture.

* Its inner basin, *Kibotos*, greatly enlarged, forms the modern harbour.

† On the eastern point of the island was the famous Lighthouse, one of the 'Seven Wonders' of the world.

The proofs of her devotion to letters were seen in the *Brucheium*, or central quarter of the city, which contained not only the mausoleum* of Alexander, the palaces of the Egyptian kings, the Temple of Poseidon, and, at a later date, the Cæsarium† in which divine honours were paid to the Roman emperors, but the Museum, which in many ways resembled a modern university, with lecture halls and State-paid professors, and the Library, in which were accumulated the books of Greece, Rome, Egypt, and India, to the number (according to Josephus, *Ant.* XII. ii. 1) of more than half a million. In this home of endowed research the exact sciences flourished; Alexandria had on her roll of fame the names of Euclid in geometry, Hipparchus in astronomy, Eratosthenes in geography; and her physicians were the most celebrated in the world. For literature her *savants* did a noble work in collecting, revising, and classifying the records of the past. On the whole, however, her literary school was imitative rather than creative; her poets trusted more to learning than to imagination, and the muses rarely visited the Museum. The artificial atmosphere of literary criticism, which was the breath of life to grammarians, philologists, and dialecticians, chilled rather than fostered original genius. Alexandria's most brilliant scholars, detached from the realities of life, immured in academic cloisters, were connoisseurs, not writers, of classics.

In the Roman period 'numerous and respectable labours of erudition, particularly philological and physical, proceeded from the circle of the *savants* "of the Museum," as they entitled themselves, like the Parisians "of the Institute"; but . . . it was here very clearly apparent that the main matter was not pensions and rewards, but the contact . . . of great political and great scientific work' (Mommsen, *Provinces*[2], ii. 271 f.).

3. Religion.—While the eclecticism of Alexandrian religion was represented in its pagan aspect by the cultus of the Serapeum, the most famous of the city's temples, in which the attempt was made to blend the creeds of Greece and Egypt, the grafting of Judaism on Hellenism flowered into a system which had far more influence upon the permanent thought of the world. The migration of the Jews to Egypt, which began at the time of the downfall of Jerusalem (Jer 42[14]), increased rapidly under the Ptolemys, who welcomed them as colonists, giving them equal civic rights with the Macedonians and Greeks—rights which both Julius Cæsar and Augustus confirmed to them. Occupying their own quarter of the city—the north-eastern—and forming, under their ethnarch or 'alabarch,' a community within a community, they were yet profoundly influenced by their environment, and developed not only a genius for trade but a passion for learning. In the beginning of our era they amounted to an eighth part of the population, and nowhere else was the scattered race so wealthy, so cultured, or so influential. Alexandria became the greatest of Jewish cities, the centre of Semitism as well as of Hellenism (*q.v.*). Naturalized in a foreign city and inevitably breathing its spirit, the Jews showed themselves at once pliant and stubborn. Glorying in the retention of their monotheistic faith, they yet dropped their sacred Hebrew language. Their Scriptures, translated into Greek‡ for their own use, came into the hands of their Hellenic neighbours, who gave them

* Near the centre of the city, perhaps represented by the present mosque *Nebi Daniel*.

† Near it were 'Cleopatra's Needles,' one of which is now in London, and the other in New York.

‡ The legend of the composition of the Septuagint, contained in the *Letter of Aristeas*, is probably based on facts. The initiative seems to have been taken by Ptolemy Philadelphus, who doubtless wished to promote the use of Greek among the Jewish population of the city. The Law was translated in the 3rd cent. B.C., the Prophets (probably) in the 2nd, and most of the 'Writings' in the 1st, while Ecclesiastes and Daniel were not translated till the 2nd cent. A.D.

in exchange the classics of Athens. Alexandria thus became the meeting-place of Eastern and Western ideals. Both races were sensitive to impressions: while the Jews felt the subtle influence of a rich civilization and a lofty philosophy, the Greeks were attracted by a strange note of assurance regarding God. In an eclectic age and city, the endeavour was consequently made to harmonize the religion of Moses with that of Plato. Mommsen remarks that they were the clearest heads and the most gifted thinkers who sought admission either as Hellenes into the Jewish, or as Jews into the Hellenic, system (*Provinces*[2], ii. 167). With perfect sincerity, if by faulty exegesis, the Jewish men of culture made their Scriptures yield up the doctrines of the Academy and the Stoa. The literary exponent of this spiritual *rapprochement* is Philo(*q.v.*), who probably did little more than give expression to the current opinions of his countrymen in the time of our Lord. While not a little of his Neo-Judaism must, on account of his persistent allegorizing, be regarded as pseudo-Judaism, he had the supreme merit of combining the highest Eastern with the highest Western view of the universe; of identifying the Hebrew 'wisdom' with the Greek 'reason'; of developing Plato's conception of the world as the *θεῖον γεννητόν*, the *εἰκὼν τοῦ ποιητοῦ*, the *μονογενής* (the Divine Child, the Image of its Maker, the Only-begotten) into that of the *κόσμος νοητός* or *λόγος*, which is the Invisible God's *πρωτόγονος* or *πρωτότοκος*, His *ἀπαύγασμα* or *χαρακτήρ*; and of thus facilitating that fusion of Hellenism and Hebraism out of which so much Christian theology has sprung. Alexandrian thought provided the categories—in themselves cold and speculative—into which Christianity, as represented by the writers of Colossians, Hebrews, and the Fourth Gospel, poured the warm life-blood of a historic and humane faith. And if the Alexandrian exegetical method was often unscientific—as when it made Moses identify Abraham with understanding, Sarah with virtue, Noah with righteousness, the four streams of Paradise with the four cardinal virtues—yet the writer of Hebrews could scarcely have built a bridge between Judaism and Christianity unless he had been trained in a school which taught its disciples to pass from symbols to ultimate realities. Apollos (*q.v.*), the learned and eloquent (*λόγιος, δυνατὸς ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς*), was a true Alexandrian, not impossibly 'of the Museum'; and Luther was happily inspired in suggesting that he may have been the writer who used the Hebrew-Hellenic theology of Egypt to interpret the manger of Bethlehem. See also the following article.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Alexandria' in *HDB*, *SDB*, *EBi*, and in Pauly-Wissowa; H. Kiepert, *Zur Topog. des alten Alexandria*, Berlin, 1872; J. P. Mahaffy, *Alexander's Empire*, London, 1888, and *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, do. 1906; T. Mommsen, *Prov. of Rom. Emp.*[2], 2 vols., do. 1909; J. Drummond, *Philo-Judæus*, 2 vols., do. 1888; cf. also W. M. Ramsay's art. 'Roads and Travel (in NT)' in *HDB*, v. 375 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ALEXANDRIANS.—Among the active opponents of St. Stephen were 'certain of them that were of the synagogue called the synagogue . . . of the Alexandrians' (Ἀλεξανδρέων, Ac 6[9]).

Grammatically the sentence is not in good form, and admits of a variety of interpretations. Some exegetes (Calvin, Bengel, O. Holtzmann, Rendall) assume that the Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians, Cilicians, and Asiatics residing in Jerusalem all worshipped in one synagogue. Others (Wendt, Zöckler, Sanday, Knowling, Winer-Moulton) think that the first three classes of Jews had one synagogue and the last two another—an idea favoured by the *τῶν . . . τῶν* after *τινες*. T. E. Page groups the Libertines in one place of worship, the men of Alexandria and Cyrene in a second, and those of Cilicia and Asia in a third. Finally, some scholars (Schürer, Meyer, Weiss, Hackett) believe that each of the five classes had its own distinctive synagogue in the holy city. A synagogue of the Alexandrians in Jerusalem is mentioned in Jerus. *Megilla*, 73*d*, where it is also said that there were in all no fewer than 425 synagogues in the city—a statement which Schürer (*HJP* II. ii. 73) dismisses as an insipid Talmudic legend, but which Renan (*The Apostles*, Eng. tr., 113) is disposed to accept as 'by no means improbable.'

The Jews of Alexandria (*q.v.*) were in a very different position from the people of any modern Ghetto. They were amongst the most opulent and influential citizens. They formed a distinct municipal community, and possessed extensive political privileges. At the foundation of the city Alexander gave them equal rights with the Greeks (*ἔδωκε τὸ μετοικεῖν κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ἐξ ἰσοτιμίας πρὸς Ἕλληνας*), and the Diadochoi permitted them to style themselves Macedonians (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 7). Of the five quarters (*μοῖραι*) of the city, named after the first five letters of the alphabet, two were called 'Jewish' (*Ἰουδαϊκαὶ λέγονται* [Philo, *in Flac.* § 8]). While one quarter, known as Delta, was entirely peopled by Jews (*BJ* II. xviii. 8), many more of the race were scattered over all the other parts (*ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις οὐκ ὀλίγοι σποράδες* [Philo, *loc. cit.*]), and none of them were without their house of prayer (Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, § 20). The special *Regio Judæorum* lay in the N.E. of the city, beyond the promontory of Lochias, in the neighbourhood of the royal palace. Till the time of Augustus the Jews were presided over by an ethnarch, who, according to Strabo (quoted by Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2), 'governs the people and administers justice among them, and sees that they fulfil their obligations and obey orders, just like the archon of an independent city.' Augustus instituted a council or senate (*γερουσία*), which was entrusted with the management of Jewish affairs, and over which a certain number of *ἄρχοντες* presided. The reign of Caligula was marked by the first rude interruption of the policy of toleration. The governor Flaccus issued an edict in which he termed the Jews of Alexandria 'strangers,' thus depriving them of the rights of citizenship which they had enjoyed for centuries. He ordered 38 archons to be scourged in the theatre, and turned the Jewish quarters into scenes of daily carnage (Philo, *in Flac.* §§ 6–10). But one of the first acts of Claudius was to re-affirm the earlier edicts, and Josephus states that in his own day (*c.* A.D. 90) one could still see standing in Alexandria 'the pillar containing the privileges which the great Cæsar (Julius) bestowed upon the Jews' (*τὴν στήλην . . . τὰ δικαιώματα περιέχουσαν ἃ Καῖσαρ ὁ μέγας τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἔδωκεν* [*c. Apion.* ii. 4; cf. *Ant.* XIV. x. 1]). Some Alexandrian Jews held responsible positions as ministers of the Ptolemys, and others were in the service of the Roman Emperors (*c. Apion.* ii. 5). Philo's brother Alexander and others filled the office of 'alabarch' (see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 280).

For a time the 'Alexandrians' were doubtless bilingual, but ultimately they forgot their Hebrew or Aramaic, and adopted Greek as the language of the home and the synagogue as well as of the market. Living in a great university town, many of them became highly educated; the school of Philo in particular assimilated many elements of Greek philosophy; and the Judaism of Egypt was gradually differentiated from that of Palestine. Even before becoming a Christian, the Alexandrian Apollos had doubtless a breadth of sympathy, as well as a richness of culture, which could not have been attained among the Rabbis of Jerusalem. Yet in the great mass of the 'Alexandrians,' as throughout the Dispersion generally, the Jewish element predominated, and it need occasion no surprise that those of them who chose to reside in the Holy City were as zealous for the Mosaic traditions, and as strenuously opposed to innovations, as any Hebrew of the Hebrews.

LITERATURE.—See list appended to preceding article.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ALIEN.—See STRANGER.

ALLEGORY.—The word is derived from the Greek ἀλληγορία, used of a mode of speech which implies more than is expressed by the ordinary meaning of the language. This method of interpreting literature was practised at an early date and among different peoples. When ideas of a primitive age were no longer tenable, respect for the ancient literature which embodied these ideas was maintained by disregarding the ordinary import of the language in favour of a hidden meaning more in harmony with contemporary notions. The word 'allegory' has come to be used more particularly of a certain type of Scripture interpretation (*q.v.*) current in both Jewish and Christian circles. Its fundamental characteristic is the distinction between the apparent meaning of Scripture and a hidden meaning to be discovered by the skill of the interpreter. In allegory proper, when distinguished from metaphor, parable, type, etc., the veiled meaning is the more important, if not indeed the only true one, and is supposed to have been primary in the intention of the writer, or of God who inspired the writer. Jewish interpreters, particularly in the Diaspora, employed this means of making the OT acceptable to Gentiles. They aimed especially at showing that the Jews' sacred books, when properly interpreted, contained all the wisdom of Greek philosophy. This interest flourished chiefly in Alexandria, and found its foremost representative in Philo (*q.v.*), who wrote early in the 1st cent. A.D. His *Allegories of the Sacred Laws* is one of his chief works, though all his writings are dominated by this method of interpretation. Similarly Josephus (*q.v.*), a half-century or so later, says that Moses taught many things 'under a decent allegory' (*Ant.* Procem. 4). Allegory was used freely also by Palestinian interpreters, though less for apologetic than for homiletic purposes. They were less ready than Philo to abandon the primary meaning of Scripture, but they freely employed allegorical devices, particularly in the Haggadic *midrāshîm*.

When Christians in the Apostolic Age began to interpret Scripture, it was inevitable that they should follow the allegorical tendencies so prevalent at the time. Yet the use of this method is far less common in the NT than in some later Christian literature, *e.g.* the *Epistle of Barnabas* (*q.v.*). St. Paul claims to be allegorizing when he finds the two covenants not only prefigured, but the validity of his idea of two covenants proved, in the story of Hagar (*q.v.*) and Sarah (Gal 4^{24-30}). Allegorical colouring is also discernible in his reference to the muzzling of the ox (1 Co $9^{9f.}$), the following rock (10^{4}), and the veil of Moses (2 Co $3^{13ff.}$). The Epistle to the Hebrews is especially rich in these features, which are much more Alexandrian in type than the writings of St. Paul (*e.g.* $8^{2.5}$ 9^{23} 10^{1} $11^{1.3}$ $12^{27f.}$). Certain Gospel passages also show allegorical traits, where in some instances the allegorical element may have come from the framers of tradition in the Apostolic Age (*e.g.* Mk 4^{13-20}=Mt 13^{18-25}=Lk 8^{11-15}; Mk 12^{1-12}=Mt 21^{33-46}=Lk 20^{9-19}; Mt $13^{24-30.\ 36-43}$, Jn 10^{1-16} 15^{1-8}).

LITERATURE.—See list appended to art. INTERPRETATION.

S. J. CASE.

ALMIGHTY.—See GOD.

ALMS.—The duty of kindliness to and provision for the poor is constantly taught in the OT; in the later Jewish literature, and especially in Sirach and Tobit, it is even more emphatically asserted. It is clear that our Lord and the Apostolic Church taught this as a religious obligation with equal force. In the Sermon on the Mount, almsgiving is assumed to be one of the duties of the religious life (*e.g.* Mt 6^{1-4}), and in several places the principle is expressed directly. Our Lord says to the rich young ruler, 'Sell whatsoever thou hast, and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in heaven' (Mk 10^{21}); in the parable of the Judgment, the place of men is decided on the ground that they have or have not helped and relieved the Lord's brethren (Mt 25^{34-46}), and in St. Luke our Lord is reported as saying: 'Sell that ye have, and give alms; make for yourselves purses which wax not old, a treasure in the heavens that faileth not' (Lk 12^{33}).

We find the same principles assumed in the literature of the Apostolic Church. In the Acts we read of the Church of Jerusalem: 'All that believed were together, and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need' (Ac $2^{44.45}$; cf. $4^{32.34.35}$). What relation this may have to the community of goods is considered elsewhere (see art. COMMUNITY OF GOODS); but it is at least clear that the Church in Jerusalem recognized the paramount obligation of the maintenance of the poor brethren, and it is worthy of notice that the first officers of the Christian community of whose appointment we have direct mention are the Seven who were appointed to carry out the ministrations of the Church to the poor widows of the community (Ac 6^{1-4}).

In the letters of St. Paul we have frequent references to the obligation of helping the poor (*e.g.* Ro 12^{13}, Eph 4^{28}, 1 Ti 6^{18}), and in certain letters we find him specially occupied with the collections which were being made for the poor Christians in Jerusalem (Gal 2^{10}, Ro $15^{25.26}$, 1 Co $16^{1.2}$, 2 Co 8 and 9). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of such deeds of charity as being sacrifices well-pleasing to God (He 13^{16}). It is in the First Epistle of St. John, however, that the principle of the responsibility of Christian men for the maintenance of their brethren is most emphatically expressed: 'Whoso hath this world's goods, and beholdeth his brother in need, and shutteth up his compassion from him, how doth the love of God abide in him?' (1 Jn 3^{17}). For St. John the notion that any man can love God without loving his brother is a falsehood (1 Jn 4^{20}).

The Christian literature of the end of the 1st cent. carries on the same principles. The *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles* (iv. 8) says: 'Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in need, but shalt share all things with thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own: for if ye are sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in those things which are mortal.' The *Epistle of Barnabas* contains almost exactly the same phrases. We have thus in the NT and the sub-apostolic literature the clearest enunciation of the principle whose effect and practical applications we have to study in the history of the Early Church and of Christian civilization. There can be no doubt that our Lord and the writers of the NT looked upon the maintenance of the poor as a primary obligation of the Christian life.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Almsgiving' in *HDB*; 'Alms' in *EBi* and Smith's *DB*^{2}; 'Charity, Almsgiving (Christian)' in *ERE*; G. Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1883; A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*^{2}, London, 1908, i. 147; A. F. W. Ingram, *Banners of the Christian Faith*, London, 1899; W. C. E. Newbolt, *Counsels of Faith and Practice*, do. 1894; B. F. Westcott, *The Incarnation and Common Life*, do. 1893; J. L. Davies, *Social Questions*, do. 1886.

A. J. CARLYLE.

ALPHA AND OMEGA.—These are the first and last letters of the Gr. alphabet; cf. Heb. '*Aleph* to *Tau*'; Eng. 'A to Z.' The title is applied to God the Father in Rev 1^{8} 21^{6}, and to Christ in Rev 22^{13} (cf. 2^{8}). The ancient Heb. name for God, יהוה, has been very variously derived, but its most probable meaning is the 'Eternal' One—'I am that I am'

(Ex 3^{14}). This idea of the Deity, further emphasized in Is 41^4 43^{10} 44^6, is expressed in the language of the Apocalypse by the Greek phrase 'A and Ω,' which corresponds to a common Heb. expression *'Aleph* to *Tau*,' of which the Talmud and other Rabbinic writings furnish many examples. R. H. Charles adduces similar phrases in Latin (Martial, v. 26) and Greek (Theodoret, *HE* iv. 8) to express completeness. To those who believe in a Jewish original for the NT Apocalypse, its presence there will cause no surprise, and its application to Christ will constitute an instance of the Christian remodelling which that book has undergone. Moreover, Jewish writers (*e.g.* Kohler) have given another explanation of its use as a title for God, calling it the hellenized form of a well-known saying, 'The Seal of God is *Emeth* (אֱמֶת = 'truth'), a word containing first, middle, and last letters of the Heb. alphabet (cf. *Gen. Rab.* lxxxi.; Jerus. *Sanh.* i. 18*a*; *Sanh.* 64*a*; *Yoma* 69*b*). Josephus (*c. Apion.*) probably refers to this saying (cf. also Dn 10^{21} בְּכִתְבָה אֱמֶת, 'the writing of truth'). Similar is the use of Justin (*Address to Greeks*, xxv.). Whatever may be the origin of the phrase, its chief significance for Christians lies in its constant application to Christ, of which this passage in the Apocalypse supplies the first of countless instances. Charles and Müller agree that Patristic commentators invariably referred all these passages to the Son, and in so doing they plainly claimed the Divine privilege of eternity for the Person of the Lord Jesus Christ, and established the claim set forth in the later creeds that 'the Word of God was equal with God.'

Not only was this the universal opinion of the earliest commentators, as of the Christian author or editor of the Apocalypse; it was an opinion deeply rooted in the convictions of the Christian congregations. We hear of no attempt to dispute it; and, relying on this as an established fact, the Gnostic teachers sought to deduce by various means and numerical quibbles the essential identity of all the Persons of the Trinity (cf. Iren. *adv. Hær.* I. xiv. 6, xv. 1). Among others, Tertullian (*Monog.* v.), Cyprian (*Testimon.* ii. 1, 6), Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 25, vi. 16), Ambrose (*Exp. in septem Vis.* i. 8), emphasized this view of the matter; and, before the last persecution of Diocletian was over, many inscriptions had been put up on tombstones, walls of catacombs, etc., in which these two letters stood for the name of Christ. At a subsequent period the practice became universal all over the Christian world, and countless examples are still extant to prove the general popularity of this custom.

In most cases the letters are accompanied by other symbols and titles of the Master, *e.g.* ☧; in a few examples they stand alone as a reverent way of representing the presence of the Redeemer. Most numerous in the period from A.D. 300–500, they decline in number and importance during the early Middle Ages, and are rare, at least in the West, after the 7th and 8th centuries. It is significant to note that in none of those hundreds of examples do the letters (often rudely scrawled by poor peasants) refer to any one but Jesus Christ. It is hard to conceive of any fact more suited to emphasize the deep-rooted belief of the early Christians in the true Divinity of their Lord and Master, who had created the world, existed from the beginning, and was still alive and ready to succour His faithful followers.

LITERATURE.—R. H. Charles, art. in *HDB*; B. W. Bacon, art. in *DCG*; K. Kohler, art. in *JE*; W. Müller in *PRE*^{3} (full account of extant inscriptions); C. Schoettgen, *Hor. Heb.*, Leipzig, 1733.

L. ST. ALBAN WELLS.

ALTAR.—In the NT, as in the LXX, the usual term for 'altar' is *θυσιαστήριον*—a word otherwise confined to Philo, Josephus, and ecclesiastical writers—while *βωμός*, as contrasted with a Jewish place of sacrifice, is a heathen altar. The most striking example of the antithesis is found in 1 Mac $1^{54\text{-}59}$. Antiochus Epiphanes erected a small altar to Jupiter—'the abomination of desolation' (v.^{54})—upon the *θυσιαστήριον* of the temple, and 'on the twenty-fifth day of the month they sacrificed upon the idol-altar (*βωμός*) which was upon the altar of God (*θυσιαστήριον*).' The NT contains only a single distinct reference to a pagan altar—the *βωμός* which St. Paul observed in Athens bearing the inscription *Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ* (Ac 17^{23}).

1. The altar on which sacrifices were presented to God was indispensable to OT religion. Alike in the simple cultus of patriarchal times and the elaborate ritual of fully developed Judaism, its position was central. The altar was the place of meeting between God and man, and the ritual of blood—the supposed seat of life—was the essence of the offering. Whatever details might be added, the rite of sprinkling or dashing the blood against the altar, or allowing it to flow on the ground at its base, could never be omitted. The Levitical cultus was continued in Jerusalem till the destruction of the Temple by the Romans in A.D. 70, and the attitude and practice of the early Jewish-Christian Church in reference to it form an interesting and difficult problem. It has been generally assumed that, when our Lord instituted the New Covenant in His own blood (Mk 14^{24}, Lk 22^{20}), He implicitly abrogated the Levitical law, and that, when His sacrifice was completed, the disciples must at once have perceived that it made every altar obsolete. But there is not wanting evidence that enlightenment came slowly; that the practice of the Jewish-Christian Church was not altered suddenly, but gradually and with not a little misgiving. Hort observes that 'respecting the continued adherence to Jewish observances, nothing is said which implies either its presence or its absence' (*Judaistic Christianity*, 42). But there are many clear indications that the first Christians remained Jews—McGiffert (*Apostol. Age*, 65) even suggests that they were 'more devout and earnest Jews than they had ever been'—continuing to worship God at the altar in the Temple like all their countrymen. 'They had no desire to be renegades, nor was it possible to regard them as such. Even if they did not maintain and observe the whole cultus, yet this did not endanger their allegiance. . . . The Christians did not lay themselves open to the charge of violating the law' (Weizsäcker, *Apostol. Age*, i. 46). They went up to the Temple at the hour of prayer (Ac 3^1), which was the hour of sacrifice; they took upon themselves vows, and offered sacrifices for release (Ac $21^{20.\ 21}$); and even St. Paul, the champion of spiritual freedom, brought sacrifices (*προσφοράς*) to lay on the altar in the Holy City (Ac 24^{17}). The inference that the New Covenant left no place for any altar or Mosaic sacrifice is first explicitly drawn by the writer of Hebrews (see TEMPLE).

2. Apart from a passing allusion to the altars which were thrown down in Elijah's time (Ro 11^3), St. Paul makes two uses of the *θυσιαστήριον* in the Temple. (1) In vindicating the right of ministers of the gospel to live at the charge of the Christian community, he instances the well-known Levitical practice: 'those who wait upon the altar have their portion with (*συμμερίζονται*) the altar' (1 Co 9^{13}), part of the offering being burnt in the altar fire, and part reserved for the priests, to whom the law gives the privilege 'altaris esse socios in dividenda victima' (Beza). Schmiedel (*in loc.*) thinks that the reference may be to priests who serve 'am Tempel der Heiden wie der Juden,' but probably for St. Paul the only *θυσιαστήριον* was the altar on which sacrifice

was offered to the God of Israel. (2) In arguing against the possibility of partaking of the Eucharist and joining in idolatrous festivals, St. Paul appeals to the ethical significance of sacrifice, regarded not as an atonement but as a sacred meal between God and man. The altar being His table and the sacrifice His feast, the hospitality of table-communion is the pledge of friendship between Him and His worshippers. All who join in the sacrifice are partakers with the altar (*κοινωνοὶ τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου*), one might almost say commensals with God. 'According to antique ideas, those who eat and drink together are by the very act tied to one another by a bond of friendship and mutual obligation' (W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], 247). How revolting it is, then, to pass from the altar of God or, by parity of reasoning, from the *τράπεζα τοῦ Κυρίου*, to the orgies of pagan gods, the *τράπεζα δαιμονίων*.

3. The writer of Hebrews refers to the old Jewish altar and to a new Christian one. (1) Reasoning somewhat in the manner of Philo, he notes the emergence of a mysterious priest from a tribe which has given none of its sons to minister at the altar, and on this circumstance bases an ingenious argument for the imperfection of the Levitical priesthood, and so of the whole Mosaic system (He 7[18]). (2) Against those Christians who occupy themselves with (sacrificial) meats the writer says: 'We have an altar, whereof they have no right to eat who serve the tabernacle' (13[10]). Few sentences have given rise to so much misunderstanding. '*Ἔχομεν* can only denote Christians, and what is said of them must be allegorically intended, for they have no *τῇ σκηνῇ λατρεύοντες*, and no *θυσιαστήριον* in the proper sense of the word' (von Soden). The point which the writer seeks to make is that in connexion with the great Christian sacrifice there is nothing corresponding to the feasts of ordinary Jewish (or of heathen) sacrifices. Its *τύπος* is the sacrifice of the Day of Atonement, no part of which was eaten by priest or worshipper, the mind alone receiving the benefit of the offering. So we Christians serve an altar from which we obtain a purely spiritual advantage. Whether the writer actually visualized the Cross of Christ as the altar at which all His followers minister, like *λειτουργοί* in the Tabernacle, —as many have supposed—is doubtful. Figurative language must not be unduly pressed.

The writer of Rev., whose heaven is a replica of the earthly Temple and its solemn ritual, sees underneath the altar the souls of martyrs—the blood poured out as an oblation (cf. Ph 2[17], 2 Ti 4[6]) representing the life or *ψυχή*—and hears them crying, like the blood of Abel, for vengeance (Rev 6[9. 10]; cf. *En.* 22[5]). In 8[3] and 9[13] the *θυσιαστήριον* is not the altar of burnt-offering but that of incense (see INCENSE). In 14[18] the prophet sees an angel come out from the altar, the spirit or genius of fire, an Iranian conception; and in 16[7] he personifies the altar itself and makes it proclaim the truth and justice of God.

LITERATURE.—I. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1894, p. 378 f.; W. Nowack, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1894, ii. 17 f.; A. Edersheim, *The Temple, its Ministry and Services*, London, 1874; Schürer, *HJP*, II. i. 207 f.; W. R. Smith, *Rel. Sem.*[2], London, 1894; J. Wellhausen, *Reste arab. Heidenthums*, Berlin, 1887, p. 101 f.; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostol. Age*, Edinb. 1897, p. 36 f.; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostol. Age*, 2 vols., London, 1894–95, i. 43 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

AMBASSADOR.—Although this word occurs twice (2 Co 5[20] and Eph 6[20]) in the EV of the NT, the corresponding Greek noun (*πρεσβευτής*) occurs nowhere. Instead, we find the verb *πρεσβεύω*, 'to be an ambassador,' while the cognate collective noun (RV 'ambassage') is used in Lk 14[32] 19[14].*

* *πρεσβεύω* and *πρεσβευτής* were the recognized terms in the Greek East for the Legate of the Roman Empire (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*[2], 1911, p. 379).

In the OT the idea behind the words translated 'ambassador' (generally *mal'ākh*) is that of going or being sent, and of this the etymological equivalent in the NT is not 'ambassador' but 'apostle' (*ἀπόστολος*, 'one sent forth'); but both the OT terms and the NT *ἀπόστολος* have to be understood in the light of use and context rather than of derivation. In this way they acquire a richer content, of which the chief component ideas are the bearing of a message, the dealing, in a representative character, with those to whom one is sent, and the solemn investiture, before starting out, with a delegated authority sufficient for the task (cf. Gal 1[15-17]).

The representative character of ambassadorship is emphasized by the repeated *ὑπέρ*, 'on behalf of,' in 2 Co 5[20], with the added 'as though God were intreating by us.' The same preposition (*ὑπέρ*) occurs in Eph 6[20]; thus *πρεσβεύω* is never found in the NT without it. So also in Lk 14[32] 19[14] the context shows that the *πρεσβεία* is representative.

There is no very marked difference between 'ambassador' and 'apostle.' *πρεσβεύω*, having *πρέσβυς* ('aged') as its stem, does suggest a certain special dignity and gravity, based on the ancient idea of the vastly superior wisdom brought by ripeness of years. Probably, however, St. Paul was not thinking of age at all, for *πρεσβεύω* had lived a life of its own long enough to be independent of its antecedents. His tone of dignity and of pride springs not so much from his metaphor as direct from his vividly realized relation to God: *ὑπέρ* is more emphatic than *πρεσβεύω*. It is in exactly the same tone that he claims the title 'apostle' (see, *e.g.*, Gal 1[1], 1 Co 9[1] 15[9-10]); cf. Gal 1[15f.], where his 'separation to preach' expresses the same thought in yet another form. Nevertheless, his is a humble pride, for only grace has put him in his lofty position (cf. 1 Co 15[9f.]). Moreover, his commission is not to lord it over others, but to 'beseech' them; nay, God Himself only 'intreats' (2 Co 5[20]). It is He who seeks 'arrangements for peace' with men (cf. Lk 14[32]). On the *πρεσβύτης* of Philem[9] (AV and RV 'the aged,' RVm 'an ambassador') see art. AGED.

C. H. WATKINS.

AMEN.—The lack of a common language has always been a barrier to the mutual knowledge and intercourse of the great nations of mankind, all the more that the days when the educated men of all European nations were wont to converse in Latin have long since passed away. To a certain extent the gulf has been bridged for men of science by a newly-invented vocabulary of their own, and a general use of Latin and Greek names for all the objects of their study. In the world of religion it still remains a great obstacle to all attempts to realize a truly catholic and universal Church. The Latin of the Roman Catholic missal, which seems so unintelligible to the mass of the worshippers that a sign language (of ritual) is largely the medium by which they follow the services when not absorbed in the reading of devotional manuals in their own mother tongue, is but a caricature of such a general medium of interpretative forms of worship. It is, therefore, a matter of great interest to study the use of those few words of ancient origin which have taken root in the religious language of so many great Christian nations, and have come to convey, in all the services where they are used, the same or a similar meaning. Of these, perhaps the most familiar are the words 'Amen' and 'Hallelujah.' These old Heb. phrases were taken, of course, from the Bible, where, save in the case of Luther's edition and the LXX version of the earlier books of the OT, no attempt has been made to replace them by foreign equivalents. They have a deep interest for Christians, not

merely as a reminder of their essential unity and their ancient history, and as a recollection of the debt which we owe to a race so often despised, but as a reminiscence of the very words which came from our Lord's own mouth, in the days when He was sowing the seed of which we are reaping the fruits.

A brief examination of the history of the word 'Amen' will be sufficient to prove the meaning which it had, the way in which it acquired this meaning, and the certainty that it was one of the very words which fell from the Master and had for Him a message of rare and unusual significance. The original use of the word (derived from a Heb. root אָמַן, meaning 'steadfast,' and a verb, 'to prop,' akin to Heb. אֱמֶת, 'truth,' Assyr. *temenū*, 'foundation,' and Eth. *amena*, 'trust' [Arab. *amin*-*nun* = 'secure']) was intended to express certainty. In the mouth of Benaiah (1 K 1[36]) and Jeremiah (Jer 28[6]) it appears as first word in the sentence, as a strong form of assent to a previous statement. It was not till after the Exile that it assumed its far commoner place as the answer, or almost the refrain in chorus, to the words of a previous speaker, and as such took its natural position at the close of the five divisions of the Psalms. It is uncertain how far this formed part of the people's response in the ritual of the Temple, but it is certain that it acquired a fixed place in the services of the synagogues, where it still forms a common response of the congregation. This was sometimes altered later, in opposition to the Christian practice, and 'God Faithful King' was used instead. The object of this use of 'Amen' was, in Massie's words, 'to adopt as one's own what has just been said' (*HDB* i. 80), and it thus finds a fitting place in the mouth of the people to whom Nehemiah promulgated his laws (Neh 5[13]). To express emphasis, in accordance with Hebrew practice the word was often doubled, as in the solemn oath of Nu 5[22] (cf. Neh 8[6]). This was further modified by the insertion of 'and' in the first three divisions of the Psalter. 'Amen' later became the last word of the first speaker, either as simple subscription—as such it stands appended to three of the Psalms (41, 72, 89), and in many NT Epistles, after both doxologies (15 times) and benedictions (6 times in RV)—or as the last word of a prayer (RV only in Prayer of Manasses; but 2 others in Vulgate, viz. Neh 13[31], To 13[18]). In two old MSS of Tobit (end), as in some later MSS of the NT, it appears by itself without a doxology. The later Jews were accustomed to use 'Amen' frequently in their homes (*e.g.* after grace before meals, etc.), and laid down precise rules for the ways of enunciating and pronouncing it. These are found in the Talmudic tract *Berākhôth* ('Blessings'), and are intended to guard against irreverence, haste, etc. So great was the superstition which attached to it that many of the later Rabbis treated it almost as a fetish, able to win blessings not only in this life but in the next; and one commentator, Eliezer ben Hyrcanus, went so far as to declare that by its hearty pronunciation in chorus the godless in Israel who lay in the penal fires of Gehenna might one day hope for the opening of their prison gates and a free entrance into the abode of the blessed, though Hogg suggests that this sentiment was extracted from a pun on Is 26[2] (*Elijahu Zutta*, xx.; *Shab.* 119*b*; *Siddur R. Amram*, 13*b*; cf. *Yalḳ.* ii. 296 on Is 26[2]).

'Amen' would naturally have passed from the synagogues to the churches which took their rise among the synagogue-worshippers, but the Master Himself gave a new emphasis to its value for Christians by the example of His own practice. In this, as in all else, He was no slavish imitator of contemporary Rabbis. He spoke 'as having authority and not as the scribes' (Mk 1[22]), and in this capacity it is not surprising that He found a new use for the word of emphasis, which neither His predecessors nor His followers have ventured to imitate, though the title applied to Him in Rev 3[14] is founded upon His own chosen practice. In His mouth, by the common evidence of all the Gospels (77 times), the word is used to introduce His own words and clothe them with solemn affirmation. He plainly expressed His dislike for oaths (Mt 5[34]), and in Dalman's view (*Words of Jesus*, 229)—and no one is better qualified to speak on the subject—He found here the word He needed to give the assurance which usually came from an oath. But in doing this 'He was really making good the word, not the word Him,' and it is therefore natural that no other man has ever ventured to follow His custom. That it was His habitual way of speaking is doubly plain from a comparison of all four Gospels, even though St. Luke, who wrote for men unacquainted with Hebrew, has sought where possible to replace the word by a Greek equivalent (ἀληθῶς, etc.). St. John has always doubled the word, probably for emphasis, since Delitzsch's explanation from a word אָמִין = 'I say' is shown by Dalman (p. 227 f.) to be wrong and based on a purely Babylonian practice.

The rest of the NT presents examples of all the older uses of the phrase, though the earliest is found only in the Jewish Apocalypse (Rev 7[12] 19[4]) which has probably been worked up into the Christian Book of 'Revelation,' and in one passage (22[20]) christianized from it. Here it is perhaps a conscious archaic form, brought in to add to the mysterious language of the vision, which may originally, like the Book of Enoch or Noah, have been ascribed to some earlier seer. The language of St. Paul in 1 Co 14[16] shows that the synagogue practice of saying 'Amen' as a response early became habitual among the worshippers of 'the Nazarene,' even if we had not been led to infer this by the growing reluctance of the Jews to emphasize this feature of their service. The use (? Jewish) in Rev 5[14] corresponds with this custom (cf. Ps 106[48]). It is plain that the complete absence of the word in Acts—itself a link with the Third Gospel—must be ascribed to the peculiar style and attitude of the author, and not at all to the actual practice in the churches.

Twice in the NT (2 Co 1[20], Rev 3[14]) the word 'Amen' is used as a noun implying the 'Faithful God,' but it is hard to tell whether this is to be understood as a play on words based on Is 65[16] (אֱמֶת, 'truth,' being read as אָמֵן, 'Amen'), or whether it is connected with the manner in which the Master employed the phrase as guaranteed by His own authority and absolute 'faithfulness.'

The Church of the Fathers made much of the word 'Amen' in all its OT uses, and introduced it into their services, not only after blessings, hymns, etc. (cf. Euseb. iv. 15, vii. 9), but after the reception of the Sacrament—a custom to which Justin refers in his [the earliest] account of the manner in which this service was conducted (*Apol.* i. 64, 66). This is confirmed by Ambrose. The practice is still in vogue in the Eastern Church, was adopted in the Scottish Liturgy of 1637, and dropped only in the 6th cent. by the Western Church. Sometimes the 'Amen' was even repeated after the lesson had been read. From the Jews and the Christians it passed over to the Muhammadan ritual, where it is still repeated after the first two *sūras* of the Qur'ān, even though its meaning is wholly misunderstood by the Muslim *imāms* who guess at various impossible explanations. In the Book of Common Prayer it appears in various forms—as the end of the priest's prayer, as the response of the people, or as the unanimous assent

of both priest and people. Curiously enough, among Presbyterians it is said by the minister only. One relic of the Gospel language is retained in the Bishops' Oath of Supremacy, which commences almost in the style of one of Christ's famous declarations. In legal terminology the term has been introduced to strengthen affirmation, and formed an item in the 'style' of proclamations until the 16th century. Hogg notes that in English, as in Syriac, it has come to mean 'consent,' and has been enabled thus to acquire the sense of 'the very last,' even though it commenced its career as first word in the sentence.

The foregoing remarks may enable the reader to judge of the strange changes to which the meaning of this word has been subjected, the important part it has played, and the historical interest which attaches to its every echo.

LITERATURE.—The artt. in *HDB*, *DCG*, *EBi*, and *JE*; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, Eng. tr., Edinb. 1902, p. 226 ff.; H. W. Hogg, in *JQR* ix. [1896] 1–23; *Oxf. Heb. Lex.*, *s.v.* אָמֵן; Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.* ἀμήν; artt. in *ExpT* viii. [1897] 190, by Nestle, and xiii. [1902] 568, by Jannaris.

L. ST. ALBAN WELLS.

AMETHYST (ἀμέθυστος; Rev 21[20]).—A variety of quartz of rock-crystal, of purple or bluish violet colour. Derived from ἀ, 'not,' and μεθύσκειν, 'to intoxicate,' it was regarded as a charm against the effects of wine. Quaffed from a cup of amethyst, or by a reveller wearing an amulet of that substance, the vine-juice could not intoxicate. This was doubtless a case of sympathetic magic, wine being amethystine in colour. In the LXX (Ex 28[19], etc.) 'amethyst' stands for *aḥlāmāh*, a stone which was regarded as a charm against bad dreams. The amethyst was used as a gem-stone by the ancient Egyptians, and largely employed in classical antiquity for intaglios. Naturally it was often engraved with Bacchanalian subjects. Being comparatively abundant, it is inferior in price to true gems, and is not to be confounded with the *oriental amethyst*, a variety of corundum, or sapphire of amethystine tint, which is a very valuable gem of great brilliancy and beauty. JAMES STRAHAN.

AMOMUM (ἄμωμον, perhaps from Arab. *hamma*, 'heat').—An aromatic balsam used as an unguent for the hair, made from the seeds of an eastern plant which has not been identified with certainty. Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ii. 2) speaks of Harran as 'a soil which bare amomum in plenty,' and Vergil (*Ecl.* iv. 25) predicts that in the Golden Age 'Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.' The word came to be used generally for any pure and sweet odour. In Rev 18[13] AV (with B ℵ[c]) omits the word; RV (with ℵ *AC) accepts it and translates 'spice' (RVm 'Gr. amomum'). The term is now applied to a genus of aromatic plants, some species of which yield cardamoms and grains of paradise.

JAMES STRAHAN.

AMPHIPOLIS (Ἀμφίπολις).—This Macedonian city played an important part in early Greek history. Occupying an eminence on the left bank of the Strymon, just below the egress of the river from Lake Cercinitis, 3 miles from the Strymonic Gulf, it commanded the entrance to a pass leading through the mountains into the great Macedonian plains. It was almost encircled by the river, whence its name 'Amphi-polis.'

Thucydides (i. 100) says that the Athenians 'sent 10,000 settlers of their own citizens and the allies to the Strymon, to colonize what was then called the "Nine Ways" (Ἐννέα ὁδοί), but now Amphipolis.' It was the jewel of their empire, but they lost it in 422 B.C., and never recovered it. It was under the Macedonian kings from 360 till the Roman conquest of the country in 167 B.C. The Romans made it a free city and the capital of the first of four districts into which they divided Macedonia. It lay on the *Via Egnatia*, which connected Dyrrachium with the Hellespont. From Philippi it was 32 miles to the south-west, and 'this was one of the most beautiful day's journeys Paul ever experienced' (Renan, *Saint Paul*, Eng. tr., p. 91). The Apostle and his fellow-travellers evidently remained in Amphipolis over night, and next day went on to Apollonia (Ac 17[1]). It is now represented by *Neochori*.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Leake, *Northern Greece*, London, 1835, iii. 181 f.; G. Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, new ed., do. 1870, iii. 284 ff.; Conybeare-Howson, *St. Paul*, do. 1872, i. 374 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

AMPLIATUS ('Αμπλιᾶτος [Ro 16[8] ℵ ABFG], a common Lat. name of which AV **Amplias** ['Αμπλίας, DELP] is a contraction).—Saluted by St. Paul and described as 'my beloved in the Lord' (τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου ἐν Κυρίῳ). The only other persons described in Ro 16 as 'my beloved' are Epænetus (v.[5]) and Stachys (v.[9]). A woman is saluted—perhaps with intentional delicacy—as 'Persis the beloved' (v.[12]). The precise phrase 'my beloved in the Lord' does not occur again in the NT. The special term of Christian endearment might suggest that Ampliatus was a personal convert of St. Paul's or closely associated with him in Christian work. Such friends, however, are referred to as 'beloved child' (Timothy, 1 Co 4[17]), 'beloved brother' (Tychicus, Eph 6[21]), 'beloved fellow-servant' (Epaphras, Col 1[7]), etc. (cf. art. BELOVED). Nothing whatever is known of Ampliatus beyond this reference.

Assuming the integrity of the Epistle and the Roman destination of these salutations, he was perhaps a Roman, whom St. Paul had met on one of his missionary journeys, and who was known by the Apostle at the time of writing to be residing in or visiting Rome. It is interesting to find the name Ampliatus several times in inscriptions belonging to the Imperial *familia* or household (see Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 174, and Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], 1902, p. 424). Sanday-Headlam also refer to a Christian inscription in the catacomb of Domitilla belonging to the end of the 1st or beginning of the 2nd cent. in which the name occurs, possibly as that of a slave or freedman prominent in the Church. If the view be held that the salutations in Ro 16 were part of a letter to the Church of Ephesus, Ampliatus must have been a Roman, resident in Ephesus, with whom St. Paul became acquainted during his long stay in that city. It is possible that he was a Jew who had taken a Latin name (cf. the names Paulus, and Lucius a 'kinsman,' *i.e.* a Jew, Ro 16[21]).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

ANANIAS (Gr. Ἀνανίας; Heb. חֲנַנְיָה, 'Jahweh is gracious').—A very common name in later Jewish times, corresponding to Hananiah or Hanani of the OT. We find it occurring frequently in the post-exilic writings and particularly in the Apocrypha. In the history of the Apostolic Church, we meet with three persons bearing this name.

1. An early convert to Christianity, best known as the husband of **Sapphira** (Ac 5[1-5]). Along with his wife, Ananias was carried into the early Church on the wave of enthusiasm which began on the day of Pentecost, but they were utterly devoid of any understanding or appreciation of the new religion they professed. In this period of early zeal many of the Christians sold their lands and handed the proceeds to the community of believers (cf. BARNABAS, COMMUNITY OF GOODS). Ananias and his wife, wishing to share in the approbation accorded to such acts of generosity, sold their land and handed part of the price to the community, pretending that they had sacrificed all. When St. Peter rebuked the male offender for his duplicity, Ananias fell down dead, and was

carried out for burial; his wife also came in and was overtaken by the same fate. The narrative does not indicate that the two were punished because they had in any way violated a rule of communism which they had professed to accept. The words of St. Peter, 'Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own, and after it was sold, was it not in thine own power?' (Ac 5[4]) at once dispose of any view of the incident which would regard communism as compulsory in the early Church. The sin for which Ananias and Sapphira were punished is described as 'lying unto God' (v.[4]). It was, says Knowling, 'much more than mere hypocrisy, much more than fraud, pride or greed—hateful as these sins are—the power and presence of the Holy Spirit had been manifested in the Church, and Ananias had sinned not only against human brotherhood, but against the Divine light and leading which had made that brotherhood possible. . . . The action of Ananias and Sapphira was hypocrisy of the worst kind,' an attempt to deceive not only men but God Himself. Most critics admit the historicity of the incident (*e.g.* Baur, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Spitta), while it is undoubted that in the narrative the cause of death is traced to the will and intention of St. Peter, and cannot be regarded as a chance occurrence or the effect of a sudden shock brought about by the discovery of their guilt. Much has been written on the need in the infant Church of such a solemn warning against a type of hypocrisy which, had it become prevalent, would have rendered the existence of the Christian community impossible.

LITERATURE.—F. C. Baur, *Paulus*, Leipzig, 1866, i. 28 ff.; A. Neander, *Planting of Christianity*, ed. Bohn, i. [1880] 27 ff.; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostol. Age*, i. [1894] 24; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, *in loco*; Comm. of Meyer, Zeller, Holtzmann, Spitta.

2. A Christian disciple who dwelt in Damascus, and to whom Christ appeared in a vision telling him to go to Saul of Tarsus, who was praying and had seen in a vision a man named Ananias coming in and laying his hands on him that he might receive his sight (Ac 9[10-17]). On hearing this command, Ananias, knowing the reputation of Saul as a persecutor, expressed reluctance, but was assured that the persecutor was a chosen messenger of Christ to bear His name to the Gentiles and kings and the children of Israel. Thus encouraged, Ananias went and laid his hands on Saul, who received his sight and was baptized. In his speech before the multitude at Jerusalem (Ac 22[12-16]) St. Paul describes Ananias as 'devout according to the law,' and as one 'to whom witness was borne by all that dwelt' at Damascus.

Later tradition has much to say regarding Ananias. He is represented as one of the 'Seventy,' and it is possible he may have been a personal disciple of Jesus. He is also described as bishop of Damascus, and reported to have met a violent death, slain by the sword of Pôl, the general of Aretas, according to one authority (*Book of the Bee*, by Solomon of Basra [1222], ch. xxix., ed. Wallis Budge), or, according to another (see *Acta Sanctorum*, Jan. 25 [new ed. p. 227]), stoned to death after undergoing torture at the hand of Lucian, prefect of Damascus. His name stands in the Roman and Armenian Martyrologies, and he is commemorated in the Abyssinian Calendar.

3. The high priest who accused St. Paul before Claudius Lysias in Jerusalem (Ac 23[1ff.]), and who afterwards appeared among the Apostle's enemies before Felix at Cæsarea (Ac 24[1ff.]). He is not to be identified or confused with Annas (*q.v.*) of Ac 4[6], Lk 3[2], or Jn 18[13]. He was the son of Nedebæus, and is regarded by Schürer (*GJV*[4] ii. 272) as the twenty-first high priest in the Roman-Herodian period. He retained his office, to which he had been appointed by Herod of Chalcis, for about twelve years (A.D. 47–59). During the time of his administration, bitter quarrels broke out between the Jews and the Samaritans, which led to a massacre of some Galilæans by Samaritans and to the plundering of Samaritan villages by Jews. Ananias was summoned to Rome and tried for complicity in these disturbances, but, at the instigation of Agrippa the younger, was restored to office. He ruled in Jerusalem with all the arbitrariness of an Oriental despot, and his violence and rapacity are noted by Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 2), while his personal wealth made him a man of consideration even after he was deprived of his office. He did not scruple to make frequent use of assassins to carry out his policy in Jerusalem, and his Roman sympathies made him an object of intense hatred to the national party. When the war broke out in A.D. 66, he was dragged from his place of concealment in an aqueduct and murdered by the assassins whom he had used as tools in the days of his power (Josephus, *BJ* II. xvii. 9).

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Ant.* XX. ix. 2, *BJ* II. xvii. 9; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. [1907] 256, 272, 274.

W. F. BOYD.

ANATHEMA.—The transliteration of a Gr. word which is used in the LXX to represent the Heb. *ḥêrem*, 'a person or thing devoted or set apart, under religious sanctions, for destruction' (Lv 27[28. 29], Jos 6[17]). It is capable of use in the good sense of an offering to God, but was gradually confined to the sense of '**accursed**,' which is the rendering adopted in AV in all NT passages except 1 Co 16[22]. Around the Heb. term there gathered in course of time an elaborate system of excommunication, with penalties varying both in amount and in duration, the purpose being sometimes remedial of the offender and sometimes protective of the community; but these developments are mainly later than our period. They may have suggested lines on which a system of official discipline in the Christian Church was afterwards constructed, but it would be an anachronism to read them into the simpler thoughts of the apostolic literature. In patristic times the word denoted some ecclesiastical censure or form of punishment, for which a precedent may have been sought in the teaching or practice of St. Paul. To the Apostle, the OT allusion would be predominant, and his chief, if not his only, thought would be that of a hopeless spiritual condition, from which emergence could be effected, if at all, only with extreme difficulty and by special forbearance on the part of God.

In the Pauline Epistles the word 'anathema' occurs four times, once in reference to the Apostle himself, and on the other occasions in reference to the maltreatment of his Lord.

1. The personal passage is Ro 9[3], where there is no serious difficulty to those who do not look for strict reasoning in the language of the heart. St. Paul has just expressed (8[39]) his belief that nothing conceivable could separate him from the love of God; and now, in his yearning over his fellow-countrymen, he announces that for their sakes he would be willing, if it were possible, to be even hopelessly separated from Christ. Clearly 'anathema' need not, and does not here, carry any sense of formal excommunication; it denotes a spiritual condition of which the two features are exclusion from the redemption in Christ and permanent hopelessness.

2. Greater difficulty attaches to Gal 1[8], where the Apostle, again under strong emotion, imprecates anathema upon others. The case he imagines is one that would warrant extreme indignation, though the language is that of justifiable passion and not to be interpreted literally. St. Paul would be the last of Christian teachers to withdraw all hope from a man, and it is possible that in this case he thought of anathema as being remedial and temporary. He was the bond-servant of Christ, and as such he resented entirely

any conduct or teaching that dishonoured his Lord. That such teaching reflected also on himself would be a matter of little consequence; but Christ was sacred to him, and the preacher of another gospel, whether one of his own colleagues or even 'an angel from heaven,' was not to be tolerated. His teaching made and proved him a person set apart for destruction; but whether that destruction was final or only corrective would depend upon the man's impenitence or reform. Free association with him would be no longer possible, and to that extent the beginnings of a system of discipline may be traced in the phrase, as in 1 Ti 1^{20} and 1 Co 5^{5}, where the ultimate restoration of the man is distinctly in view. But the reference to 'an angel from heaven' is sufficient to prove that ecclesiastical censure, carrying finality with it, was not the main thought.

3. and 4. Twice in 1 Cor. the word 'anathema' occurs in the course of the sharp conflict excited by the extreme party among converted proselytes to Judaism; and the great idea is that everything in the religion of a professed Christian is determined by his real relationship to Christ. Over against the party of which the watchword was 'Jesus is Lord,' was a party whose irreligion was manifested by their cry 'Jesus is anathema' (1 Co 12^{3}). They were in a sense within the Christian community, and conscious therefore of certain obligations to Christ; but they were so provoked by the attempt to set Jesus on the same level with the supreme God, and by the apparently absolute incompatibility of that belief with their fundamental conviction of the unity of God, that they were prepared to renounce Jesus and even to denounce Him rather than to confess His Godhead and submit to His claims. Or, introduced into the Church from some form of paganism, they had been so familiar with the evil inspiration that swept them along to the worship of 'dumb idols' (12^{2}) as to be disposed to plead inspiration for any tongues or doctrines of their own, to whatever extent Jesus was degraded therein. In response St. Paul sets up the great antithesis between real inspiration and counterfeit. The Spirit of God is the author of any confession that Jesus is Lord; ecstasy or even demoniac possession may be pleaded for the assertion that Jesus for His teaching is destined to Divine destruction, but never the breath of the Holy Spirit. Between those two extremes there are many halting-places, and the insecurity of each of them is in proportion to its remoteness from the confession of Jesus Christ as Lord. So much is the Apostle affected by this dishonour done to his Lord, that it recurs to his memory as the Epistle is being closed, and suggests the footnote of 1 Co 16^{22}. He adopts the word used by the men of whom he was thinking, and condenses his indignation into a curt dismissal, 'If any one loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema. Maran atha.' In such a place again the word cannot denote official ecclesiastical censure. It is really an antithesis to the prayer for grace in Eph 6^{24}, the handing over of the unloving man to Satan, the refusal to have anything more to do with him until at least some signs of a newborn love for Christ are given.

As to the addition of **Maran atha**, both the meaning of the words and their relation to the context have been subjects of controversy. For a discussion of the Aramaic phrase, with related questions, see *HDB* iii. 241 ff. It is either an assertion, 'Our Lord cometh' (so RVm), or, more probably, an ejaculatory prayer, 'O Lord, come,' with parallels in Ph 4^{5}, 1 P 4^{7}, Rev 22^{20}, devotional rather than minatory in its character and intention. If it be taken as an assertion, it may mean, 'Let those who do not love the Lord fear and be quick to amend, for He is at hand in triumph,' though the expected Parousia is not a recurring feature of the Epistle. Or the idea may be, 'The Lord is coming soon, and there is no need to trouble further with these men, for with greater wisdom thought may be given to Him.' But the term is better detached entirely from the reference to anathema, and considered simply as a little prayer, in which the normal yearning of the Apostle expresses itself, before he closes a letter or group of letters, in the writing of which his pastoral heart must have been pained again and again. The sudden way in which the expression is introduced suggests that it had already become a popular form of something like greeting in common use among the disciples, and had supplanted the earlier 'The Lord is risen,' unless both were used, the one on meeting and the other on parting. That would explain the absence of any attempt to translate it from the vernacular, and is confirmed by the usage of the next generation; cf. *Didache*, x. 6, where also the word follows a warning; and *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 26, where any thought of enforcing a penalty is rendered impossible by the jubilant tone of the section.

In course of time 'anathema' came to mean excommunication, for which sanction was found in the Pauline use of the word, which again was carried back to our Saviour's teaching (Mt 18^{17}). Such men as are referred to in 1 Co 16^{22} would of necessity find themselves excluded from association with disciples, and rules for their treatment were prescribed (1 Co 5^{9}, Tit 3^{10}, 2 Jn$^{10.\ 11}$), and eventually expanded in great detail. But, while this kind of ostracism was a natural accompaniment of anathema from the beginning, the word itself implied a certain relation to God, a spiritual condition with which God alone could deal, and with which He would deal finally or remedially. Execration and not official discipline is the dominant idea, with the censure of the Church as a corollary. See also artt. DISCIPLINE, EXCOMMUNICATION.

LITERATURE.—See artt. 'Curse,' 'Excommunication,' 'Maranatha,' in *HDB*; Grimm-Thayer and Cremer, *s.v.* *ἀνάθεμα*; and the NT Comm. on the passages cited.

R. W. MOSS.

ANCHOR (figurative).*—In He 6^{19} the writer describes the hope set before the Christian, to which he has just referred in the preceding verse, as 'an anchor of the soul.' The use of an anchor as a figure of hope was not new, for it is found in pre-Christian Greek and Latin authors, and an anchor appears on ancient pagan medals as an emblem of hope. The figure would naturally suggest itself to any one who reflected on the nature and power of the faculty of hope. For it is of the essence of hope to reach into the future and lay hold of an invisible object, as an anchor drops into the sea and catches hold of the unseen bottom. Hope has power to keep the soul from wavering in times of storm and stress, just as an anchor by its firm grip keeps the ship from drifting with the winds and tides. But Christian hope reaching out towards the eternal world is something much greater than our familiar human hopes of blessings yet unrealized; and the use which this writer made of an anchor to represent the hope of the Christian soul at once transformed the figure (as the Catacombs bear witness) into one of the dearest symbols of the Christian religion.

Simple and beautiful as the figure is, however, some exegetical difficulties have to be faced in determining the extent of its application in the passage. These difficulties are reflected in the various renderings of AV and RV. In the original the word 'hope' of v.^{18} is not repeated in v.^{19}. Strictly rendered, the verse runs, 'which we have

* For anchor in the literal sense see art. SHIP.

as an anchor of the soul both sure and stedfast and entering into that within the veil'—a statement which has been understood in two different ways. AV, by supplying 'hope' at the beginning of the verse, makes 'sure and stedfast' apply to the anchor, and by introducing a comma at this point leaves it doubtful whether the anchor is also to be thought of as entering within the veil. RV, by inserting 'a hope' immediately after 'soul,' limits the figure to a declaration that hope is an anchor of the soul, and makes the three epithets 'sure,' 'stedfast,' and 'entering' apply to hope itself and not to its symbol the anchor. The most obvious construction of the Gr. vindicates RV in making the three epithets hang together as all relating to one subject. On the other hand, AV is so far supported by the fact that *ἀσφαλῆ* and *βεβαίαν* (lit. 'not failing' and 'firm') suggest that the idea of an anchor was immediately in the writer's mind. It is probably right, therefore, to conclude that he means to say that the anchor is sure, steadfast, and entering into that which is within the veil, viz. the Holy of Holies. This is really a mixture of metaphors—the metaphor of an anchor entering into the unseen world to which Christian hope clings, and another metaphor by which the Holy of Holies becomes a type of that world unseen. But, in view of what the writer says at a later stage about the Most Holy Place with its ark of the covenant and cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat (9$^{4ff.}$) as a pattern of heaven itself where Christ appears before God on our behalf (v.^{24}), the figurative faultiness of the language is more than atoned for by its rich suggestiveness as to the Christian's grounds of hope with regard to the world to come. It is the appearance of our great High Priest 'before the face of God for us,' he means to say, that is the ultimate foundation of the Christian hope. Cf. John Knox on his death-bed calling to his wife, 'Go read where I cast my first anchor!' with reference to our Lord's intercessory prayer in Jn 17. Cf. also his answer, when they asked him at the very end, 'Have you hope?' 'He lifted his finger, "pointed upwards with his finger," and so died' (Carlyle, *Heroes*, 1872, p. 140).

LITERATURE.—The Comm. on Hebrews, esp. A. B. Davidson's; *Expositor*, 3rd ser. x. 45 ff. J. C. LAMBERT.

ANDRONICUS (*Ἀνδρόνικος*, a Greek name).—Saluted by St. Paul in Ro 16^{7}, his name being coupled with that of Junias or Junia.* (1) The pair are described as 'my kinsmen' (*τοὺς συγγενεῖς μου*), by which may be meant fellow-Jews (Ro 9^{3}), possibly members of the same tribe, almost certainly not relatives. This last interpretation has given rise to one of the difficulties felt in deciding the destination of these salutations. Another 'kinsman' saluted is Herodion (v.^{11}), and salutations are sent from three 'kinsmen' in v.^{21}. The only relative of St. Paul known to us is a nephew (Ac 23^{16}).

(2) Andronicus and Junia(s) are also described as 'my fellow-prisoners' (*συναιχμαλώτους μου*, lit. 'prisoners of war'). The meaning may be that they had actually shared imprisonment with St. Paul (the only imprisonment up to this time known to us was the short confinement at Philippi [Ac 16^{23}, but see 2 Co 11^{23}]). Possibly they may not have suffered imprisonment with the Apostle at the same time and place; but, as enduring persecution for Christ's sake, they were in that sense 'fellow-prisoners.' The only other mention of 'fellow-prisoner' is in a description of Aristarchus (Col 4^{10}) and Epaphras (Philem ^{23}). The meaning in these cases is evidently literal, both sharing the Apostle's captivity at Rome, whether compulsorily or voluntarily.

(3) The pair are further described as 'of note among the apostles' (*ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις*). Two interpretations of this phrase are possible: (*a*) well-known and honoured by the apostles, (*b*) notable or distinguished as apostles. The latter, although a remarkable expression (and all the more so if the second name is that of a woman), is probably to be preferred. This makes Andronicus and Junia(s) apostles in the wider sense of delegated missionaries (see Lightfoot, *Gal.*^{5}, 1876, p. 92 ff. and note on p. 96).

(4) Lastly, Andronicus and Junia(s) are said to have been 'in Christ before me' (*οἱ καὶ πρὸ ἐμοῦ γέγοναν ἐν Χριστῷ*), *i.e.* they had become Christians before the conversion of Saul. Seniority of faith was of importance in the Apostolic Church. It brought honour, and it may have also brought responsibility and obligation to serve on behalf of the community (cf. Clement, *Ep.* 42; and see 1 Co 16$^{15f.}$; also art. EPÆNETUS). Note the prominence given to Mnason (*q.v.*) as an 'early' or 'original' disciple in Ac 21^{16}.

The name Andronicus occurs in inscriptions belonging to the Imperial household (see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*^{5}, 1902, p. 422).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

ANGELS.—1. The scope of this article.—The passages in the apostolic writings in which angels are mentioned or referred to will be examined; some of them are ambiguous and have been interpreted in various ways. The doctrine of the OT and of the apocryphal period on the subject has been so fully dealt with in *HDB* that it is unnecessary to do more than refer incidentally to it here; and the angelology of the Gospels has been treated at length in *DCG* (see Literature below). But the other NT writings have not been so fully examined, and it is the object of this article to consider them particularly. Of these the Apocalypse, as might be expected from the subject, calls for special attention; no book of the OT or the NT is so full of references to the angels, and it is the more remarkable that the other Johannine writings have so few. The Fourth Gospel refers to angels only thrice (1^{51} 12^{29} 20^{12}; 5^{4} is a gloss [see below, 5 (*b*)]), and the three Epistles not at all. There are frequent references to the subject in Hebrews, and occasional ones in the Pauline and Petrine Epistles and in Jude.

2. The literal meaning of ἄγγελος.—*ἄγγελος* = 'messenger,' is found only once in the NT outside the Gospels: in Ja 2^{25}, it is used of Joshua's spies (in Jos 6^{25} [LXX], which is referred to, we read *τοὺς κατασκοπευσάντας οὓς ἀπέστειλεν Ἰησοῦς*). In the Gospels *ἄγγελος* is used of John Baptist in Mt 11^{10}, Mk 1^{2}, Lk 7^{27} (from Mal 3^{1} but not from LXX, which, however, also has *ἄγγελος*), of John's messengers in Lk 7^{24}, and of Jesus' messengers to a Samaritan village in Lk 9^{52}. In Ph 2^{25}, 2 Co 8^{23} *ἀπόστολος* is translated 'messenger.'

3. The angels as heavenly beings.—From the earliest times the Israelites had been taught to believe in angels, but after the Captivity the doctrine greatly developed. Yet some of the Jews rejected all belief in them, and this sharply divided the Pharisees from the Sadducees, who said 'that there is no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit'; the Pharisees confessed both (Ac 23^{8}).

Angels are *creatures*, as the Jews had always taught (Thackeray, *Relation of St. Paul to Jewish Thought*, p. 150). They were created in, through, and unto Christ (Col 1^{16}), who is the beginning as well as the end of all things (cf. 1 Co 8^{6}). They are not inferior deities, but fellow-servants (*σύνδουλοι*) with man (Rev 19^{10} 22^{9}). Therefore they may not be worshipped (*ib.*); the worship of angels was

* It is impossible, as this name occurs in the accus. case, to determine whether it is masculine or feminine. See art. JUNIAS.

one of the grave errors at Colossæ (Col 2^{18}). So idolatry is described as a worshipping of demons (Rev 9^{20}).

Much emphasis is laid, lest it should be thought that angels were of the same degree as our Lord, on the fact that *Jesus is immeasurably higher than they*; as in He $1^{4ff.}$ (no angel is called 'the Son'; angels worship the Firstborn), 1^{13} (no angel set at the right hand of God), 2^{5} (the world to come is not made subject to angels, but to man—v.$^{8f.}$ shows that the Representative Man is meant, who condescended to be, in His Incarnation, made a little lower than the angels). In 1 P 3^{22} 'angels and authorities and powers' are made subject to the ascended Christ; and so in Eph 1^{21}. In Col 2^{15} (an obscure verse), we may understand either that our Lord, putting off His body, made a show of the principalities and the powers, triumphing over them in the cross (so the Latin Fathers); or, with the Greeks, that He, having stripped off and put away the principalities, made a show of them, etc. —*i.e.* that He repelled their assaults. Here the evil angels are spoken of. But the complete subjection of the powers of evil to Jesus will not take place till the end of the world (1 Co $15^{23ff.}$).

Angels are *spirits* (He $1^{7.\ 14}$); cf. Rev 16^{14}, 'spirits of demons.' In Ac $23^{8f.}$ they seem to be differentiated from 'spirits' ('no resurrection, neither angel, nor spirit . . . what if a spirit hath spoken to him or an angel?'). But this is not so. The 'angel' is the species, the 'spirit' the genus (Alford). All angels are spirits, though all spirits are not angels. In v.^{8} the Pharisees are said to confess 'both,' *i.e.* both the resurrection and angel-spirits; only two categories are intended. We must also remember that in v.^{9} non-Christian Jews are speaking.

But, though they are spirits, angels are *not omnipresent or omniscient*, for these are attributes of Deity. For their limited knowledge cf. Eph 3^{10} (whether good or bad angels are there spoken of); it is implied in 1 P 1^{12} (the angels desire to look into the mysteries of the gospel) and in 1 Co $2^{6ff.}$, if 'rulers of this world' are the evil angels (see DÉMON). It is explicitly stated in Mt 24^{36}, Mk 13^{32}. The limitation of the angels' knowledge is also stated in *Ethiopic Enoch*, xvi. 3 (2nd cent. B.C. ?), where the angels who fell in Gn 6^{2} (so 'sons of God' are interpreted) are said not to have had the hidden things yet revealed to them, though they knew worthless mysteries, which they recounted to the women (ed. Charles, 1893, p. 86 f.). In the *Secrets of Enoch* (Slavonic), xxiv. 3 (1st cent. A.D. ?), God says that He had not told His secrets even to His angels. Ignatius says that the virginity and child-bearing of Mary and the death of the Lord were hidden from (ἔλαθεν) the ruler of this age (*Eph.* 19; for this idea in the Fathers see Lightfoot's note).

The good angels are *angels of light*, as opposed to the powers of darkness (2 Co 11^{14}; cf. Eph 6^{12}); so, when the angel came to St. Peter in the prison, a light shone in the cell (Ac 12^{7}). The name 'seraph' perhaps means 'the burning one,' though the etymology is doubtful; cf. also Ps 104^{4}.

They *neither marry nor are given in marriage*; and so in the resurrection life there is no marrying, for men will be 'as angels in heaven' (Mt 22^{30}, Mk 12^{25}), 'equal to angels' (ἰσάγγελοι, Lk 20^{36}). Some have thought that they have a sort of counterpart of bodies, described in 1 Co 15^{40} as 'celestial bodies' (Meyer, Alford), though this is perhaps improbable; St. Paul's words may refer to the 'heavenly bodies' in the modern sense (Robertson-Plummer), or to the post-resurrection human bodies (cf. v.^{48}); not to good men as opposed to bad (Chrysostom and others of the Fathers).

They are *numberless* (Rev 5^{11} [from Dn 7^{14}], He 12^{22}, 'myriads'; in the latter passage they are perhaps described as a 'festal assembly' [RVm, ἀγγέλων πανηγύρει]).

The unfallen angels are *holy* (Rev 14^{10}, Mk 8^{38}, Lk 9^{26}, and some MSS of Mt 25^{31}; so perhaps 1 Th 3^{13}, Jude ^{14} [see below, 5 (*a*)]; cf. Zec 14^{5} 'all the holy ones'). This is the meaning of 'elect' angels in 1 Ti 5^{21}—not angels chosen to guard the Ephesian Church; they are mentioned here because they will accompany our Lord to judgment or (Grimm) because they are chosen by God to rule.

4. Ranks of the angels.—There was a great tendency in later Jewish writings to elaborate the angelic hierarchy. In Is $6^{2.\ 6}$ we had read of seraphim; in Ezk 10 of cherubim. But in *Eth. Enoch*, lxi. 10 (these chapters are of the 1st cent. B.C. ?), the host of the heavens, and all the holy ones above, the cherubim, seraphim, and ophanim (= 'wheels'; cf. Ezk 1^{15}), angels of power, angels of principalities, are mentioned (cf. lxxi. 7); in the *Secrets of Enoch* (20) we read of archangels, incorporeal powers, lordships, principalities, powers, cherubim, seraphim, 'ten troops.' The 'genealogies' of 1 Ti 1^{4} and Tit 3^{9} are thought by some to refer to such speculations. St. Paul shows some impatience at the Colossian fondness for elaborating these divisions; yet in the NT we find traces of ranks of angels. In Jude ^{9} the archangel (Michael) is mentioned; so in 1 Th 4^{16}, where Michael is doubtless meant. In Romans, Colossians, and Ephesians no organized hierarchy is mentioned; and sometimes the reference seems to be to the whole angelic band, sometimes to the evil angels, when principalities, powers, dominions, thrones are referred to (Col 1^{16} θρόνοι, κυριότητες, ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι; $2^{10.\ 15}$ ἀρχή, ἐξουσία; Eph 1^{21} ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, δύναμις, κυριότης; 3^{10} 6^{12} ἀρχαί, ἐξουσίαι; Ro 8^{38} ἄγγελοι, ἀρχαί, δυνάμεις; 1 Co 15^{24} ἀρχή, ἐξουσία, δύναμις). In the passages in Col. and Eph. St. Paul takes the ideas current in Asia Minor as to the ranks of the angels, but does not himself enunciate any doctrine; indeed, in Eph 1^{21} he adds, 'and every name that is named [ὀνομάζεται, *i.e.* reverenced] both in this age and in that which is to come.' Some have thought that he refers to earthly powers; but, though these may perhaps in some cases be included, there can be little doubt that he is speaking primarily of angelic powers, good and bad. 'Whatever powers there may be, Christ is Lord of all, far above them all.' In Eph 3^{10} only evil angelic powers are referred to—they are in the heavenly sphere (ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις); and so in 6^{12}, where they are contrasted with 'flesh and blood' (see also below). With these passages we may compare 1 P 3^{22} 'angels and authorities and powers'; and possibly 2 P $2^{10f.}$, where the 'lordship' (RV 'dominion'), 'glories' ('dignities'), and angels are thought by some to refer to ranks of angels; if so, the highest rank is 'angels,' who are 'greater in might and power' than the 'glories.' The cherubim of the ark (Ex 25^{18}) are mentioned in He 9^{5}.

The Christian Fathers and the heretical teachers greatly elaborated the angelic hierarchy; of these perhaps the writer who had most influence was pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (*de Cœl. Hier.* vi.-ix., *c.* A.D. 500), who divided the heavenly host into three divisions, with three subdivisions in each: (1) thrones, cherubim, seraphim; (2) powers (ἐξουσίαι), lordships (κυριότητες), mights (δυνάμεις); (3) angels, archangels, principalities (ἀρχαί). On the analogy of this list, the Syriac-speaking Churches divided the Christian ministry into three classes, each with three sub-classes. For other divisions of angels in post-apostolic times see Lightfoot's note on Col 1^{16}.

Very few names of angels occur in the NT. Of the holy angels only Gabriel (Lk $1^{19.\ 26}$) and Michael (Jude ^{9}, Rev 12^{7}) are named (from Dn 8^{16} 9^{21} $10^{13.\ 21}$ 12^{1}). We also have the proper names Satan (thirty-

one times, nineteen outside the Gospels), Beelzebub (Gospels only, six times), and Belial or Beliar (2 Co 6^{15}). See DEVIL, BELIAL. In the Apocrypha we have Raphael in To 12^{15}, Uriel in 2 Es 4^{1} 5^{20} 10^{28}, and Jeremiel in 2 Es 4^{36} (the last book perhaps is to be dated *c.* A.D. 90). Many other names are found in Jewish writings; see D. Stone, *Outlines of Chr. Dogma*, London, 1900, p. 38; Edersheim, *Life and Times*, App. xiii.; *Eth. Enoch*, 20 (Uriel, Rafael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqael, Gabriel; the Gr. fragment [Charles, p. 356 f.] has Sariel for Saraqael, and adds Remiel [=Jeremiel]).

5. Function of the angels.—The NT represents the angels as having a double activity, towards God and towards man. Both these aspects are found in He 1^{14} (see below), as in Is 6^{1-7}, where the seraphim worship before God, and one of them is sent to the prophet, and in Lk 1^{19}, where Gabriel is said to stand in the presence of God, and to be sent to Zacharias.

(*a*) *Towards God.*—The angels are 'liturgic spirits' (λειτουργικὰ πνεύματα, He 1^{14}; cf. Dn 7^{10} ἐλειτούργουν αὐτῷ [Theodotion; the version in our Gr. OT] for משרתיו, 'ministered unto him'; the Chigi LXX has ἐθεράπευον αὐτόν); their ministry is an ordered one, before the throne of God: 'the whole host of His angels . . . minister (λειτουργοῦσιν) unto His will, standing by Him' (Clem. Rom. *Cor.* 34; cf. the 4th cent. Ignatian interpolator, *Philad.* 9, 'the liturgic powers of God'). They worship God in heaven (Rev $5^{11f.}$ 7^{11} 8^{1-4}; cf. Job 1^{6} 2^{1}), and on earth (Lk $2^{13f.}$); they worship the Firstborn when He is brought into the world (He 1^{6}), and are witnesses of the Incarnation (1 Ti 3^{16} 'seen of angels'—but Grimm interprets ἀγγέλοις here as the apostles, witnesses of the risen Christ, and Swete thinks the reference is to the Agony in Gethsemane [*Ascended Christ*, 1910, p. 24]). To this heavenly worship there seems to be a reference in 1 Co 13^{1} 'tongues of angels.' In Jewish thought there were 'angels of the presence,' the highest order of the hierarchy, who stood before the face of God, within the veil (Edersheim, *Life and Times*, i. 122; To 12^{15}; *Eth. Enoch*, 40). There may be a reference to these in Rev 1^{4} 'the seven spirits which are before his throne' (Swete interprets this of the sevenfold working of the Holy Spirit); 8^{2} 'the seven angels which stand before God' (cf. v.^{4}); Mt 18^{10} 'in heaven [the little ones'] angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven'; and in Lk 1^{19} (see above).

They will attend on the Son at the Last Judgment (1 Th 4^{16}, 2 Th 1^{7}, Rev 3^{5}); and this seems to be the most probable reference in 1 Th 3^{13} 'with all his saints' (or 'holy ones'—τῶν ἁγίων αὐτοῦ) and in Jude ^{14} 'with ten thousands of his holy ones' (or 'with his holy myriads,' ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ), where the words are quoted from *Enoch*, i. 9, the text of the latter in the Gizeh Greek fragment being σὺν τοῖς (*sic*) μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις αὐτοῦ. The words in Jude are certainly to be understood of the angels, and this makes the similar interpretation of 1 Th 3^{13} more likely. But Milligan (*Com. in loc.*) thinks that the latter reference is to 'just men made perfect,' who are said to judge, or to be 'brought with' Jesus at the Judgment (1 Th 4^{14}, Mt 19^{28}, Lk 22^{30}; cf. Wis 3^{8}; for 1 Co 6^{3} see 7 below). No doubt the saints will rule with Christ (Rev $2^{26f.}$ 20^{4} etc.); but, as *all* men will themselves be judged (Ro 14^{10}, 2 Co 5^{10}), the interpretation of the above passages as implying that the saints will themselves be judges at the Last Day is somewhat doubtful. The attendance of the angels on the Great Judge is mentioned in all four Gospels (Mt 13^{41} 16^{27} 24^{31} 25^{31}, Mk 8^{38} 13^{27}, Lk 9^{26} $12^{8f.}$, and Jn 1^{51} [where the reference is to Gn 28^{12}]).

(*b*) *Towards man.*—The angels do service (διακονία) to man as heirs of salvation (He 1^{14}). They ministered to our Lord on earth, in His human nature, after the Temptation in the wilderness (Mt 4^{11}, Mk 1^{13}, not in ‖ Lk.), and at Gethsemane (Lk 22^{43}: this may not be part of the Third Gospel, but is certainly part of a 1st cent. tradition; it could not have been invented by the scribes [see Westcott-Hort, *NT in Greek*, ii. App., p. 67]. The present writer has argued for its being older than Lk., and reflecting the same stage of thought as Mk. [*DCG* ii. 124^{b}]). In Mt 26^{53} Jesus says that angels would have ministered to Him, had He so willed, when Judas betrayed Him.

The angels are *spectators of our lives*: 1 Co 4^{9} 'a spectacle (θέατρον) to angels'; 1 Ti 5^{21} 'in the sight of God and Christ Jesus and the elect angels'; 1 P 1^{12}, the angels 'look into'—'glance at,' or perhaps 'pore over' (see Bigg, *Com. in loc.*)—the Church and its Gospel; they rejoice over the sinner's repentance (Lk 15^{10}).

They are *messengers to man.* This is the office of angels which is most prominent in the NT; see Ac $7^{35.38}$ (Moses) 8^{26} (Philip) $10^{3.7.22.30}$ (Peter, Cornelius) 11^{13} (Peter) 12^{7-11} (Peter in prison) 23^{9} (Paul) 27^{23} (Paul on his voyage), He 13^{2} (reference to Abraham, Gn 18), and frequently in Rev. (*e.g.* 1^{1} 22^{6}). St. Paul alludes to this work of the angels in Gal 1^{8}, which suggests that they must be proved, as spirits must be (1 Co 12^{10}, 1 Jn 4^{1}, etc.; see DEMON, § 2), to see whether they are true or false, and in Gal 4^{14}, where there is a climax: 'as an angel of God, nay, as one who is higher than the angels, as Christ Jesus himself.' For this function in the Gospels see Mt 1^{20} $2^{13.19}$ 28^{2-5}, Mk 16^{5-7}, Lk $1^{11.13.19.26.30.35}$ $2^{9f.21}$ $24^{4.23}$, Jn 12^{29} 20^{12}; here we note that the 'angel of the Lord' in the NT is not the same as the 'angel of Jahweh' in the OT: it merely means an angel sent by God. This office of the angels does not exclude the Divine message coming directly to man (Ac 9^{5} 22^{8} 26^{14}, Gal 1^{12}).

They are *helpers of our worship.* They offer the 'prayers of all the saints upon the golden altar' (Rev $8^{3f.}$). Their presence at Christian worship is a reason for decorum and reverence (1 Co 11^{10}: a woman should be veiled in the assembly of the faithful 'because of the angels'; this seems to be the meaning, not 'because of the clergy who are present,' as Ambrose, Ephraim Syrus, Primasius, nor 'because of the evil angels,' with a reference to Gn $6^{1f.}$, as Tertullian [*de Virg. Vel.* 7; cf. 17], nor yet 'because the angels do so,' *i.e.* veil themselves before their Superior [Is 6^{2}]; see Robertson-Plummer, *Com. in loc.*). For the presence of angels at worship cf. Ps 138^{1} LXX and Vulg., To $12^{12.15}$, Three ^{87}.

They *fight for man against evil*, under Michael (Jude ^{9}, Rev $12^{7f.}$ $19^{14.19}$ 20^{1-3}); they are 'armies' (στρατεύματα, Rev 19^{14}) and a 'host' (στρατιά, Lk 2^{13}; not in He 12^{22} RV where μυριάσιν is translated 'innumerable hosts'). They are the 'armies' sent out by the King in the Parable of the Marriage of the King's Son (Mt 22^{7}).

They were the *mediators of the Law* (Ac 7^{53}, Gal 3^{19}, He 2^{2}); *i.e.* they assisted at the giving of the Law. St. Paul and the writer of Hebrews argue from this the superiority of the Gospel as being given without the interposition of created beings (Lightfoot on Gal 3). The presence of angels is not mentioned in Ex 19, but cf. Dt 33^{2}, Ps 68^{7}; it was emphasized by the Jews as extolling the Law (see Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 162), and this is perhaps the meaning in Ac 7^{53}.

At death the angels *carry the faithful departed to Abraham's bosom* (Lk 16^{22}). This was a common Jewish belief (*DCG* i. 57^{a}).

At the Judgment they will be the *reapers of the harvest* (Rev 14^{17-19}, Mt $13^{39.49}$).

They are *messengers of punishment* (Ac 12^{23} [Herod], Rev 14^{10}), and of judgment (Rev $8^{6ff.}$

19^{11-14}; cf. the pouring out of the bowls, 16^{1-17}, and the seven angels having seven plagues, 15^{1}). In 1 Co 10^{10} the 'destroyer' (ὀλοθρευτής) is not Satan, but the angel sent by God to smite the people (the reference is to Nu 16, where no angel is mentioned; but cf. Ex 12^{23}, 2 S 24^{16}). Satan is sometimes called 'the destroyer' (ἀπολλύων, Rev 9^{11}), but ὀλοθρευτής is not used elsewhere in the Bible (see Robertson-Plummer on 1 Co 10^{10}).

They *intervene on earth to help man*: an 'angel of the Lord' releases the apostles (Ac 5^{19}) and Peter (12^{7}); and, according to an ancient gloss, probably African, originating before the time of Tertullian, who quotes it (*de Bapt.* 5), 'an angel of the Lord' also 'troubled' the water of Bethesda (Jn 5^{4}). (Tertullian applies this text to Christian baptism, over which he says an angel presides.) Generally, the angels guard men from evil. This leads us to the question of **guardian angels.** It is an ancient idea that each human being, or even every creature animate and inanimate, has allotted to it one or more special angelic guards. This idea is to some extent confirmed by the words of our Lord about the 'angels of the little ones' in Mt 18^{10}. It was a popular belief that these guardians took the form of the person guarded, and the people assembled in the house of Mary the mother of Mark thought that Peter, when escaped from prison, was 'his angel' (Ac 12^{15}). This Jewish conception was long retained by the Christians. Tertullian thought that the soul had a 'figure,' a certain corporeity, an 'inner man, different from the outer, but yet one in the twofold condition' (*de Anima*, 9); this is not quite the same idea, but we find it more clearly in the 4th cent. Church Order, the *Testament of our Lord* (i. 40), where all men have 'figures of their souls, which stand before the Father of Light,' and which in the case of the wicked 'perish and are carried to darkness to dwell.' Similarly there are angels of fire (Rev 14^{18}), of water ($16^{3ff.}$; cf. $7^{1ff.}$ and Jn 5^{4}), of winds (Rev 7^{1}; cf. Ps 104^{4}), of countries (Dn 10^{13-20}; cf. Sir 17^{17}); and the angel of the abyss, Abaddon (*q.v.*) or Apollyon (Rev 9^{11}; cf. 20^{1}). For Rabbinical ideas see Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 168, and Edersheim, *op. cit.* App. xiii.

6. Angels of the Churches.—In Rev 1^{20} $2^{1.\ 8.\ 12.\ 18}$ $3^{1.\ 7.\ 14}$ the Seven Churches are said each to have an 'angel.' These angels represent the Churches; what is said to them is said to the Churches (3^{22}; cf. 1^{4}); things done by the Churches are said to be done by them. Various interpretations have been offered. (*a*) They are said to be angels as in the rest of the book. The strongest arguments for this view are the writer's usage elsewhere, and the mention of Jezebel (2^{20}: 'thy wife' in some MSS), which is clearly symbolic. The difficulty is the sin ascribed to these angels, as in any case a good angel must, if this interpretation be taken, be meant; if so, the meaning must be that the angels bear the sins of the Churches as representing and guarding them. (*b*) They are thought to be earthly representatives of the Churches, either delegates to Patmos or the bishops or presbyters of the Churches. This view accords better with the later than with the earlier date assigned to Rev., with the time of Domitian than with that of Nero. (*c*) They are thought to be ideal personifications of the Churches. On the whole the first view seems to be the most probable. Compare and contrast the following article.

7. Fallen angels.—In the NT both good and evil angels are mentioned; but when the word 'angel' occurs alone, a good angel is to be understood unless the context requires otherwise, though perhaps 1 Co 6^{3} is an exception (see below). The fall is mentioned in Jude ^{6}, 2 P 2^{4}; and probably in 1 Ti 3^{6}, where it is ascribed to pride (see DEVIL, § 2). The Incarnation was not intended to help the angels. Jesus did not 'take hold' of, to help, the angels (or, as AV, did not take hold of their nature); see Westcott on He 2^{16}. Yet in Col 1^{20} God is said to reconcile through (the death of) Christ 'all things' to Himself—the whole universe material and spiritual (Lightfoot); but it was not by delivering them from death (Alford): the fallen angels are not saved by Christ's death. According to some interpretations, St. Paul says that angels will be judged by men (1 Co 6^{3}). Robertson-Plummer interpret this verse, tentatively, as meaning that, as Christ judges, *i.e.* rules over, angels, so will saints, who share in that rule; but, if the Last Judgment is intended, then fallen angels must be meant here, for good angels, not having fallen, cannot be judged. For 1 Th 3^{13} see above, **5** (*a*). In the end Satan is bound, and Babylon falls (Rev 18 and 20); nothing is said of his angels, but the inference is that his angels fall with him, and this is expressly said in Mt 25^{41}. See further, ADVERSARY, AIR, BELIAL, DEMON, DEVIL.

Metaphorically the 'stake in the flesh' is called an angel (messenger) of Satan (2 Co 12^{7}). See art. PAUL.

8. Comparison of apostolic and other teaching.—(*a*) *Comparison with that of our Lord.*—Oesterley (*SDB*, 32) contrasts Jesus' teaching with that of the Evangelists and other NT writers, and says that our Lord taught that the abode and work of the angels are in heaven, not here below, while His disciples taught (as the Jews did) that they are active on earth. On the other hand, Marshall (*DCG* i. 54^{a}) maintains the complete identity of teaching between Jesus and the Evangelists. To the present writer the latter view seems to be the right one. It is true that in our Lord's words the work of angels on earth is not prominent. But in Jn 1^{51} (our Lord is speaking) the order 'ascending and descending' shows that the angels are 'already on earth, though we see them not' (Westcott, *Com. in loc.*). The account of the angelic ministry at the Temptation, like that of the Temptation itself, could by its very nature have come only from our Lord's own lips. Moreover, in Jesus' teaching, the angels come *to the earth* to fetch Lazarus' soul (Lk 16^{22}) and to reap the Harvest (Mt $13^{39.\ 49}$).

(*b*) *Comparison with the doctrine of false teachers.*—In Colossians we find an elaborate angelology, taught by professing Christians whom St. Paul attacks. Their heresy was partly Jewish, partly Gnostic, though some think that two different sects are meant. The Gnostic element shows itself in the tendency to put angels as intermediaries between God and man, and to make angels emanations from God with an elaborate hierarchy of powers, dominions, etc. Against such teaching St. Paul asserts that Christ is the only mediator (Col 1^{15-22} 2^{9-15}), and forbids the worship of angels because it denies this. In the unique mediation of our Lord lies the significance of the repeated phrases 'in the Lord,' 'unto the Lord' ($3^{18.\ 20.\ 23}$). Jesus is the one ἀρχή, or 'beginning' (1^{18}; cf. Rev 3^{14}), of creation, as against the idea of angelic intermediaries when the world was made (see Lightfoot's essay on the Colossian heresy [*Col.*, p. 71 ff.]). Perhaps also in the assertion of the unique mediation of Christ lies the significance of the rhetorical passage in which St. Paul says that no heavenly powers, good or bad, can separate us from the love of God (Ro 8^{38}). Passages in Eph. (above, **4**) seem to show that the Colossian heresy was known also on the Asian seaboard.

A later stage of angelological error is found at the end of the 1st cent. in Cerinthus' teaching, which resembled that of the Colossian heretics. Cerinthus (*q.v.*) taught that the world was not made by God, but by an angel, or by a series of

powers or angels, who were ignorant of God; the Mosaic Law was given by them (cf. above, **5** (*b*)). Cerinthus is the link between the Gnosticism at Colossæ and the developed Gnosticism of the 2nd century (for his doctrine see Irenæus, *Hær.* i. 26; Hippolytus, *Refut.* vii. 21, x. 17). He claimed to have had angelic visions, and was a millenarian of the grossest sort (Caius in Eusebius, *HE* iii. 28). See also Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 106 ff.

Speculations such as those attacked by St. Paul found a congenial soil in 'Asia' and Phrygia. Even in the 4th cent. at the Council held at the Phrygian Laodicea (*c.* A.D. 380), Christians are forbidden to leave the Church of God and invoke (*ὀνομάζειν*) angels (can. 35; see Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr., iii. 317). It is the proper jealousy for the One Mediator, on the other hand, which has led many moderns to reject the doctrine of the existence of angels altogether. But both heavenly and earthly beings can help man without being mediators, as we see when one man helps another by intercessory prayer. The NT teaching about angelic helpers, so potent an antidote to materialism, in no way asserts that we are to pray to God through the angels, or contradicts the doctrine that Christ is the only Mediator between God and man.

(*c*) *Comparison with current Jewish teaching and that of the later Rabbis.*—The apostolic teaching is quite free from the wild speculations of Jewish angelology. (For differences between it and current Jewish ideas see Edersheim, *op. cit.* i. 142 and App. xiii.) Of Jewish speculations the most elaborate were those of the Essenes (*q.v.*), which had a decided Gnostic tinge. This Jewish sect had an esoteric doctrine of angels, and its members were not allowed to divulge their *names* to outsiders (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 7; Lightfoot, *Col.*, p. 87; Edersheim, i. 330 f.). A few Jewish speculations may be mentioned. It was thought that new angels were always being created—an idea derived from a wresting of La 3^{23} (Thackeray, *op. cit.* p. 150). The angels taught Noah medicine (*Book of Jubilees*, 10). The righteous will become angels (*Eth. Enoch*, li. 4). An angel troubled the waters of Bethesda for healing (gloss in Jn 5^{4}). An elaborate hierarchical system and numerous names were invented for them (above, **4**). Contrasted with these ideas, we have in the NT a wise reserve, which refuses to go beyond the things which are written.

One Jewish speculation must be noticed more fully. The Rabbis taught that none of the angels was absolutely good, that they opposed the creation of man and were jealous of him (Edersheim, ii. 754). Thackeray (p. 151 f.) considers that St. Paul also makes them all antagonistic to God. If so, he contradicts the teaching both of our Lord and of the other NT writers (above, **3**). But this view, based on St. Paul's language about principalities, powers, etc., and on the idea that all the angels are the enemies who must be put under Christ's feet (1 Co 15^{25}), appears to be untenable. St. Paul, while affirming that some 'powers' are evil, does not say that they all are so. See above, **4**.

9. Nature of NT angelophanies.—It is unprofitable to ask whether angels took material bodies when they appeared to men or whether they merely seemed to do so. At any rate, they took the form of men to the mind, though in some cases there was something about them that produced wonder or fear (Lk 1^{12}, Mt 28^{4}, etc.). The accounts of the angels who were seen after the Resurrection vary. In Mt 28^{2} the angel who rolled away the stone was like lightning, his raiment white as snow. In Mk 16^{5} we read only of a young man in a white robe. In Lk 24^{4} there are two men in dazzling apparel (cf. v.^{23} 'vision of *angels*'). In Jn 20^{12} there are two angels in white, sitting. In Ac 1^{10} there are 'two men . . . in white apparel.' To Cornelius the angel was 'a man . . . in bright apparel' (Ac 10^{30}). Stephen's face was filled with superhuman glory, 'as it had been the face of an angel' (Ac 6^{15}; so we reflect, as in a mirror, the glory of the Lord, 2 Co 3^{18}). For an argument that the appearance of the angels was 'objective' see Plummer on Lk 1^{11}; but this is largely a matter of definition. At the death of Herod (Ac 12^{23}) no *appearance* of an angel is necessarily intended.

10. The immediate successors of the apostles.—Angelology was a favourite topic of the time; but, the literature of the sub-apostolic period being very scanty, the references are few. For Clement of Rome see above, **5** (*a*). Ignatius says that the knowledge of angelic mysteries was given to martyrs (*Trall.* 5): 'heavenly things and the dispositions (*τοποθεσίας*) of angels, and musterings of rulers (*συστάσεις ἀρχοντικάς*), seen and unseen' (cf. Col 1^{16}). The 'dispositions' would be in the seven heavens. The *ἄρχοντες*, 'rulers,' would be St. Paul's *ἀρχαί*, *i.e.* angels (Lightfoot, *Ign.* ii. 165). In *Smyrn.* 6 it is said that the angels, if they believe not in the blood of Christ, are judged; this seems to imply that their probation is not yet ended. See also above, **3**. Papias (quoted by Andreas of Cæsarea, *in Apoc.*, ch. 34, serm. 12; Lightfoot-Harmer, *Apostol. Fathers*, p. 521) says that to some of the angels God 'gave dominion over the arrangement (*διακοσμήσεως*) of the universe . . . but their array (*τάξιν*) came to naught, for the great dragon, the old serpent, who is called the Devil and Satan, who deceiveth the whole earth, was cast down, yea, was cast down to the earth, and his angels' (quotation from Rev 12^{9}). Papias seems to date the fall of the angels after the creation of the world. Hermas (for his possibly early date see Salmon, *Introd. to NT*, xxvi.) describes the building of the tower [the Church] upon the waters by six young men (cf. Mk 16^{5}), while countless other men bring the stones; and the former are said to be the holy angels of God, who were created first of all; the latter are also holy angels, but the six are superior to them (*Vis.* iii. 1, 2, 4). In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*, 2, martyrs are said to become angels after death (see above, **8**). In the *Epistle to Diognetus*, 7, God is said to have sent to men a minister (*ὑπηρέτην*) or angel or ruler (*ἄρχοντα*). Justin interprets Ps $24^{7.9}$ [LXX] as addressed to the rulers appointed by God in the heavens (*Dial.* 36). To angels was committed the care of man and of all things under heaven, but they transgressed through the love of women (*Apol.* ii. 5, referring to Gn $6^{1ff.}$). Angels, like men, have free will (*Dial.* 141).

LITERATURE.—A. Edersheim, *Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah*[9], London, 1897, i. 142, ii. 748 (Appendix, xiii.), etc.; H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, do. 1900; A. B. Davidson in *HDB*, art. 'Angel' (almost entirely for OT); W. Fairweather in *HDB*, vol. v., art. 'Development of Doctrine in the Apocryphal Period,' § iii.; J. T. Marshall in *DCG*, art. 'Angels'; and the Commentaries, esp. H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St. John*, London, 1906; B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*[3], do. 1906; G. Milligan, *Thessalonians*, do. 1908; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, do. 1900 (1st ed. 1875); A. Robertson and A. Plummer, *1 Corinthians*, Edinburgh, 1911.

A. J. MACLEAN.

ANGELS OF THE SEVEN CHURCHES.—The general practice of NT writers points to the conclusion that the word 'angels,' used in this connexion, is employed to denote superhuman and celestial personalities. We are not, however, without examples of its being used to indicate ordinary 'messengers' (cf. Lk 7^{24} 9^{52}, Ja 2^{25}, etc.). In this case it would be equivalent to the *ἀπόστολοι ἐκκλησιῶν* (2 Co 8^{23}; cf. Ph 2^{25}), who were in some sense the official, if temporary, delegates of one Church to another. The fact that in the Apocalypse

these 'angels' are to such a degree the recipients of praise and blame would seem to put both these simple interpretations out of court.

Many ingenious attempts have been made to employ the expression as a collateral or subsidiary proof that episcopacy had already been established within the lifetime of the Johannine author. The passages adduced from the OT in support of this view are certainly irrelevant; for, while it is conceivable that the chief minister of a Church should be styled ἄγγελος Κυρίου (cf. Hag 1^{13} and Mal 2^{7}; see also Is 44^{26} and Mal 3^{1}), it is difficult to understand the application to him of the designation ἄγγελος ἐκκλησίας (Rev 2^{1}, etc.). Nor, again, can the contention be sustained that the expression had its origin in the office of the *sh'liah zibbûr*, the messenger or plenipotentiary of the synagogue—for, as Schürer has pointed out, these 'messengers' were not permanent officials (see *HJP* II. ii. 67), but persons chosen for the time by the ruler to pronounce the prayer at public worship (cf. Lightfoot, *Dissertations on Apostol. Age*, 1892, p. 158).

In supporting the contention that by the 'angels' of the Churches are meant the bishops, the strange conclusion has been maintained that in the words τὴν γυναῖκα [σου] Ἰεζάβελ (Rev 2^{20}) the author is referring to the Thyatiran bishop's wife (see Grotius, *Annotationes in Apoc., ad loc.*). It ought to be pointed out that this theory is as old as Jerome, who in his commentary on 1 Ti 3^{2} adopts a similar interpretation; and Socrates (*HE* iv. 23) describes Serapion as 'the angel of the church of the Thmuitæ' (cf. Jerome, *de Vir. illustr.* 99, where he mentions Serapion as '*Thmueos Egypti urbis Episcopus*'). The same conception is attached to the expression by the 6th cent. commentators, Primasius the African (*Com. in Apoc.*) and Cassiodorus the Italian (*Complexiones in Apoc.*) in their reflexions on Rev 1^{20}.

An examination of the use of the word ἄγγελος in the NT Apocalypse, apart from its connexion with the Churches, shows that the author invariably employs it to describe a spiritual being attached to the service of God or of Satan. We are, therefore, confronted with the difficulty of accounting for its presence here in a sense so completely different as the episcopal theory involves. There is, indeed, no valid reason to suppose that the author, even in a work as highly symbolical as this is, attaches an essentially different idea to the word when he speaks of 'the Angels of the Seven Churches.'

If we can accept the textual purity of the *Ascension of Isaiah*, iii. 15, there is a remarkable parallel: 'the descent of the angel of the Christian Church, which is in the heavens, whom He will summon in the last days.' Even on the supposition that the Ethiopic version, supported by some Greek MSS, is a correct translation of the original, and the simple word 'Church' is substituted for 'angel of the Christian Church,' we are confronted by the primitive identification of the Church and its angel (see Charles, *Asc. of Isaiah, ad loc.*).

Perhaps the most curious feature of the letters to the Asian Churches is the way in which the writer expresses himself in terms of stern reproof or of encouragement to their 'angels.' The objection to this difficulty is considered by Origen, who finds cause for marvel at the care shown by God for men: 'forasmuch as He suffers His angels to be blamed and rebuked on our behalf' (*hom. in Num.* xx. 3; cf. *in Luc.* xiii.).

As we have already seen, however, it is difficult to suppose that the writer intended the words to be understood as referring literally to angels who presided over the Churches. There is, no doubt, a natural inclination to see in his use of the phrase a reminiscence of the 'princes' of the Apocalypse of Daniel (ὁ ἄρχων βασιλείας Περσῶν, Dn 10^{13}; cf. Μιχαὴλ ὁ ἄγγελος, v.^{21}). A similar belief with respect to the guardianship of individuals is referred to incidentally as held by Jesus (Mt 18^{10}), and we need not be surprised to find it applied to Churches in their corporate capacity by a writer whose teaching on the activity and functions of angels is so advanced.

Taking into account the symbolism of the whole book and the obviously symbolic mention of Jezebel (Rev 2^{20}; cf. Milligan on Rev 10^{1-3} in Schaff's *Pop. Com. on the NT*), there seems to be no interpretation more in harmony with the spirit of the writing than that which sees in this expression the personification of the characteristic spiritual tone and genius of each Church.

If we accept this conclusion as being most consonant with the general trend of thought throughout the writing, it may not be amiss to refer to the remarkable parallel in the *fravashis*, or 'doubles,' of Parsiism. Whatever the connexion between Persian and Jewish angelology—and it is not necessary to insist on a direct borrowing—it seems to be certain that, in the period immediately subsequent to the Captivity, Parsi influence shaped, at least indirectly and remotely, the development of Hebrew thought. 'The *fravashi* of a nation or community is a conception found in three Avestan passages. . . . The *fravashi* is no longer a being necessarily good, but becomes a complete spiritual counterpart of the nation or the church, and capable therefore of declension and punishment' (*HDB* iv. 991^{b}; cf. *JThSt* iii. 520 ff.). The nexus may be, and probably is, not so mechanical and direct as J. H. Moulton seeks to establish. On the other hand, it seems as if a relationship of some kind between the allied forces of Magianism and Zoroastrianism, as they were refracted by the medium of Hellenistic culture and Hebrew thought, must be regarded as inevitable. It is enough to say that the 'angel' is the personified embodiment of the spiritual character and *ethos* of the Church. If this use of the word by the author has led to confusion and obscurity, the reason lies probably in the limitations of that symbolism which was the characteristic vehicle of Jewish apocalyptic literature (see W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904, pp. 57–73). Compare and contrast § 6 of the preceding article.

LITERATURE.—See the works referred to throughout the art., and the Commentaries on the Apocalypse.

J. R. WILLIS.

ANGER.—1. Human anger.—Except by the stoical mind which finds no place for strong emotion in a moral scheme, anger has been recognized as a quality which, under certain conditions and within certain limits, may not only be permissible but commendable. Its ready abuse has, however, led to its being commonly placed among the evils of human nature. The teaching of the early Christian Church recognizes both aspects. Condemnation of the abuse of anger is not wanting in the apostolic writings. Among the manifest works of the flesh are enmities, strife, jealousies, wraths (θυμοί), factions (Gal 5^{20}). St. Paul fears lest he shall find these evils in the Church when he comes to Corinth (2 Co 12^{20}). One of the marks of the greatest of Christian virtues is that it 'does not blaze forth in passionate anger' (οὐ παροξύνεται [1 Co 13^{5}]). In Christian circles, all bitterness and wrath and anger must be put away (Eph 4^{31}; cf. Col 3^{8}). The holy hands lifted up in prayer must be unstained with anger and strife (1 Ti 2^{8}). The 'bishop' must be blameless, as God's steward, not self-willed, not soon angry (Tit 1^{7}). St. James bids his readers be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath, for the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God ($1^{19.\ 20}$). 'Be not prone to

anger,' says the *Didache* (iii. 2), 'for anger leadeth to murder: nor a zealot, nor contentious, nor quick-tempered, for murder also is the outcome of these.'

On the other hand, Christian morality recognizes a righteous anger. The section of the Sermon on the Mount which teaches that whosoever is angry with his brother is in danger of the judgment (Mt $5^{21f.}$) is primarily aimed at something other than passion—it is an emphatic condemnation of the spirit which despises and seeks to injure a brother. The violation of the law of brotherly love, manifest in the anger of Mt 5^{22}, might, indeed, provoke a legitimate wrath, *e.g.* in the series of woes, terrible in intensity of language, pronounced by Jesus against the scribes and Pharisees (Mt $23^{13ff.}$). We should hesitate to acknowledge a man as morally and spiritually great who could remain unmoved in the presence of the world's wrongs. The early preachers would have been poor souls had they been able to hide their indignation at the murderers of Jesus (Ac $3^{13.14}$ 5^{30} $7^{51f.}$). Could Peter well have been calm with Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5^{1}), and later, with the commercially-minded, religious adventurer, Simon Magus ($8^{20f.}$)? A certain principle of discrimination seems, however, to have been observed. Anger at personal insult or persecution was discouraged. Anger provoked by personal injury may have a protective value in a lower stage of the world's life, but the attitude of Christian ethics to this type is governed by the law of non-resistance laid down by the Sermon on the Mount. Man must return good for evil, show kindness to his enemy, leave retribution to God (Ro $12^{19.20}$). St. Paul claims that, 'when reviled, we bless; when persecuted, we bear it patiently; when slandered, we try to conciliate' (1 Co 4^{12}), thus following the example of Jesus (1 P 2^{23}). One is tempted to regard the apology which followed the momentary outburst of St. Paul's passion against the high priest (Ac 23^{3}) as an expression of the Apostle's principles of non-resistance rather than as an acknowledgment of priestly rights. But there is an altogether different attitude when that which is to be defended is a righteous principle, a weaker brother, or the faith or ethical standard of the Church. Elymas, the sorcerer, seeking to hinder a work of grace, provokes a vigorous anger (Ac $13^{10.11}$). On behalf of the purity of faith St. Paul resists St. Peter to the face (Gal 2^{11}). The Epistle to the Galatians is a piece of passionate writing, and a note of indignation runs through the later chapters of 2 Cor. (*cf.* 1 Co 1^{14} 5^{5}, etc.). The man who does not love the Lord Jesus, or the one who preaches a false gospel, let him be accursed—*ἀνάθεμα* (1 Co 16^{22}). The indignation (*ἀγανάκτησις*) of the Corinthian Church against the guilty person in the case of immorality, to which St. Paul has drawn attention, is commended by him (2 Co 7^{11}). Similarly, the Church at Ephesus is congratulated on its hatred of the Nicolaitans (Rev 2^{6}). St. Paul 'burns' if another is 'made to stumble' (2 Co 11^{29}). In these instances, anger seems to have been regarded as compatible with, and indeed expressive of, Christian character. The obvious danger of mistaken zeal for a cause or creed must, however, be kept in mind. The case of St. Paul's early life provides an illustration (Gal 1^{13}, Ph 3^{6}). There may be a zeal for God, not according to knowledge (Ro 10^{2}).

But even legitimate anger may readily pass into a sin. Passions beyond the control of the rational self can hardly be justified, whatever the cause. Self-control is a cardinal Christian virtue. Hence the apostolic caution of Eph 4^{26}, 'Be ye angry and sin not,' *i.e.* if angry, as one may rightly be, do not allow the passion to become an evil by its excess. The wrath against which the warning is given seems indicated by the following clause—'let not the sun go down on your *παροργισμός*' ('a noun which differs from *ὀργή* in denoting, not the disposition of anger, or anger in a lasting mood, but exasperation, sudden violent anger' [Salmond]). There is no reference to deliberate indignation on a matter of principle, such as the resentment which, the author of *Ecce Homo* claims, was felt by Jesus towards the Pharisees to the end of His life.

2. Divine anger.—Most minds must have felt the objection expressed by Origen, Augustine, and the Neo-Platonist theologians generally, that we cannot treat the Supreme as a magnified man and attribute to Him such perturbation of mind as is suggested to us by the term 'anger.' But we may allow—and must do so unless we are prepared to deny personality in God—that the quality, which we find expressed under human conditions as the righteous anger of a good man, must exist in God, although in a form which we cannot adequately conceive, owing to our inability to realize absolute conditions. We may be helped to some extent by recognizing that behind the human agitations of personality in love, pity, indignation, etc., there are certain principles and attitudes which no more depend for their quality on the element of agitation than the existence of steam depends upon the appearance of white vapour which we ordinarily associate with it. This underlying quality we may attribute to the Deity, in whom life and personality, here expressed only in finite and conditioned forms, have their perfect and unconditioned being (Lotze).

The objection that anger, unlike love, is unworthy of the highest moral personality (Marcion) may be met by the answer that Divine love and anger are not two opposing principles, but expressions of the one attitude towards contrary sets of human circumstances. The Divine anger is actually involved in the Divine love (Tertullian, Martensen, etc.). The one Lord whose name is Truth and Love is, because of this, a consuming flame to wrong (He 10^{31} 12^{29}).

The idea of the 'Divine anger'—this attitude of Deity towards certain courses of human life—is a justifiable inference from the intuitions of conscience, but another and an unsound argument played a part in the historical formation of the doctrine. In the early stages of religious thought the conception of the wrath of God would naturally come to men's minds from contemplation of the ills of human life. The chieftain punished those with whom he was angry, either by direct action or by withholding his protection. Did not, then, physical calamities, pestilences, reverses of fortune, defeat in battle, indicate the displeasure of Deity (Jos 7, 2 S 21^{1} 24, etc.)? Such misfortune, when no ethical cause could be recognized, would encourage the doctrine of unwitting and non-ethical offences (*e.g.* the violation of tabu) and of non-ethical propitiation. The ills of life—especially death—suggested later a world lying under a curse, due to Adam's sin. Against the popular doctrine that misfortune indicated Divine displeasure, the Book of Job is a protest. Human suffering has educative values, and does not necessarily indicate the disapproval of God (He $12^{5f.}$).

Yet even in early times the idea of the Divine anger did not rest wholly on the facts of human suffering. Men realized that the world, as they found it, was not in harmony with their conceptions of the Highest, and thus in times of prosperity, which, according to this theory, would indicate God's contentment with His people, prophets such as Amos argued for coming doom. From the *consciousness of the holiness of God* it was inferred that there must be Divine displeasure.

The turning away of the Divine anger.—Two

attitudes in regard to this problem appear among the Hebrews, even as early as the 8th cent. B.C. The prophets of that period 'do not recognize the need of any means of reconciliation with God after estrangement by sin other than repentance' (Hos 14^{2}, Am $5^{22\text{-}24}$, Is $1^{13.\ 17}$, Mic $6^{6\text{-}8}$). On the other hand, while repentance was always insisted upon by Israel's religious teachers, there was a tendency to assert the need of supplementary means in order to bring about the reconciliation of God and man. The conception may have originated in the practice of offering a propitiatory gift or legal compensation to an outraged person (Gn 20^{16} 32^{20}; cf. 1 S 26^{19}, 2 S $24^{13\text{ff.}}$), or in the primitive view of sin as having a material existence of its own which called for an appropriate ritual treatment beyond the mental change of repentance, or in the customs of Levitical 'sin-offerings,' which, although originally made in view of ceremonial faults, for which ethical repentance was strictly impossible, must have come to suggest that, in addition to repentance, a sacrificial operation was needful even in cases of moral transgression.

From the period of the Exile, prayer, fasting, almsgiving, and especially the sufferings of the righteous, were regarded as substitutes for material sacrifices (see art. 'Atonement' in *JE*). Is 53 is the 'earliest expression of a conception [viz. the atoning value of the sufferings of pious men] which attained wide development in later times and constantly meets us in the teaching of the Jewish synagogues' (O. Whitehouse). One of the seven brothers, during the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes, prays that 'in me and my brothers, the wrath of the Almighty may be appeased' (2 Mac 7^{38}). 4 Mac 6^{29} gives a prayer, 'Let my blood serve for purification, and as an equivalent for their life (*ἀντίψυχον*) take my own' (cf. 4 Mac 1^{11} 9^{24} $17^{20\text{-}22}$ 18^{4}). These passages supply an interesting link between the old Leviticism and the NT doctrine of the sacrificial death of Jesus.

The doctrine of propitiation receives no support from the teaching of Jesus as given in the Synoptics. Repentance and new life are the conditions of the restoration of the Divine favour. Jesus does not appear to have ever taught that reconciliation depended upon His own death as a propitiation (see *DCG*, art. 'Sacrifice'), although He did teach that the spiritual ministration involved suffering and sacrifice, so that the death of Jesus might be figuratively regarded as a 'ransom for many' (Mk $10^{35\text{-}45}$). Moreover, the teaching of Jesus is not favourable to the view that legal right claims a compensation beyond repentance, before the Father will forgive. The moral of the parables of the Prodigal and the Labourers (cf. Lk 23^{43}) is that forensic conceptions are altogether inappropriate in the religious sphere. Harmony with God is a matter of attitude, not of purchase or compensation.

The teaching of the Acts of the Apostles agrees with that of the Synoptics. There is no hint in the early preaching of the Church, as recorded in this work, of a propitiatory value in the death of Jesus. Jesus is, indeed, described as a 'Saviour,' but in the sense that He gives 'repentance to Israel and remission of sins' (Ac 5^{31}), *i.e.* He is able to bring about a change in the hearts of men, and, in accordance with prophetic teaching, pardon follows repentance (cf. the description of the preaching of the Baptist, as that of 'repentance unto remission of sins,' Mk 1^{4}).

But, with the exception of the authors of the Synoptics, the Acts, and the Epistle of James, the writers of the NT are strongly influenced by the propitiatory theory of the death of Jesus. The passage of the 'Suffering Servant' (Is $53^{4\text{f.}\ 10\text{f.}}$) suggested a doctrine which seemed to throw light upon the ignominious death of Jesus upon the Cross. The 'stumbling-block' to the Jewish mind became the Christian's boast. How the sacrifice was regarded as operating is not clear—the analogy of Levitical blood sacrifices was evidently sometimes in the mind of the writers (Ro 3^{25}, 1 P 1^{19}, Jn 1^{29}, etc.). St. Paul also holds the idea that the death of Jesus is a sign of His human submission to the elemental world-powers of darkness,' who, since Adam, have held the world under their grievous rule (*HDB*, art. 'Elements'; also Wrede, *Paul*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 95). But, being more than man, He rises from the dead. The Resurrection is a sign that Death—one of the elemental principalities and powers, and representative of the rest—has no longer dominion over Him (Ro 6^{9}), or over those in 'faith' union with Him. But these 'world-powers of darkness,' whose dues the death of Jesus was conceived as satisfying, are but a thinly disguised form of God's retribution for Adam's sin. Ultimately the propitiation is still made to God, although the emphasis is drawn from the wrath of God to the love which inspired the propitiatory action (cf. Jn 3^{16}, Ro 3^{25} 5^{8}, etc.). From this point, St. Paul follows the anti-legal teaching of Jesus in asserting that 'justification'—right relations with God—depends on the new attitude of 'faith,' not on 'works'; but legalism with St. Paul must be satisfied by the prior transaction of Jesus on the Cross.

The difficulty in the doctrine of propitiation does not lie in the fact that no ultimate distinction can be made between the Power to whom propitiation is offered and the God of love who offers it. Independently of the interests of this particular doctrine, we must accept the paradox that the same God who works under the limitation of law ordains the law which limits Him. But we cannot accept the interpretation of the death of Jesus as an exalted Levitical blood sacrifice, or as a transaction with the 'world-powers of darkness,' nor can we be satisfied with a presentation of an angry God, who needs compensation or some mollifying gift before He will turn away the fierceness of His wrath. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and contrite heart He will not despise (Ps 51^{17}). It would seem more satisfactory to follow the suggestions of the Synoptics and the Acts, and find the reconciling work of Jesus, as directed not towards God, but towards men, bringing about in them a repentance which makes possible their harmonious relations with the Father.

The death of Jesus may be regarded partly as a vicarious sacrifice of the order recognized in the Synoptics—suffering and self-denial for the sake of the Kingdom of God, for conscience, and men's uplifting. The justification of this law of sacrifice ('Ever by losses the right must gain, Every good have its birth of pain' [Whittier, *The Preacher*]) is that it makes possible the expression of moral qualities. In order that love may have significance, it must pay a price—must be written upon a hard resisting world, as labour and self-denial. This demand of law is obviously not indicative of Divine displeasure or opposition.

The death of Jesus may also be regarded as part of the penalty of human sin. If men had not been selfish, hypocritical, apathetic to goodness and justice, there would not have been the tragedy on Calvary. In virtue of race solidarity, the sins of an evil and adulterous generation fell upon Him. This dark law—that the innocent must suffer the results of transgression along with the guilty—has an educative value in demonstrating the evil and disastrous nature of sin, which is doubly terrible since the suffering which it creates falls upon the just as well as upon the unjust, sometimes even more upon the former than upon the latter. The

penalty of sin indicates the Divine displeasure towards sin, but not necessarily towards those who pay the penalty, for obviously God cannot be conceived as being angry with innocent sufferers, involved in the results of others' sins. Neither must we regard God as angry with a repentant sinner because he continues to reap what he has sown. The forgiveness of sin is distinct from the cancelling of its results, which, in accordance with educative moral law, must run their course.

One's trust in the forgiveness of God rests upon the sense of the divinity of human forgiveness—'By all that He requires of me, I know what God Himself must be' (Whittier, *Revelation*). If we must judge the anger of God from the righteous indignation of a good man, we cannot think of His cherishing any vindictiveness, or needing any propitiation to induce Him to forgive, when the sinner seeks His face. Nor can a view of reconciliation held by the most sternly ethical of the OT prophets, and by the purest soul of the NT, be considered as weakening the sense of sin, and minimizing the grace of pardon.

The Day of Wrath.—From the time of Amos, OT prophetism had conceived a darker side to Israel's still more ancient conception of the Day of the Lord. It would be a time when human wrongdoing, much of which was apparently overlooked in this age, would receive its sure reward, although genuine repentance would apparently avert the coming anger (Jl 2, Am $5^{4ff.}$, Jer 18^{8}). That 'great and notable Day' (Ac 2^{20}), with its darker aspects, entered largely into NT thought (Mt 3^{7} 7^{22}, Lk 10^{12}, 2 Th $1^{8f.}$, etc.). It is to this coming *Dies Iræ* that the actual term 'wrath of God' (ὀργὴ τοῦ θεοῦ) is almost uniformly applied by NT writers. Some of the Divine indignation may be manifested in the present operation of moral law—the penalties experienced by the ungodly heathen seem to be part of the Divine wrath which 'is being revealed' (ἀποκαλύπτεται) from heaven (Ro $1^{18f.}$); and, according to 13^{4}, the temporal ruler punishing evil-doers is 'a minister of God, an avenger for (Divine) wrath,' *i.e.* a human instrument carrying out in this age the Divine retribution. But the emphasis is upon 'the wrath to come.' In the present age, moral law only imperfectly operates. The sinner is treasuring up for himself 'wrath in the day of wrath' (Ro 2^{5}), when upon every soul that worketh evil shall be wrath and indignation, tribulation and anguish (v.^{9}; cf. Rev 11^{18} $6^{16.\ 17}$, where the Divine anger is spoken of as 'the wrath of the Lamb'). Repentance before the Day of Wrath will save one from the coming doom (Ac $2^{21.\ 38.\ 40}$, Eph 2^{3}), and the provision of these days of grace modifies the conception of the Divine sternness (Ro 9^{22}). The 'Law,' in making transgression possible, 'worketh wrath' (Ro 4^{15}), but Christ, by His reconciliation of man and God, delivers the believer from the 'wrath to come' (1 Th 1^{10} 5^{9}). The NT significance of ὀργὴ θεοῦ is illustrated in Ro 5^{9}, where St. Paul argues from the fact of *present* reconciliation with God that the saints *will be* delivered from the 'wrath of God.' Even where the Divine anger is described as having already had its manifestation, the reference may really be eschatological (Ritschl). The aorist of 1 Th 2^{16} (ἔφθασεν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἡ ὀργὴ εἰς τέλος) seems to indicate that, in the Apostle's judgment, some historical manifestation of God's wrath upon the Jews has already taken place, but St. Paul may regard such an indication of the Divine anger as the preliminary movements of the Day of Wrath. The clouds were already gathering for that consummation which the Apostle was expecting in his own lifetime (1 Th 4^{15}).

LITERATURE.—A. Ritschl, *de Ira Dei*, Bonn, 1859, *Justification and Atonement*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1900; R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*[7], London, 1878; D. W. Simon, *Redemption of Man*[2], do. 1906; O. Lodge, *Man and the Universe*, do. 1908, chs. 7 and 8; P. Gardner, *Exploratio Evangelica*, do. 1899, chs. 29, 31. For human anger: J. Butler's *Sermons*, 8 and 9; J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, 1866, pp. 21-23; Tolstoi, *Essays and Letters*, ch. 12.

H. BULCOCK.

ANNAS (Gr. Ἅννας, Heb. חַנָּן, 'merciful' [in Josephus, *Ananos*]).—Annas the son of Sethi, appointed high priest by Quirinius in A.D. 6 or 7, retained office till he was deposed by Valerius Gratus in A.D. 15 (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 1, 2). Josephus tells us that he was regarded as the most fortunate of men, for he had five sons who all held the office of high priest (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1). From the Fourth Gospel we learn that Joseph Caiaphas, the high priest at the date of the Crucifixion, was a son-in-law of Annas (Jn 18^{13}). His removal from office in A.D. 15 did not by any means diminish his influence. Being extremely wealthy, he was able to exert the powers of high priest long after he was deposed. His wealth and that of his sons was acquired by the institution of the 'booths or bazaars of the sons of Annas,' which enjoyed the monopoly for the sale of all kinds of sacrificial requirements. These booths were situated either in the temple court (Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, v. 116; Edersheim, *LT* iii. 5) or on the Mount of Olives (J. Derenbourg, *Essai sur l'histoire . . . de la Palestine*, 1867, p. 465). The words of Jesus regarding the unholy traffic (Mt 21^{13}, Lk 19^{46}) aroused the hostility of the priestly party and led to His arrest and examination by Annas (Jn 18^{13-24}). The Talmud accuses the sons of Annas of 'serpentlike hissings' (or whisperings [*Pes.* 57*a*]). Probably the meaning is that they exerted private influence on the judges and perverted justice for their own ends. Their attitude towards Jesus and the apostles as revealed in the NT seems to bear out this interpretation. Although, as we have seen, Annas was deposed from the high-priestly office in A.D. 15, he retains the title all through the NT. Both Josephus and the writers of the NT uniformly give the title 'high priest' not only to the actual occupant of the office at the time, but to all his predecessors who were still alive, as well as to all the more influential members of the families from which the high priests were selected. The phrase in Lk 3^{2} 'in the high-priesthood of Annas and Caiaphas' is unique, and may be accounted for by the fact that the combination had become so familiar in connexion with the history of the Crucifixion that St. Luke couples the two together here (Ewald, *HI*, vol. vi. [1883] p. 430, n. 3).

The important and influential position held by Annas even after his deposition is proved by the fact that it was to him that Jesus was first sent before He appeared at the more formal tribunal of the Sanhedrin (Jn 18^{13}). The interview with Annas (Jn 18^{19-23}) determined the fate of the prisoner, and probably Annas was the chief instigator in compassing the death. In Ac 4^{6} Annas again appears as the head of the party who tried the apostles and enjoined them to keep silent about the Resurrection.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Antiquities*, *passim*; A. Edersheim, *LT*[1] i. [1886] 263; T. Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, 1867-1882, vi. 36 ff.; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. [1907] 256, 270, 274, 275.

W. F. BOYD.

ANNIHILATION.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

ANOINTING.—Anointing was used in antiquity in three chief connexions: (1) as a part of the toilet, to beautify, strengthen, and refresh the body; (2) medicinally; (3) as a part of religious ceremonial. From the last-named sprang (4) the use of terms of anointing in a metaphorical sense

to signify, *e.g.*, the imparting of the Divine Spirit, whether to the Messiah or to the Christian disciple.

1. So far as the first use is concerned, examples within our period may be found in the anointing of the Lord's feet (Lk $7^{38.46}$, Jn 12^{3}) and in Mt 6^{17} 'anoint thy head, and wash thy face.'

2. Instances of the second occur in Jn $9^{6.11}$, Rev 3^{18} 'eyesalve to anoint thine eyes,' and are generally found in Mk 6^{13} 'they anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them,' and Ja 5^{14} 'Is any among you sick? let him call for the elders of the church; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the name of the Lord.' The commentators on these texts generally quote passages to prove that the use of oil was well known in medicine, and leave it to be understood that the apostles in the Gospel and the elders in the Epistle are thought of as making use of the simplest healing remedy known to them. This method of interpretation does not seem satisfactory, because the parallels quoted do not bear out the point. In Is 1^{6} and Lk 10^{34} oil is used as a remedy for wounds, not for internal sickness. Herod in his last illness was placed in a bath of warm oil (Jos. *BJ* I. xxxiii. 5), but this was only one amongst several methods of treatment used in his case, and was no doubt employed because of the open and running sores on his body. Galen (*Med. Temp.*, bk. ii.) speaks of oil as the 'best of medicines for withered and dry bodies,' but that does not mean that he would have advocated the indiscriminate use of oil in cases of sickness due to various causes. Philo's praise of oil for imparting vigour to the flesh (*Somn.* ii. 8) must not be pressed into an advocacy of it as a panacea against all forms of disease. It must remain doubtful whether the two NT passages can be reasonably understood to mean that oil was used as a simple medical remedy without deeper signification.

3. The use of anointing in religious ceremony was very varied. It was applied both to persons—as, *e.g.*, to the kings and high priests—and to inanimate things. This is not the place to investigate the original signification of the act of anointing in religious ceremonies (see Robertson Smith, *Rel. Sem.*^{2}, 1894, pp. 233, 383; *ERE*, *HDB*, *SDB*, *EBi*, art. 'Anointing'), but it seems clear that it came to signify the consecration of persons and things to the service of God, and also the communication to, *e.g.*, the kings, of the Divine Spirit (see E. Kautzsch, in *HDB* v. 659). That is to say, anointing had in part the nature of a sacrament. And it seems probable that something of this sort underlies the passages Mk 6^{13}, Ja 5^{14}. The anointing oil was not merely medicinal, but consecrated the patient to God, and, together with prayer, was the means of conveying to him the Divine healing life. We may compare a passage in the *Secrets of Enoch* (22^{8}), where Enoch, when carried into the presence of God, is anointed with holy oil, with the result (56^{2}) that he needs no food, and is purged from earthly passions.

4. Instances of the metaphorical use of anointing to signify the communication of the Divine Spirit are to be found in 1 Jn $2^{20.27}$ 'ye have an anointing from the Holy One,' 'his anointing teacheth you all things.' 'Anointing' here means the material, not the act, of anointing, and so the grace of the Holy Spirit. The same metaphorical use is found in 2 Co 1^{21}, 'He that hath anointed us is God'; and in the passages in which Christ is spoken of as having been anointed, Ac 4^{27} 10^{38}, He 1^{9} (OT quot.). A passage in the recently discovered *Odes of Solomon* (36^{5}), 'He hath anointed me from his own perfection,' may be referred to here. It is uncertain whether the speaker is Christ or the Christian. Allusions to a custom of anointing dead bodies are found in Mk 14^{8} and the parallels, and in Mk 16^{1}.

Lastly, reference should be made to the abstention from anointing by the Essenes (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 3). This is explained by Schürer (*HJP* II. ii. 212) as a part of an attempt to return to the simplicity of nature; by Bousset (*Rel. des Jud.*^{2}, Berlin, 1906, p. 442) as a protest against the priesthood, whose authority rested upon anointing.

LITERATURE.—See the artt. 'Anointing' in *ERE*, *HDB*, and *EBi*; and, for the development of the doctrine of Extreme Unction in the Church, J. B. Mayor on Ja 5^{14} (*Ep. of St. James*^{3}, 1910); see also *ExpT* xvii. [1906] 418 ff., and the literature there cited.

WILLOUGHBY C. ALLEN.

ANSWER.—Passing over the very large number of occurrences of this word in the common sense of 'reply' (*ἀποκρίνομαι*, *ἀπόκρισις*), there are one or two interesting usages to note before we come to the most theologically significant use of the term. Thus in Tit 2^{9} slaves are enjoined not to 'answer again' (AV; RV 'gainsay,' *ἀντιλέγω*); in Gal 4^{25} 'this Hagar is Mount Sinai in Arabia and *answereth to* (*i.e.* 'corresponds with,' *συστοιχέω*) the Jerusalem that now is'; in Ro 11^{4} St. Paul, discussing the despair of Elijah, asks 'What saith the *answer* (*χρηματισμός*, 'Divine oracle') of God unto him?'

The passages with which we are most concerned, however, are those which speak of the Christian answer or 'defence' (so usually in RV) against critics from within or without the Church (*ἀπολογέομαι*, *ἀπολογία*). In the life of St. Paul we have, *e.g.*, his 'answer' or *apologia* before Felix (Ac $24^{10ff.}$), before Festus ($25^{8ff.}$), and before Agrippa ($26^{1ff.}$). The charges brought against him were that he had incited the people to sedition (24^{5} 25^{8}), that he had profaned the Temple (24^{6}), and that he was a ringleader of the Sect of the Nazarenes (24^{5}). His defence was skilfully directed in each case to the rebutting of the charges, to the conciliation of his judges, and to the demand that as a Roman citizen he should be tried before Cæsar. Before Agrippa and Festus he defended himself so successfully that they agreed that, if he had not appealed to Cæsar, he might have been set at liberty, but having made the appeal he could no longer withdraw. In 2 Ti 4^{16} St. Paul is represented as complaining that at his 'first answer' (before Cæsar) no man took his part, but that 'all men forsook him' (cf. 1^{15}). With these instances may be compared the remarkable 'answer' of St. Stephen before the Sanhedrin (Ac 7).

Of probably even greater interest than these defences before civil tribunals are St. Paul's answers to those who denied his Apostleship, the Judaizers who followed him from place to place and attempted to undermine his teaching and influence among his converts in his absence—a fact to which we largely owe the letters to the Galatians and the Corinthians, or at least the most characteristic and polemical portions of them. The same or other enemies charged him with inconsistency (1 Co 10^{2-11} etc.), and brought other charges against him ($11^{7.8.9}$, 1 Co 9^{2}), such as the charge of being mean in appearance (10^{7-10}), of being rude of speech (11^{6}), of being a visionary (12^{7}), and of other things not mentioned, which evidently inspired certain obscure references throughout these chapters. St. Paul's *apologia* meets these charges with a vehement assertion of his innocence, of his full Apostleship, of his competency to utter forth the gospel from fullness of knowledge (11^{6}), and of his abundant sufferings and self-denial for the sake of his converts. The large space given to these *apologiæ* and personal rejoinders is remote from our modern habit of mind, but it should be borne in mind that every educated man in these days was expected by the Greeks to be ready to take free part in polemics

of this kind, and to defend himself vigorously against attack. In 1 P 3[15] we have the well-known injunction to be 'ready always to give answer to every man that asketh you a reason concerning the hope that is in you,' whether before a judge or in informal conversation—which should probably be interpreted in this sense. In v.[21] of the same chapter 'the answer (AV) of a good conscience towards God' is a difficult phrase, and the commentaries should be consulted. ἐπερώτημα can hardly mean 'answer,' and the RV translates 'interrogation' (see a long note in Huther in Meyer's *Com.* pp. 192–197). C. Bigg (*ICC, in loc.*) interprets it of the baptismal question or demand.

The Epistle to the Hebrews has been called 'the first Christian apology,' in the sense of a definite and reasoned defence of the Christian faith and position. It had its forerunners in the speeches of St. Paul already referred to, and its successors in the long line of Ante-Nicene 'apologies,' of which those of Justin Martyr and Tertullian are two outstanding examples.

LITERATURE.—Comm. on the passages cited; E. F. Scott, *The Apologetic of the New Testament*, 1907; H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, 1909, ch. xi., and similar works; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, 1895; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, 1909.

E. GRIFFITH JONES.

ANTICHRIST (ἀντίχριστος).—The word is found in the NT only in 1 Jn 2[18. 22] 4[3], 2 Jn [7], but the idea further appears in the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and above all in the Apocalypse. It is not, however, an idea original to Christianity, but an adaptation of Jewish conceptions which, as Bousset has shown (*The Antichrist Legend*), had developed before the time of Christ into a full-grown Antichrist legend of a hostile counterpart of the Messiah who would make war against Him but whom He would finally overthrow. The NT references to the subject cannot be rightly appreciated without some previous consideration of the corresponding ideas that were present in Judaism before they were taken over by Christianity.

1. The Antichrist of Judaism.—Although the word 'Antichrist' does not occur till we come to the Johannine Epistles, we have many evidences in pre-Christian Jewish literature, canonical and extra-canonical, that there was a widely spread idea of a supreme adversary who should rise up against God, His Kingdom and people, or His Messiah. The strands that went to the composition of the idea were various and strangely interwoven, and much obscurity still hangs over the subject. But it seems possible to distinguish three chief influences that went to the shaping of the Jewish conception as it existed at the time of Christ.

(1) Earliest of all was the ancient *dragon-myth* of the Babylonian Creation-epic, with its representation of the struggle of Tiāmat, the princess of chaos and darkness, against Marduk, the god of order and light. The myth appears to have belonged to the common stock of Semitic ideas, and must have become familiar to the Hebrews from their earliest settlement in Canaan, if indeed it was not part of the ancestral tradition carried with them from their original Aramæan home. In any case, it would be revived in their minds through their close contact with the Babylonian mythology during exilic and post-exilic times. Traces of this dragon-myth appear here and there in the OT, *e.g.* in the story of the Temptation in Gn 3, where, as in Rev 12[9] 20[2], the serpent = the dragon; and in the later apocalyptic literature a dragon represents the hostile powers that rise up in opposition to God and His Kingdom (*Pss. Sol.* ii. 29). But it was characteristic of the forward look of Prophetism and Messianism that the idea of a conflict between God and the dragon was transferred from cosmogony to eschatology and represented as a culminating episode of the last days (Is 27[1], Dn 7).

(2) Side by side with the dragon-myth must be set the *Beliar* (*Belial*) *conception*, a contribution to Jewish thought from the side of Persian dualism, with its idea of an adversary in whom is embodied not merely, as in the Babylonian Creation-story, the natural forces of chaos and darkness, but all the hostile powers of moral evil. In 1 Ch 21[1] Satan is evidently represented as God's adversary, just as we find him in later Jewish and primitive Christian thought. And in the interval between OT and NT Beliar is frequently used as a synonym for Satan, the Devil or arch-demon (*e.g. Jubilees*, 15; cf. 2 Co 6[15]). The Beliar idea was a much later influence than the dragon-myth, for Babylonian religion offers no real parallel to a belief in the Devil, and Cheyne's suggested derivation of the name from *Belili*, the goddess of the under world (*EBi*, art. 'Belial'), has little to recommend it. But a subsequent fusion of Beliar with the dragon was very natural, and we have a striking illustration of it when in Wis 2[24] and elsewhere the serpent of the Temptation is identified with the Devil. Cf. Rev 12[9] 20[2], where 'the dragon, the old serpent,' is explained to be 'the Devil and Satan.'

(3) But *the development of the Messianic hope* in Judaism was a more determinative influence than either of those already mentioned. The Jewish Antichrist was very far from being a mere precipitate of Babylonian mythology and Iranian eschatology. It was, above all, a counterpart of the Messianic idea, as that was derived from the prophets and evolved under the experiences of Jewish national history. Ezekiel's prophecy of the overthrow of Gog and Magog (Ezk 38); Zechariah's vision of the destruction of the destroyers of Jerusalem (Zec 14); above all, the representation in Daniel, with reference to Antiochus Epiphanes, of a world-power that waxed great even to the host of heaven (Dn 8[10]), and trod the sanctuary under foot (v.[13]), and stood up against the Prince of princes until it was finally 'broken without hand' (v.[25])—all contributed to the idea of a great coming conflict with the powers of a godless world before the Divine Kingdom could be set up. And when, by a process of synthesis, the scattered elements of Messianic prophecy began to gather round the figure of a personal Messiah, a King who should represent Jahweh upon earth, it was natural that the various utterances of OT prophecy regarding an evil power which was hostile to God and His Kingdom and people should also be combined in the conception of a personal adversary. Ezekiel's frequent references to Gog (chs. 38, 39) would lend themselves to this, and so would the picture in Daniel of the little horn magnifying itself even against the prince of the host (8[11]). And the preoccupation of the later Judaism with utterances like these, sharpened as it was by hatred of the heathen conquerors not merely as political enemies but as enemies of Jahweh and His Kingdom, would render all the easier that process of personalizing an Antichrist over against the Christ which appears to have completed itself within the sphere of Judaism (cf. *Apoc. Bar.* 40, *Asc. Is.* 4[9-11]).

2. Antichrist in the NT.—Deriving from Judaism, Christianity would naturally carry the Antichrist tradition with it as part of its inheritance. That it actually did so Bousset has shown by a comprehensive treatment of the later Christian exegetical and apologetic literature, which evidently rests on a tradition that is only partially dependent

on the NT (*op. cit.*; cf. *EBi* i. 180 ff.). But, so far as the NT is concerned, the earlier Antichrist tradition is taken over with important changes, due to the differences between Judaism and Christianity, and especially to the differences in their conception of the Messiah Himself. At the same time it must be noticed that nothing like a single consistent presentation of the Antichrist idea is given by the NT as a whole. Elements of the conception appear in the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, the Apocalypse, and the Johannine Epistles; but in each group of writings it is treated differently and with more or less divergence from the earlier Jewish forms.

(1) *In the Gospels.*—In the Synoptic Gospels it is everywhere apparent that Jesus recognized the existence of a kingdom of evil under the control of a supreme personality, variously called the Devil (Mt 4^{1} 13^{39}, etc.), Satan (Mt 4^{10} 12^{26}, Lk 10^{18}, etc.), or Beelzebub (Mt $12^{24f.}$||), who sought to interfere with His own Messianic mission (4^{1-11} 16^{23}||), and whose works He had come to destroy (Mk $1^{24.\ 34}$ $3^{11.\ 12.\ 15}$, etc.; cf. He 2^{14}). But from all the crude and materialistic elements of the earlier tradition His teaching is entirely free. In the reference to the 'abomination of desolation' standing in the holy place (Mt 24^{15}; cf. Mk 13^{14}, Lk 21^{20}), which occurs in the great eschatological discourse, some critics have seen a parallel to 2 Th 2^{1-12} and an evident allusion to the Jewish Antichrist tradition; but they do so on the presumption that the words were not spoken by Jesus Himself and are to be attributed to a redactor of the original source. If they were uttered by our Lord, it seems most probable that they portended not any apocalypse of a personal Antichrist, but the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman armies—a calamity which He had already foreshadowed as coming upon the city because of its rejection of Himself ($23^{37f.}$). For the adversaries of the Son of Man, the real representatives of the Antichrist spirit in His eyes, were the false Christs and false prophets by whom many should be deceived ($24^{5.\ 24}$)—in other words, the champions of that worldly idea of the coming Kingdom which He had always rejected (Mt $4^{8f.}$ 16^{23}, Jn 6^{15}), but to which the Jewish nation obstinately clung.

(2) *In the Pauline Epistles.*—A familiarity on the part of St. Paul with the Antichrist tradition is suggested when he asks in 2 Co 6^{15}, 'What concord hath Christ with Belial?' and when he speaks in Col 2^{15} of Christ triumphing over 'the principalities and powers.' This familiarity becomes evident in 'the little apocalypse' of 2 Th 2^{1-12}, where he introduces the figure of the 'man of sin,' or more correctly 'man of lawlessness.' Nestle has shown (*ExpT* xvi. [1904–5] 472) that the Beliar-Satan conception underlies this whole passage, with its thought of an opponent of Christ, or Antichrist, whom the Lord at last shall 'slay with the breath of his mouth and bring to nought by the manifestation of his coming' (v.^{8}). But the distinctive character of this Pauline view of the Antichrist is that, while features in the picture are evidently taken from the description of Antiochus Epiphanes in Daniel (cf. v.^{4} with Dn 7^{25} 11^{36}), the Antichrist is conceived of, not after the fashion of the later Judaism as a heathen potentate and oppressor, but as a false Messiah from within the circle of Judaism itself, who is to work by means of false signs and lying wonders, and so to turn men's hearts away from that love of the truth which brings salvation (v.^{9}). See, further, MAN OF SIN.

(3) *In the Apocalypse.*—As follows naturally both from its subject and from its literary form, the Apocalypse is more permeated than any other book in the NT with the idea of the Antichrist. For its subject is the speedy return of Christ to subdue His enemies and set up His Kingdom (Rev 1^{7} 2^{16} 3^{11}, etc.), and its form is an adaptation to Christianity of the ideas and imagery of those Jewish Apocalypses, from Daniel onwards, which were chiefly responsible for the growth of the Christian Antichrist conception. It would be out of place to enter here into any discussion of the conflicting interpretations of the symbolism of the dragon and the beasts that appear and reappear from ch. 11 to the end of the book (see artt. APOCALYPSE, DRAGON). But in ch. 11 'the beast that cometh up out of the abyss' was evidently suggested by the dragon-myth as embodied in the Jewish Antichrist tradition, while the 'great red dragon' of 12^{3}, who is also described as 'the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan' (v.^{9}), and who is clearly represented as the Antichrist (vv.$^{4.\ 5.\ 17}$), reproduces both the mythical dragon and the later Beliar-Satan conception, now fused into one appalling figure. Again, the scarlet-coloured beast of 13^{1-10} and the realm of the beast in ch. 17 are described in language which recalls the apocalyptic imagery of Daniel (see esp. ch. 7), and clearly applies to a hostile and persecuting world-power represented by its ruler. In Daniel that power was the kingdom of the Seleucidæ under Antiochus Epiphanes; here it is very plainly indicated as the Roman Empire ($17^{3.\ 9.\ 18}$) with the Emperor at its head (13^{3-8}). But to these pre-Christian forms of the Antichrist tradition—the dragon, Satan, and a hostile world-power—the Apocalypse contributes two others which are peculiar to Christianity and which play a large part in the Christian tradition of later times.

The first of these is found in the application to Christian ideas of the Antichrist of the contemporary *Nero-saga*, with its dream of a Nero Redivivus who should come back to the world from the realms of the dead (cf. *Sib. Or.* iv. 119 ff.; Suetonius, *Nero*, 47; Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xx. 19). That Nero is referred to in 13^{18} is most probable, the number 666 being the equivalent of Nero Cæsar (NEPΩN KAIΣAP) when written in Heb. characters (נרון קסר). And the legend of his return from the under world of the dead explains in the most natural way the healing of the beast's death-stroke ($13^{3.\ 12}$) and the statement that it 'shall ascend out of the bottomless pit . . . and they that dwell on the earth shall wonder when they behold the beast, how that he was, and is not, and shall come' (17^{8}). See also art. APOCALYPSE.

The second contribution was the idea of *the false prophet* (16^{13} 19^{20} 20^{10}), who is to be identified with 'another beast' of 13^{11} ff. It is most probable that the false prophet represents the Imperial priesthood as propagandists of the Cæsar-cult, but it seems not unlikely that elements in the representation are taken from the legend that had grown up around the name of Simon Magus (cf. Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 26, 56; Irenæus, *c. Hær.* i. 23). To the early Church, Simon with his magic arts and false miracles was the arch-heretic and the father of all heresy, and suggestions of his legendary figure loom out from the description of the second beast (13^{13-15}), even while the author attributes to it functions and powers that belong more properly to the ministers of the Emperor-worship (v.^{12}).

(4) *In the Johannine Epistles.*—In these writings, where the word 'Antichrist' appears for the first time, the idea is spiritualized as nowhere else in the NT except in the teaching of Jesus. The Antichrist is not, as in the Apocalypse, a material world-power threatening the Church from without, but a spirit of false doctrine rising up from within (1 Jn 2^{19}). It is true that Antichrist is spoken of as still to come (2^{18} 4^{3}), so that some culminating manifestation is evidently expected—probably in

a definite personal form. But even now, it is said, there are many antichrists (2^{18}; cf. 2 Jn 7), and the spirit of Antichrist is already in the world (1 Jn 4^{3}). And the very essence of that spirit is the denial of 'the Father and the Son' (2^{22}), *i.e.* the refusal to acknowledge the Son as well as the Father; more explicitly it is the refusal to confess that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh (4$^{2.3}$, 2 Jn 7). The spirit of Antichrist, in other words, is a spirit of heresy—such heresy as flourished in Asia Minor towards the close of the 1st century through the doctrines of Cerinthus (*q.v.*).

When the NT utterances regarding the Antichrist are looked at in their variety and as a whole, it is difficult to derive from them any justification for the view that the Church should expect the advent of a personal Antichrist as an individual embodiment of evil. The NT authors were evidently influenced in their treatment of the subject by contemporary situations as well as by an inheritance of ancient traditions. To St. Paul, writing out of his own experience of Jewish persecution and Roman justice and protection, Judaism was the 'man of lawlessness,' and Rome the beneficent restraining power. To the Apocalyptist, writing to a Church which had known Nero's cruelty and now under Domitian was passing through the flames once more, Antichrist was the Roman Empire represented by a ruler who was hostile to Christianity because it refused to worship him as a god. In the Johannine Epistles, Antichrist is not a persecuting power but a heretical spirit, present in the world already but destined to come in fuller power. The ultimate authority for our thoughts on the subject must be found in the words of Jesus when He teaches us to pray for deliverance from 'the evil one' (Mt 6^{13}), and warns us against false Christs and false prophets who proclaim a kingdom that is not His own (24^{24}).

LITERATURE.—H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895; W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, Eng. tr., London, 1896; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Evolution of the Messianic Idea*, do. 1908; C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1912; artt. 'Antichrist' in *PRE*^{3}, *ERE*, and *EBi*, and 'Man of Sin' in *HDB*; H. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*, *s.v.*; J. Moffatt, 'Revelation' in *EGT*; *ExpT* xvi. [1904–5] 472, xxiii. [1911–12] 97.

J. C. LAMBERT.

ANTINOMIANISM.—See LAW.

ANTIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια).—**1. In Syria.**—About 20 miles from the Mediterranean, the Orontes, turning abruptly westward, enters a fertile plain, 10 miles long and 5 wide, which separates the great Lebanon range from the last spurs of the Taurus. Here Seleucus Nicator, after his defeat of Antigonus at Issus in 301 B.C., discovered an ideal site for the capital of his Syrian kingdom, the Asiatic portion of the vast empire of Alexander the Great, and here he built the most famous of the 16 Antiochs which he founded in honour of his father Antiochus. Planned by Xenarius, the original city occupied the level ground between the river and Mt. Silpius, and, like all the Hellenistic foundations in Syria, it had two broad colonnaded streets intersecting at the centre, or Omphalus. The Seleucid kings vied with one another in extending and adorning their metropolis. A second quarter was added on the eastern side, perhaps by Antiochus I.; a third, the 'New City,' was built by Seleucus Callinicus on an island—similar to the island in the Seine at Paris—which has since disappeared, probably owing to one of those seismic disturbances to which the region has always been peculiarly subject; and a fourth, on the lowest slopes of Silpius, was the work of Antiochus Epiphanes. Henceforth the city was known as a Tetrapolis, or union of four cities (Strabo, XVI. ii. 4). Such was the magnificent Greek substitute for the ancient and beautiful but too essentially Semitic capital of Syria—Damascus. A navigable river and a fine seaport—Seleucia of Pieria—made it practically a maritime city, while caravan roads converging from Arabia and Mesopotamia brought to it the commerce of the East. It attained its highest political importance in the time of Antiochus the Great, whose power was shattered by the Romans at Magnesia. In 83 B.C. it fell into the hands of Tigranes of Armenia, from whom it was wrested by the Roman Republic in 65 B.C. Thereafter it was the capital of the province of Syria, and the residence of the Imperial legate. Pompey made it a *civitas libera*, and such it remained till the time of Antoninus Pius, who made it a *colonia*. The early emperors often visited it, and embellished it with new streets and public buildings.

During the Jewish wars (69 B.C.) 'Vespasian took with him his army from Antioch, which is the metropolis of Syria, and without dispute deserves the place of the third city in the habitable world that is under the Roman Empire, both in magnitude and in other marks of prosperity' (*Jos. BJ* III. ii. 4). In the 4th cent. Chrysostom estimated the population at 200,000, of whom 100,000 were then Christians, and probably he did not reckon slaves and children.

Antioch was called 'the Beautiful' (ἡ καλή [Athen. i. p. 20]), but its moral repute was never high. 'In no city of antiquity was the enjoyment of life so much the main thing, and its duties so incidental, as in "Antioch upon Daphne," as the city was significantly called' (Mommsen, *Prov.*^{2}, 1909, ii. 128). The pleasure-garden of Daphne, 5 miles from the city, 10 miles in circumference, with its sanctuary of Apollo, its groves of laurel and cypress, its sparkling fountains, its colonnades and halls and baths, has come down through history with an evil name. *Daphnici mores* were proverbial, and Juvenal flung one of his wittiest jibes at his own decadent Imperial city when he said that the Orontes had flowed into the Tiber (*Sat.* iii. 62), flooding Rome with the superstition and immorality of the East. The brilliant civilization and perfect art of the Greek failed to redeem the turbulent, fickle, and dissolute character of the Syrian. Instead of either race being improved by the contact, each rather infected the other with its characteristic vices. Cicero flattered Antioch as a city of 'most learned men and most liberal studies' (*pro Arch.* iii.), but the sober verdict of history is different.

'Amidst all this luxury the Muses did not find themselves at home; science in earnest and not less earnest art were never truly cultivated in Syria and more especially in Antioch. . . . This people valued only the day. No Greek region has so few memorial-stones to show as Syria; the great Antioch, the third city of the empire, has—to say nothing of the land of hieroglyphics and obelisks—left behind fewer inscriptions than many a small African or Arabian village' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* 130, 131f.).

No city, however, after Jerusalem, is so closely associated with the Apostolic Church. From its very foundation it had in its population a strong Jewish element, attracted by the offer of 'privileges equal to those of the Macedonians and Greeks' (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 1). The Jewish nation 'had the greatest multitudes in Antioch by reason of the size of the city. . . . They made proselytes of a great many of the Greeks perpetually, and thereby, after a sort, brought them to be a portion of their own body' (*BJ* VII. iii. 3). While the Judaism of Antioch did not assimilate Hellenic culture so readily as that of Alexandria, and certainly made no such contribution to the permanent thought of the world, it yet did much to prepare the city for the gospel. 'Nicolas a proselyte of Antioch,' who was early won to Christianity, and is named among the Seven of the Jerusalem Church (Ac 6^{5}), was evidently one of that great number of Antiochene Greeks who had previously felt the spell of the Jewish faith. And it was the mixture of national elements in the Church of Antioch—pure Greeks with Greek-speaking Jews—that peculiarly fitted her to play a remarkable

part in the Apostolic Age. Her distinction was that, while unquestionably the daughter of the Jewish Christian community at Jerusalem, full of filial gratitude and devotion, she became the first Gentile Church, and the mother of all the others. The *diaspora* that followed the death of Stephen brought many fugitive Jewish Christian preachers to Antioch, and some Cypriotes and Cyrenians among them inaugurated a new era by going beyond the Hellenist Jews for an audience and preaching to 'the Greeks also' (Ac 11^{20}). καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας is probably the correct reading, in spite of 'many ancient authorities' who have Ἑλληνιστάς; otherwise the historian's words would be singularly pointless. The new evangelism resulted in many conversions (11^{21}), and the vigilant Church in Jerusalem sent Barnabas down, if not to assist in the work, at least to supervise it. It was the merit of Barnabas that he could not be a mere onlooker. Grasping the situation, and flinging himself impetuously into the novel movement, he went, apparently without consulting anybody, to Tarsus to summon Paul to his lifework. In Antioch the two men exercised a united and fruitful ministry for a year (11^{22-26}). It was at this time and in this place that 'the disciples were first called Christians' (11^{26}), the designation probably coming from the lively populace, who quickly noted the new phenomenon in their midst, and justified their reputation for the invention of nicknames. Their wit never spared anybody who seemed worthy of their attention.

'The only talent which indisputably belonged to them—their mastery of ridicule—they exercised not merely against the actors of their stage, but no less against the rulers sojourning in the capital of the East, and the ridicule was quite the same against the actor as against the emperor.' While Julian 'met their sarcastic sayings with satirical writings, the Antiochenes at other times had to pay more severely for their evil speaking and their other sins' (Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 134, 135).

But the 'Christians' gratefully accepted the mocking sobriquet bestowed upon them, changing it into the most honourable of all titles (cf. 1 P 4^{16}). And the first Gentile Church was now to become the first missionary Church. While Antioch was never wanting in respect for Jerusalem, contributing liberally to its poor in a time of famine, and consulting its leaders in all matters of doctrine and practice, her distinguishing characteristic was her evangelistic originality. Her heart was not in Judæa but in the Roman Empire. The fresh ideas of Christian liberty and Christian duty, which the mother-Church at Jerusalem was slow to entertain, found ready acceptance in the freer atmosphere of the Syrian capital. That the victory over Judaism was not easily won even there is proved by the fact that not only Peter but Barnabas vacillated under the alternate influence of cosmopolitan liberalism and Judæan narrowness, till Paul's arguments and rebukes convinced them of their error (Gal 2^{4-14}). But contact with the great world and sympathy with its needs probably did more than the force of reason to lighten the Antiochene Church of the dead-weight of Judaism. Christians of Hellenic culture and Roman citizenship taught her a noble universalism, and it was accordingly at the instance of the Church of Antioch that the Council of Jerusalem sent to the Gentile converts a circular letter which became the charter of spiritual freedom (Ac 15^{23-29}). Above all, it was from Antioch that Paul started on each of his missionary journeys (Ac 11^{1-3} 15^{36} 18^{22}), and to Antioch that he returned again and again with his report of fresh conquests (14^{26} 18^{22}). It was the master-minds of Christian Antioch who at length changed the pathetic dream of 'a light to lighten the Gentiles' into a reality.

Antioch gave rise to a school of Christian thought which was distinguished by literal interpretation of the Scriptures and insistence upon the human limitations of Jesus. Theodore of Mopsuestia was one of its best representatives. Between the years 252 and 380, ten Councils were held at Antioch. *Antakiyeh* is now but a meagre town of 600 inhabitants, though its environs 'are even at the present day, in spite of all neglect, a blooming garden and one of the most charming spots on earth' (Mommsen, ii. 129).

LITERATURE.—**C. O. Müller**, *Antiquitates Antiochenæ*, Göttingen, 1839; **Conybeare-Howson**, *St. Paul*, London, 1872, i. 149 ff.; **W. M. Ramsay**, *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, do. 1895, also *Church in Rom. Emp.*, do. 1893, chs. ii.–vii., xvi.; **A. C. McGiffert**, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897; **C. v. Weizsäcker**, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., London, 1897.

2. In Pisidia (Ac 13^{14} RV, 'Α. τὴν Πισιδίαν, 'Pisidian Antioch,' which is the correct reading, instead of 'Α. τῆς Πισιδίας).—This city was probably founded by Seleucus Nicator (301–280 B.C.) about the same time as Syrian Antioch, being another of the many cities which he called after his father Antiochus. It was intended as a garrison town and a centre of Hellenic influence in the heart of Asia Minor, commanding the great trade route between Ephesus and the Cilician Gates. Guided by Strabo's description of the place (XII. viii. 14), as standing 'on a height' to the south of a 'backbone of mountains, stretching from east to west,' Arundell identified it in 1833 with the extensive ruins of *Yalowatch*, on the skirts of the long *Sultan Dagh*, about 3600 ft. above sea-level, overlooking the great plain which is drained by the river Anthios.

After the battle of Magnesia (190 B.C.), which cost Antiochus the Great the whole of his dominions north of the Taurus, the Romans made Antioch a free city. In 39 B.C. Mark Antony gave it to king Amyntas, after whose death in 25 B.C. it became a city of the vast Roman province of Galatia. At some time before 6 B.C., Augustus raised it to the rank of a colony—*Pisidarum colonia Cæsarea* (Pliny, *HN* v. 24)—and made it the governing and military centre of the southern half of the province. Its importance increased when the first emperors found it necessary to pacify the 'barbarian' highlanders of Pisidia. 'In the mountain-land proper no trace of Hellenistic settlement is found, and still less did the Roman senate apply itself to this difficult task. Augustus did so; and only here in the whole Greek coast we meet a series of colonies of Roman veterans evidently intended to acquire this district for peaceful settlement' (Mommsen, *Provinces*, i. 336 f.). Roman roads connected Antioch with all the other colonies founded in the district—Olbasa, Comama, Cremna, Parlais, and Lystra. The work of pacification was in especially active progress during the reign of Claudius (A.D. 41–54), in which St. Paul visited Antioch. The city was not yet 'Antioch *in* Pisidia' (AV), being correctly styled by Strabo 'Antioch towards Pisidia' (Ἀ. ἡ πρὸς Πισιδίᾳ καλουμένη [XII. viii. 14]), in distinction from Antioch on the Mæander; but St. Luke already calls it 'Pisidian Antioch,' to differentiate it from Antioch in Syria. The boundaries of Pisidia gradually moved northward till it included most of Southern Phrygia, and then 'Antioch of Pisidia' became the usual designation of the city. At a still later period Pisidia was constituted a Roman province, with Antioch as its capital.

On the South-Galatian theory, in the form advocated by Ramsay (*Church in Rom. Emp.*, 74 ff.), Antioch is regarded by St. Luke as belonging to the Phrygio-Galatic region (τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, Ac 16^{6}), Phrygian being a geographical term and Galatic a political, the one used by the Greeks and the other by the Roman government. In Ac 18^{23} the region is simply called 'Phrygian,' and if, as many think, Φρυγίαν is here to be taken as a noun, the sense is still much the same (see GALATIA and PHRYGIA). St. Paul's first mission to Antioch

was so successful that the whole political *regio* of which this colony was the centre soon heard of the new faith (Ac 13[49]). In no other Asian city, except Ephesus, was the influence of his preaching so far-reaching. His success was no doubt in great measure due to the strong Jewish element in the population, even though it was Jewish persecution that compelled him to leave the city for a time (Ac 13[45, 50]). The early Seleucid kings settled Jews in many of their cities, and gave them the same civic rights as the Greeks, finding them to be trusty supporters and often real Hellenizers. Antiochus the Great settled 2000 Jewish families in Lydia and Phrygia (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4), many of whom must have found a home in Antioch. Trade doubtless attracted others to so important a centre, and thus the Jewish leaven had been working for a long time before Christianity was introduced. Ramsay thinks that 'the Jews are likely to have exercised greater political power among the Anatolian people, with their yielding and easily moulded minds, than in any other part of the Roman world' (*Hist. Com. on Gal.*, 193); and their spiritual influence was at least as great. St. Paul found many 'devout proselytes' in Antioch (Ac 13[43]), and his presence attracted 'the whole city' to the synagogue (13[44]). While the native Phrygian type of religious feeling was more eastern than western, and thus had a certain natural affinity with the Semitic type, the Phrygian Jews, whose laxity gave deep offence to the rigidly orthodox, no doubt increased their power among their neighbours by their freedom from bigotry. The attraction of the Jewish faith for Gentile women (*τὰς σεβομένας γυναῖκας*, Ac 13[50]) was a familiar theme in ancient writings (Juvenal, vi. 543; Jos. *BJ* II. xx. 2); and the influence of 'women of honourable estate' (*τὰς εὐσχήμονας*), not only in Antioch but in Asia Minor generally, is one of the most striking features in the social life of the country (Conybeare-Howson, *St. Paul*, i. 219; Ramsay, *Church in Rom. Emp.*, 67). Strabo (*loc. cit.*) mentions another fact which may help to explain the rapid progress of Christianity in Antioch: 'In this place was established a priesthood of Mēn Arcæus, having attached to it a multitude of temple slaves and tracts of sacred territory. It was abolished after the death of Amyntas by those who were sent to settle the succession to his kingdom.' This drastic action of the Romans had removed one of the greatest obstacles to the new faith—the vested interests of an old and powerful hierarchy.

LITERATURE.—F. V. J. Arundell, *Discoveries in Asia Minor*, London, 1834, i. 281 *f.*; Conybeare-Howson, *St. Paul*, do. 1872, i. 204 *f.*; W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Com. on Gal.*, do. 1899, pp. 196–213, *Church in Rom. Emp.*, do. 1893, *passim*; J. R. S. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, Boston, 1888, p. 218 *f.*

JAMES STRAHAN.

ANTIPAS.—See HEROD.

ANTIPAS (shorter form of Antipater [Jos. *Ant.* XIV. i. 3: 'this Antipatros was at first called Antipas'] as Hermas is of Hermodorus, Lucas of Lucanus, and Silvas of Silvanus).—Antipas, otherwise unknown, is mentioned in Rev 2[13]. Later Greek tradition made him bishop of Pergamum, martyred under Domitian by being thrown into a brazen bull which stood at the temple of Diana, and so roasted alive.* The name has been allegorized as *anti-pas* (='against all') or *anti-papa*. The character of the Apocalypse, again, admits the hypothesis that the name refers to the God Pan. Pan was worshipped at Ephesus and in many cities in Asia Minor—no record of his worship at Pergamum is extant—under the strong influences of Arcadian and Peloponnesian cults. It is not impossible, therefore, that the Christian Church at Pergamum is praised for its opposition to the heathen Pan. Cf. BALAAM, NICOLAITANS.

LITERATURE.—*AS*, April, ii. [1866] 3 ff., 961; Roscher, iii. 1369; H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse, ad loc.*; H. Alford, *Gr. Test., ad loc.*; W. M. Ramsay, *Church in the Roman Empire*[5], 1897, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr. 1894; A. C. McGiffert, *Hist. of Christianity in the Apost. Age*, 1897.

W. F. COBB.

ANTIPATRIS (*Ἀντιπατρίς*).—Antipatris, a Hellenistic town of Palestine, stood at the eastern edge of the Plain of Sharon, where the military road from Jerusalem to Cæsarea left the hills. Under the protection of a body of Roman cavalry and infantry, St. Paul was brought thither by night, and thence, with a diminished escort, to Cæsarea (Ac 23[31, 32]). Antipatris was a border town between Judæa and Samaria (Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talm.*, 1868, p. 80 f.), and after it was reached there would be less danger of a Jewish attack. Josephus (*Ant.* XVI. v. 2) gives an account of its foundation:

'Herod erected another city in the plain called Kapharsaba, where he chose out a fit place, both for plenty of water and goodness of soil, and proper for the production of what was there planted, where a river encompassed the city itself, and a grove of the best trees for magnitude was round about it: this he named Antipatris, from his father Antipater.'

The historian elsewhere identifies it with *Kapharsaba* (*Ant.* XIII. xv. 1), and Robinson (*Biblical Researches*, iv. 139 f.), followed by Schürer (II. i. 130 f.), naturally concludes that the site must be the modern *Kefr Sābā*; but, as the latter place cannot be described as well-watered, Conder, Warren, G. A. Smith, and Buhl all favour *Ras-el-'Ain*, a little farther south, at the source of the Aujah.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ANTITYPE.—See TYPE.

ANTONIA.—See CASTLE.

ANXIETY.—See CARE, CAREFUL.

APELLES (*Ἀπελλῆς*, a Greek name possibly contracted from *Apollodorus*, and apparently common among Jews of the Dispersion [cf. Hor. *Sat.* i. 5. 100: *credat Iudæus Apella*, and Gow's suggestion, *ad loc.*, that, as modern Jews take a Gentile name which closely resembles their Hebrew name, so in ancient times a Jew called Abel might choose the name Apelles]).—Apelles, saluted by St. Paul in Ro 16[10], is called 'the approved in Christ' (*τὸν δόκιμον ἐν Χριστῷ*). The phrase may indicate that he had been specially tested and tried by affliction or persecution, or that he was a Christian who had gained the approbation of the Church, sufficiently perhaps to be called to the ministry (cf. 1 Ti 3[10]). Nothing is known of Apelles beyond this reference.

Assuming the Roman destination of these salutations, he was probably a Jewish convert residing in Rome as a member of the Imperial household. As the salutation which follows is that to 'the household of Aristobulus,' it has been suggested that Apelles' Christian activity may have lain in that direction. If Aristobulus (*q.v.*) was the grandson of Herod, Apelles would no doubt find in his 'household' many members of his own race. The name Apelles is known to have belonged to the Imperial household. It was borne by a famous tragic actor in the time of the Emperor Caius (see Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 174).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

APOCALYPSE.—I. *INTRODUCTION.*—**1. The word 'apocalypse' in the NT.**—*ἀποκάλυψις* ('revelation') occurs some eighteen times in the NT. The general sense is 'instruction concerning Divine

* Neumann (*Der Röm. Staat u. die allgemeine Kirche*, 1890, i. 15) suggests that Antipas was the only martyr who suffered in Pergamum, but Ramsay (*Letters to the Seven Churches*, 288) maintains that he was the first of a long series.

things before unknown—especially those relating to the Christian salvation—given to the soul by God or the ascended Christ, especially through the operation of the Holy Spirit (1 Co 2^{10})' (Grimm-Thayer). The word was important to St. Paul when he wished to express his independence of the first apostles in reference to his knowledge of the gospel and even to the steps taken to come to an understanding with them (Eph 3^3, Gal 2^2). The object of ἀποκάλυψις is, therefore, a *mystery* (Ro 16^{25}). The gospel without it would remain unknown, with it it is an 'open secret.'* The source, as also the end or object, of ἀποκάλυψις is God or Jesus Christ, and the mode may be vision or ecstasy (2 Co 12^1). It may also be, however, events which strike the general eye, *e.g.* 'the righteous judgment of God' (Ro 2^5); 'ἀποκάλυψις of the sons of God' (8^{19}), *i.e.* 'the glory that is manifestly given to some, showing them to be sons of God'; 'ἀποκάλυψις of the glory of Christ' (1 P 4^{13}), *i.e.* 'the glory with which He will return from heaven' (Grimm-Thayer). The return is called the 'ἀποκάλυψις of the Lord Jesus Christ' (2 Th 1^7, 1 Co 1^7, 1 P $1^{7.\ 13}$). As a prophet is one to whom truth comes not from man but from God, what he utters may be called an ἀποκάλυψις, and he himself may be said to 'have an ἀποκάλυψις,' or to speak ἐν ἀποκαλύψει (1 Co 14^{26}; cf. v.^{6}). It is a fact of much suggestiveness for the subject of this article (see below) that, so far as the NT is concerned, the *prophet* and the *apocalyptist* may be considered one and the same.

2. The NT Apocalypse of John as the type of apocalyptic writings.—Though in the sense of the Christian creed the whole Bible is by pre-eminence the literature of apocalypse or revelation, there is only one book in each Testament to which the name has been given. In the NT we have the Apocalypse of John and in the OT we have the Book of Daniel, which is unmistakably both in style and substance of the same literary genus. The latter is—apart from what may be called apocalyptic fragments in the older prophetical writings, *e.g.* Is 24—the oldest known Apocalypse, and has served as a model for subsequent writings of the class. Daniel and the Apocalypse of John mark respectively the beginning and the end of what may be called the apocalyptic period, which thus covers upwards of 260 years (say 168 B.C. to A.D. 96).† It thus appears that, while there is an apocalyptic element in practically all the books of the NT (see below), there is only one writing belonging to the Apostolic Age which is as a whole of the apocalyptic class, and which, despite much controversy in the early centuries,‡ has held its place among the books of authority recognized by the Christian Church. This circumstance alone might warrant the almost exclusive devotion of this article to an account of this book, but such concentration offers, besides, the advantage of showing the leading features of the apocalyptic style as they appear, so to speak, synthetically, interwoven with an actual situation—a crisis—on which the mind of the apocalyptist reacts. In regard to the uncanonical apocalypses, if one may not say, after studying the Apocalypse, 'Ex uno disce omnes,' one may remember the attention paid to the lesser apocalypses during the last half-century, and say that the creepers have not suffered from the overshadowing of the cypress.§

* Denney, *et al.*

† Daniel belongs to the time of the persecution of the Jews under the Greek-Syrian king Antiochus Epiphanes (168–165 B.C.); the Apoc. of John probably to the persecution of the Christians under the Roman emperor Domitian (A.D. 81–96).

‡ The canonicity of the Apocalypse was controverted, esp. in the Eastern Church, and it was not till A.D. 215 that the Western Church, under the leadership of Hippolytus, accepted it. The East finally yielded to the West.

§ Verg. *Ecl.* i. 25 f., quoted by Moffatt (*EGT* v. 295).

3. Non-canonical apocalypses of the Apostolic Age.—As, however, both the Apocalypse and the other books of the NT contain implicit references, and, in at least one case,* an explicit reference to other apocalypses, a list may here be given of the *non-canonical* apocalypses, either wholly or partly extant, and of others whose existence may be inferred from quotations of them found in the early Fathers. They may be classified under three heads: (A) Jewish, (B) Jewish-Christian, (C) Hellenic or Gentile.

(A) Under this head fall: (*a*) The cycle known as *Enoch*, which includes: (*a*) The *Ethiopic Enoch*, so called because it survives chiefly in an Ethiopic Version. It includes: (1) chs. 1–36, 72–108 (*c.* 100 B.C.); (2) chs. 37–71 ('Book of Similitudes'), which belongs probably to the early days of the Herodian dynasty, and is therefore close to the Christian era. In this book † occur those references to the pre-existent Messiah under the title 'Son of man,' which Hilgenfeld and others have ascribed to Christian interpolation, but whose direct debt is probably only to Daniel (see esp. Dn 7^{13}). (*β*) *The Slavonic Secrets of Enoch*, before A.D. 70.—(*b*) *Assumption of Moses* (*q.v.*) not later than A.D. 10.—(*c*) *Apocalypse of Ezra*, usually cited as *Fourth Ezra* (=*2 Esdras* [*q.v.*] of English 'Apocrypha,' chs. 3–14), after A.D. 90.—(*d*) *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*q.v.*), about the same time as *4 Ezra*.—(*e*) *The Testament of Abraham*, perhaps the 1st cent. A.D.—(*f*) *The Testaments of the XII. Patriarchs* (*q.v.*), probably the 1st cent. A.D.—(*a*), (*b*), (*d*), and (*f*) are best accessible to the English reader in the careful editions of R. H. Charles, Oxford, 1893, 1897, 1898, 1908. In regard to (*c*), we have, in addition to the scholarly editions of James and Bensly, G. H. Box's *The Ezra-Apocalypse* (London, 1912). For (*e*), we have the edition of M. R. James (Cambridge, 1892). *N.B.*—See now also R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT*, Oxford, 1913.

Closely related to the apocalyptical books are: (*g*) *The Psalms of Solomon*, 64–40 B.C., edited by Ryle and James (Cambridge, 1891) under the alternative title *Psalms of the Pharisees*.—(*h*) *The Book of Jubilees*, probably before Christ. See Charles' translation in *JQR* vi. [1894] 710, vii. [1895] 297.—(*i*) *The Ascension of Isaiah* (*q.v.*)—Jewish part=the *Martyrdom of Isaiah* (2^1–3^{12} and $5^{2\text{-}14}$), Charles' edition (London, 1900). In addition to these extant books are 4, which are known to us only through citations in Origen and other Fathers: (*j*) *The Prayer of Joseph*; (*k*) *The Book of Eldad and Medad*; (*l*) *The Apocalypse of Elijah*; (*m*) *The Apocalypse of Zephaniah*.

(B) Under this head would fall not so much apocalypses written independently by Jews who were Christians—for, if we except the Apocalypse of John, such books are hardly known to have existed—as (*a*) *Selections* from Jewish apocalypses of matter embodying beliefs *common to Jews and Christians*; and (*b*) Christian *interpolations* of Jewish apocalypses. Of these (*a*) are by far the more frequent. The OT was the Bible of the early Christians, and such an example as that of Jude 14f. (cf. *En.* 1^9), taken along with the implicit references to apocalyptic writings which are found in the Apocalypse and other books of the NT (see below), reveals a tendency among the Christians to extend the range of the Canon; it points at the same time to the large amount of matter, both within and beyond the Canon, that was common to Jews and Christians. It is, indeed, a fact worthy of special notice that at an early period, which we may date roughly from the fall of the Jewish State in A.D. 70, apocalyptic literature begins to lose interest for the Synagogue in proportion as it gains it for the Christian Church. This fact invests the apocalyptic literature with a peculiar interest for the student of the Apostolic Age. There is the *general* question as to how that age of early Christians came to value and even to produce apocalyptic books, which we convert here into the more *concrete* question, How could it produce the Apocalypse of John? There is the *dogmatic* question, What are the elements in this book which entitle it to the position of authority it holds to this day? For (*b*), examples of Christian interpolation may be found in *The Ascension of Isaiah*, which is Christian in all but 2^1–3^{12} and $5^{2\text{-}14}$; and in chs. 1 and 2, and 15 and 16 of *4 Ezra* which are sometimes quoted as *5* and *6 Ezra* respectively.

(C) Hellenic apocalypses. — *The Sibylline Oracles* (*q.v.*), 'Jewish works under a heathen mask' (Schürer), are the best instance under this head. They are the work of Hellenistic Jews, and are written in Greek hexameters for Gentiles, under names which have authority for such readers. The fact that they have been subjected to considerable Christian interpolation testifies to the extent of their circulation. Much the best edition of them, based on 14 MSS, is that of Rzach (*Oracula Sibyllina*, Vienna, 1891). English readers may consult Schürer's *HJP* II. iii. 288–92; *Edinb. Review* (July 1877); Deane's *Pseudepigrapha* (1891), 276 ff.; Charles' *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, ii.

As an example of distinctively Christian work, produced under more decidedly Hellenic influence than is to be found in works of Jewish origin, may be mentioned the *Apocalypse of Peter*, a large part of which was edited for the English reader in 1892. Strong claims to canonicity were made for it in early times, and its teaching largely influenced later Christian ideas

* Jude 14f.; cf. *Eth. En.* 1^9.

† $48^{2\text{f.}}$ 62^2 etc. See L. A. Muirhead, *The Times of Christ*, Edinburgh, 1905, pp. 141 f., 147.

of heaven and hell. 'It is as strongly Greek as Revelation [the Apoc. of John] is Jewish, having a close relation to the Greek Orphic Literature. It concerns the lot of souls after death, whereas Revelation, like the Jewish apocalypses, is more concerned with the course of world-history' (Porter, from whose *Messages of the Apoc. Writers*, 7 ff., these lists are mainly taken).

4. Period and general characteristics of apocalyptic literature.—Before passing to an account of the Apocalypse of John we must try to form a definite idea of the characteristic features of apocalyptic literature—its design, form, and leading ideas. From the point of view of the student of the NT, apocalypse must be considered as of purely Jewish growth.* As we have seen, the period within which apocalyptic literature was produced occupied over a century and a half before the birth of Christ and about a century after. It is thus the accompaniment and interpretation of the last great struggle of the Jewish people for that political independence—with an implicit idea of supremacy—which seemed to be due to the Chosen People. Within this period fall the comparative victory (Maccabæan triumph), varying fortunes (political importance, accompanied with decline of religious fervour; dissensions between the lax hellenizing and the puritanical patriotic party), and the ultimate seeming extinction (capture of Jerusalem by Titus A.D. 70) of this ideal. The apocalyptists are the instructors and encouragers of the people in the name of God in reference to that Kingdom which, in spite of the greatness of the world-powers that are their rivals and the enemies of Jahweh, is yet to come to them from God and to be realized in the world. In Daniel, which belongs to the period of the Maccabæan struggle, we may see the high-water mark of spiritual faith reached by this ideal; in the fact that after the fall of the Jewish State, the kernel† of the nation, the Jews of the stricter synagogue, ceased to cherish the apocalypses and perhaps even suppressed‡ them, we have an index of the limitations of the ideal. The Kingdom, however loftily conceived by the seers of the nation, was still in the actual thought of the orthodox Jew too much of this world and of his own nation. Between this flow and ebb lies the history of apocalypse, as it is to be read within the limits of Judaism. It is a record of great hopes and fidelities, but also of great disappointments and of failures both in conception and fulfilment. The great apocalypses were written in periods of stress. Judging from Daniel, we may say, perhaps, the greater the stress the truer the inspiration of the apocalyptist. The leading ideas are simple but great; the tribulation is real. It will last for a measured while, and even increase. The troubling powers are fierce and violent. They rage like wild beasts and seem to be of great power; but their power passes, and the Kingdom comes to the faithful and the patient. Death does not end everything either for the faithful or for the lawless, and there is special bliss for those who lose life for righteousness' sake.§

As to the literary form of the apocalypses, the most salient distinguishing feature is a certain obscurity of imagery, which sometimes takes the form of a grotesqueness, and of an incongruity in details, which are excusable only upon the supposition that the awkward imagery was capable of the twofold task of conveying the meaning to those for whom it was intended, and of veiling it from others.

This obscurity of style is connected with the fact that apocalypses were, so far as we know, in nearly every case pseudonymous. Daniel was not written, like the prophecies of Isaiah or Jeremiah, to be *spoken*. It was written to be *read*. Probably in the case of the author of Daniel, the pseudonymity was due, not so much to the feeling* that he would not be accepted by his fellow-countrymen as a prophet, as to the necessity of eluding the hostility and even the suspicion of the Syrian authorities. A prophet might be arrested in the street, a living author might be traced to his desk. But what could the Syrian do with the influence of writings that were three centuries old? The example of the author of Daniel made pseudonymity a fashion. Writers who had no cause to fear arrest, but some perhaps to fear neglect, wrote in the names of prophets or saints of bygone days. It is difficult for us to conceive how any one able to handle a pen could have been deceived by such fictions. On the other hand, there is a certain impressiveness in the fact that questions regarding the real state of matters (in the literary sense) do not seem to have emerged. Readers and interpreters of the apocalypses were concerned with their message for their own time. If an interpreter had thoughts of his own regarding the literary structure of an apocalypse, he suppressed them. His instinct told him, as its equivalent tells the modern preacher, that a text does not become the word of God until it is released from bondage to its historical meaning. At the same time their artificial literary style takes from the spiritual value of the apocalyptic writings. If real history, in so far as it deals with the past, is a veil—though a transparent one—between God and the spirit of the reader, the fiction of history, behind which the apocalyptic writer found it necessary (even were it in the interest of his message) to conceal himself, becomes, at least for later readers, a veil that is opaque. Parables that are puzzles can hardly be edifying. Some of the parables of Daniel are puzzles to this day. It is a question of some moment how far such criticism applies to the canonical Apocalypse of the NT.

Besides community in general ideas and in pseudonymity, apocalypses have a certain community in imagery. There is, as it were, a sample stock of images always accessible to the apocalyptist.

On the side of good, we have (to take great examples) God and His throne, angels such as Michael and Gabriel, or angelic beings resembling men (of whom the chief, when he appears at all, is the Messiah), books written with the names of the saints, the paradise of God with its trees of healing and nourishment, the new creation with its wonders specialized in the new city and temple. On the side of evil, we have Satan, the opposer, deceiver, accuser, the monster of the deep (dragon or crocodile), wild beasts of the land, which, however, rise out of the deep,† a 'man of lawlessness' who

* That is to say, questions as to the affinities of its phraseology and conceptions with those of heathen mythology belong rather to the study of the OT. Long before 'John' writes, the mythological conceptions have passed through the mill of the spirit that is distinctive of the Jewish faith. What further refinement they need is supplied by the mill of the Christian fulfilment.

† Yet what is here said is not altogether true of the Jews of the Dispersion.

‡ The 'apocalypses survive for the most part not in their native Hebrew or Aramaic but in Greek, and in the dialects of the districts where they were received, and where they were read more by Christians than by Jews.'

§ Dn 12[2] is fairly cited as probably the only passage in the OT that clearly teaches a bodily resurrection for individual Israelites. The resurrection would seem to be universal as regards Israel (though this is doubtful), but nothing is said of the heathen.

* The feeling was, however, undoubtedly present. The author's appeal to 'books' is a confession of it (Dn 9[2]; cf. Jer 25[11f.]). See L. A. Muirhead, *The Eschatology of Jesus*, London, 1904, p. 71 ff.

† Cf. Rev 13[1ff.], Dn 7[3ff.], *4 Ezr.* 13[1ff.]. In the last passage the figure of 'one like a man' (the Messiah) rises from the sea, and then flies among the clouds, and the explanation is given: 'As none can find out what is in the depths of the sea, so none of the inhabitants of the earth can see my Son and his companions save at the hour of his day' (v.[52]). The depth of the sea rather than the height of heaven seemed to 'Ezra' the surest

embodies all blasphemy, a 'great whore' who incarnates all the abominations of the heathen world. In view of this sameness of the underlying imagery, the originality of an apocalyptist is to be seen more in the *use* of his material than in the material itself. The forces of good and evil remain the same, the general aspect of conflict between them—the inherent strength of God's rule and the imminent collapse of the devil's—remains to the prophetic eye the same, but persons and events change. The apocalyptist of truly prophetic spirit has his eye fixed on God and his own time; and, while he uses what, abstractly considered, seems a cumbrous and partly alien literary form, he does so not to exercise a literary gift but to convey a message, the urgency of which lies on his spirit as a 'burden' of the Lord. An obvious criterion of the rightfulness of his claim to be a prophet will be the ease and freedom with which he is able to adapt the material, imposed by his choice of the apocalyptic form, to the purpose of his message.

Judged in this way, the Apocalypse of John shines in a light which no student of early Christian literature can call other than brilliant. Whatever difficulties were felt by the early Fathers in giving it a place in the Canon, there is no book of the NT whose claim, once admitted, has been less a matter of subsequent doubt. Until less than a century ago, the Apocalypse was supposed to contain a forecast* of the entire career of the Church in time, but the modification of this view through the clear perception that both prophets and apocalyptists wrote for their own time, attaching to its needs and prospects a certain finality, has not altered the belief of Christians in the permanent spiritual value of this unique book.

II. *THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN.*—**1. Scheme of the book.**—It is not possible to supply in this article anything like a Commentary or even an adequate Introduction to the Apocalypse. Yet it may be useful to precede a discussion of some of its salient features with the following scheme of its contents, which is an abbreviated version of that given by F. C. Porter in his invaluable manual (*op. cit.* 179 f.).

Superscription, 1^{1-3}.

A. The messages of Christ to His Churches represented by the Seven Churches of Asia, 1^{4}–3^{22}.

(*a*) Introduction, including salutation, theme, attestation, 1^{4-8}.

(*b*) The Seer's Call, 1^{9-20}.

(*c*) The Seven Messages, chs. 2 and 3.

B. Visions of Judgment, composing the body of the book (chs. 4–20) intersected at chs. 7, 11, 14, and 19, with visions of the victory and bliss of the faithful.

(*a*) Visions of God and Christ respectively performing and revealing, chs. 4 and 5.

(*b*) First stages of the Judgment, including the opening of six seals,† the salvation of the faithful, and the destruction of one-third of mankind at the sounding of six trumpets, chs. 6–9.

(*c*) Last stages of the Judgment, issuing in the final overthrow of Satan and Rome, especially the imperial cultus (the 'Beast'), and in the General Resurrection and Judgment. The Seer receives a new commission. He describes the conflict between the worshippers of the Beast and the followers of the Lamb, and his vision of the wrath of God in seven bowls, chs. 10–20. Note that a large portion of this section consists of assurances to the faithful and of songs of triumph, and much the greater part of the judgment portion (chs. 12, 17, 18, and 19) describes the fall of Rome.

C. The Blessed Consummation, including the coming of God to dwell with men and the descent of the Heavenly Jerusalem, chs. 21 and 22. Note that both the Epilogue and the Prologue of the book solemnly emphasize the claim to be considered 'prophecy' ($22^{18f.}$; cf. 1^{3}).

2. Examples of the problems.—A few specimens may be given of the many fascinating problems which emerge for the student regarding: (1) the *literary structure* of the Apocalypse; (2) the significance of some of its more *prominent details.*

(1) In spite of its being, more than almost any other book of the NT (see below), saturated with reminiscences of books of the OT (esp. Dan., Ezek., Is., Jer., Joel, and generally all the portions of the OT which describe visions of God or offer pictures of bliss or woe), the book leaves the reader with a strong impression of its spiritual unity. The writer is a Christian and a prophet. His central positive theme is Christ Crucified, Risen, and Ascended ($1^{17f.}$ $5^{6.}$ $12^{2f.}$). The warrant, substance, and spirit of his prophecy are 'the testimony of Jesus,' a phrase in which the *of* seems to include both a subjective and an objective meaning * (19^{10}; cf. $1^{2f.}$). The world to come is imminent, and its inheritors are the worshippers of God and the Lamb ($1^{5f.}$ $7^{9ff.}$ etc.).

It is evident, however, as a few examples will be sufficient to show, that this general unity goes along with great looseness in the assimilation of borrowed material.

Examples: (*a*) Ch. 11 is made up of portions of two apocalypses, one of which (represented by vv.$^{1.2}$) belongs to the time of the siege of Jerusalem (*c.* A.D. 70), and the other embodies a portion of the Antichrist legend, which related how Antichrist would slay Enoch and Elijah, returned from heaven, who would, however, be raised up by God or His angels Gabriel and Michael (see Bousset's *Antichrist*; and Tert. *de Anima*). In the Apocalypse, Enoch becomes Moses, and what was previously described (v.^{2}) as the 'holy city' becomes 'spiritually Sodom and Egypt, where the Lord was crucified' (v.^{8}). The general purpose—to teach that the worshippers of the true God are safe (vv.$^{1.2}$), and that the powers of wicked men will not prevail against the testimony of law and prophecy to the true God (vv.$^{3-12}$)—is evident. But it is equally evident that the author is hampered in the expression of this message by a superabundance of borrowed and not quite congruous material. Though the time of the testimony of the two witnesses in v.^{3} corresponds with that during which the holy city is to be trodden under foot by the Gentiles (cf. vv.$^{2.3}$), the situation of the city at v.^{13} does not correspond with that indicated at v.^{2} any more than the holy city of the latter verse corresponds with 'Sodom and Egypt' of v.^{8}

(*b*) An example of composite structure, better known to modern students of the Apocalypse (through Gunkel's *Schöpf. u. Chaos*), but more difficult to exhibit with precision, is the vision in ch. 12 of the Messiah-mother and the Dragon seeking to devour her child. The teaching of 'John' is, again, evident enough. Satan has been overthrown by the birth and ascension of the Messiah. He has been cast down from heaven, but he is still permitted to persecute the Messianic community on earth. If his wrath is fierce, it is because his time is short. Let the persecuted lend their ear to the loud voice saying in heaven: 'Now is come salvation—and the Kingdom of our God' (vv.$^{17.12.10}$). It is clear, however, that, apart from a desire to use materials which lay to his hand in fragments of Jewish apocalypses, which borrowed and combined Babylonian, Egyptian, and Greek myths, he would not have expressed his meaning in the way we find in this chapter. The scene begins in heaven, and the woman is described (v.^{1}) in language appropriate to a goddess. Then she appears (v.^{6}), without explanation, on the earth, where she finds refuge and nourishment in the wilderness. The Dragon is then cast out of heaven to the earth (v.^{9}), although this ejection seems already to be assumed at v.^{4}, and on the earth he pursues the woman to her retreat in the wilderness. A Christian meaning can doubtless be put into it all, but no one narrator could ever spontaneously have told the story in this way. For a brief and lucid attempt to conceive the possible process through which the immediate and remote materials passed in the hands of 'John,' see Porter, *op. cit.* 236 ff.

(2) Of problems turning on more special points we have good instances in ch. 13. We may feel satisfied that the first **Beast** is, in general, the Roman Empire embodied in the person of the Emperor, while the second (the lamb that 'spake as a dragon,' v.^{11}) is the priesthood of the Imperial

stronghold of secrets that should be inaccessible to men. On the representation of this idea in the Genesis narratives of creation and the relation of the latter to the Babylonian myth of Marduk and Tiâmat, see Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, 1895.

* In an obvious sense, of course, the book did contain such a forecast. As with every prophet, the *end* is within the vision of the writer. In his case it is to come 'shortly'—*i.e.* most likely within his own generation.

† There are pauses after the 6th seal and the 6th trumpet. The 7th seal contains, as it were, the 7 trumpets, and the 7th trumpet contains the 7 bowls.

* The words 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' are a gloss (see the Commentaries), but they are entirely true to the writer's thought (1^{1}), and form with 1 Co 12^{3} an interesting witness to the test applied to prophets in the early Church.

cultus exercising a lamb-like office with all the ferocity of dragon-like tyrants. We may be satisfied also that under the imagery of the first Beast the author must have thought both of Nero and Domitian. Still the questions remain: (*a*) What is the 'deadly wound' that was healed (v.[12])? (*b*) Who is the 'man' whose number is the number of the Beast (v.[18])? (*c*) Is the 'number' 666, or, as in some MSS, 616? These three questions are closely interdependent. It has been argued that, as the Beast is rather the Empire than an individual Emperor, the wound should refer to some event of public rather than of personal import. To the objection that v.[16] speaks expressly of the 'number of a *man*,' it is replied that, on the analogy of 21[17], this may simply mean that the number is to be reckoned in a human and not in a heavenly or angelic way. It is found that the Greek letters * of the phrase meaning 'the *Latin* Kingdom' give the number 666, while the value of the letters in 'the *Italian* Kingdom' is 616. Against the identification of the Beast with Nero it is further argued that the Hebrew equivalent of 'Nero Cæsar,' rightly spelt (*i.e.* with the *yod* [י] in 'Cæsar'), † gives not 666 but 676. Accepting this point of view, we should still have to ask, What were the events that were respectively the inflicting and the healing of a deadly wound, and we are presented with the alternative theories: assassination of Julius Cæsar (wound), accession of Augustus (healing); end of the Julian dynasty in Nero (wound), rise of the Flavian dynasty (healing). On the other hand, it is contended that, apart even from v.[18], the whole passage is too intense and too definite in its reference to exclude particular Emperors from the view of the author or his readers. He must have thought of Nero. Almost as certainly he must have thought of Domitian, whom he conceived as *Nero Redivivus* (17[11]), and, not improbably, he also thought of Caligula, to whose attempt to set up his own statue in Jerusalem the Apocalypse of the blasphemous beast (considered as material borrowed by 'John') might be supposed to have originally referred.‡ This might explain the variant 616, which is the number of Caligula's name. The omission of the *yod* in writing the Hebrew form of Cæsar is not a serious difficulty (see Moffatt, *op. cit.*). Finally, Gunkel, finding the Bab. original of the Beast in the chaos-monster Tiāmat overcome (in the creation myth) by Marduk, has shown that the Heb. words תְּהוֹם קַדְמוֹנִיָּה (*T'hōm kadhmōnīyah* = 'the primitive monster') give the number 666. It might be supposed, therefore, that what struck 'John' was that the number of this primæval beast, traditionally familiar to him, was also the number of a man, viz. Nero. There are serious linguistic objections to this view (see Moffatt), but it may suggest to us that the number containing three sixes had a traditional meaning. It may have meant the constant effort and failure of what is human to attain the Divine perfection, of which the number 7 was the symbol: so near yet so far off, 'O the little more, and how much it is.'

All these varying views of 'John's' meaning cannot be true in every particular. Yet we are, perhaps, nearer the truth in saying that portions of all of them must have passed through his mind than in deciding dogmatically in favour of one of them. It seems to the present writer that the loose way in which the prophet and pastor who wrote the Apocalypse dealt with the traditional material that lay to his hand was probably as intentional as the frequent grammatical anomalies and harsh Hebraisms of his text, which no Greek scholar supposes to be due to inadvertence. The man who had the literary genius and the prophetic inspiration to write the songs of triumph and the hortatory portions of the Apocalypse may be believed to have had a method in his carelessness. He was certainly capable of adopting a fixed style of writing and carrying it through in the way that style on the whole required. If he left some strings flying for his readers to cut or fasten up as the spirit might lead them, may it not be a sign that he considered himself and his companions in the 'kingdom and patience of Jesus Christ' to occupy a sphere which, just because it was supreme and Divine, was not hermetically sealed to the rest of the world, but was open, like the New Jerusalem, to receive testimony and tribute from every quarter?

3. The Apocalypse of John as a product of the Apostolic Age, and a testimony to Jesus as the Christ.—Enough has perhaps been said to show that questions regarding the importance and function of apocalyptic literature in the faith and life of the Apostolic Age are best answered in connexion with a study of the Apocalypse of John. No known apocalyptic writing of the same or greater bulk is comparable with it in vitality of connexion with primitive Christianity; and there is no likelihood that any such writing existed. Attention may be fastened on three matters: (*a*) the historical situation, (*b*) the relation of apocalypse to prophecy, (*c*) the hortatory and dogmatic teaching of the Apocalypse.

(*a*) *The historical situation.*—We have seen that the period of apocalyptic literature is roughly the 250 years of the last struggles of the Jewish people for political and religious independence. The first apocalypse of the OT is contemporaneous with the great sacrifices made by the *élite* of the Jewish people to maintain the national testimony to Jahweh. The sacrificial spirit passed into the community that confessed Jesus of Nazareth, crucified, risen, and ascended, as Lord and Messiah. Very early the sacrificial spirit was called forth. But the first persecutors were not heathen in name. They were the representatives of the city which 'spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also the Lord was crucified' (Rev 11[8]; cf. 1 Th 2[14ff.], 2 Th 2[1-12]). To St. Paul the power of Antichrist lay in the jealousy of the Jewish synagogue, and it would seem from the passage in 2 Th 2 that the power 'that restrains' (ὁ κατέχων, τὸ κατέχον) is the Roman Empire. Certainly the representation in the Acts of the Apostles favours this view (16[37] 21[32] 22[25ff.] 25[10f.]). Between the ministry of St. Paul and the time of the Apocalypse a change had taken place. In the Apocalypse the Roman Empire is clearly the instrument of Antichrist. The Dragon gives power to the Beast (13[4]), and it is obvious that in 'John's' time, and especially in the province of Asia, Christians were persecuted under Imperial authority simply because of their Christian profession. Christianity was a crime punishable with death, in so far as it was inconsistent with the worship of the Emperor (1[9] 13[16f.]). Doubtless there were differences in the administration of the law, but the tone of the Letters to the Seven Churches (chs. 2 and 3) and of the whole Apocalypse indicates a time when the worst might be apprehended. The beginning of this Imperial attitude to the Christians may perhaps be found in the summer of A.D. 64, when, as Tacitus informs us (*Ann.* xv. 44), Nero sought to fasten on

* The letters of both the Greek and the Hebrew alphabets have each a numerical value.

† קסר נטר קיסר; cf. art. ANTICHRIST.

‡ Cf. v.[5] with the description of Antiochus Epiphanes in Dn 11[36ff.]. It seems to the present writer that 'John' may have thought of Domitian as combining Caligula and Nero in himself in much the same way as the Beast, which is Rome (13[3]), combines in itself all the ferocities of Daniel's first three beasts (lion, bear, leopard, Dn 7[4ff.]). Like 4 *Ezr.* 12[10ff.] he would consider Daniel's *fourth* beast to be Rome.

the Christians the odious charge of incendiarism, and it has been held that the Apocalypse belongs to the time of the Neronic persecution. This view may now be regarded as superseded. Nero is certainly a figure in the Apocalypse (see above), but he is a figure of the past. The Beast is alive in his bestial successor Domitian, whom 'John' considers *Nero Redivivus* * (cf. 13^3 with 17^{11}).

It was under Domitian that persecution of the Christians first became a part of the Imperial policy. It is this legalized persecution and the fact that the centre of the storm lies among the Churches of Asia that rouse the spirit of prophecy in the author of chs. 2 and 3, and, as we venture to think, of the whole Apocalypse. And, assuredly, it *was* the spirit of prophecy, and not of delusion, that gave him the certainty that the Lord Jesus would 'come quickly' to deliver His people from a situation in which the choice lay between death and unfaithfulness to Him. Every prophet is an eschatologist. He sees the end of what is opposed to the will of holiness and love. It is only for a moment—though the moments of God and history may be long—that cruelty and violence can reign or the meek and righteous be oppressed.

13^{17} seems to indicate an edict actually in force or about to be issued, under which ordinary contracts of exchange should not be legal apart from vows of allegiance to the Emperor as a Divine person. This meant that Christians were excluded from the business of the world, and so from the world itself, and to 'John' it seemed justly a challenge of God's supremacy, which God and His Christ could not delay to take up. Quite apart from the peculiar genius of its author, the Apocalypse must have been to its first readers a message of comfort and power. Its appeal lay in its inevitableness. In the situation as described, no message short of that contained in the Apocalypse could have seemed worthy of God or a 'testimony of Jesus Christ.' Prophecy is never *in vacuo*. God's word is in the mouth of His prophet because it is first in the events which His providence ordains or permits. It would be difficult to rate too highly the literary and spiritual genius of 'John,' yet the authoritativeness of his message for his own time and ours lies not in this but in its correspondence with a situation of crisis for the Kingdom of God. So long as it is possible for a situation to emerge in which we cannot obey man's law without dishonouring God's, the Apocalypse will be an authority ready for use in the hands of the godly.

(*b*) *Apocalyptic and prophecy.*—If this view is just, it contains the answer to two closely related questions: (1) Is the writer, as he represents himself, a 'companion in tribulation' of those to whom he writes (1^9), or does he, like other apocalyptists, including Daniel, write under the name of some great personage of the past? (2) Is he really a prophet as well as an apocalyptist?

(1) The former question should be kept apart from the question whether the writer can reasonably be identified with the Apostle John. There is nowhere in the book the slightest hint of a claim to apostleship; 21^{14} and 18^{20} suggest rather that the author distinguished himself from the 'holy apostles and prophets' and from the '12 apostles.' We do not know enough regarding the Churches of Asia in the 1st cent. to say with confidence that only one who was as highly esteemed as John the Apostle (Ramsay) or John the Presbyter (Bousset) could be confident that his message would come with authority to those to whom it was addressed. On the other hand, it is more than possible, in view both of the literary apocalyptic convention of pseudepigraphy and of the probability that concealment of the author's name was an act of warrantable prudence, that 'John' was not the author's real name, and that (almost by consequence) the banishment in Patmos was, so far as he was concerned, fictitious. But the matter of real importance is not the question whether the names of person and place are fictitious; it is the fact that—supposing them to have been fictitious—here the fiction ends. The writer is a Christian. He is in the same situation with those he addresses. He neither desires nor attempts to place himself in the distant past. The Christian Church has its own prophets. Our author solemnly claims to be one of them, and the Church since the beginning of the 3rd cent. has taken him at his own estimate.*

(2) But is not an apocalyptist, *ipso facto*, only a pale shadow of a prophet? Must not 'John' be conceived, as regards inspiration, to stand to a speaking prophet, say of Ephesus, as 'Daniel' stands to the real Daniel or to some prophet of the time of Nebuchadrezzar? It seems to the present writer that the entire absence from the Apocalypse of such a fiction as that in Daniel, in which the past is in one part (the alleged writer's time) adorned with legendary features, and in a much greater part (the centuries between the Exile and the Syrian Persecution) is treated fictitiously as future, separates it *longo intervallo* from apocalyptic writings of the purely Jewish type, or even from Christian apocalypses like the *Apoc. of Peter*, which resemble the Jewish type in the feature of impersonation. It may be probable, though it is far from certain, that 'John' conceals his real name, but the suggestion that he tried to personate any one, or sought any authority for his message other than what belonged to it as the testimony of Jesus given to himself, seems to be as destitute of probability as of proof.

What, we may ask, is a Christian prophet but one who has an ἀποκάλυψις (revelation) from God through Jesus Christ concerning matters pertaining to His Kingdom (1 Co $14^{24ff.}$, esp. v.[26]; cf. Rev 19^{10})? If a Christian could speak so as to bring home to his brethren the reality of the promised Kingdom, or so as to flash the light of the Divine judgment on the darkened conscience of an unbeliever, he had the χάρισμα or gift of prophecy (1 Co $14^{22.\ 24f.}$). St. Paul himself must have possessed the gift in an eminent degree. We judge so not simply from what is told in the Acts or from what he himself tells regarding the source from which he derived the contents and manner of his preaching or the directions necessary for his missionary journeys. We judge so rather from the correspondence existing between his claim to direct access to this source and the still operating influence of his personality upon the conscience and conduct of mankind. If it be said that St. Paul was a preacher, and 'John' was, so far as we know, only a writer, it may be asked in reply: What do we know of Paul the preacher that we do not learn best from his own writings? No companion of 'John' has told us (as Luke did of Paul) how he preached, but surely we may say that no one could write as 'John' does without being, under favourable conditions, a preacher, and that probably as much in proportion of 'John's' Apocalypse as of St. Paul's Epistles might have been

* The 'seven kings' of $17^{10ff.}$ are the seven emperors—exclusive of the usurpers Galba, Otho, and Vitellius—from Augustus to Nero. The 'eighth that is of the seven (v.[11]) is Domitian, considered as *Nero Redivivus*.

* Porter (*op. cit.* 183) asks whether the Apocalypse is 'a direct or a secondary product of that new inspiration' [Christian prophecy], and he replies, rather disconcertingly: 'Our impression is that it is secondary.' No one has a better right to speak with authority than Porter. But if the inspiration of the Apocalypse is secondary, what measure have we by which to judge of that which is primary?

preached as it stands to his own contemporaries. When it is remembered how apocalypses incomparably inferior in spiritual quality to the Apocalypse were cherished by the early Church and even quoted as Scripture, it will not seem hazardous to assert that in the Apostolic Age the distinction between apocalypse and prophecy, which is marked in the pre-Christian period by the separation of Daniel in the Hebrew Canon from 'the Prophets,' has ceased to exist. Two things, unnaturally separated (through the spirit of artifice), have come together again. The prophet is the man who has a 'revelation,' and the man who has a 'revelation,' whether he speak it or write it, is a prophet. If our argument is sound, we may venture to say that once at least this ideal unity of apocalypse and prophecy has been realized. It is realized in the Apocalypse of John.

(*c*) *The hortatory and dogmatic teaching of the Apocalypse.*—The best proof of the soundness of the above argument lies in the abundance of hortatory and dogmatic material of permanent value to be found in the Apocalypse. 'John' is, in a sense, the Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel of the NT. This is eminently true of the messages to the Seven Churches (chs. 2 and 3). Ramsay's *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia* (Lond. 1904) probably exaggerates the extent to which the writer may have had in his mind facts of geography and history relating to the places mentioned; but such a book—from the pen of an unrivalled authority on the antiquities of Asia Minor—could not have been written of the messages in chs. 2 and 3 of the Apocalypse did they not proceed from one who was thoroughly conversant with everything in the environment of the Churches of Asia which had a bearing on their spiritual condition. A writer who closes each message with the formula, 'he that hath ears, etc.' (2^{7}. ^{11}. ^{17}. ^{29} 3^{6}. ^{13}. ^{22}; cf. Mt $13^{9.\ 43}$, etc.), claims to stand to those whom he addresses in the relation of a speaking prophet to his hearers. Those who remember the function these chapters still serve in that best type of Christian oratory in which preaching is prophesying, may justly feel that the *onus probandi* rests with those who deny the claim. But the immediately edifying elements of the Apocalypse are not confined to these chapters. The book is written, as it claims to be, in an atmosphere of worship.* The inspiration came to 'John' on the day in which Christians remembered the Resurrection of the Lord. The book is a message from the Lord in heaven. Those who read and obey are blessed because the time of their deliverance is at hand. The sense of holy omnipotent power, not dominated by but manifested through suffering—for the power is redemptive—pervades the book. Its refrain is *Glory to God and to the Lamb* ($1^{5f.}$), and the note of the triumphant thanksgiving of the faithful sounds, throughout, loudly behind the curtain of judgment that shrouds the wicked world (5^{4-14} $6^{9ff.}$ 7^{3-7} $8^{3f.}$ $11^{15ff.}$ 12^{10-12} $13^{9f.}$ $14^{1-7.\ 12f.}$ 15^{1-4} $19^{1-9.\ 11-16}$ 20^{4-6} 21. 22). The worship-element in the book is exquisitely beautiful as literature, but it was too vital to the spiritual situation to be intended as ornamental. The crucial element in the situation is the liberty of worship. History has proved that the day of martyrs is eminently the day when this liberty is denied or ignored.

The *ethical teaching* of the book is perhaps best seen in such passages as 6^{9-11} 13^{8-10} 14^{11-13} $20^{7f.}$. The essential virtues of the saints are patience and courage. The weapon of force is not permitted to them (13^{10}; cf. Mt 26^{52}), but patience and faith prevail. On the other hand, patience is not mere passivity. The command to worship the Beast must be courageously disobeyed. Compliance is fatal. First among those who have their part in the 'second death' are 'the fearful' (21^{8}). The vital connexion of this teaching with the situation is obvious. Not less but even more obvious is its connexion with the *dogmatic* teaching of the book. As we have seen, the Apocalypse must be considered, so far as the Apostolic Age is concerned, a thing of Jewish origin and growth.* There are, indeed, few direct quotations from the OT in the Apocalypse; but there are more OT reminiscences in it than in almost any other book of the NT.† This, no doubt, is due largely to the comparatively stereotyped character of the apocalyptic imagery. But, in view of the emphasis—in some cases excessive—which many scholars have laid on the Jewish character of the Apocalypse, a word seems necessary on the question of how far the distinctive Christian belief that Jesus is the Messiah has modified the type of teaching peculiar to a Jewish apocalyptic book.

At first sight the change seems more formal than real. The Apocalypse comes from Jesus Christ (1^{1}), but, beyond the features of His death and resurrection, there is nothing in the description of the sublime Personage who overwhelms 'John' with His manifestations (1^{17}) suggestive of any feature distinctive of the human Jesus of the Gospels. The description of the Figure in $1^{7.\ 13ff.}$ and in $19^{11ff.}$ owes more to Daniel,‡ Zechariah,§ and Isaiah‖ than to anything that is original in the Gospels. Such a fact gives a certain colour to the view, propounded by Vischer in 1886, that the book is a Jewish Apocalypse set in a Christian framework (chs. 1–3, and 22^{6-21}), and slightly interpolated. This extreme view has, however, yielded to the strong impression of its unity and Christian character, which, in spite of its eclectic form, the book produces on the mind of the critical no less than of the ordinary reader. As to the alleged absence of the features of the Christ of the Gospels, two considerations seem specially relevant. The one is that the absence of the human features of Jesus is scarcely more marked in the Apocalypse than it is in every other book of the NT outside the Gospels. Are references to the human Jesus frequent or marked in the Acts of the Apostles, though that book was written by a man who also wrote a Gospel? Are they marked—or even, in the latter case, at all present—in the Epistles which bear the names of Peter and John? Notoriously they are so little marked in the known writings of the greatest figure of the Apostolic Age that their absence has supplied its one position of apparent strength to the 'modern Gnosticism' associated with the names of Jensen and Drews, and has made the effort to exhibit real points of contact between St. Paul and Jesus of Nazareth a main task of modern Apologetics. Yet one of St. Paul's companions was Mark, and another was Luke. We do not know all that St. Paul either

* 1^{10}. The opinion of scholars is against the rendering: 'I was, through the Spirit, in the Day of the Lord (*or* the Day of Judgment),' though this rendering cannot be said to be grammatically impossible; and though it has the advantage of attaching a good traditional meaning to 'Day of the Lord,' which would thus retain its OT sense (Is 2^{12}, Am 5^{20}, etc.), yet it is hardly likely that *ἐν* would be used both in the instrumental and the local sense in one short sentence; and the analogy of $17^{3f.}$ 21^{10} suggests that, had the author intended this meaning, he would have used a verb of transference ('I was *carried* by the Spirit *to*, etc.'). The 'Day of the Lord' is, therefore, the Christian Sabbath, the day of worship.

* That is to say, its affinities with pagan mythology may be ignored, as belonging to the sphere of OT research.

† According to Hühn, Matthew has 37 direct quotations from the OT against 3 in the Apocalypse. But the latter has 453 reminiscences against 437 in Matthew. Thus Matthew comes near the Apocalypse in this respect; Luke, with 474 reminiscences, goes beyond it. All the other books are much behind it (*Alttest. Citate u. Reminiscenzen im NT*, 1900, p. 269 ff.).

‡ Dn 7^{8} $10^{5ff.}$. § Zec 12^{10}. ‖ Is 11^{4} $63^{1ff.}$.

spoke or wrote, but we do know that, contemporaneously with the accomplishment of his mission to the Gentiles, or, at least, well within the Apostolic Age, a demand for written reminiscences of Jesus arose both in the Jewish and in the Gentile portion of the Church. Men possess reminiscences of personalities who have exercised a determining influence upon them long before they think of committing them to writing, and often, if not usually—as witness the cases of Matthew and Mark—the task of writing is undertaken only by request (Euseb. *HE* iii. 39). If, then, the silences of St. Paul, the contemporary of Jesus (who yet possibly never saw Him in the flesh), do not, on fair consideration, surprise us, why should those of a man some thirty years younger, a Christian prophet of the time of Domitian, offend us?

The other consideration is more positive in character. It is that of what may be called the eschatological outlook of the Apostolic Age. It was believed by all the NT writers of the first generation that the return of Christ to His own in glory and power would be witnessed by some in their own time while they were yet in the flesh. The expectation appears in the Gospels (Mk 9^{1} 13‖), and it is a matter much discussed how far it is due to convictions definitely entertained and expressed by our Lord Himself. It was certainly entertained by St. Paul (1 Co 15^{51}, 1 Th $5^{13ff.}$); and, though on the whole it hardly affected, and never unwholesomely,* his ethical teaching, it surely explains why letters to fellow-Christians, who had been for the most part his own converts and catechumens, in so far as they were not occupied with matters of immediate perplexity and duty, should be concerned rather with prospects of the Lord's coming and glory than with reminiscences of the days of His flesh. If St. Paul had been asked to state his essential creed as briefly as possible, he might fairly be conceived to reply: For the past, Christ died in the flesh for our sins; for the present, Christ rose and lives for our justification; for the future, Christ will come to confirm and receive His own to Himself in the glory of God. Would the modern religious man, whose creed has any title to be associated with the NT, say anything, even in regard to the future, that is really different from this?

Whatever worth may belong to these considerations in reference to St. Paul belongs to them *a fortiori* in reference to a writer whose express aim is to show to the servants of God the 'things that must shortly come to pass' (1^{1}). Even if we put out of account the limitations of apocalyptic literary method, the last thing we shall expect such a writer expressly to deal with will be reminiscences of the historic Jesus. If we assume that the Apostolic Age, whatever may be its defects, supplies the norm of the religion which is final, we shall require of the Christian prophet 'John' only that he accomplish his declared purpose in a manner conformable both to the situation he has in view and to the spirit and teaching of the apostolic faith. No critic contends that chs. 2 and 3 do not indicate a writer who is in the matters of main account in close touch with the communities he addresses, and who writes to them in prophetic vein, on the whole just as he might be conceived to speak. In the rest of his book, he drops special reference to the Asiatic Churches, devotes himself to the recounting of visions, mainly of final judgment, which are of account for the whole Church and world of his time, and makes, as the nature of his theme requires, larger use of material that is more or less common to all imaginative religious speech or literature.* He has the definite belief that the last instrument of Antichrist is the Roman Imperial system, and that with the removal of the 'Great Whore' (19^{2})—the 'Babylon' which is Rome—especially the cult of the Emperor, the last obstacle to the glorious advent of the Kingdom will be taken away. It is true there is nothing in his general estimate of the situation of the worshippers of the true God, suffering from the Roman persecution, that might not have been conceived by 'Daniel' or any other OT prophet. There is scarcely a detail in the wonderful lament of triumph over the fall of the Roman Babylon (ch. 18) that has not its close parallel in Isaiah and Jeremiah (for the details see Porter, *op. cit.* 267).

But what significance has such a fact other than that of illustrating, in general, the claim of Christianity to fulfil OT prophecy, and, in particular, the claim of this Christian seer to be in the succession of the prophets (1^{3} $10^{7ff.}$ 19^{10} $22^{18ff.}$)? Once it is seen that it is the work of a Christian, and that every detail in it has to the author's own mind a significance, determined by his own attitude and that of his readers to the Messiah who was crucified ($1^{5ff.}$ 11^{8} 12^{11}), the book must be allowed to possess a unique value for edification both in itself and in reference to the place assigned it by Christian authority—that of closing the canonical record of revelation contained in the Bible.

* 1 Co $7^{29ff.}$ seems to the present writer an illustration rather than an exception.

* A good instance of the author's eclecticism, acting under control of spiritual insight, is his combination of an earthly and a heavenly view of the Consummation. The binding of Satan and the thousand years' reign of the martyred saints precedes the final destruction of the Antichristian power and the descent of the Heavenly City (ch. 20; cf. with chs. 21 and 22). Why does the prophet not close his book at 19^{10}? It is the poorest conceivable answer to say that he continues his text for literary reasons, having a desire to utilize traditional material that was too good to be neglected. But the reason may well be that, while the destruction of the colossal imposture of the Roman Imperial cult is the last preliminary to the Consummation that comes within his definite conviction, a complex instinct, which we may consider part of his prophetic equipment, warns him against the danger of confounding definiteness of result with definiteness of time and manner. The large doings of God permit of fluctuation in detail, and the prophet is practical as well as inspired. One matter that genuinely concerned him as a prophet, and had concerned brother-prophets before him (cf. Dn $12^{12ff.}$, *En.* $91^{12ff.}$, Bar 40^{3}, and, for a Christian example, 1 Co $15^{20ff.}$), was the question what special reward would be granted to those who had maintained their faithfulness to God at the cost of their lives. And here the traditional idea of a reign of the saints preliminary to the Final Consummation came to his aid. In *En.* $91^{12f.}$ (cf. Bar 40^{3}) we find a scheme according to which all human history, including the reign of the Messiah, is divided into heavenly weeks. In 4 *Ezr.* 7^{28} the period of the reign of the Messiah is 400 years—a number which, as the Talmud (*Sanh.* 99) explains, is obtained by combining Gn 15^{3} with Ps 90^{15}. The 1000 years of our prophet would be obtained in a somewhat similar fashion by combining Gn $11^{ff.}$ (the 'day' of the Creation-narrative) with Ps 90^{4}. The 'day' (=1000 years) is the rest-day of God's saints, who are in particular the martyrs. In the Jewish tradition (cf. *Jub.* 4^{30} and *Secrets of Enoch* $33^{1f.}$) the seventh 'day' was the reign of the Messiah. With 'John' it is the reign of the Messiah with His faithful martyrs, and of course neither they nor He die at the end of it, as in 4 *Ezr.* 7^{28}, Satan, however, is unbound and leads the powers of evil in a final assault upon the saints of the earth. He is overthrown and cast into the 'lake of fire' with the Beast and the False Prophet. Then follows the General Judgment, in which those whose names are not found in the 'book of life' are cast into the lake of fire, and the rest who are faithful join the saints of the Millennium in the final bliss. It is obvious that these details are not strictly reconcilable with those of the Apocalypse that ends at 19^{10}, and again at 19^{21}. But surely we may credit the prophet with being aware of the inconsistency. He handles his manifold material freely. What is important to him is not to reconcile discrepant details, but to express through them ideas of destiny that are worthy of God and His Messiah. And it was manifestly important to him, as it was also, in part, to St. Paul, to express the ideas: (1) that believers who died before the Advent suffered no disadvantage above others (1 Th $4^{13ff.}$; cf. Rev $6^{9ff.}$); (2) that the earth needed to be prepared for the final glory by the prevailing presence in it of the saints (1 Co $15^{23f.}$ $6^{2f.}$; cf. Rev $20^{4\text{-}10}$); (3) that there were special rewards for those who made special sacrifices, in particular the sacrifice of life, for the sake of the Kingdom (2 Ti $2^{11f.}$; cf. Mk $10^{28ff.}$‖, and passages in Rev. above cited).

The following examples may be given of the teaching of the Apocalypse on definite articles of the Christian creed. (1) The Messiah is the historical Person of the seed of David, who was crucified at Jerusalem (5^6 11^8).—(2) Grace and peace come from Him equally with Him who 'is and was and is to come' and with the 'seven spirits which are before the throne' (manifest apocalyptic equivalents for the Father and the Spirit). He is the 'faithful witness,' the 'First-begotten of the dead, the Prince of the kings of the earth' ($1^{4f.}$ 7^{10}).—(3) The 'revelation' contained in the book is not only mediated by Jesus Christ, it is the revelation *of* Him (1^1). The prophets are those who have the 'testimony of Jesus,' and the latter is the 'spirit of prophecy' (19^{10}). The prophet is a fellow-servant and companion of all faithful believers in Jesus. For they also have the testimony. They are made prophets as well as priests and kings ($1^{6.\ 9}$).—(4) The fundamental work of the Messiah is the redemptive self-sacrifice. No doubt the 'Lamb' is a leader and a warrior, whom His servants follow. His 'wrath' is the destruction of His enemies. Yet even in the glory of His power 'in the midst of the throne' He remains for the Christian seer a 'Lamb as it had been slain,' and the innumerable multitude of the glorified faithful in heaven are those whose robes have been 'made white in the blood of the Lamb.' The motive of service even in heaven is the gratitude of those who have been forgiven and cleansed (14^{1-4} $19^{11ff.}$ $7^{9ff.}$). Agreeably with this, the fundamental virtues of the saints are 'patience and faith'; though, as there is a 'wrath of the Lamb,' so there is a certain fierceness in the conflicts and triumphs of the saints. Those who find fault with the vindictiveness of the Apocalypse should make allowance for the dramatic style of the book and should not forget that at bottom the battle between the saints and their oppressors is a battle between patience and violence (18^{20} $13^{9f.}$ 14^{12}).

(5) The conception of Christian duty and bliss, similarly, is profoundly ethical and spiritual. The saints must show no half-hearted timidity in resisting the order that is supreme in the world. The resistance is to be maintained in the sense in which maintenance is victory. The promise is to 'him that overcometh,' and no sacrifice is too great (2^{10} $21^{7f.}$). The reward of this holy sacrificial attitude of the will is complete union with Christ, and participation in all the privileges of sonship. The sun that lightens the city of pearls and makes its splendours real is none other than God Himself and the Lamb. Its bliss is the life of its citizens ($7^{15ff.}$ $19^{7ff.}$ $22^{3ff.}$). The guests at the marriage-supper of the Lamb do not wear jewellery. They wear the 'crown of life,' and the 'fine linen of the righteousness of the saints' (2^{10} 19^8). In reference to the fidelity of the servants of God, the emphasis laid on worship is noticeable. It is not accidental. It is due to the twofold fact that the book reflects a situation in which liberty of worship was denied, and that worship in spirit and in truth is the loftiest expression of the soul's loyalty. The emphasis is negative as well as positive. Twice over, the seer is warned not to worship him that showed him these things. The worship of angels was a heresy not unknown in the Asiatic Churches. Perhaps 'John' felt that the elaboration of the conception of angelic agency and mediation, however inevitable in apocalyptic literature or even in the thoughts proper to true religion, had its dangers (19^{10} 22^9; cf. Col $2^{18ff.}$).

(6) Finally, the spirit of gracious evangelism that finds expression in 22^{17} deserves acknowledgment. Evangelism is scarcely to be expected in a book announcing finalities, and concerned so largely with the Judgment. 'John' does not believe that there is much more chance of repentance for the rank and file of those who have yielded to the apostasy of his time than for the Beast and the False Prophet who have led it. There is not much chance, for there is not much time (1^7 $22^{10ff.}$). Yet the last word of the book—as from the Spirit (in, say, the prophet himself), as from the Church, already the 'Bride,' as from the chance hearer, and as from the Nameless who is above every name—is 'Come': 'whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.' On all these points—and others might be named—the close touch of the Apocalypse with the teaching of the other books of the NT is obvious.

III. *THE APOCALYPTIC ELEMENT IN OTHER BOOKS OF THE NT AND IN CHRISTIANITY.*—Though it is impossible to treat the subject here in detail, a word may be said in conclusion regarding what is commonly called the 'apocalyptic element': (1) in the other books of the NT; (2) in Christianity *itself*. We use the phrase 'apocalyptic element' with reserve, because it may well appear from our study of the Apocalypse that the whole of Christianity is an apocalypse or revelation whose containing sphere is the Person of Jesus Christ (Col $2^{3.\ 9}$). The view of the NT and of the early Fathers (see *Didachè*, 11) regarding the Christian prophets is that expressed by St. Paul (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}), viz. that they are next in rank to the apostles. Yet what distinguished the apostles from the prophets was accidental. The apostles were received as witnesses of Jesus at first hand, men who had 'seen the Lord' (1 Co 9^1). They moved from place to place, and founded churches. In the sub-apostolic Church these functions probably passed over largely to the prophets, who in any case were one with the apostles in the essential qualification of having received their commission not from man but from God and who spoke and acted by ἀποκάλυψις (Ac 4^{19} $20^{22f.}$ $21^{10ff.}$, Gal 1^1 2^2). The expression 'apocalyptic element' indicates phrases, sentences, or longer passages in the apocalyptic style occurring in writings that do not on the whole bear the literary character of apocalypses. It is obvious even at a superficial glance that, so understood, the apocalyptic element in the NT is considerable; and when we remember that it includes phrases directly relating to the order that already exists in heaven or to the processes through which it will come to earth, we shall, perhaps, feel that apocalypse is a leaven rather than an ingredient in the NT. The life reflected in the NT is saturated with the supernatural.

1. The Gospels.—Besides words and phrases, the Synoptic Gospels contain long passages of alleged discourses of Jesus—notably, *e.g.*, Mk 13‖—which are entirely in the apocalyptic style. In view of the fact that Jesus, when before Caiaphas, declared Himself the Messiah in words that were virtually a quotation of Dn 7^{13} (Mk 14^{62}‖), it cannot be said to be impossible that He spoke the contents of Mk 13‖ substantially as they are reported. On the whole, however, it is probable that the Evangelists incorporated in their texts a Jewish-Christian apocalypse which gave the substance of our Lord's utterance in a form adapted to the case of the Christians in Jerusalem at the time of the Jewish-Roman war (A.D. 66–70). It may surely be said with truth and reverence that our Lord Himself was the best example of a speaking apocalyptist, or of the union between apocalypse and prophecy. The saying recorded in Lk 10^{18} would alone be sufficient to prove the point.

In the Gospel of John matters lie in a different

perspective. The heavenly has come rather than is coming. That does not mean, however, that there is no room for apocalypse. It means that all is apocalypse. The Gospel is an account of the manifestation in the flesh of the Word that was God (1[1. 14]).

2. The Acts of the Apostles.—Just as to John (the Evangelist) the appearance and action of Jesus in the world are themselves an apocalypse, so to Luke in the Acts the events that mark the progress of the gospel are largely sensible apocalypses of the Divine favour or power. Ch. 2 (wind, and tongues of fire), 3 (healing), 4 (earthquake), 5 (strokes of judgment, death by a word), 7 (transfiguration, 6[15]; cf. 7[55]), 10 (coincident visions), 12 (deliverance through an angel) are conspicuous instances.

3. The Epistles.—(*a*) In general, the expectation of the Lord's coming, and coming soon, is dominant in all these writings, except (for wholly accidental reasons) Philemon and 2 and 3 John. Even in the later writings, where the colour of the expectation may be supposed to be more sober, the sense of the imminence of the coming glory is not lost. Even John is confident that it is the 'last time' (1 Jn 2[18]). The difference between earlier and later appears chiefly in the choice in the later writings of phrases indicating the manifestation of a Divine reality already existing rather than the coming from heaven of something new (Col 3[1ff.]; cf. Eph 5[3. 14], 1 Jn 3[1ff.]). The apocalyptic element, even in the literary sense, in 2 Peter—perhaps the latest writing in the NT—is sufficiently obvious (2 P 3[3-13]).

(*b*) Of special interest are the earlier Epistles of St. Paul, 1 and 2 Cor., Gal., and 1 and 2 Thessalonians. The passages 1 Co 7[29ff.] 15[21ff.] have already been referred to. Those in 1 Co 12[1ff.] and 14[26ff.] on the tests of prophecy (cf. *Did.* 11) and on its value for edification and conversion are of peculiar interest to the student of Christian prophecy as manifested in the Apostolic Age (14[22. 24f. 31ff.]). In the enumeration in 14[26], the prophet is clearly the person who 'has an ἀποκάλυψις.' Prophecy and 'tongues' might be alike in respect of impermanence (13[8]), but prophecy, while it lasted, was by far the more valuable gift (14[39]). St. Paul probably believed that prophecy, exercised under proper self-control, would last until the Advent, whereas the rationalistic spirit, however little it deserved to be encouraged, would quench the inspiration of the tongues (cf. 14[29f.] with 13[9f.] and 1 Th 5[19f.]). In our study of the Apocalypse we have seen something of the difficulty or even impossibility of finding an eschatological scheme of perfect consistency in detail even in so purely apocalyptical a writer as 'John.' The eschatology of St. Paul is beyond the range of this article. Yet it is pertinent to make two remarks. The one is that St. Paul is as certain of the need and value of prophesying and of the reality of the supernatural happenings with which prophecy is concerned as any apocalyptical writer could be. We prophesy, indeed, in part; still we must prophesy so long as we believe. The other is that, where St. Paul enters, so to speak, upon the sphere of the apocalyptist, as he does so markedly in the Corinthian and Thessalonian Epistles,* his practical motives are clear and cogent. They are the same as the motives of 'John,' viz. to encourage believers to continue in patience and hope. The proposition will bear examination that in practically every case where believers are addressed in the NT regarding the final glory that is to come soon—presumably within their own life-time—a leading motive of the utterance is to insist that other important things must happen first.* This is a paradox, but it is true—as true as the more comprehensive paradox that the Bible is the most eschatological book in the world and, at the same time, the most ethical.

4. In Christianity.—May we extend the paradox to Christianity itself as the spirit and power of the religion of the 20th century? Or are those 'modernists' right who say that the Christianity of the future must be stripped of 'eschatological delusions'? The question, perhaps, cannot be answered with perfect satisfaction to the mind without the aid of psychology and metaphysics; and possibly the new 'intuitionalism' of our day, associated with the name of Bergson, may help some religious men, whom mental training has fitted to desire and receive such aid. We could hardly be satisfied with the impossibility of searching out God to perfection unless it were permissible, or, for some, even necessary, to attempt the task. Yet, on the whole, the moral and spiritual life of mankind goes its own way independently of philosophy. But it does not proceed independently of God. He 'is and was and is to come,' and He 'reveals' Himself to those who trust and obey Him. Our situation in reference to Him is paradoxical. We rest in Him, yet cannot rest, for His promise leads us forward to horizons that vanish and enlarge as we approach. We suffer, yet we hope. We are disappointed, yet we are comforted; for the fulfilment is greater than the hope. Life is an experiment, not a theory, and the object of the experiment is God. Those who thus think will look rather to history and to personal and social religious experience than to philosophy for a solution of the eschatological question.

Could Jesus be the Revealer of God and of Sonship with God and yet be under illusion as to the end of the world? Yes, because human life involves this ignorance, and the Son of God was made flesh. And yes, again, because the illusion was to Him the transparent veil of the certainty that the Righteous Father lived and reigned.

But what of the religion of the future? Must we not leave eschatology and put evolution in its place? No, because these are not alternatives. Evolution no more excludes eschatology than science excludes religion. No, again, because one cannot have religion without eschatology. To the religious man human history is not a mere spectacle. It is a work in which he is involved as a partner with God. It is the working out of God's purpose. And it must have an end, because God must fulfil Himself. Only, let our eschatology be a thing of dignity and freedom. Let it be reserved even when it speaks with effusion. Let it never be separated from the spirit of moral discipline and religious worship. Let it be 'in the spirit on the Lord's Day,' and go with Him to a height where we see more than 'all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them' because we see *Him*. Let it be 'a companion in tribulation' with the humblest of men and women, who are the servants of God and the redeemed of Jesus Christ. Fulfilling these conditions, it will recover (should it have lost it) the note of authority that is struck in the NT and attains such lofty expression in the Apocalypse of John. If we do not call this note science, it is because we must use a greater word and call it prophecy. The heart of Christian prophecy is the 'testimony of Jesus.' It is the confidence gained not from man but from God, that history has no other end than the reconciliation of sinful man to God through Jesus Christ, and the reign of holiness and love in their hearts. The 'Lamb' is also

* *Locc. citt.* in 1 Cor., also 2 Co 5[1ff.] 12[1ff.], 1 Th 4[13ff.], 2 Th 2[1ff.].

* This point is clearly and admirably brought out in reference to our Lord in C. W. Emmet's article (*Expositor*, 8th ser. xxiii. [1912] 422) entitled, 'Is the Teaching of Jesus an *Interimsethik*?'

'the Lion of the tribe of Judah' who has prevailed to open the book of human destiny. 'John' used largely the language of primitive religious imagination to convey his prophecy, and who will say that in his hands the language has not shown itself fit? If the modern Christian prophet thinks he can do better with the language of evolution, let him put his belief to the test of experiment.

In its passage seawards, the river of life is joined by innumerable tributaries. But there is only one force of gravity, and only one main stream. The tributaries reach the ocean only by first reaching the main stream. There is something in God that is akin to everything that is human, yet it may well be that nothing human reaches the end or fulfilment of God—nothing, as 'John' might say, receives the 'crown of life' or finds its 'name written in the Lamb's book of life' —save through the channel of the sacrificial will and the heart of faith. These do not come by evolution or any involuntary process. They come through the travail of self-discipline and prayer and sympathy with our fellows. And, when they come, it is by vision and revelation. It may surely be claimed that the abiding and the loftiest witness to this in literature is the Apocalypse of John.

LITERATURE.—The handbooks, C. A. Scott's 'Revelation,' in the *Century Bible*, London, 1905, and F. C. Porter's *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers*, do. 1905, will be found (esp. the latter) extremely helpful. Of the larger commentaries may be mentioned: J. Moffatt (*EGT*; see esp. 'Literature' in the Introduction); Lücke-de Wette, Bonn, 1852 (epoch-making for the modern method of interpretation); W. Bousset, Göttingen, 1906 ('Excursuses' and history of the interpretation of the Apocalypse specially valuable); J. Weiss, in *Schriften d. NT neu übersetzt u. für d. Gegenwart erklärt*, do. 1908. For Biblical Eschatology may be noted: A. Titius, *Die neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit*, Tübingen, 1895–1900; E. Haupt, *Die eschat. Aussagen Jesu in den syn. Evang.*, Berlin, 1895; and L. A. Muirhead, *Eschatol. of Jesus*, London, 1904 (the two last for the Gospels). For the Epistles of St. Paul: H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, do. 1904; R. Kabisch, *Esch. d. Paulus*, Göttingen, 1893. On Jewish Eschatology in general, see the great relative works of W. Bousset and P. Volz, and the still valuable work of A. Hilgenfeld, *Die jüd. Apokalyptik*, Jena, 1857. On the mythical groundwork of eschatology: H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung u. Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895; H. Gressmann, *Der Ursprung der israel.-jüd. Eschatologie*, do. 1905.

Readers of German will find readiest and fullest access to the texts of most of the extra-canonical apocalypses in the invaluable work, representing many scholars, *Die Apokryphen u. Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 2 vols., ed. E. Kautzsch, Tübingen, 1900. The texts are given in German translations. There are critical introductions and notes.

LEWIS A. MUIRHEAD.

APOLLONIA (*Ἀπολλωνία*).—A town of Mygdonia in Macedonia, S. of Lake Bolbe (Athen. viii. 334), and N. of the Chalcidian mountains. It lay on the *Via Egnatia*, and St. Paul 'passed through' Amphipolis and Apollonia on his way from Philippi to Thessalonica (Ac 17[1]). The intermediate towns were probably remembered by him as resting-places. According to the *Antonine Itinerary*, Apollonia was 37 Roman miles from Amphipolis, and 37 from Thessalonica. Leake identifies it with the modern village of Pollina.

J. STRAHAN.

APOLLOS.—In Ac 18[24. 25] Apollos is described as 'a Jew, an Alexandrian by race, a learned man, mighty in the Scriptures, instructed in the way of the Lord, fervent in spirit,' who came to Ephesus when Aquila and Priscilla had been left there by St. Paul to do pioneering work pending the Apostle's return. Apollos 'spake and taught carefully the things concerning Jesus'; but his knowledge of Jesus was limited, for he knew 'only the baptism of John.'

It is not easy to elucidate the meaning of the rather obscure phrases in 18[25. 26]. Schmiedel cuts the knot by making 18[25c. 26bc] later accretions. Wendt throws out the whole of v.[25], regarding Apollos as a Jew having no connexion with John or with Jesus. McGiffert is of opinion that the description of Apollos as 'instructed in the way of the Lord' and as teaching 'the things concerning Jesus' is erroneous; v.[25a] must have been added by St. Luke. 'We are to think of Apollos as a disciple of John who was carrying on the work of his master and preaching to his countrymen repentance in view of the approaching kingdom of God' (*Apostolic Age*, 291 f.). Harnack says: 'Apollos would appear to have been originally a regular missionary of John the Baptist's movement; but the whole narrative of Acts at this point is singularly coloured and obscure' (*Expansion of Christianity*, i. 331 n.).

Without falling back on any of these somewhat contradictory explanations, we gather that Apollos had an imperfect hearsay acquaintance with the story of Jesus, though enough to convince him of His Messiahship. If the twelve men found in Ephesus by St. Paul (Ac 19[1. 2]) may be treated as disciples of Apollos, he had not heard 'whether the Holy Ghost was given.' His bold eloquence in the synagogue attracted Aquila and Priscilla (*q.v.*), who 'took him unto them and expounded the way of God more carefully.' This indefinite expression does not carry us very far. It seems unlikely that Apollos was baptized at Ephesus, for the twelve disciples are still ignorant of baptism, nor was there a Christian Church in Ephesus until after St. Paul's return later. In this connexion, the Western reading is interesting: that 'the brethren' who encouraged Apollos to go to Achaia were Corinthian Christians. Perhaps they recognized the need of fuller instruction than could be given in Ephesus for such a promising disciple, who was likely to become a powerful Christian teacher.

The work of Apollos in Corinth is described as 'helping them much which had believed through grace' (Ac 18[27]). St. Paul's mission must have left a number of uninstructed Christians in Corinth. These converts had been persuaded to 'believe through grace.' But the Christian life of some was undeveloped; and the powerful preaching of Apollos did much to help them.

This conception of the work of Apollos in Corinth is in accord with St. Paul's words in 1 Co 3[6], 'I planted; Apollos watered.' It is justifiable also to recognize Apollos in St. Paul's reference to men who 'build on the foundation' he had laid (3[11. 12]), and to 'tutors in Christ' (4[15]) in contrast to himself as their 'father.' Evidently Apollos' work was not so much preaching the gospel to the unconverted as buttressing the faith of Christians, partly by an eloquent exposition of the OT, and partly by a powerful apologetic which silenced opponents and strengthened believers.

But this confirming work done by Apollos in Corinth had other effects which were less useful. It appears to have been influential in determining the subsequent character of the Church. Preaching to recent converts whose intellectual equipment was slender and whose Christian knowledge must have been elementary, Apollos, whose own instruction had been imperfect, would inevitably put the impress of his own mode of thinking upon them. Thus there arose a party in the Corinthian Church with the watch-word 'I am of Apollos.' Although some of these had been converted by St. Paul's preaching, they had been 'much helped' by Apollos. Under the influence of their 'tutor in Christ,' their interpretation of Christian truth and duty took on the hue of Apollos rather than of St. Paul.

The distinctive elements in the preaching of Apollos may be gauged from two considerations. (1) He was 'a Jewish Christian versed in the Alexandrian philosophy,' whose 'method of teaching differed from that of Paul, in the first place in being presented in a strikingly rhetorical form,

and also by the use of Alexandrian speculation and allegorical interpretation of Scripture. . . . Apollos sought to reinforce the Gospel which was common to both [Paul and himself], by means of the Alexandrian philosophy and methods of exegesis' (Pfleiderer, i. 145 f.). It is questionable, however, whether the gospel he preached was in all respects 'common to both Paul and himself.' It cannot be without significance that St. Paul has to emphasize the work of the Holy Spirit so definitely as he does in 1 Cor. (cf. $2^{10\text{-}16}$ 3^{16} $12^{1\text{-}4}$). Apollos when he arrived in Ephesus did not know of the giving of the Holy Spirit. Even in Corinth his efforts were to show by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ (Ac 18^{28}). It seems likely that his preaching had this Jewish tone all through, and lacked the spiritual note so dominant in St. Paul's preaching. It was not Judaistic; it was 'a middle term between Paulinism and Judaism' (Pfleiderer, i. 148).

The last NT reference to Apollos (Tit 3^{13}) connects him with 'Zenas the lawyer,' probably a convert from the Jewish scribes. This confirms the idea that Apollos maintained a Hebraistic type of preaching, though his Alexandrian training differentiated him from the 'Judaizers' who pursued St. Paul so relentlessly. Apollos did not recognize that he was anti-Pauline. But the inevitable result of his preaching was to produce a different type of Christian from the type St. Paul desired.

(2) Despite Weizsäcker's disclaimer, some of the results of the teaching of Apollos can be recognized in those irregularities in the Corinthian Church to which St. Paul refers in 1 Corinthians. Would not his eloquence, his philosophical bent, and his reiterated emphasis on Jesus as the Christ, lead to imperfect conversions? And may not the preference for the gift of tongues, or the difficulties about marriage, be traced naturally to this eloquent ascetic? In Corinth, St. Paul resolved 'not to know anything save Christ, and him crucified' (1 Co 2^{2}). Apollos was less conscious of the dangers of another mode of preaching; and his convincing eloquence might win converts who had not 'believed through grace.' This judgment is in harmony with St. Paul's references to Apollos. They scarcely justify the remark of Pfleiderer that St. Paul and Apollos were 'on the best of terms' (i. 146). The relations were correct, but hardly cordial. The two men were friendly; but they occupied different standpoints, and could not always agree. St. Paul was very anxious to avoid friction in Corinth. Therefore he wrote about 'the parties' in a conciliatory spirit, acknowledging generously the work of Apollos. In the same spirit, Apollos did not accept the invitation of the Corinthians (1 Co 16^{12}). But there are hints that St. Paul did not reckon Apollos among the great Christian teachers. He is not mentioned among the founders of the Church in 2 Co 1^{19}. In 1 Co 16^{12} he is referred to only as 'the brother,' where other people's work is described with enthusiasm. St. Paul's references to his own preaching 'not in wisdom of words'; to 'wood, hay, stubble' as possibly built on the foundation he has laid; to 'ten thousand tutors in Christ' who may conceivably mislead: these are compatible at least with St. Paul's fear lest the work of Apollos might be somewhat subversive of his own. Then in Tit 3^{13} St. Paul links Apollos with Zenas in a kindly spirit, but not as if he were an outstanding leader. Probably, whilst sincerely respecting each other, they recognized frankly the differences between them; and in a very creditable manner each man went on his own way. Like St. Paul, Apollos tried to avoid fomenting the party spirit in Corinth; and the NT leaves him in Crete, as a travelling preacher.

Several scholars favour the theory, suggested by Luther, that Apollos was the author of 'Hebrews.' Probably we must accept Bruce's summing up: 'Apollos is the kind of man wanted. With this we must be content' (*HDB* ii. 338^{a}).

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* and *EBi* on 'Apollos,' 'Corinth,' 'Corinthians'; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, London, 1895, pp. 252, 267 ff.; O. Pfleiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, do. 1906, i. 145–160; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i.^{2} [do. 1897] 319–322, ii. [1895] 97; A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*^{2}, do. 1908, i. 79; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 290 ff.; A. Wright, *Some NT Problems*, London, 1898, p. 309; A. Deane, *Friends and Fellow-Labourers of St. Paul*, do. 1907, p. 20; F. J. A. Hort, *JThSt*, Oct. 1905; and Schaff-Herzog, art. 'Apollos.' For authorship of 'Hebrews,' see Comm. on Heb. by M. Dods (*EGT*), 229, and art. in *HDB* on 'Hebrews, Epistle to.'

J. E. ROBERTS.

APOLLYON.—See ABADDON.

APOSTASY.—The Gr. word ἀποστασία (*apostasia*) is found twice in the NT, but in neither case does EV render 'apostasy.' In Ac 21^{21} a charge is brought against St. Paul of teaching all the Jews who are among the Gentiles 'to forsake Moses' (lit. 'apostasy from Moses'). In 2 Th 2^{3} St. Paul assures the Thessalonian disciples that the day of the Lord shall not come 'except the falling away (lit. 'the apostasy') come first, and the man of sin (marg., with better textual justification, 'lawlessness') be revealed.' It is sometimes assumed that the word 'first' indicates that the revelation of the 'man of sin' must be preceded in time by the apostasy (cf. art. MAN OF SIN, and *HDB* iii. 226); but the relation of v.^{2} to v.^{3} makes it more natural to understand 'first' as signifying that the apostasy and the revelation of the 'man of sin,' regarded as contemporaneous, must come before the day of the Lord. This is confirmed if we accept Nestle's contention (*ExpT* xvi. [1904–1905] 472) that ἡ ἀποστασία in this passage should be taken as a translation of the Heb. בְּלִיַּעַל (Belial [*q.v.*])—a rendering that occurs frequently in Aquila's version and also in 3 K 21^{13} in the Cod. Alexandrinus. In any case the Apostle's reference is to the wide-spread expectation in the primitive Church (Mt 24^{24}, 1 Jn 2^{18}; cf. Dn 12^{11}) that the return of Christ would be preceded by such a revelation of the power of the Antichrist (*q.v.*) as would lead to apostasy from the faith on the part of many professing Christians.

J. C. LAMBERT.

APOSTLE.—The term 'Apostle' (Gr. ἀπόστολος) is more definite than 'messenger' (Gr. ἄγγελος) in that the apostle has a special mission, and is the commissioner of the person who sends him. This distinction holds good both in classical and in biblical Greek. There is no good reason for doubting that the title 'apostle' was given to the Twelve by Christ Himself (Lk 6^{13}=Mk 3^{14}, where 'whom he also named apostles' is strongly attested). That the title was used in the first instance simply in reference to the temporary mission of the Twelve to prepare for Christ's own preaching is a conjecture which receives some support from the fact that, in the Apostolic Church, Barnabas and Paul are first called 'apostles' (Ac $14^{4.\ 14}$) when they are acting as envoys of the Church in Antioch in St. Paul's first missionary journey. On this hypothesis, the temporary apostleship, though not identical with the permanent office, was typical of it and preparatory to it (Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, 1897, p. 28 f.).

There is fundamental agreement between the work of the apostles during Christ's ministry and their work after the Ascension; their functions undergo no radical change. But the changes are considerable. Christ chose them in the first instance (Mk 3^{14}) 'that they might be with him,' to be educated and trained, 'and that he might send them forth to preach' and do works of mercy.

Instruction is the main thing, and 'disciples' is the usual designation; mission work is secondary and temporary. After the Ascension their mission work becomes primary and permanent. Apostleship is now the main thing; in Acts 'apostles' is the dominant appellation, and in the Epistles 'disciples' are not mentioned. Instead of being led and guided, the Twelve now become leaders and guides; or rather, instead of having a visible Guide, they now have an invisible one—instead of Jesus, 'the Spirit of Jesus' (Ac 16^{7}), who helps them to lead others. The guidance of the Spirit is the dominant idea in the Apostolic Church. Nevertheless, the other way of stating the change is true; they have become teachers rather than disciples. But the purpose is the same; their mission is unchanged. With enlarged experience, with powers greatly augmented at Pentecost, and with an enormously extended sphere of work, they have to make known the Kingdom of God. Cf. art. DISCIPLE.

This extension of sphere is one of the special marks of the transfigured apostleship. It is no longer restricted to 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel,' but is to embrace 'all the nations' throughout 'all the world.' The tentative mission to the inhabitants of Palestine at a peculiar crisis has become one which has no limitations of either space or time (Mt 28^{19}, Lk 24^{47}, Ac 1^{8}). But this universality of sphere was not the only or the most important characteristic of the new mission. The chief mark was the duty of bearing witness. The Twelve seem to have been selected originally because of their fitness for bearing witness. They were not specially qualified for grasping or expounding theological doctrines; nor were such qualifications greatly needed, for the doctrines which the Master taught them were few and simple. Yet they had difficulty in apprehending some of these, and sometimes surprised their Master by their inability to understand (Mk 7^{18} 8^{17} 9^{32}). But because of their simplicity they were very credible witnesses of what they had heard and seen. They had been men of homely circumstances, and their unique experiences as the disciples of Christ made a deep impression upon them, especially with regard to the hopeless sense of loss when He was put to death, and to the amazing recovery of joy when their own senses convinced them that He had risen again. They were thus well qualified to convince others. They evidently had not the wit to invent an elaborate story, or to retain it when it had been elaborated, and therefore what they stated with such confidence was likely to be true. They were chosen to keep alive and extend the knowledge of events that were of the utmost importance to mankind—the knowledge that Jesus Christ had died on the Cross, and had risen from the grave. That He had died and been buried was undisputed and indisputable; and all of them could testify that they had repeatedly seen Him alive after His burial. This was the primary function of an apostle—to bear witness of Christ's Resurrection (Ac 1^{22} $4^{2, 33}$), and the influence of the testimony was enormous. The apostles did not argue; they simply stated what they knew. Every one who heard them felt that they were men who had an intense belief in the truth of what they stated. There is no trace in either Acts or the Epistles of hesitation or doubt as to the certainty of their knowledge; they knew that their witness was true (Jn 21^{24}, 1 Jn 1^{1-3}). And the confidence with which they delivered their testimony was communicated to those who heard it all the more effectually because, without any sign of collusion or conspiracy, they all told the same story. They differed in age, temperament, and ability, but they did not differ when they spoke of what they had seen and heard. Nay, this still held good when one whom they had at first regarded with fear and suspicion (Ac 9^{26}) was added to their company. Greatly as Saul of Tarsus differed from the Twelve in some things, he was entirely at one with them respecting fundamental facts. He, like them, had seen and heard the risen Christ (1 Co 9^{1} $15^{8, 11}$; Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, 1890, pp. 228–230).

It was probably owing to St. Paul's persistent claim to be an apostle, equal in rank with the Twelve (Gal 1^{1}, 1 Co 9^{1}), that it became customary from very early times to restrict the appellation of 'apostle' to the Twelve and the Apostle of the Gentiles; but there is no such restriction in the NT. It is certainly given to Barnabas, but perhaps primarily as being an envoy from the Church of Antioch (Ac $13^{1, 2}$ $14^{4, 14}$), rather than as having a direct mission from Christ. St. Paul seems to speak of him as a colleague, recognized by Peter and John as equal to himself in the mission to the Gentiles (Gal 2^{9}), and as one who, like himself, used the apostolic privilege of working for nothing, although he had a right to maintenance (1 Co 9^{6}). We need not doubt that Barnabas continued to be called an apostle in a general sense after the mission from Antioch was over.

Perhaps the simplest and most natural way of understanding Gal 1^{19} is that James, the Lord's brother, had the title of 'apostle' in the wider sense. It may be regarded as certain that this James was not one of the Twelve. But 1 Co 15^{7} ought not to be quoted as implying either that there was a company of apostles larger than the Twelve or that James was a member of this larger company. 'Next he appeared to James; then to the whole body of the apostles.' There is no emphasis on 'all,' implying an antithesis between 'to one, then to all.' Such an antithesis, as well as the idea that James was in some sense an apostle, is foreign to the context. The 'all' probably looks back to 'the twelve' in v.^{10}, which is an official and not a numerical designation, for only ten were there, Thomas and Judas being absent. 'Then to all the apostles' probably means that on that occasion the apostolic company was complete (for Thomas was present) rather than that some were there who were called apostles although they were not of the original Twelve. It is highly probable that James, the Lord's brother, was such a person, but 1 Co 15^{7} ought not to be quoted as evidence of this. It is after the murder of James the son of Zebedee that James the Lord's brother comes on the scene. He may have taken the place of his namesake in the number of the Twelve.

That Silvanus and Timothy were regarded as apostles in the wider sense is not improbable. In both 1 and 2 Thess. they are associated with St. Paul in the address, and in both letters the first person plural is used with a regularity which is not found in any other group of the Pauline Epistles: 'our gospel,' *i.e.* 'the gospel which we apostles preach,' is specially remarkable (1 Th 1^{5}, 2 Th 2^{14}). Still more remarkable is the casual addition, 'when we might have been burdensome as apostles of Christ' (1 Th 2^{6}).

Ro 16^{7} probably means that Andronicus and Junias were distinguished as apostles; but there are two elements of doubt: ἐπίσημοι ἐν τοῖς ἀποστόλοις might mean 'well known to the apostles,' but it more probably means that among the apostles they were illustrious persons; and Ἰουνίαν may be masc. or fem., *Junias* or *Junia*. If *Junia* is right, the probability that Andronicus and Junia (? man and wife) were distinguished members of the apostolic body is lessened. But Chrysostom does not shrink from the thought that a woman may be an apostle. He says that to be an apostle at all is a great thing, and therefore to be illustrious amongst such persons

is very high praise; and 'how great is the devotion of this woman, that she should be even counted worthy of the appellation of apostle!' (Sanday-Headlam, *ad loc.*).

The fact that there were people who claimed, without any right, the title of 'apostle' (2 Co 11^{13}, Rev 2^{2}) amounts to proof that in the Apostolic Church there were 'apostles' outside the Twelve with the addition of St. Paul. It is incredible that there were people who claimed to belong to a body so well known as the Twelve, or any who tried to personate St. Paul; and 'it would be unprofitable to waste words on the strange theory that St. Paul is meant by these false apostles' (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894, p. 163). Very soon, though not in the NT, the title of 'apostle' was given to the Seventy. It is not likely that Joseph Barsabbas and Matthias were the only persons among the 120 gathered together after the Ascension (Ac 1^{15}) who had the apostolic qualification of having seen the Lord; probably most of them had been His personal disciples. All of those who took to missionary work would be likely to be styled 'apostles'; and it is not impossible that the 'false apostles' who opposed St. Paul had this qualification, and therefore claimed to have a better right to the title than he had.

The cumulative effect of the facts and probabilities stated above is very strong—so strong that we are justified in affirming that in the NT there are persons other than the Twelve and St. Paul who were called apostles, and in conjecturing that they were rather numerous. All who seemed to be called by Christ or the Spirit to do missionary work would be thought worthy of the title, especially such as had been in personal contact with the Master. When it is said that this reasonable affirmation, based entirely upon Scripture, is confirmed by the account in the *Didache* of an order of wandering preachers who were called 'apostles,' we must be careful not to exaggerate the amount of confirmation. There is no proof, and there is not a very high degree of probability, that the 'apostles' of the *Didache* are the same kind of ministers as those who are called 'apostles' in the NT, although not of the number of the Twelve. We must not infer that they are the lineal descendants, officially, of workers such as Silvanus, Andronicus, and Junias. But the fact that in the sub-Apostolic Age there were itinerant ministers called 'apostles' does give confirmation to the assertion that in the NT there were, outside the apostolic body, ministers who were known as 'apostles.' Chief among these were Paul, Barnabas, and James, of whom Paul certainly, and the other two probably, were regarded by most Christians as equal to the Twelve. Like the Twelve, Paul and Barnabas had no local ties: they retained a general authority over the churches which they founded, but they did not take up their abode in them as permanent rulers. They trained the churches to govern themselves. The Twelve are to be twelve Patriarchs of the larger Israel, twelve repetitions of Christ (Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., 1904–5, i. 72), and at first they were the whole ministry of the infant Church. The first act of the infant Church was to restore the typical number twelve by the election of Matthias; and it is worthy of note, as indicating both the undeveloped condition of the ministry and also the germs of future developments, that in Acts all three terms, 'diaconate' ($1^{17.25}$), 'bishopric' (1^{20}), and 'apostleship' (1^{25}), are used in connexion with the election of Matthias. There is no good ground for the conjecture that the choice of Matthias did not receive subsequent sanction, that he was set aside, and that St. Paul was Divinely appointed to take his place. It is true that he subsequently falls into the background and is lost from sight; but so do most of the Twelve.

The absence from Christ's teaching of any statement respecting the priesthood of the Twelve, or respecting the transmission of the powers of the Twelve to others, is remarkable. As the primary function of the Twelve was to be witnesses of what Christ had taught and done, especially in rising from the dead, no transmission of so exceptional an office was possible. Even with regard to the high authority which all apostles possessed, it is not clear that it was a jurisdiction which was to be passed on from generation to generation. Belief in the speedy return of Christ would prevent any such intention. The apostles were commissioned to found a living Church, with power to supply itself with ministers and to organize them.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works already cited, see J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*, ed. 1892, pp. 92–101; E. Haupt, *Zum Verständnis des Apostolats im NT*, Halle, 1896; H. Monnier, *La Notion de l'apostolat*, Paris, 1903; P. Batiffol, *L'Église naissante*[3], do. 1909, pp. 46–68; also art. 'Apostle,' in *HDB*, *DCG*, *EBi*, and *EBr*[11]. ALFRED PLUMMER.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS AND CANONS.—This work (of the 4th or 5th cent. A.D., but based on more ancient materials) is divided into eight books, dealing, in rambling and hortatory fashion, with the problems of church life and discipline. The chief interest of its contents lies in the miscellaneous information afforded regarding the customs of an early period; the theological leanings, if definitely present at all, are difficult to determine; the copious Scripture quotations often support 'Western' readings. At the end of the eighth book come 85 'Apostolic Canons,' which have attracted special attention.

The claim made by its title (*Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος τοῦ Ῥωμαίων ἐπισκόπου τε καὶ πολίτου. Καθολικὴ διδασκαλία*) is re-stated in the conclusion and amplified in vi. 14, 18: 'We now assembled, Peter and Andrew, James and John, Philip and Bartholomew, Thomas and Matthew, James the son of Alphæus, and Lebbæus who is surnamed Thaddæus, and Simon the Canaanite, and Matthias who instead of Judas was numbered with us, and James the brother of our Lord and bishop of Jerusalem, and Paul . . . and have written to you this catholic doctrine [which] we have sent by our fellow-minister Clement.' The direct authority of Christ is also adduced in ii. 1: 'Concerning bishops we have heard from our Lord'; and in v. 7: 'We teach you all these things which He appointed by His constitutions.' The collective apostolic authorship is recalled to the reader's mind from time to time by casual phrases such as 'we twelve,' 'Philip our fellow-apostle'; while by a curious device, from time to time, without any break in the discourse, one or other of the apostles takes the word out of the common mouth and speaks in his own name, especially at points where the reference is to his personal experience; as ii. 57: 'Read the gospels which I, Matthew and John, have delivered unto you,' and v. 14: 'I arose up from lying in His bosom.' Near the end the apostles in turn each deliver one or more 'constitutions.'

For any modern reader a cursory glance will dispose of these claims. The detailed injunctions about ordinations and festivals, the triumphant proof of the possibility of the Resurrection by a reference to the phœnix, do not strike the apostolic note; and it is easy to remark definite points such as the reference to the heresy of Basilides (vi. 8), and the conversion of the Romans (vi. 24), which show the suggestion of the title to be unwarranted. The author, however, found the apostolic claim made in the sources he used; his own contribution to the fiction is the assertion that Clement was the channel of communication.

In 692 the Trullan Council of Constantinople repudiated the 'Constitutions' as having been tampered with by heretics, but accepted the 85 Canons; while, although in the Gelasian Decree they are called apocryphal, Dionysius Exiguus (*c.* A.D. 500) had translated 50 of the Canons into Latin, and thus these 50 obtained acceptance in the West. The 85 Canons were translated into Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, Arabic; and, though the 'Constitutions' was not translated as a whole, and, in the West, remained unknown, we find Nicetas (A.D. 1154) quoting books v. vi. vii. in his book *contra Latinos*. After the first publication of the Greek text at Venice, in 1563, by the Jesuit Turrianus from a good Cretan MS, the spuriousness of their authority soon came to be recognized. The convenient edition of W. Ültzen (Schwerin and Rostock, 1853) is based on this text.

Modern criticism, it may be said summarily, has shown that the 'Apostolic Constitutions' is a compilation made by a single writer, often referred to as pseudo-Clement, who seems identifiable with the author of the spurious Ignatian epistles; that it is of Syrian origin, and that it must be dated in the 4th or early in the 5th century. One leading consideration is the absence of a polemical theological note, which demands a period sufficiently subsequent to the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325). Interest is thus transferred to the task of distinguishing the older materials present, and tracing in them, and in the modifications made by the compiler, and by still later hands (especially in book viii., which, being most in practical use, was subject to current alteration), the flux of ecclesiastical usages—a task in which the Church historian still waits to some extent for the textual critic.

Books i.–vi. are based on the *Didascalia*, a book originally written in Greek, but known only through a single MS of the Syriac version, now in Paris, published as *Didascalia apostolorum syriace* by P. Lagarde (Leipzig, 1854), by M. D. Gibson with Eng. tr. in *Horæ Semiticæ*, i., ii. (Cambridge, 1903), by H. Achelis in *TU* xxv. 2 [1904]. This document is to be placed in Syria about the middle of the 3rd century. It contemplates a large city-church attended by all sorts and conditions, conscious of the gulf between Christians and pagans, yet apparently neither persecuted nor unpopular. After some general exhortations to men and women, the subject of the bishop and his duties is treated in detail. Remarkable emphasis is laid on a ready and kindly reception of the penitent. We hear of Church courts for civil cases between Christian disputants, which are to meet on Monday, so that feeling may be cooled before the days of worship. The church building lies eastwards—in the direction of the earthly Paradise—and is arranged with special seats for the Presbytery and the different sexes and ages in the congregation. Deacons, sub-deacons, deaconesses, widows, orphans, martyrs, readers, are mentioned as special classes. By a strange chronology of the Passion, a foundation is offered for Easter regulations evidently requiring defence, whether as new or as in conflict with neighbouring custom. There are some Jewish-Christian members, and at the close these are specially addressed. The style throughout is homiletic, with copious citations from Scripture. A short account of this book is given in Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*[2] (tr. Moffatt, London, 1908), ii. 157, 158.

The work of the compiler of the 'Constitutions' is seen in the additional Scripture references, moral reflexions and exhortations. He makes, for example, an unhappily conceived attempt at an elaborate analogy between a well-arranged church and a ship, the deacons being the sailors, the congregation passengers, and so forth. He revises the account of the Passion referred to, in the interests of the shorter fast of his day (v. 14). He boldly reverses the direction to follow the Jewish computation for Easter (*ib.* 17). He refers to the Roman adoption of Christianity (vi. 24), where instead the *Didascalia* mentions persecution.

Book vii. consists of an amplification of the *Didache* (*q.v.*) with modifications. An injunction to fear the king (ch. 16) and pay taxes willingly is inserted. The permission of warm water at baptism is omitted (ch. 20). The rule about weekly fast-days is taken to apply to the Easter fast. The connexion of Eucharist with Agape, apparent in the *Didache*, is avoided. A number of liturgical forms are appended, among which the baptismal symbol in ch. 41 has been doubtfully attributed to Lucian of Antioch—a suggestion which might, as Achelis points out, connect the 'Constitutions' with his congregation. For a comparison of book vii. with the *Didache* see Harnack, 'Didache,' in *TU* ii. 2 [1884], and art. DIDACHE below.

Behind book viii. are various sources. The first two paragraphs are thought by Achelis to be founded on Hippolytus' lost work *περὶ χαρισμάτων*. After there treating of the diversity of spiritual gifts, the writer goes on to 24 chapters, in which the apostles, gathered in council, deliver singly, in turn, 'constitutions' concerning the choice and ordination of bishops and other officers; concerning presbyters, deacons, sub-deacons, readers, widows, exorcists, and their functions; concerning tithes and offerings, the reception of catechumens, holy days, church services and prayers. The main source is thought to be the 'Egyptian Church Order,' originally in Greek, but known through its Coptic and Ethiopic versions, this in turn being based upon the 'Canons of Hippolytus' (*c.* A.D. 220). Both of these may be compared with the 'Constitutions' in *TU* vi. 4 [1891], pp. 39–136. The dependence of the 'Constitutions' on these Canons, though not noted in the complete MSS (unless, indeed, the old conjecture were revived that in the title, after Κλήμεντος . . . ἐπισκόπου should be read καὶ Ἱππολύτου, instead of τε καὶ πολίτου), is pointed out by the title Διατάξεις τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων περὶ χειροτονιῶν διὰ Ἱππολύτου, in excerpts from book viii. Whether, however, the 'Egyptian Church Order' needs to be inserted as a link between book viii. and the 'Canons of Hippolytus' has been disputed.

The most noteworthy sections of book viii. are those containing a complete liturgy for the celebration of the Lord's Supper. The catechumens, hearers, unbelievers, and heterodox are to depart. Mothers are to 'receive' their children—that is, to keep them quiet, else they would continue straying to and fro between the women's seats and their fathers, as may still be seen in Eastern Christian worship. Two deacons are to fan away flies from the cups. The high priest consecrates, the service proceeds with responses and prayers. First the bishop, then the presbyters and deacons partake, and then the people, who after further prayer are dismissed with the benediction 'Depart in peace.' To the older source the compiler of the 'Constitutions' adds that the high priest puts on 'his shining garment' and crosses himself; and, after the deacons, adds a long list of classes of partakers, ending with the children; and orders Ps 33 to be said while the distribution takes place.

In comparison with its sources, book viii. shows a hardening of ecclesiastic rule, *e.g.* in the decision that a confessor must not on any account be dispensed from the need of being ordained if he proceeds to office. A still later change is seen in the suppression of all mention of porters in this book. This cannot be due to pseudo-Clement,

for he names them in the preceding books; when they had disappeared in practice, the references must have been deleted from the familiar book viii., but left unnoticed elsewhere.

The 85 'Canons' at the end of book viii. gained, as we have seen, a partly independent currency: 20 are derived from the Synod of Antioch (A.D. 341); at least 24 repeat regulations from the 'Constitutions'; the others are likelier to be taken from various sources than to be original inventions. They are to be put a little later than the 'Constitutions.' The most remarkable is that which enumerates the canonical books of Scripture, omitting the Apocalypse from the NT canon, but inserting the two epistles of Clement and the 'Apostolic Constitutions,' and, after this audacity, with an artistic touch modestly placing 'the *Acts* of us Apostles' at the bottom of the list.

Other matters contained in the 'Apostolic Constitutions' may be briefly noticed. In the 'bidding prayers' in book viii. a touching light is thrown on the composition of the Church by the reference to those in bitter servitude (viii. 10; cf. the instruction to admit a slave concubine to membership if faithful to her master [*ib.* 32]). A different aspect of affairs is revealed by the list in iv. 6 of those whose gifts should not be received—adulterers, cruel employers, idol-makers, thieves, unjust publicans, drunkards, usurers. A strange piece of advice follows—that, if such contributions have to be taken, they shall be expended in fuel for the needy rather than in food, as the putrid sacrificial meat is ordered in Lv 19[6] to be burnt.

The transition from 'Sabbath' (Saturday) to 'the Lord's day' (Sunday) as the day of worship is seen in process. Book ii. 36 enjoins observance of Sabbath; in ch. 47 the language suggests both days, although the thought has in view perhaps only one; ch. 59 shows the hesitancy of a time of change, saying first 'principally on the Sabbath,' then 'on the Lord's day meet more diligently.' Bk. v. 20 enjoins both days; vii. 23 enjoins first both, then says 'there is one only Sabbath to be observed in the whole year,' that before Easter, as a fast, for then Christ was in the tomb. Book viii. 33 enjoins rest for slaves on both days. As regards other holy days, Christmas, Epiphany, Holy Week, are mentioned (v. 14, 15); further, Pentecost and St. Stephen's Day (viii. 33).

Baptism ritual is elaborate. Before and after immersion there is anointing. Presbyters can baptize, though not ordain (iii. 10, 11). Deaconesses are useful, especially in the baptism of women (*ib.* 15). Canon 50 orders trine immersion.

The bishop is to be ordained by two or three bishops after he is chosen by the people, who are to be repeatedly asked for their consent to procedure (viii. 4). A chief duty of his, requiring acuteness and tact and honour, is the charge of the almsgiving (ii. 4). Exorcists are recognized as doing good work, though they are not to be ordained.

In public worship (ii. 57) the bishops and presbyters sit, the deacons stand near, the congregation are seated according to age and sex, children may stand beside their parents. Deacons walk about to check whispering, laughing, or sleeping. Lessons from the historical and poetical books of the OT respectively are followed by a Psalm sung solo, the congregation joining 'at the conclusions of the verses'; then comes a lesson from the Acts or Epistles, and after this all stand at the reading of the Gospel. If visiting bishops, presbyters, or deacons are present, they are to be recognized as such, and, especially visiting bishops, are to be asked to speak. There is daily morning and evening service (ii. 59, viii. 34, 35), and temptation both to neglect it and to attend heathen and Jewish services.

Curiosities of thought and diction are: warnings to males against dressiness—they may thus snare the frail fair (i. 3); warnings to women not to paint the face, 'which is God's workmanship' (*ib.* 8); the reason in favour of secrecy in almsgiving, that thus comparisons and grumbling are prevented among the recipients (iii. 14); an elaborate comparison of spiritual and physical healing (ii. 41), which gives a vivid picture of contemporary medicine and surgery, at least as it appeared to the author's imagination:

'If it be a hollow wound or great gash, nourish it with a suitable plaster; . . . if foul, cleanse with corrosive powder, that is, words of reproof; if it have proud flesh, eat it down with a sharp plaster—threats of judgment; if it spreads, cut off the putrid flesh; . . . but if there is no room for a fomentation, or oil, or bandage, then, with a great deal of consideration, and the advice of other skilful physicians, cut off the putrefied member, that the whole church be *not* corrupted. . . . Be not hasty with the saw, but first try lancing.'

A quaint story is told by Peter (vi. 8 f.) about Simon Magus, who, to recommend his heresies, flew in the air in a Roman theatre supported by demons, till Peter exorcized them and Simon fell and broke his legs, whereupon the people cried out: 'There is only one God, and Peter rightly preaches the truth.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references already given, full notes will be found in H. Achelis' valuable art. 'Apostol. Konstitutionen u. Kanones' in *PRE*[3] i. [1896]. The 'Ante-Nicene Library' (vol. xvii.) contains an Eng. translation. See also the notices in A. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristlichen Litteratur*, pt. i. [Leipzig, 1893]; A. J. Maclean, *Recent Discoveries illustrating Early Christian Life and Worship*, London, 1904; W. E. Collins, art. 'Apostol. Constitutions' in *EBr*[11] ii. [1910].

R. W. STEWART.

APPEAL.—See TRIAL-AT-LAW.

APPEARING.—See PAROUSIA.

APPHIA (in some MSS and VSS *Aphphia* or *Appia*).—A Christian lady of Colossæ, designated by St. Paul (Philem[2]) as 'sister' (ἀδελφῇ, so ℵ ADE), in the Christian sense. AV, following inferior MS testimony, substitutes 'beloved' (ἀγαπητῇ); some MSS have both words. Grotius regards the name as a softened and hellenized form of the Latin *Appia*; but Lightfoot (*Col. and Philem.*[3], 1879, p. 306) and Zahn (*Introd. to NT*, 1909, i. 458) show that the name is Phrygian and is found in numerous ancient Phrygian inscriptions.

Most commentators (following Chrysostom and Theodoret) regard Apphia as Philemon's wife, since otherwise her name either would not have been introduced at all in a private letter, or at least would have been put after the name of Archippus (*q.v.*), who was an office-bearer. As the wife of Philemon, Apphia would have some claim to be consulted in such a matter as the forgiveness and emancipation of a slave. The possibility, however, of her being the sister (literally) of Philemon is not grammatically excluded if the reading 'sister' be accepted.

The ancient Greek Martyrology represents Apphia (along with Philemon) as suffering martyrdom under Nero on Nov. 22 (see *Menæa* for November).

LITERATURE.—See under PHILEMON.

HENRY COWAN.

APPII FORUM.—See APPIUS, MARKET OF.

APPIUS, MARKET OF (Ἀππίου φόρου, Ac 28[15]; AV **Appii Forum**).—A town on the *Via Appia*, the usual resting-place for travellers from Rome at the end of the first day's journey, though Horace says of himself and his companion: 'Hoc iter ignavi divisimus' (*Sat.* I. v. 5). The site of the town is marked by considerable ruins, near the modern railway station of *Foro Appio*, where the 43rd ancient milestone is still preserved. It was the northern terminus of a canal (*fossa*), which ex-

tended, parallel with the line of road, through the Pomptine marshes as far as the neighbourhood of Tarracina. Strabo says that travellers from the South usually sailed up the canal by night, 'embarking in the evening, and landing in the morning to travel the rest of their journey by road' (v. iii. 6). Pliny mentions Appii Forum among the municipal towns of Latium (III. v. 9). Horace (*loc. cit.* 4–15) sets down his vivid recollections of a place 'crammed full of boatmen and extortionate tavern-keepers,' where 'the water was utterly bad,' where at night 'the slaves bantered the boatmen and the boatmen the slaves,' where 'troublesome mosquitoes and marsh frogs' kept sleep from his eyes. St. Paul and St. Luke remembered it gratefully as the first of two places—*Tres Tabernæ* (see THREE TAVERNS), 10 miles further north, being the other—whither brethren came from Rome to greet them and escort them on their way. J. STRAHAN.

APRON.—The word σιμικίνθια (pl.), a modified form of the Latin *semicinctia*, occurs only in Ac 19[12], where it is translated 'aprons,' and placed in an alternative relation to σουδάρια (see HANDKERCHIEF). The two articles are not to be identified. The σιμικίνθιον is, as the derivation suggests, a half-girdle, or forecloth; not an essential of dress, like the girdle itself, but an accessory, worn by artisans and slaves for protection of their clothes during work. Presumably the material was linen or cotton. Still there is some doubt as to its precise nature (see L. S. Potwin, *Here and There in the Greek New Testament*, New York, 1898, p. 169, where a parallel from Martial, xiv. 151 ff. is quoted).

It is not said that the aprons were the property of St. Paul; but, judging from the word used for body (ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτός), this is not impossible. The deduction has been made that he used them in pursuing his craft as a tentmaker. All that was needed, however, was that the articles should have touched his person, and thereafter those suffering from disease (cf. Lk 8[44]). For the usage, and belief underlying, cf. Ac 5[15], and for modern instances, *HDB* (*s.v.*), and S. I. Curtiss, *Primitive Semitic Religion To-Day*, London, 1902, p. 91 f.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

AQUILA AND PRISCILLA (or PRISCA).*—The references to this husband and wife are Ac 18, Ro 16[3], 1 Co 16[19], and 2 Ti 4[19]. These passages suggest that Aquila and Priscilla were, in St. Paul's eyes, people of importance in the early Church, though ecclesiastical tradition has little to say about them. The careful description of Aquila as 'a Jew, a man of Pontus by race' (Ac 18[2]), rather implies that Priscilla his wife was not a Jewess; because her name is usually put first, it is thought that she was of higher social standing than her husband. Evidence has been offered by de Rossi that Priscilla was a well-connected Roman lady. Discussing this evidence, Sanday and Headlam suggest that both Aquila and Priscilla 'were freedmen of a member of the Acilian gens' (*Romans*[5], 420). But they admit the possibility of Priscilla being 'a member of some distinguished Roman family.' Ramsay strongly urges this theory, and it explains much in the story—their social position, their command of money, their influence in Rome, their freedom from Jewish prejudices, etc. Another explanation of why Priscilla's name comes first may be that she was the more vigorous and intelligent Christian worker. Thus Harnack describes them as 'Prisca the missionary, with her husband Aquila' (*Expansion of Christianity*[2], i. 79).

Aquila and Priscilla came from Italy to Corinth, 'because Claudius had commanded all the Jews to depart from Rome' (Ac 18[2]). Suetonius says the expulsion was caused by a series of disturbances 'due to the action of Chrestus' (*Claud.* 25); *i.e.* Christian ferment was one cause of the edict. It is probable, therefore, that Aquila and Priscilla had been influenced in Rome by Christian teaching, though it cannot be decided whether they were already converts to Christianity. For this reason they were compelled to leave the country, though the edict was not rigidly enforced on all Jews. Priscilla accompanied her Jewish husband to Corinth, where they followed their trade as tentmakers. They seem always to have been able to maintain a fair position, for their house was a meeting-place for the Church both in Ephesus and in Rome. Probably, then, they were people of considerable means, though their expulsion from Rome limited their resources for a time. Comradeship in trade is given as the reason why St. Paul lodged with Aquila and Priscilla in Corinth; but their favourable attitude to Christianity must have been a strong inducement on both sides. Under St. Paul's influence they became not only earnest Christians, but also enthusiastic helpers of the Apostle. Writing to the Corinthian Church in after years, the Apostle says: 'Aquila and Priscilla greet you much in the Lord' (1 Co 16[19]). This is a warm personal greeting, in the way not merely of friendship but of love and service to Christ—a suitable greeting from those who had helped St. Paul to found the Church.

When St. Paul went to Ephesus, Aquila and Priscilla went with him and remained there to do pioneer work whilst he visited Jerusalem. They shrank from the responsibility, and wanted the Apostle to remain (Ac 18[20]). But he urged them to stay, promising to return. So the initial work in Ephesus was done by Aquila and Priscilla. They tried to prepare the ground before St. Paul returned, and to sow the seed of Christian teaching as far as they were able. During this time Apollos (*q.v.*) came to Ephesus, with his imperfect apprehension of Christianity. Aquila and Priscilla admired his learning and his earnestness; and, recognizing that such a man must either be a strong supporter of the cause or an influential opponent, they did their best to instruct him more carefully (Ac 18[26]). Subsequent events throw doubt on the ability of this couple, who were themselves recent converts, to educate the eloquent Alexandrian in the Pauline interpretation of the gospel. Would not his presence overshadow Aquila and Priscilla, tending to make their work more difficult? The elementary and even chaotic state of things in Ephesus at this period is shown by the incident of the twelve men 'knowing only the baptism of John' whom St. Paul found when he returned to the city (Ac 19[1ff.]). As nothing is said about the baptism of Apollos, and as the twelve men 'had not heard whether the Holy Spirit was given,' it seems unlikely that there had been any Christian baptism in Ephesus before St. Paul came to superintend the work. Nevertheless, Aquila and Priscilla seem to have fulfilled their mission with skill and courage; and, when a Church was gathered, the members met in their house (1 Co 16[19]). This may explain their presence in Rome when the Epistle to the Romans was written. As St. Paul left them in Ephesus to do pioneering work, so he seems to have sent them to Rome to prepare the way for his coming there. The decree of expulsion was not enforced permanently; their connexion with a leading Roman family made it more possible for them to return to Rome than for Jews with no influence; whilst their knowledge of the city, their social standing, as well as their experience in Corinth and in Ephesus, with their devotion to himself, fitted them pre-eminently for such work as St. Paul contemplated.

* St. Luke uses the form *Priscilla* (in Acts), St. Paul the form *Prisca* (in his Epistles).

The recognition of the social position of this devoted couple, and of their valuable pioneering work, invests them with special interest as having assisted St. Paul in his missionary labours in a unique way. Their devotion to the Apostle was signalized in some remarkable fashion, apparently when he was in danger. His description of them as 'my fellow-workers in Christ Jesus, who for my life laid down their own necks; unto whom not only I give thanks but also all the churches of the Gentiles' (Ro $16^{3.4}$), sets them side by side with the Apostle. They have laboured along with him in a pre-eminent manner, and have attested their worth as independent workers (cf. Weizsäcker, i. 394). 'They furnish the most beautiful example known to us in the Apostolic Age of the power for good that could be exerted by a husband and wife working in unison for the advancement of the Gospel' (McGiffert, 428).

The references to Aquila and Priscilla have been used as arguments against the historicity of parts of Acts and in favour of treating Ro 16 as not part of that Epistle. But the two reasons relied on are not strong enough to carry the conclusions. It is supposed that both were Jews (so Weizsäcker, McGiffert; cf. Lightfoot on *Phil.*[4], 1878, p. 16)—though Priscilla was probably a Roman; and their migratory life is fully explained if they were people of means, who became enthusiastic helpers in St. Paul's missionary labours, and whom he selected to do pioneering work in Ephesus and in Rome. In particular their return to Ephesus at a later period (2 Ti 4^{19}) is quite comprehensible. Not only would they have trade connexions with the city, but also their presence would be specially welcome because they had been actually the founders of the Church.

Aquila and Priscilla have been selected by some scholars as likely authors of 'Hebrews.' Harnack has argued strongly for this suggestion, and Rendel Harris favours it. M. Dods says: 'All that we know of Aquila seems to fit the conditions as well as any name that has been suggested' (Com. on 'Hebrews' [*EGT*], 234). It has to be said, however, that the suggestion implies a closer intimacy with Judaism than seems likely in their case. The influence of the Roman wife probably preponderated over the Jewish influence of the husband. They were not Christians of the Judaistic type, but cordial workers on Pauline lines among Gentiles. At the same time, the discussion of a Jew's difficulties by such a vigorous mind as Priscilla possessed may have qualified Aquila to write 'Hebrews' with his wife's help. It is a question, however, whether their authorship would harmonize with the independent use of Pauline thoughts characteristic of the Epistle (cf. *Expositor*, 8th ser., v. 371 ff.).

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* on 'Aquila,' 'Priscilla,' 'Corinth,' 'Corinthians'; in *EBi* (by Schmiedel) on 'Acts' and 'Aquila'; and in Schaff-Herzog on 'Aquila'; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], Edinburgh, 1902, *Introd.* § 3, and p. xl, also pp. 418–420; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, London, 1895, pp. 253 ff., 267 ff.; A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*[2], do. 1908, i. 75 and 79; C. v. Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age*, i.[2] [do. 1897] 307 ff.; O. Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, i. [do. 1906] 246; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 273, 427 f.; *EGT*, 'Hebrews,' *Introd.* p. 228, 'Acts of Apostles,' p. 383, 'Romans,' pp. 560, 718 f.

J. E. ROBERTS.

ARABIA.—Arabia (Ἀραβία, from ערב), which now denotes the great peninsula lying between the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, was in ancient times a singularly elusive term. Originally it meant simply 'desert' or 'desolation,' and when it became an ethnographic proper name it was long in acquiring a fixed and generally understood meaning. 'Arabia' shifted like the nomads, drifted like the desert sand. It did not denote a country whose boundaries could be defined by treaty, shown by landmarks, and set down in a map. Too vast and vague for delimitation, it impressed the imagination like the steppe, the prairie, or the veldt, while it had a character and history of its own. To the settled races of Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine, it meant any part of that hinterland, skirting the confines of civilization, which was the camping-ground of wandering tribes for ever hovering around peaceful towns and spreading terror among their inhabitants. It was the dim border region, not so wholly unproductive as to be incapable of supporting life, interposed between cultivation and the sheer wilderness. So uncertain was the application of the term, that there was no part of the semi-desert fringe extending from the lower Tigris to the lower Nile which was not at one time or another called Arabia. To the prophets of Israel the word had one meaning, on Persian inscriptions another, and to Greek writers (Herod. ii. and iii.; Xenophon, I. v. 1, VII. viii. 25) still another. Every one used it to denote that particular hinterland whose tribes and peoples were more or less known to him; that was *his* Arabia.

But by the 3rd cent. B.C. the Arab tribe of the Nabatæans had become a powerful nation, with Petra as their capital, and from that time onward Arabia began to be identified, especially in the Western mind, with the Nabatæan kingdom. While 1 Mac. still distinguishes the Nabatæans from other Arabs (5^{25} 9^{35}), 2 Mac. speaks of Aretas, the hereditary king of the Nabatæans, as 'king of the Arabs' (5^{8}). In the time of Josephus this people 'inhabited all the country from the Euphrates to the Red Sea' (*Ant.* I. xii. 4). Soon after taking possession of Judæa, the Romans sent an expedition, under Marcus Scaurus, against the Nabatæans (59 B.C.); and, though their subjugation was not accomplished at that time, it must have taken place not much later. From the days of Augustus the kings of the Arabians were as much subject to the Empire as Herod, king of the Jews, and they had the whole region between Herod's dominions and the desert assigned to them. To the north 'their territory reached as far as Damascus, which was under their protection, and even beyond Damascus, and enclosed as with a girdle the whole of Palestinian Syria' (Mommsen, *Provinces*[2], Lond. 1909, ii. 148 f.). The Arabians who were present at the first Christian Pentecost (Ac 2^{11}) were most likely Nabatæans, possibly from Petra.

The Nabatæan kings made use of Greek official designations, and St. Paul relates how 'the governor' (ὁ ἐθνάρχης) of Damascus 'under Aretas the king' was foiled in the attempt, probably made at the instigation of the Jews, to put him under arrest soon after his conversion (2 Co $11^{32f.}$). This episode, which has an important bearing on the chronology of St. Paul's life, raises a difficult historical problem. Damascene coins of Tiberius indicate that the city was under direct Roman government till A.D. 34; and, as the legate of Syria was engaged in hostilities with Aretas till the close of the reign of Tiberius, it is very unlikely that this emperor yielded up Damascus to the Nabatæan king. But the accession of Caligula brought a great change, and the suggestion is naturally made that he bought over Aretas by ceding Damascus to him. The fact that no Damascene coins bearing the Emperor's image occur in the reigns of Caligula and Claudius is in harmony with this theory (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 357 f.). The view of Mommsen (*Provinces*[2], ii. 149), following Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, Leipzig, 1885, i. 405), is different. Talking of the voluntary submission of the city of Damascus to the king of the Nabatæans, he says that

'probably this dependence of the city on the Nabatæan kings subsisted so long as there were such kings [*i.e.* from the beginning of the Roman period till A.D. 106]. From the fact that the

city struck coins with the heads of the Roman emperors, there follows doubtless its dependence on Rome and therewith its self-administration, but not its non-dependence on the Roman vassal-prince; such protectorates assumed shapes so various that these arrangements might well be compatible with each other.'

See, further, ARETAS.

In the Galatian Epistle (1[17]) St. Paul states that after his escape from Damascus he 'went away into Arabia,' evidently for solitary communion with God; but he does not further define the place of his retreat, and Acts makes no allusion to this episode. When he quitted the city under cover of darkness, he had not a long way to flee to a place of safety, for the desert lies in close proximity to the Damascene oasis. Possibly he went no further than the fastnesses of Hauran. Lightfoot (*Gal.* 87 f.), Stanley (*Sinai and Palestine*, Lond. 1877, p. 50), and others conjecture that he sought the solitude of Mt. Sinai, with which he seems to show some acquaintance in the same Epistle (Gal 4[25]). But he could scarcely have avoided specific reference to so memorable a journey, which would have brought him into a kind of spiritual contact with Moses and Elijah. Besides, the peninsula of Sinai was about 400 miles from Damascus; and, as military operations were being actively carried on by the legate of Syria against Aretas in A.D. 37—the probable year of St. Paul's conversion—it would scarcely have been possible for a stranger to pass through the centre of the perturbed country without an escort of soldiers.

In A.D. 106 the governor of Syria, Aulus Cornelius Palma, broke up the dominion of the Nabatæan kings, and constituted the Roman province of Arabia, while Damascus was added to Syria. For the whole region the change was epoch-making.

'The tendency to acquire these domains for civilisation and specially for Hellenism was only heightened by the fact that the Roman government took upon itself the work. The Hellenism of the East . . . was a church militant, a thoroughly conquering power pushing its way in a political, religious, economic, and literary point of view' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* ii. 152).

Under the strong new régime the desert tribes were for the first and only time brought under control, with the result that no small part of 'the desert' was changed into 'the sown.' 'Rome won the nomads to her service and fastened them down in defence of the border they had otherwise fretted and broken. . . . Behind this Roman bulwark there grew up a curious, a unique civilisation talking Greek, imitating Rome, but at heart Semitic' (G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, London, 1894, p. 627).

LITERATURE.—E. Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 345 ff.; J. Euting, *Nabatäische Inschriften aus Arabien*, Berlin, 1885; H. Vincent, *Les Arabes en Syrie*, Paris, 1907; G. A. Cooke, *North-Semitic Inscriptions*, London, 1903; and the art. 'Arabs (Ancient),' by Th Nöldeke, in *ERE* i. 659. JAMES STRAHAN.

ARAMAIC.—See LANGUAGE.

ARATUS.—See QUOTATIONS.

ARCHANGEL.—See ANGEL.

ARCHIPPUS (Ἄρχιππος).—An office-bearer of the Apostolic Church referred to in Col 4[17] as exercising a ministry 'in the Lord,' *i.e.* in fellowship with, and in the service of, Christ. He is addressed by St. Paul as 'fellow-soldier'—a designation possibly occasioned by some special service in which the two had been engaged together during St. Paul's three years' abode at Ephesus, where the Apostle had severe conflicts with assailants (1 Co 15[32]). More probably, however, the expression refers to the general fellowship of the two men in evangelistic work (cf. Ph 2[25]). The military figure may have been suggested by the Apostle's environment at Rome.

Archippus may have been a presbyter bishop, a leading deacon, an evangelist, or a prominent teacher at the time when St. Paul wrote. From Philem[2] he appears to have been a member of Philemon's household, and he is regarded by most commentators (after Theodore of Mopsuestia) as his son. Accordingly, it is generally supposed (after Chrysostom) that Archippus was an office-bearer of the Colossian Church. Against this inference Lightfoot adduces (1) the mention of Archippus in Col. immediately after a reference to Laodicea; (2) the alleged unlikelihood of Archippus being addressed in Col 4[17] indirectly instead of directly, if he were himself an official of the Church to which St. Paul was writing; (3) the tradition (embodied in the *Apost. Constitutions*, vii. 46) that Archippus became 'bishop,' or presiding presbyter, of Laodicea. Lightfoot infers that Archippus fulfilled his ministry at Laodicea, which was not many miles from Colossæ: and the mention of him in Philem. is accounted for by supposing that St. Paul (through Tychicus, the bearer of his letter to Philemon) might have suggested that Onesimus should be employed not in the city where he had lived as a slave, but in the Laodicean Church under Archippus. The usual supposition, however, that Archippus lived with Philemon at Colossæ and also laboured there, appears, on the whole, more natural and probable.

The message conveyed to Archippus ('Take heed [look] to the ministry,' etc.) is held by Lightfoot (*Coloss.*[3] 42 f.) to imply a rebuke, as if Archippus had been remiss or unfaithful in the discharge of official duty; and Lightfoot, believing that Archippus held office at Laodicea, compares the admonition to him with the censure on account of lukewarmness administered in Rev 3 to the angel and church of the Laodiceans. The message, however, to Archippus can hardly be regarded as necessarily suggesting more than that his work was specially important and arduous, demanding from himself earnest watchfulness, and from an older 'fellow-campaigner,' like St. Paul, the incentive of sympathetic exhortation and warning. Theophylact, in his commentary, supposes that the apostolic message is purposely made public, instead of being conveyed in a private letter, not so much to suggest Archippus' special need of admonition, as to enable him, without offence, to deal in like manner with brethren under himself.

In the Greek Martyrology, Archippus appears (in the *Menæa* under Nov. 22) as having been stoned to death, along with Philemon, at Chonæ, near Laodicea. His alleged eventual 'episcopate' or presiding presbyterate at Laodicea is at least possible, and even probable; but the inclusion of his name in the pseudo-Dorothean list (6th cent.) of the Seventy of Lk 10 is quite incredible.

LITERATURE.—J. A. Dietelmaier, *de Archippo*, Altdorf, 1751; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*[3], 1879, pp. 42 f., 308 ff.; see also Literature under PHILEMON. HENRY COWAN.

AREOPAGITE, AREOPAGUS.—In Ac 17[34] the title 'the Areopagite' is given to one **Dionysius**, a convert to the Christian faith at Athens, implying that he was a member of the council of the Areopagus.

Areopagus (Ac 17[19] AV and RV; v.[22] AV 'Mars' Hill,' RV 'Areopagus'; the RV is correct in rendering 'Areopagus' in both places, as it preserves the ambiguity of the original).—(*a*) The name denominated a rocky eminence N.W. of the Acropolis at Athens, which was famous in the history of the city. Between the hill and the Acropolis was a narrow declivity, now largely filled in. On the N.E. the rock is precipitous, and at the foot of the precipice the worship of the propitiated Furies as the Eumenides was carried on, so that the locality was invested with awesome associations. It is approached from the *agora*, or market-place, by an old, worn stairway of sixteen steps, and

upon the top can still be seen the rough, rock-hewn benches, forming three sides of a square, upon which the court sat in the open air, in order that the judges should not be under the same roof as the accused.—(*b*) The expression was also used of the court itself (Cicero, *ad Att.* i. 14. 5; *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 74; *Rep.* i. 27). From time immemorial this court held its meetings on the hill in question, and was at once the most ancient and most revered tribunal in the city. In ancient times it had supreme authority in both criminal and religious matters, and its influence, ever tending to become wider, affected laws and offices, education and morality. It thus fulfilled the functions of both court and council. Pericles and his friend Ephialtes (*c.* 460 B.C.) set themselves to limit the power of the court (Aristotle, *Const. Ath.* 25), and it became largely a criminal court, while religious matters seem to have been controlled, at least in part, by the King Archon. But the reforms of Ephialtes mainly concerned interference in public affairs; and the statements of Æschylus in the tragedy *Eumenides*, which appeared at the time in defence of the court, appear to be exaggerated. In any case, in the Roman period it regained its former powers (Cicero, *ad Fam.* xiii. 1. 5; *de Nat. Deor.* ii. 74). As to the origin of the court, according to popular legend Ares was called before a court of the twelve gods to answer for the murder of Halirrhŏtius (Paus. I. xxviii. 5), but Æschylus (*Eum.* 685 ff.) attributes its foundation to Athene.

The questions which arise out of the narrative of Acts are these: Was St. Paul taken before the council or to the hill? Or did he appear before the council sitting in the traditional place? Was he in any sense on trial?

The King Archon held his meetings in the Stoa Basileios, and it was there that Socrates had been arraigned on a matter similar to that which exercised the minds of the philosophers in the case before us. It seems probable that this Stoa became identified with the discussion of religious questions, and that, when the council of the Areopagus regained its full powers, it held its meetings here, reserving its old judgment-seat for cases of murder (so Curtius, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, Berlin, 1894, ii. 528 f., *Stadtgesch. von Athen*, do. 1891, p. 262 f.; but Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, Lond. and N.Y., 1909, p. 108, remarks: 'Curtius' explanation seems to me untenable'; see also Conybeare, in *HDB* i. 144). The whole picture, indeed, is in favour of this view. There is no reason why the Stoics and Epicureans should have carried away the Apostle to an isolated spot. Further, Ramsay truly remarks: 'The Athenians were, in many respects, flippant; but their flippancy was combined with an intense pride in the national dignity and the historic glory of the city, which would have revolted at such an insult as that this stranger should harangue them about his foreign deities on the spot where the Athenian elders had judged the god Ares and the hero Orestes' (*St. Paul the Traveller*, Lond. 1895, p. 244). Moreover, the Apostle's speech was not a philosophical disquisition but rather a popular oration, suited to the general populace of idle Athenians and dilettante Roman youths whose education was not considered complete until they had spent some time in the purlieus of the ancient university. If the council happened to be sitting, as was evidently the case, it was a most natural impulse to hurry the newcomer, who 'babbled' apparently of two new deities, Jesus and 'Resurrection' (for so they would understand him), to its meeting-place, that the question might be settled as to whether or not he was to be allowed to continue. Yet it can hardly be said that the proceedings were even remotely connected with a judicial inquiry. It was no *anakrisis*, or preliminary investigation, though the philosophers may have hoped that something of the sort would be the outcome. It is of little importance whether the phrase 'they took him and brought him' implies friendly compulsion or inimical intent. The feelings of the listeners would be very mixed, and they would quite naturally be excited by the curious message of the new preacher. The professing teachers were all interested in new ideas and yet resented unwarranted intrusion. The council was in the habit of making pronouncements on the subject of new religious cycles of thought, and it was no doubt felt that, if their attention was drawn to the subject, official proceedings would follow. It is evident that there was much in the address of St. Paul that awoke sympathy in his audience. One member of the council, at least, was converted, to wit, Dionysius. There may have been others. But the general effect produced by the mention of the Resurrection was contempt. A few were ready to hear more on the subject, possibly a minority suggested a more formal examination; but the result of the hearing, as of the visit, outwardly and visibly, was failure. The council of the Areopagus made judicial procedure impossible, by refusing to treat the matter seriously, and the Apostle left them, a disappointed, and no doubt a somewhat irritated man.

LITERATURE.—Besides the authors quoted, see W. M. Ramsay, in *Expositor*, 5th ser. ii. [1895] 209, 261, also x. [1899]; E. Renan, *St. Paul*, Eng. tr. 1890, p. 193 f.; A. C. McGiffert, *History of the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 257 ff.; *EBr*[9], art. 'Areopagus'; R. J. Knowling, in *EGT* ii. [London, 1900] 368 f.

F. W. WORSLEY.

ARETAS (Ἀρέτας, Arab. *Ḥāritha*).—The Gr. form of a name borne by several rulers of the Nabatæan Arabs, whose capital was Petra in Arabia.

1. The first known to history, 'Aretas, prince of the Arabians,' is said to have had the fugitive high-priest Jason shut up at his court (2 Mac 5[8]; the Gr. text is doubtful). His designation as 'prince' (*τύραννος*) indicates that the hereditary chieftain of the tribe had not yet assumed the dignity of kingship. The royal dynasty was founded by Erotimus about 110–100 B.C., when the Greek kings of Syria and Egypt had lost so much of their power, 'ut adsiduis proeliis consumpti in contemptum finitimorum venerint praedaeque Arabum genti, imbelli antea, fuerint' (Trog. Pomp. *ap.* Justin., xxxix. 5. 5–6).

2. The second Aretas, called ὁ Ἀράβων βασιλεύς, is mentioned by Josephus (*Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3) in connexion with the siege of Gaza by Alexander Jannæus in 96 B.C.

3. Aretas III., who reigned from about 85 to 60 B.C., is known as 'Aretas the Philhellene,' this being the superscription of the earliest Nabatæan coins that are known. Under him the mountain fortress of Petra began to assume the aspect of a Hellenistic city, and the Nabatæan sway was extended as far as Damascus. He incurred the displeasure of the Romans by interfering in the quarrel of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, but the war which Scaurus waged against him left his power unbroken (*Ant.* XIV. v. i.; *BJ* I. viii. 1). He could not, however, prevent Lollius and Metellus from taking possession of Damascus (*Ant.* XIV. ii. 3; *BJ* I. vi. 1), which thereafter was permanently under the suzerainty of Rome.

4. Aretas IV., Philopatris, the last and best-known, had a long and successful reign (*c.* 9 B.C.–A.D. 40). He was originally called Æneas, but on coming to the throne he assumed the favourite name of the Nabatæan kings. He soon found it necessary to ingratiate himself with Rome.

Augustus 'was angry that Aretas had not sent to him first before he took the kingdom; yet did Æneas send an epistle

and presents to Cæsar, and a crown of gold of the weight of many talents.' . . . The Emperor 'admitted Aretas's ambassadors, and after he had just reproved him for his rashness in not waiting till he had received the kingdom from him, he accepted his presents, and confirmed him in the government' (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. ix. 4, x. 9).

This Aretas' daughter became the wife of Herod Antipas, who divorced her in order to marry Herodias (Mk 6^{17}). Border disputes gave the injured father an opportunity of revenge. Again acting, at this new juncture, without consulting Rome, he attacked and defeated Antipas (A.D. 28); and again fortune smiled on his daring disregard of consequences. The belated expedition which Vitellius, governor of Syria, at Tiberius' command, led against Petra, had only got as far as Jerusalem, when the tidings of the Emperor's death (A.D. 37) caused it to be abandoned.

There is circumstantial evidence, though perhaps too slender to be quite convincing, that Tiberius' successor Caligula favoured the cause of Aretas. St. Paul was converted probably about A.D. 36 (so Turner), and, some time after, the Jews of Damascus conspired to kill him (Ac $9^{22f.}$). In recalling this fact he mentions a detail (2 Co 11^{32}) which the writer of Acts omits, namely, that it was the governor (*ἐθνάρχης*) under Aretas the king who—doubtless at the instigation of the Jews—guarded the city to take him. The question is thus raised when and how Aretas became overlord of Damascus. It is inconceivable either that he captured the city in face of the Roman legions in Syria, or that Tiberius, who in the end of his reign was strongly hostile, ceded it to him. But it is probable that Caligula favoured the enemy of Herod Antipas. One of his first imperial acts was to give the tetrarchy of Philip and Lysanias to Agrippa (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10), and he may at the same time have given Damascus to Aretas as a peace-offering. It was better policy to befriend than to crush the brave Nabatæans. Antipas was ultimately deposed and banished in 39.

It was only for a short time, however, that Rome relaxed her direct hold upon the old Syrian capital. There are Damascene coins with the figure of Tiberius down to A.D. 34, and the fact that none has been found with the image of Caius or Claudius is significant of a change of régime; but the image of Nero appears from 62 onwards. To the view of Marquardt (*Röm. Staatsverwaltung*, 1885, i. 405) and Mommsen (*Provinces*[2], 1909, ii. 149), based on 2 Co 11^{32}, that Damascus was continuously in subjection to the Nabatæan kings from the beginning of the Roman period down to A.D. 106, there are the strongest objections (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 354). Cf. art. ARABIA.

More coins and inscriptions date from the time of Aretas IV. than from any Nabatæan reign. While the standing title of Aretas III. was Φιλέλληνος, that which the last chose for himself was רחם עמה, 'Lover of his people.' He set country above culture; he was a Nabatæan patriot first and a Hellenist afterwards. It was probably this successful reign that Josephus had in view when he wrote of the extension of the Nabatæan kingdom from the Euphrates to the Red Sea (*Ant.* I. xii. 4).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited in the body of the art., see Literature appended to art. ARABIA, and P. Ewald, art. 'Aretas,' in *PRE*[3]. JAMES STRAHAN.

ARISTARCHUS (Ἀρίσταρχος). — A Macedonian Christian and a native of Thessalonica who became one of the companions of St. Paul on his third missionary journey. He is first mentioned on the occasion of the riot in Ephesus, where along with another companion of the Apostle named Gaius (*q.v.*), probably of Derbe, he was rushed by the excited multitude into the theatre (Ac 19^{29}). He seems to have been an influential member of the Church of Thessalonica, and was deputed along with Secundus (*q.v.*) to convey the contributions of the Church to Jerusalem (Ac 20^{4}). He was thus present in the city at the time of St. Paul's arrest, and seems to have remained in Syria during the two years of the Apostle's imprisonment in Cæsarea, for we find him embarking with the prisoner on the ship bound for the West (Ac 27^{2}). It is not certain that he accompanied St. Paul to Rome. He may, as Lightfoot supposes (*Phil.*[4] 34), have disembarked at Myra (Ac 27^{5}). On the other hand, Ramsay (*St. Paul*[3], 316) believes that both Aristarchus and St. Luke accompanied the Apostle on the voyage as his personal slaves. In any case Aristarchus was present in Rome soon after St. Paul's arrival, and it is not impossible that he came later with contributions from the Philippian Church to the Apostle. When the Epistles to the Colossians and to Philemon were written, Aristarchus was with the Apostle in Rome. In the former (Col 4^{10}) he is called the 'fellow-prisoner' (*συναιχμάλωτος*) of the writer, and we find the same term, which usually indicates physical restraint, applied to Epaphras (*q.v.*) in Philem[23]. While the idea in the Apostle's mind may be that Aristarchus, like himself, was taken captive by Jesus Christ, it is more probable that Aristarchus shared St. Paul's prison in Rome, either as a suspected friend of the prisoner or voluntarily as the Apostle's slave—a position which he and Epaphras may have taken alternately. In Philem[24] he is called 'fellow-labourer' of the writer. Nothing is known of his subsequent history. According to tradition he suffered martyrdom under Nero.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*[3], London, 1897, pp. 279, 316; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*[3], do. 1879, p. 236, *Philippians*[4], do. 1878, p. 34; artt. in *HDB* and in *EBi*; R. J. Knowling, in *EGT* ii. [1900] 414. W. F. BOYD.

ARISTOBULUS (Ἀριστόβουλος, a Greek name frequently adopted by Romans and Jews, and borne by several members of the Maccabæan and Herodian families).—In Ro 16^{10} St. Paul salutes 'them which are of the household of Aristobulus' (*τοὺς ἐκ τῶν Ἀριστοβούλου*), *i.e.* the Christians in his *familia* or establishment of freedmen and slaves (perhaps known as *Aristobuliani*, for which the Greek phrase would be equivalent). Lightfoot thinks that Aristobulus was a grandson of Herod the Great, and brother of Agrippa and Herod. This Aristobulus lived and died in Rome in a private station (see Jos. *BJ* II. xi. 6, *Ant.* XX. i. 2). After his death it is supposed that his 'household' passed over to the Emperor, but retained the name of their former master. The 'household of Aristobulus' would naturally include many Orientals and Jews, and therefore probably some Christians. The name Herodion (*q.v.*), which immediately follows, suggests a connexion with the Herodian dynasty. If Lightfoot is right, the reference to the 'household of Aristobulus' is strong evidence for the Roman destination of these salutations. The Christians in the 'household' would naturally form one of the distinct communities of which the Church at Rome was apparently made up (cf. v.[11] and the phrases in vv.[5.15]). We have no knowledge as to whether the master himself was a convert. See Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 174 f.

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

ARK.—The LXX and the NT use *κιβωτός* = a wooden chest or box, as a *terminus technicus* both for Noah's ark (תֵּבָה), and for the ark (אָרוֹן) of the covenant.

1. An interesting account of the successive phases of modern opinion regarding the former ark will be found in *EBr*[11] (*s.v.*). The writer of Hebrews (11^{7}),

taking the story as he finds it, refers to Noah's forethought as a supreme instance of that faith which is the conviction of things not seen—a faith by which he not only virtually condemned the world, bringing its careless infidelity into strong relief, but became heir of that righteousness which is faith's crown and reward (*τῆς κατὰ πίστιν δικαιοσύνης*). St. Peter (1 P $3^{18ff.}$), supplementing a tradition which is found in the *Book of Enoch* (6–16; cf. *Jubilees*, 5), imagines Christ, as a bodiless spirit, preaching, in the days between His Passion and His Resurrection, to the spirits in prison. These are the disobedient and, to St. Peter (himself like a spirit in prison during those three days), unhappy children of the unlawful union between angels and the daughters of men, condemned rebels who in vain sought the intervention of Enoch on their behalf in that time of Divine long-suffering when Noah was preparing the ark in which he saved himself and his family (see R. H. Charles, *Bk. of Jub.*, Lond. 1902, p. 43 ff.).

2. The writer of Hebrews mentions the ark of the covenant (*τὴν κιβωτὸν τῆς διαθήκης*) as the innermost and most sacred piece of furniture contained in the Tabernacle. His description of it as 'completely overlaid with gold' (*περικεκαλυμμένην πάντοθεν χρυσίῳ*) corresponds with the directions given in Ex 25^{11} (*ἔσωθεν καὶ ἔξωθεν χρυσώσεις αὐτήν*). The designation 'the ark of the covenant,' which was probably coined by the writer of Deut., was historically later than 'the ark of Jahweh,' and 'the ark of God' (JE), and earlier than 'the ark of the testimony' (P). It was a contraction for 'the ark containing the tables of the covenant,' the Decalogue being a summary of the terms which Israel accepted on entering into covenant with God. In Kautzsch's *Heilige Schrift* it is rendered *die Lade mit dem Gesetz*, 'the ark with the law.' When the Decalogue came to be known as 'the testimony,' the new name *ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ μαρτυρίου* was introduced, but it did not displace the older phrases. The golden pot of manna (the adj. is an embellishment upon Ex 16^{33}) and Aaron's rod that budded, which in the original narratives were laid up before the Lord (*ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ*, Ex 16^{33}; *ἐνώπιον τῶν μαρτυρίων*, Nu 17^{10}) are supposed by the writer of Hebrews to have been *within* the ark.

The ultimate fate of the *κιβωτός* is involved in obscurity. The popular imagination could not entertain the idea that the inviolable ark was irrecoverably lost, and there arose a tradition that before the destruction of Jerusalem in 586 B.C., the Tabernacle with all its sacred furniture was hidden by Jeremiah (or, according to the Talmud, by Josiah) in a cave of Mt. Nebo (2 Es 10^{22}; cf. 2 Mac 2^{5}), whence it was to be miraculously restored to its place at the coming of the Messiah. In the second and third Temple the Holy of Holies contained no ark. 'In this was nothing at all,' is Josephus' emphatic testimony (*BJ* v. v. 5). Pompey, on entering, found 'vacuam sedem et inania arcana' (Tac. *Hist.* v. 9). The thought of that emptiness oppressed the minds both of devout Jews and of Jewish Christians, and in Rev 11^{19}, when the seventh angel has sounded, and the temple of God in heaven is opened, the ark of the covenant is there. 'All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good shall exist; not the semblance but itself.'

LITERATURE.—Besides the artt. in *HDB* (J. Macpherson and A. R. S. Kennedy), *SDB* (A. R. S. Kennedy), and especially *ERE* (R. H. Kennett), see R. Kraetzschmar, *Die Bundesvorstellung*, Marburg, 1896; H. Couard, 'Die religiöse nationale Bedeutung der Lade,' in *ZATW* xii. [1892]; Volck, art. 'Bundeslade,' in *PRE*^{3}.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ARMAGEDDON.—See HAR-MAGEDON.

ARMOUR.—As Jews, the disciples of our Lord—not to speak of Himself—were exempt from military service. They had the privilege of *ἀστρατεία*, which Lentulus conceded to the Jews of Asia (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. x. 13 f.), and Julius Cæsar to those of Palestine (*ib.* x. 6). The Roman auxiliaries who garrisoned Judæa were recruited wholly from the Greek cities of Palestine, such as Sebaste and Cæsarea. Probably, therefore, none of the disciples ever wore armour, or, with the possible exception of Simon the Zealot, became skilled in the use of weapons. St. Peter once carried a sword, but made a very blundering use of it (Mk 14^{47}, Jn 18^{10}). The only sword of which Christianity approves is that which is the symbol of the punitive ministry of the magistrate (Ro 13^{4}). Nevertheless, it was impossible for Christians not to be profoundly interested in the brave men who were taught that it was *dulce et decorum pro patria mori*, and Christ Himself sanctioned the use of illustrations drawn from the warfare of kings (Lk 14^{31}). It is not surprising, therefore, to find that St. Paul regards the valour and endurance of the world's conquerors and the Empire's defenders as worthy of emulation, and that he transfigures the armour of the Roman legionary into the panoply of the Christian soldier (Eph $6^{11ff.}$).

Descriptions of the equipment of soldiers are frequent in Greek authors. (1) Homer lets us see his *πρόμαχοι* arming before they go forth to battle. Paris (*Il.* iii. 328 ff.) cases his limbs in greaves (*κνημῖδες*); a splendid cuirass (*θώραξ*) covers his breast; a baldrick sustains the sword (*ξίφος*) that glitters at his side; his great round shield (*σάκος*) is then displayed; over his brows he places his helmet (*κυνέη*) with nodding plume; and last of all he grasps his spear (*ἔγχος*) in his hand (cf. *Il.* iv. 132 ff., xi. 15 ff., xvi. 130 ff., xix. 364 ff.). 'The six pieces of armour are always mentioned in the same order, in which they would naturally be put on, except that we should expect the helmet to be donned before the shield was taken on the arm' (Leaf's *Homer*, i. 106).—(2) Polybius (vi. 23) describes the armour of Roman soldiers in the time of the Punic wars. The heavy-armed carried an oblong shield (*θυρεός*, *scutum*), 4 feet by 2½, incurved into the shape of a half-cylinder; the helmet (*περικεφαλαία*) of bronze had a crest of three feathers; and a greave protected the right leg. The wealthier soldiers wore a cuirass of chain-armour (*lorica*), the poorer a bronze plate 9 inches square. For defence they all carried a Spanish sword (*μάχαιρα*), straight, double-edged, and pointed, which was used for both thrust and cut; and two long javelins (*ὑσσοί*, *pila*), which were either hurled at a distance or used at close quarters like modern bayonets.—(3) Josephus (*BJ* III. v. 5) describes the equipment of Roman soldiers under the Empire. The heavy-armed had a helmet (*κράνος*), a cuirass, a long sword worn on the left side and a dagger on the right, a *pilum* (*ξυστόν*), and a *scutum* (*θυρεός*). The detachment which attended the commander had a round shield (*ἀσπίς*, *clipeus*) and a long spear (*λόγχη*). The cavalry wore armour like that of the infantry, with a broadsword (*μάχαιρα*), a buckler slung from the horse's side, a lance, and several javelins (*ἄκοντες*), almost as large as spears, in a sheath or quiver.

In his enumeration of the weapons of spiritual warfare St. Paul omits the spear, and by implication adds girdle and shoes (*ζωστήρ* and *caligæ*). The complete equipment consists of six pieces, defensive and offensive—the girdle of truth, the breastplate of righteousness, the sandals of readiness to carry good tidings, the shield of faith, the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit. The Christian soldier is clad cap-à-pie in supernatural armour—the panoply which is the gift of God. There is no defence for the back, which should never need any.

'The next day they took him [Christian] into the armoury, where they showed him all manner of furniture, which the Lord had provided for pilgrims, as sword, shield, helmet, breastplate, all-prayer, and shoes that would not wear out. And there was enough of this to harness out as many men for the service of their Lord as there be stars in the heaven for multitude' (Bunyan, *Pilgrim's Progress*).

In 1 Th 5^8 the breastplate (*θυρεός*) is faith and love. In the realm of the imagination a happy idea will present itself in various aspects to different minds, and even to the same mind at different moments. Isaiah (59^{17}) had already suggested the thought of a panoply in which God Himself is clothed, and the writer of Wisdom had worked it out thus (5^{17-20}): 'He shall take His jealousy as complete armour; . . . He shall put on righteousness as a breastplate, and shall array Himself with judgment unfeigned as with a helmet; He shall take holiness as an invincible shield, and He shall sharpen stern wrath for a sword.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the sources cited in the article, see art. 'Arma,' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*[3], London, 1891, and art. 'Armour, Arms' (A. R. S. Kennedy), in *SDB*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ARMY.—This term occurs in Ac 23^{27}, Rev 9^{16} $19^{14.\ 19}$ (in the last three instances referring to armies [*στρατεύματα*] of apocalyptic vision). On the outbreak of a tumult in the Temple at Jerusalem, the chief captain of the band came on the scene, as he afterwards reported, *σὺν τῷ στρατεύματι* (AV 'with an army,' RV 'with the soldiers'). The little force thus described (Ac 23^{27}) was a fraction of the vast army which maintained law and order throughout the Roman Empire. In the first month of 29 B.C., a year after the battle of Actium, the gates of the temple of Janus at Rome were closed for the first time in 200 years. That significant act was the beginning of the Pax Romana. The Civil War was ended, and the State had no more foreign foes to fear. Augustus found himself master of three standing armies, his own and those of Lepidus and Antony, amounting to 45 legions. He at once undertook that task of military reorganization which was perhaps his greatest and most original achievement. By ruthlessly eliminating inferior elements he obtained a thoroughly efficient force of 25 legions. The time for great field forces, such as Scipio and Cæsar had wielded, was now past. An army that could be swiftly mobilized was no longer a necessity, and might easily become a menace, to the Empire. Augustus initiated the policy, which was respected by his successors down to the time of the Antonines, of 'maintaining the dignity of the Empire, without attempting to enlarge its limits' (Gibbon, *Hist.*, ch. 1). His conservative policy determined his use of the army. Distributing the legions in the frontier provinces of the Empire—which had the Atlantic as its boundary on the west, the Rhine and the Danube on the north, the Euphrates on the east, and the deserts of Arabia and Africa on the south—he charged them to guard the borders which were exposed to the attacks of restless barbarians. Italy itself was garrisoned by the Prætorian cohorts (see PRÆTORIUM).

The legions were recruited from the Roman citizens of Italy and the provinces. Each consisted of 6000 heavy infantry divided into ten cohorts, with a troop of 120 horsemen to act as dispatch riders. The legion was no longer under six tribunes commanding by turns. The supreme authority was now entrusted to a *legatus legionis*, who was the deputy of the Emperor as commander-in-chief of the whole army. The efficiency of the soldiers depended largely upon the 60 centurions, who formed the backbone of the legion. The term of service was 20 years, and on discharge the legionary received a bounty or land. Many *coloniæ* were formed for the purpose of providing homes for veterans. Each legion bore a title and a number, *e.g.*, 'VI. Victrix' stationed at York, 'III. Gallica' at Antioch.

But the legions were not the only guardians of the peace of the Empire. Augustus developed a new order of *auxilia*. Regiments of infantry (*cohortes*) or cavalry (*alæ*), 500 to 1000 strong, were recruited from the subjects, not the citizens, of the provinces, and formed a second force equal in numbers if not in importance to the first. It is estimated that the two forces together made up a regular, long-service army of 400,000 men. The auxiliaries were more lightly armed than the legionaries (see ARMOUR); they were not so well paid; and on their discharge they received a bounty or the Roman franchise.

As Judæa was a province of the second rank, governed by a procurator, it was not (like Syria) garrisoned by legionaries, but by auxiliaries, who had their headquarters in Cæsarea. The *cohortes* and *alæ* were recruited from the Greek cities of Palestine, from which they derived their names, such as 'Cohors Sebastenorum,' or 'Tyriorum.' The Jews were expressly exempted from military service under the Roman banners and eagles, which they regarded as idolatrous. Julius Cæsar's edict granting this privilege is preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. x. 6).

At the time of the death of Herod Agrippa (A.D. 44), an *ala* of cavalry and five cohorts were stationed at Cæsarea (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 1-2). Probably they had once belonged to the army of Herod the Great, and had been taken over by the Romans after the deposition of his son Archelaus in A.D. 6 (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 51). They are often mentioned in the period A.D. 44–66 (*Ant.* XX. vi. 1, viii. 7), and they were finally drafted into Vespasian's army in A.D. 67. The relation of the Italian and Augustan cohorts (see AUGUSTAN BAND and ITALIAN BAND) to these auxiliaries is a difficult question. The cohort (*σπεῖρα*), military tribune (*χιλίαρχος*), and centurions (*ἑκατοντάρχαι*) mentioned in the story of St. Paul's arrest at Jerusalem and transference to Cæsarea (Ac 21–23) certainly belonged to the Judæan *auxilia*. A single cohort formed the normal garrison of the Holy City (Jos. *BJ* V. v. 8, where *τάγμα* is used instead of the more correct *σπεῖρα*). The barracks (*παρεμβολή*, used six times in the same narrative) adjoined the fortress of Antonia, close to the N.E. corner of the Temple area (see CASTLE). At the Jewish festivals a stronger body of troops was drafted from Cæsarea for the purpose of keeping order among the pilgrims in the crowded Temple precincts, as the Turkish soldiers now do at Easter among the Christian sects in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. St. Paul was escorted from Jerusalem to Antipatris by 200 foot-soldiers, 70 horsemen (*ἱππεῖς*), and 200 spearmen (*δεξιολάβοι*), and thence to Cæsarea by the horsemen alone. The precise function of the *δεξιολάβοι* (an exceedingly rare word, meaning apparently 'those who grasped their weapons with the right hand') is very doubtful; see Schürer, I. ii. 56, and Meyer, *in loco*.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Exercitus' in Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*[3], London, 1891 (by W. Ramsay), and in Pauly-Wissowa, (by Liebenam); E. Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 49 ff.; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, London, 1906–09; and art. 'Army' (A. R. S. Kennedy) in *SDB*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ARTEMAS.—Artemas is mentioned only in Tit 3^{12}. St. Paul urges Titus to 'give diligence to come to' him, 'when I shall send Artemas unto thee, or Tychicus.' This implies that Artemas was capable of relieving Titus in the oversight and organization of the Church in Crete. Therefore he must have

been a Christian of considerable experience and of high character, and free to devote himself to Christian work; one of St. Paul's companions from whom the 'apostolic legates' were selected. The name is Greek; but that tells nothing about his nationality.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* on 'Artemas,' 'Titus,' and 'Titus, Epistle to'; *EGT* on Tit 3[12]. J. E. ROBERTS.

ARTEMIS.—See DIANA.

ARTS.—This article surveys the industrial arts of the Apostolic Age, from data furnished by the NT, the Gospels excepted. 'Art' may be co-ordinated with '**craft**,' which, however, has been replaced by 'trade,' 'business,' in RV (see Ac 18[3] 19[25-27]); 'craftsman,' 'craftsmen' being retained (Ac 19[24-38], Rev 18[22], where 'craft' also survives).

In the writings of St. Paul are numerous indications of the close contact of the Apostle with the artisan class, which is to be expected in view of what is known concerning his own manner of life. This point is emphasized by Deissmann (*Light from the Ancient East*[2], London, 1911, p. 316 ff.; but cf. *Review of Theology and Philosophy*, viii. [1912-13] p. 317). 'Work,' 'works' (and derivatives) figure prominently in the Pauline vocabulary (Eph 2[10] 4[28], Col 3[23], 1 Th 4[11], 2 Ti 2[15], Tit 3[5], etc.). Many social relationships proceed upon a work-basis, *e.g.* masters, servants (slaves), bond, bondmen (Eph 6[5-6], Col 3[22], etc.; cf. 1 P 2[16-18], Rev 6[15] 13[16]).

1. About one-half of the references to labour within the apostolic writings refer to **agriculture**, which, in the widest sense of the term, also belongs to the industrial arts. In so far as these references are quite general, or purely metaphorical, and such as are common to literature in all ages, we shall omit them. Toilers on the land are here regarded more in their relation to craftsmen of whatsoever craft (Rev 18[22]). The time had passed when agriculture was a self-contained industry; there were now many departments, and much subdivision of labour. Behind the actual tillers of the soil stood those who were owners of land, such as are mentioned in Ac 4[37] 5[1ff.] (cf. Josephus, *Life*, 76). The care of the crop and of animals occupied so much time that commerce in grain (Ac 27[38], Rev 18[13]) and in stock had to be made over to others. The workers with agricultural implements could not at the same time fashion them, at least to advantage. Thus it came about that the carpenter, the smith, the worker in leather, found their customers largely among the agricultural community. The plough, the yoke (so frequent in St. Paul's metaphors: 2 Co 6[14], Gal 5[1], Ph 4[3], 1 Ti 6[1]; cf. Ac 15[10]), the goad (Ac 26[14]), instruments for reaping (*e.g.* the sickle, Rev 14[14]) and for threshing, the muzzle (1 Co 9[9], 1 Ti 5[18], only in quotation), the bridle (Ja 3[3]), and harness in general, millstones (Rev 18[21-22]), weights and measures (Rev 6[6])—all these more or less called for the skill of the artisan proper. In rural parts milling and baking may indeed have continued to be woman's work in the house (or tent), but in towns there had arisen millers and bakers, the latter in particular exercising their craft in shops, many of which were found in the same district or quarter, as is still the practice in the East to-day.

We read once of the **shambles** (*μάκελλον* = *macellum*, 1 Co 10[25]), which in reality was a meat and provision market, with many booths or shops, such as every great city of the time could boast. The market-place (*ἀγορά*, *forum*, Ac 17[17]), although put to many other uses, was not without significance as a trade centre.

Specialized forms of agriculture, relating to the vine, the olive, and the fig, are less frequently alluded to (Ja 3[12]; cf. Ro 11[16-24], 1 Co 9[7], Rev 6[13] 11[4] 14[18f.]), but the products of wine and oil are named as matters of common knowledge (Rev 6[6] 18[13]). The importance of the olive in particular has been shown by Deissmann (*St. Paul*, London, 1912, p. 39 ff.; cf. Ramsay, *Pauline and other Studies*, do. 1906, p. 219 ff.). It may be noted that the palm figures only in Rev 7[9], although at this time it was also an important culture (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 1). Certain articles of commerce enumerated in Rev 18[13]—cinnamon, spice, etc.—presuppose at some point or other an activity in intensive arboriculture. For basket-making, see art. BASKET.

The rearing of cattle, sheep, horses, etc. is but slightly referred to (1 Co 9[9], Ja 3[3], 1 P 2[25], Rev 18[13]), but products come to light in the industries of tanning and weaving. From the prevalence of sacrifice, pagan (Ac 14[13, 18] 15[20, 29] etc.) no less than Jewish, we may also infer that this gave support to several important branches of industry.

2. Next to the arts concerned with food supplies come those connected with **clothing and shelter.** Spinning and weaving were fundamental industries, then, as aforetime, embracing the coarser fabrics involved in the tent-cloth (see TENT, TENT-MAKING) made of goat's hair, for which Cilicia was famed, and at the making of which St. Paul and his companions, Aquila and Priscilla, wrought (Ac 18[3] 20[34], 1 Co 4[12], 2 Co 11[9], 1 Th 2[9], 2 Th 3[8]), and the finer sorts for human wear, culminating in articles embroidered, inwrought with gold and silver, adorned with precious stones and pearls, such as the royal apparel of Ac 12[21] (cf. 1 Ti 2[9], 1 P 3[3], Rev., *passim*). The treatment of the material, probably while in the raw state, with dye (producing purple, scarlet, etc.), and with minerals for bleaching (*i.e.* the process of fulling), was an allied industry (see especially Ac 16[14] and cf. art. CLOTHES, etc.). The art of the tailor was less in evidence, perhaps, his place being taken by the weaver and by the women in the home (cf. Ac 9[39]), although in Talmudic times he figures among other artisans.

3. The care of the person was then carried to a great degree. The elaborate system of baths which prevailed must have provided work for many, including the apothecary, who supplied unguents and salves (Rev 3[18] 18[13]). The barber (Ac 18[18] 21[24]; 1 Co 11[5f.]) had also a well-established position.

4. The tanner has been brought into prominence by one instance (Simon [*q.v.*], Ac 9[43] 10[6, 32]). While an important craft, this was a despised one, and the fact of Simon's house having been by the seaside was due as much to enforced separation from the town as to the necessities of business. The preparation of leather for foot-wear (see SHOE, SANDAL) was but a small part of the tanner's occupation. He was a necessary coadjutor of the maker of articles for house-furnishing, and also of the harness-maker.

5. Building arts.—The first part of the Apostolic Age witnessed great activity in building within Palestine, notably the completion of Herod's ambitious projects. The Temple was finished, only to be demolished again by the Romans. The conquerors took up the like work for themselves, but along lines of their own. References to building in the Apostolic writings are, however, few. The work of the mason underlies such passages as Ro 15[20], 1 Co 3[9ff.], 2 Co 5[1ff.], 1 P 2[5ff.], He 3[3f.]. Specific parts of buildings are named in the 'middle wall of partition' (Eph 2[14], perhaps reminiscent of the Temple), the 'foundation' and 'chief corner-stone' (Eph 2[20]). The builder's measuring-rod (reed) is mentioned in Rev 11[1]. Carpentry appears only metaphorically in 1 Co 3[12], and in the figure of speech employed in Col 2[14].

6. Workers in metal.—The numerous references to arms within the apostolic writings show that the art of the smith must have been familiar in those days. No doubt it was largely extraneous

to Palestine, being maintained, however, for behoof of the conquering Romans. There and elsewhere it was an industry that affected the early Christians adversely, being associated for the most part with prisons and detention, *e.g.* spearmen, etc. (Ac 23[23]), chains (Ac 12[6] 21[33] 28[20], Eph 6[20], 2 Ti 1[16]), iron gate (Ac 12[10]). The Apocalypse is especially rich in warlike imagery: breast-plates of iron (9[9]), chariots (9[9] 18[13]), sword (1[16] 2[12] etc.). See also Eph 6[13ff.], 1 Th 5[8]. Cf. art. ARMOUR.

In connexion with ships and boats the smith's (and carpenter's) art must also have been largely in evidence: anchor (He 6[19]), rudder (Ja 3[4]); cf. the narrative of St. Paul's voyage. It must be remembered that navigation was itself an art, requiring a shipmaster and mariners (Rev 18[17]), a steersman (Ja 3[4]), etc. But, as in the case of arms, this activity stood largely apart from the life of the early Church.

Thus far the crafts have been regarded on a large scale. But iron-work (see IRON) took finer forms (Rev 18[12]): *e.g.* certain parts of the warrior's equipment; also the balance, if made of this metal (Rev 6[5]). This is equally true of working in wood: idols (Rev 9[20]); thyine wood, most precious wood, in juxtaposition to ivory (Rev 18[12]); footstool (Ja 2[3]); vessels (2 Ti 2[20]). The coppersmith (*q.v.*) is expressly named in 2 Ti 4[14]. With the free use of iron at this time it is probable the coppersmith worked mostly on ornamental lines, being skilled in alloys, refining, engraving, burnishing (Rev 1[15] 2[18]). Mirrors (1 Co 13[12], 2 Co 3[18], Ja 1[23]) were among the articles produced (see MIRROR). 'Brass' should in all probability be replaced by 'bronze' or 'copper' throughout the NT.

Still finer was the work done in gold, silver, and precious stones. The silversmiths of Ephesus (Ac 19[24]) were a powerful gild, working at a particular craft, viz., the making of silver shrines or models of the Temple of Diana (see Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, p. 112 ff.; and art. DIANA). This was part of a wider practice of fashioning idols in the precious metals (Ac 17[29], Rev 9[20]). These elements entered into dress and personal ornament (1 Ti 2[9], 1 P 3[3], Ja 2[2]), as also into house furniture (2 Ti 2[20]). The references in Rev. are too numerous to mention, including garments (girdle, etc.), articles for food and drink (bowl, cup, etc.), and even altar and throne. Although these here appear as seen in vision, they were all of them possible to antiquity.

The use of gold, silver, etc., in coinage should not be overlooked. See artt. GOLD, SILVER.

7. There were also **workers in stone and clay** (including terra-cotta) along artistic lines. When graven by art and device of man (Ac 17[29]), stone, especially marble, took high value (Rev 9[20] 18[12]). Tablets of stone were also fashioned for commemorative purposes (Ac 17[23], 2 Co 3[3. 7], Rev 2[17]), attached to statues, tombs, etc., and the inscriptions in certain cases remain, yielding welcome archæological evidence.

The potter's art (see POTTER) was as necessary as ever for household use (2 Co 4[7], 2 Ti 2[20], Rev 2[27]). It provides St. Paul with a well-known metaphor (Ro 9[21]). Interesting details regarding Jewish pottery of this period are to be found in *Conférences de Saint-Étienne*, 1909–10, p. 99 ff. Glass appears only figuratively (Rev 21[18. 21]; cf. 4[6] 15[2]). But it was quite a common article of manufacture at this time (see, further, art. LAMP, etc.).

A whole system of trade (Ac 12[20] 27[2. 6], Ja 4[13], Rev 18[11ff.]) was built upon the practice of such arts as have here been passed in review, giving a livelihood to merchants, money-lenders, and also tax-collectors. The correspondence necessitated by trade and by the diffusion of knowledge must also have given occupation to many who prepared the materials for writing (parchment, papyrus, pen, ink, etc.).

8. Serious as most arts were, we yet learn that many spent their lives in following after **pseudo-arts**, *e.g.* the 'curious arts' (τὰ περίεργα) of Ac 19[19]; cf. Simon Magus (Ac 8[9ff.]), Elymas (Bar-Jesus; Ac 13[6ff.]), and the masters of the Philippian maid (Ac 16[19]). As seriously taken as any were the **gymnastic arts**: running, boxing (1 Co 9[24ff.]), and wrestling (Eph 6[12]). See art. GAMES.

LITERATURE.—The art. 'Arts and Crafts' in *SDB* may be consulted. An exhaustive list of authoritative works will be found in *HDB* v. 57[b], appended to the art. 'New Testament Times.' Another very complete list of a specialized order appears in S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäologie*, Leipzig, 1910–11, ii. 249. This work is very important. M. B. Schwalm, *La Vie privée du peuple juif à l'époque de Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1910, written from the sociological standpoint, is useful. The works of W. M. Ramsay and A. Deissmann are also helpful.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

ASCENSION.—1. NT statements.—The historical account of the Ascension is given in Ac 1[2-12], for the Gospel story does not carry us so far. The Ascension, the last of the series of the post-Resurrection appearances, is a new subject, and the description of it begins a new book. This is the case whatever view we take of the text of Lk 24[51], as that in any case is no detailed description of the event, but only a brief summary of the incidents. The First and Fourth Gospels end before the final departure, and so probably did the Second, the conclusion of which (after 16[8]) we have lost.

The place of the Ascension was Olivet (Ac 1[12], Ἐλαιών—so, according to some editors, we ought to read the word in Lk 19[29] 21[37]), usually called the Mount of Olives. It was 'over against Bethany' (Lk 24[50]), and therefore on the far or S.E. side of the hill, looking down on Bethany, which lies in a hollow; the reputed site overlooks Jerusalem, and is unlikely to have been the real one (Swete, *Appearances*, p. 103; but see C. Warren, in *HDB* iii. 619). As they were talking, Jesus lifted up His hands and blessed the disciples (Lk 24[50]), and in the act of blessing He was taken up, and a cloud received Him out of their sight (Ac 1[9]). Two angels ('men in white apparel') appeared and assured them of His future return to earth, and they went back to Jerusalem (v.[10ff.]) with great joy (Lk 24[52]). There had been no record of angelic appearances when the risen Jesus was seen by the disciples, as we might have expected from Jn 1[51]; the angels appeared only to announce the Resurrection and to explain the Ascension. The account in Lk 24[50-52] can hardly apply to any other parting than the Ascension, even if with 'Western' authorities (DA, some Old-Lat. MSS, Augustine*) we omit the last half of v.[51]; 'was carried up into heaven.' On no other supposition can the 'joy' of the disciples be understood. At any rate, the person who inserted the words, whether the Evangelist or a scribe, so took them.

The NT is full of references to the Ascension. It is called an 'assumption' (ἀνάλημψις), in the hymn quoted in 1 Ti 3[16] ('received up [ἀνελήφθη] in glory'), in the Appendix to Mk. (16[19], ἀνελήφθη) and Lk 9[51] ('the days of his assumption,' ἀναλήψεως), as in Ac 1[2. 11. 22] (cf. ὑπέλαβεν, v.[9]). The same verb is used of Elijah (2 K 2[11] LXX, Sir 48[9]) and of Enoch (Sir 49[14]), and also of the vessel received up into heaven in St. Peter's vision (Ac 10[16]). On the other hand, we read of an 'ascension' (ἀνάβασις) in

* Augustine inserts the words once, and omits them once. Syr-*sin* is also quoted for the omission; it reads: 'when he blessed them, he was lifted up (*ettrim*) from them,' which seems to be an abbreviation of the fuller text, and, if so, to be a witness against the omission (the tr. 'taken away' is possible but less probable; D-lat has 'discessit'). Syr-*sin* also omits 'and they worshipped him,' with 'Western' texts. The Peshitta Syriac has the full text (with *ethpresh*, 'was separated,' for the first verb), as has the Latin Vulgate. The omission may be due to homoioteleuton.

Jn 6[62] 20[17], and in Eph 4[8f.], where Ps 68[18] is quoted, the first clause nearly following the LXX, the latter differing from it. St. Paul was probably guided by an old Jewish interpretation (Robinson, *Com. in loc.*); so in Ac 2[34] St. Peter says that David did not ascend (ἀνέβη) into the heavens. The word 'ascension' has less of a mystical meaning than 'assumption,' and emphasizes the historical side of the matter; 'assumption' may be misinterpreted in a Docetic sense, as it is in the *Gospel of Peter*, 5, where our Lord's death is so called (ἀνελήφθη) by the Docetic author. For this reason Irenæus speaks of the Ascension as an 'assumption in the flesh' (ἔνσαρκον ἀνάληψιν [*Hær.* I. x. 1]; see also Swete, *Ap. Creed*, 70). Other words are used elsewhere in the NT. Jesus is the High Priest who has 'passed through' (διεληλυθότα) the heavens (He 4[14])—the reference is to the idea of seven heavens (cf. 7[26] 'made higher than the heavens'); He 'entered' (εἰσῆλθε) within the veil as a forerunner on our behalf (6[20]), not into a holy place (ἅγια) made with hands, but into heaven itself (9[12. 24]). The Ascension was a 'departure' (Jn 16[7], ἀπέλθω), a 'parting' (Lk 24[51], διέστη), according to many MSS a 'carrying up' into heaven (*ib.*, ἀνεφέρετο [see above], a verb used of the taking up of the disciples to the Mount of Transfiguration, Mt 17[1], Mk 9[2]), a 'lifting up' (Ac 1[9], ἐπήρθη, a verb used of lifting up the eyes to heaven, Lk 18[13], Jn 17[1]), and a 'journey' (1 P 3[22], πορευθείς, used of the nobleman who went into a far country, a parable looking forward to the Ascension, Lk 19[12]).

The Ascension of our Lord was not a death. David did not ascend, though he died and was buried (Ac 2[29. 34]). So in Jn 3[13] those who had died had not 'ascended.' This verse would hardly have been recorded if the Evangelist had not assumed the Ascension of Jesus as a historical fact, and it is in effect a prophecy of that event; it asserts the pre-existence (καταβάς), and points forward to the Ascension, though it does not assert that our Lord had at that time actually ascended (ἀναβέβηκεν).

The Ascension is implied by the expected return or 'descent' of our Lord, 1 Th 4[16] (καταβήσεται), a return called a 'revelation' (ἀποκάλυψις) of the Lord Jesus in 2 Th 1[7], 1 Co 1[7]. The disciples did not look for any other appearance such as had taken place in the Forty Days, until He should come at the end of the world.

2. Session and exaltation of our Lord.—In the passages given above, the Ascension is described as the parting of Jesus from the disciples at the last of the Resurrection appearances; for thereafter there were no such manifestations as those in which Jesus had been touched by the disciples and had eaten in their presence (Mt 28[9], Lk 24[43] and probably vv.[30. 35], Jn 20[27]—though St. Thomas perhaps did not actually touch the Lord when invited to do so—and possibly 20[17]); the appearances to St. Paul at his conversion and to St. John in Patmos were of quite another nature. In the description of the parting a symbolical tinge is seen. The glorified body is received by a cloud as it gradually vanishes from the disciples' eyes. But 'up' and 'down' are symbolical words; heaven is not a place vertically above the Mount of Olives, nor is it a place at all, but a state; the Ascension is a transition rather from one condition to another than from one place to another (Milligan, *The Ascension*, p. 26). The fact that men were accustomed to speak symbolically of heaven being 'above' was doubtless the reason of the last disappearance taking the form that it did; it would seem that when Jesus disappeared on former occasions during the Forty Days (for the Gospels describe His Resurrection body as being not bound by the ordinary laws of Nature) He did not vanish by an apparently *upward* movement. In the statements about the ascended life of our Lord symbolism has to be still more freely employed, as no human language can adequately describe the new conditions. Just as symbol was necessary to describe the Temptation of our Lord, or the overthrow of Satan by the efforts of the Seventy disciples (Lk 10[17f.]), or the eventual triumph over evil foretold in the Apocalypse, so was it necessary in describing the heavenly life of Jesus. The use of symbolism, of which the Bible from beginning to end is full, does not mean that the incident or condition described is mythical, but that it cannot be expressed in ordinary human words. Sanday, in his striking lecture on 'The Symbolism of the Bible' (*Life of Christ in Recent Research*, Oxford, 1907), defines it as 'indirect description.'

The symbolism used to describe our Lord's ascended life is that of Ps 110[1], which is quoted directly in Mk 12[36], Mt 22[44], Ac 2[34f.], 1 Co 15[25], He 1[13] 10[12f.], and indirectly in numerous passages which speak of Jesus being, sitting, or standing, on God's right hand till all His enemies are subdued. In some passages it is said that He 'sat down' (ἐκάθισεν, He 1[3] 8[1] 10[12], 'Mk' 16[19]) or 'hath sat down' (κεκάθικεν, He 12[2], inferior MSS ἐκάθισεν); so in Eph 1[20] it is said that God 'made him to sit' (καθίσας), and in Rev 3[21] Jesus says 'I sat down (ἐκάθισα) with my Father in his throne' (cf. 12[5]). In other passages Jesus is said to 'be *sitting*,' as in Col 3[1] (ἐστὶν . . . καθήμενος); so in Mk 14[62] and ‖ (see below). While the former method of expression emphasizes the historic fact of the Ascension on a certain day, the latter denotes that the Session was not an isolated, but is a continuous, action. The latter point of view is seen also in Ro 8[34], 1 P 3[22] ('who *is* at the right hand'), and in Ac 7[55f.] where Stephen sees the Lord 'standing' at the right hand of God—ready (such seems to be the meaning) to help His martyr (cf. also Rev 5[6] 14[1]). And we note that in Ps 110[1] [LXX] the imperative 'sit' (κάθου) marks the continuance of the Session (Westcott on He 1[13]). This variation in biblical usage is reflected in the use of both 'sitteth' and 'sat down' (*sedet, sedit*) in different Creeds. The former is the usual form, *e.g.* in the 'Constantinopolitan' form of the Nicene Creed (καθεζόμενον; cf. Tertullian, *de Virg. Vel.* 1, 'sedentem nunc'). But the latter is sometimes found, especially in the 4th cent., as in the Creed of Jerusalem (Cyr. Jer. *Cat.* xiv. 27, καθίσαντα ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Πατρός); in the *Testament of our Lord* (ii. 8); the Verona Latin fragments of the *Didascalia* (ed. Hauler, p. 110); the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopic Church Orders*; and in the Creeds of the Abbot Pirminius (8th cent.), of the *Bangor Antiphonary* (7th cent.), of the *Gallican Sacramentary* (7th cent.; Codex Bobiensis), and of the *Missale Gallicanum* (Mabillon); cf. also Tert. *de Præscr.* 13, 'sedisse.'

The Session is 'at the right hand of God'—either ἐκ δεξιῶν or ἐν δεξιᾷ; the former in Ps 110[1] [LXX] ('at my right hand') and in the quotations of it in Mt 22[44], Mk 12[36], Ac 2[34], He 1[13], also in the allusions to it in Mk 14[62] and ‖ Mt 26[64] (both 'of power') and ‖ Lk 22[69] ('of the power of God') and 'Mk' 16[19], Ac 7[55f.] twice ('of God'). But St. Paul, St. Peter, and the writer of Hebrews prefer ἐν δεξιᾷ: Ro 8[34], He 10[12] (though v.[13] is a quotation from Ps 110[1]), Col 3[1], 1 P 3[22] (all these have 'of God'); so He 1[3] ('of the Majesty on high') 8[1] ('of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens') 12[2] ('of the throne of God'), Eph 1[20] ('his right hand'). With these phrases cf. Ac 2[33] ('being therefore by the right hand of God exalted,' ὑψωθείς) 5[31] ('him did God exalt with his right hand'), in both of which places RVm reads 'at' for 'by' or 'with.'

The symbolism of Session, according to Pearson

(*On the Creed*, art. vi.) and Westcott (*Historic Faith*[4], 1890, p. 52), is that of perfect rest from all pain, sorrow, disturbance, and opposition. Yet, as Swete points out (*Ascended Christ*, p. 14), this is, at best, incomplete. The seated monarch on earth is not idle, and so the seated Christ 'rests not day nor night from the unintermitting energies of heaven.' The symbolism of the right hand is unmistakable. It expresses the exaltation and glory of the Ascended Christ as Man. Jesus did not merely return to His former glory (cf. Jn 17[5]: 'which I had with thee before the world was'), but, in addition, was glorified in His human nature. For the exaltation see Lk 24[26] ('to enter into his glory'—the glory which was His due), Jn 7[39] 12[16], Ac 2[36] ('God hath made him—caused him to be recognized as—both Lord and Christ'; with reference to the Session), 2 Co 3[13-18], Ph 2[9] (*αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσε*, 'highly exalted him,' in consequence of the self-emptying and self-humiliation), 1 Ti 3[16] ('received up in glory'), He 2[9] ('crowned with glory and honour'), and the passages given above. The exaltation or 'lifting up' (*ὕψωσις*) is spoken of by our Lord in immediate reference to the Crucifixion (Jn 3[14] 8[28] 12[32. 34]), but doubtless with the further thought that death leads to glory (cf. Jn 13[31]; see also Milligan, *op. cit.* p. 78 f.).—It is not improbable that the period of Forty Days was one of increasing glory, of which the Ascension was the consummation. In Jn 20[17] our Lord says to Mary Magdalene, 'I ascend' (*ἀναβαίνω*), that is, not 'I shall ascend,' as our looser English use of the present tense may suggest, but 'I am ascending.' 'The Resurrection had begun the great change; from Easter morning He was already ascending' (Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*, p. 374). But the last parting was the definite act of Ascension.

3. The work of the ascended Christ.—(*a*) Jesus has ascended to make intercession for us as our *Priest*, Ro 8[34], He 7[25] (a perpetual intercession). The High-Priesthood of Christ is one of the great themes of Hebrews, and Ps 110[4] is quoted in He 5[6. 10] 7[17. 21]. Jesus is High Priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek, not of the Aaronic order (see below). He is our 'great priest' (10[21]). One of the meanings of 'Paraclete' is 'Advocate' or 'Intercessor,' and Jesus is our Paraclete (1 Jn 2[1]), as He Himself implies in calling the Holy Ghost '*another* Paraclete' (*ἄλλον Παράκλητον*, Jn 14[16]). His very presence in heaven is the intercession which He offers. He 'appears before the face of God for us' (He 9[24]). This is the meaning of the references in Hebrews to the high priest entering into the Holy of Holies on the Day of Atonement (4[14-16] 6[20] 7[27] 8[3] 9[7. 12. 24] etc.). But we must notice two differences between the type and the antitype. The earthly high priest stands to offer (10[11]), while Jesus is usually (though not always) depicted as sitting (above, § 2). And the earthly high priest enters into the Holy of Holies alone, leaving the people outside, while Jesus carries the people with Him within the veil and gives them access to the Father (vv.[19-22]). Jesus is the Mediator (8[6] 12[24]), and on His mediation all human intercession is based (1 Ti 2[1. 5]). Mediation and intercession are not, indeed, quite the same thing. A mediator brings the contending parties together. But our ascended Mediator goes further, and offers intercession for all men (see Swete, *Asc. Christ*, p. 93). In this connexion we must notice that there is no contradiction between the intercession of the Holy Ghost and that of our ascended Lord. St. Paul speaks of both intercessions in the same context (Ro 8[26f. 34]). The two are not to be separated; they are really one act, though the insufficiency of human language makes them seem two. The intercession of our Lord in heaven and that of the Spirit in the hearts of believers are one. Christ in heaven sends the Holy Ghost to intercede within us. This double conception is parallel with that of the Holy Spirit coming down to us here on earth at the same time that we are taken up to 'the heavenlies' with Jesus (Eph 2[6]).

It has long been disputed when the High-Priesthood of Christ began. He was the Priest-Victim on the Cross, and some passages in Hebrews point to a Priesthood on earth, while others point to one in heaven only. Westcott (*Hebrews*[3], p. 229, Add. Note on 8[1]) says that Christ fulfilled two types, and that there are two aspects of His Priesthood, one as fulfilling the Levitical High-Priesthood on earth before the Session, and the other as fulfilling that of Melchizedek thereafter. The priesthood was thus, as it were, completed by the Ascension. But Milligan (*op. cit.* p. 72 ff.) denies the two types of priesthood, and says that our Lord's Priesthood began with His glorification, and that the Death was part of this glorification, falling in the sphere of the heavenly Priesthood. There seems to be much truth in both views. The Priesthood of Christ is *one*, but as the earthly high priest only fulfilled his priesthood when he brought the blood of the victim within the Holy Place, so Christ did not fulfil His Priesthood till the Ascension (see J. H. Bernard, in *ERE* ii. 157).

(*b*) Jesus has ascended to rule over and to fill all things; He is our *King*. This is specially emphasized in Rev (1[5] 5[11f.] 11[15] 19[12. 16] 20[4]). Jesus is the ruler of the kings of the earth, and is worthy to receive the power and the might; the kingdom of the world is become the Kingdom of our Lord [the Father] and of His Christ; Jesus has many diadems on His head, and is King of kings and Lord of lords; He reigns with His saints for a thousand years. St. Paul also emphasizes the Kingship of the Ascended Christ. He *must* (*δεῖ*)—it is fitting that He should—reign till His enemies are conquered (1 Co 15[25]). He is seated far above all rule, authority, and power, both in this and in the coming age (Eph 1[21]); He ascended that He might fill all things (Eph 4[10]; cf. 3[19]). His rule is with a view to the restoration of the universe to order, and is not only over Christians, but over all. He was exalted that in His name every knee should bow throughout the whole universe (Ph 2[9f.]), *i.e.* in the name which the Father gave Him (v.[9]), namely, the Divine Majesty: to the Divine Jesus all shall do homage (see Lightfoot's note). He is the Head of the Church, and in all things has the pre-eminence (*πρωτεύων*), for in Him all the fulness dwells (Col 1[18f.]; for *πλήρωμα*, see Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 255); cf. Eph 4[15f.] 5[23]. So St. Peter speaks of angels and authorities and powers being made subject to the Ascended Christ (1 P 3[22]). All authority in heaven and earth has been given to Him (Mt 28[18]). He is the Priest-King, the 'priest upon his throne' of Zec 6[13]; and His Kingship assures us that good will triumph over evil.

(*c*) The office of the Ascended Jesus as *Prophet* is not so explicitly mentioned in the NT as His Priesthood and Kingship. Yet it is clearly implied. His prophetic or teaching office did not cease at the Ascension; on the contrary, He thereafter teaches more plainly; not, as formerly, in proverbs (Jn 16[25]); the teaching is through the gift of the Spirit, who was to teach us all things (14[26]), and guide us into all the truth, not speaking from Himself, 'for he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you' (16[13f.]). This is illustrated by the outpouring of the gift of prophecy upon the infant Church; 'the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy' (Rev 19[10]). Now the Ascension is intimately connected with the gift of the Spirit. The Ascension was not a mere spectacle to reassure the disciples, but the mode by which we are given a new life. Until Jesus was glorified it was not

possible for the new mode of His presence to take effect (Jn 7^{39} 16^{7}; cf. Lk 24^{49}). Hence the necessity of our Lord's death: otherwise the grain of wheat could not bear fruit (Jn 12^{24}). The Ascended Christ became a life-giving Spirit (1 Co 15^{45}). The connexion between the Ascension and the gift of the Spirit is also seen from the fact that the last words of Jesus (Ac 1^{8}) were that the disciples should receive power when the Holy Ghost should be come upon them, and so they would be Jesus' witnesses in all the world. This explains to us the purport of the words 'after he had spoken to them,' in the Appendix to Mk. (16^{19}).

(*d*) Another work is referred to in He 6^{20}. The Ascended Christ has entered within the veil on our behalf as a *Forerunner* (*πρόδρομος* [see FORERUNNER]), to prepare a place for us (Jn 14^{2}; for the '*many* resting-places,' see Swete, *Asc. Christ*, 105 ff.), that we may sit with Him on His throne (Rev 3^{21}).

4. Interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension.—In Ac 1^{3} Jesus is said to have appeared to the disciples 'by the space of forty days' (*δι' ἡμερῶν τεσσαράκοντα*). This interval has been usually taken as exact, and when the Festival of the Ascension was instituted, in the 4th cent., the sixth Thursday after Easter was selected for the purpose (*Ap. Const.* v. 20; cf. viii. 33, ed. Funk), and has been so observed ever since. But St. Luke's words do not necessarily imply an exact period of forty days, and there have been other calculations. In the Third Gospel he describes all the events which took place after the Resurrection till the 'parting' of 24^{51} (see above, § 1), without any note of time, and the deduction has been drawn that when he wrote the Gospel he supposed that all the post-Resurrection appearances which he describes took place on Easter Day itself, but that he learnt a more accurate chronology before he wrote Acts (cf. art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, V. 1). This is scarcely credible, and assumes that the Gospels are what they never claim to be—chronological biographies, like modern 'Lives.' This view makes St. Luke get in all the events which happened after the evening meal at Emmaus (v.^{29}), including the return journey of the two disciples 7 or 8 miles to Jerusalem, before nightfall, for none of the authorities suggests that the Ascension took place at night. In Lk 24 we have a series of events foreshortened (probably because the author had already planned Acts), and no note of time is suggested.

There are, however, some indications that the words 'forty days' were not always taken exactly. 'Barnabas' makes the Ascension take place on a Sunday (§ 15); but he does not say that it was the same Sunday as the Resurrection ('the eighth day . . . in which also Jesus rose from the dead, and, having been manifested, ascended up to heaven'). He mentions the 'eighth' rather than the 'first' day because it follows the seventh day or Sabbath, of which he is treating; he hints at the replacement of the Jewish Sabbath by the Christian Lord's day, but only obscurely. With this we may compare the fact that in the *Edessene Canons* (4th cent.) the Ascension was commemorated on Whitsunday, and so in the *Pilgrimage of 'Silvia'* (*Etheria*), though in that work the fortieth day after Easter was observed for another purpose; see the present writer's art. 'Calendar, The Christian,' in *DCG* i. 261^{a}. This is some confirmation of the suggestion that the Ascension took place on a Sunday. There are also some speculations of an extravagant nature, such as the Valentinian idea that the interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension was 18 months, or that of certain Ophites that it was 11 or 12 years, or that of Eusebius in one place (*Dem. Evang.* viii. 2) that it was as long as the Ministry before the Crucifixion; see Swete, *Ap. Creed*, p. 69 f. All that we can deduce from these facts is that, while the Ascension may have taken place on the Thursday, it may also have happened on the following Sunday, or on any day between or close to these dates.

5. Modern objections to the Ascension.—The present article is mainly concerned with the facts, and the reader may be referred for an answer to objections from a philosophical point of view to A. S. Martin's article in *DCG* i., which is very full on this head. Here it is enough to say (*a*) that the objection that it is impossible for a body to disobey the laws of gravity and to ascend instead of fall, presupposes that the Resurrection body of our Lord was under the same material conditions as His body before Easter Day, which all the Evangelists' accounts show not to have been the case. Objections on this head are therefore really objections to the Resurrection, not to the Ascension. (*b*) It is impossible to regard the account in Ac 1 as a myth unless we adopt the now exploded theory that the whole gospel story is such. The narrative bears the same stamp of truth as the evangelical records. For example, Sanday well points out the authentic touch about the disciples desiring the restoration of the earthly kingdom of Israel (v.^{6}; see *HDB* ii. 643^{a}). However we may *interpret* the narrative, there can be little doubt that it represents what the eye-witnesses believed to have taken place.

But an allegation of Harnack must be briefly noticed here, as it deals with the facts. He says that the special prominence given to the Ascension in the Creeds is a deviation from the oldest teaching, and that in the primitive tradition the Ascension had no separate place (*Das apost. Glaubensbekenntniss*, Berlin, 1892). He alleges the silence of the Synoptists, of St. Paul in 1 Co $15^{3ff.}$, and of the chief sub-apostolic writers; the placing, in some old accounts, of the Session after the Resurrection as if they were one act; and the discrepancy noted above as to the interval between the Resurrection and the Ascension. These allegations have been ably answered by Swete (*Ap. Creed*, ch. vi.). The argument from silence (always precarious) is invalid in the case of Mt. and Mk., which do not carry the narrative so far as the Ascension (the end of Mk. is lost); at best it hardly applies to Lk. (see above, § 1), and the mention of the Ascension in 1 Co $15^{3ff.}$ would have been irrelevant to St. Paul's argument. Moreover, the Ascension belongs to the history of the Church rather than to the gospel narrative, and therefore it is not to be expected that it should be found there except in allusion. It is hard to see any force in the argument from St. Paul's silence in one place when elsewhere he so emphatically states his belief in the Ascension. As to the sub-apostolic writers, the Ascension is explicitly mentioned by 'Barnabas' (§ 15), by Justin (*Dial.* 38), and is probably referred to by Ignatius (*Magn.* 7). The allegation that the Session and the Resurrection were regarded as one act may be tested by Ro 8^{34}, where St. Paul names successively the Death, Resurrection, Session, and Intercession of Christ. If the second and third of these are one act, why not also the first and fourth? The argument from the interval has already been dealt with (above, § 4). For fuller details, see Swete, *Ap. Creed*. It is quite intelligible that those who believe that our Lord is mere Man should find difficulties in the doctrine that He ascended; but it is not really possible to maintain that the disciples did not believe it.

6. Importance of the Ascension for the practical life.—This has been indirectly pointed out above (§ 3). The Ascension shows that the work of Christ for man has never ceased, but is permanent, although He has never needed to repeat His sacri-

fice. It has brought Jesus into closer touch with us; He has never ceased to be Man, and in the heavenly sphere is not removed far away from us, but is with us until the end of the world (Mt 28^{20}). He raises our ideals from earthly things to heavenly; and, giving us through the Spirit the new life which enables us to follow Him, by His Ascension teaches us the great *Sursum Corda*: 'Lift up your hearts; we lift them up unto the Lord.'

LITERATURE.—W. Milligan, *The Ascension and Heavenly Priesthood of our Lord* (Baird Lecture), London, 1892; H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, Cambridge, 1894, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, London, 1909, Appendix E, *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*, do. 1907, *The Ascended Christ*, do. 1910; J. Pearson, *On the Creed*, art. vi.; J. Denney, art. 'Ascension,' in *HDB* i.; W. Sanday, art. 'Jesus Christ,' *ib.* ii.; A. S. Martin, art. 'Ascension,' in *DCG* i.; J. G. Simpson, art. 'Ascension,' in *SDB*; J. H. Bernard, art. 'Assumption and Ascension,' in *ERE* ii.; B. F. Westcott, *Com. on Hebrews*, London, 1906; R. L. Ottley, *The Rule of Faith and Hope*, do. 1912, p. 82 ff.; A. J. Tait, *The Heavenly Session of our Lord*, do. 1912; S. C. Gayford, elaborate review of foregoing, in *JThSt* xiv. [1913] 458.

A. J. MACLEAN.

ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.—This is an *apocryphon* now extant in a complete form in the Ethiopic Version alone. It is composite in structure, and contains three separate parts of different authorship, one being of Jewish and two of Christian origin, but all alike apparently composed during the 1st cent. A.D. It is thus of considerable importance in the light which it throws upon the views held in certain circles of the Christian Church of the apostolic period with regard to the doctrines of the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Resurrection, the Seven Heavens, the Antichrist, angels and demons. It adds, moreover, to our knowledge of the internal and external conditions of the Church, and of the stage which had been reached in the development of its organization. In phraseology and ideas it presents interesting parallels with the New Testament.

1. Composite character.—The title 'Ascension of Isaiah' is strictly appropriate only to the latter part of the work, chs. 6–11, in which Isaiah is successively led through the firmament and six lower heavens to the seventh heaven, and receives disclosures regarding the descent, birth, works, crucifixion, and ascension of the Beloved. The first five chapters deal in the main with Manasseh's wickedness and Isaiah's martyrdom, with a curious insertion (3^{13b}–4^{18}) which claims to be a vision foretelling the life of Christ and the fortunes of His Church, awkwardly introduced as explaining the wrath of Beliar which occasioned the martyrdom of Isaiah. A careful examination of the diction and subject-matter of each section leads to the clear discrimination of three distinct sources.

(*a*) *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* ($1^{1.\ 2a.\ 6b-13a}$ 2^{1}–3^{12} 5^{1b-14}). This narrates how in the twenty-sixth year of his reign Hezekiah called Manasseh to receive accounts of visions which he had seen ($1^{1.\ 2}$). Isaiah, who is present, warns the king of Manasseh's future wickedness, and foretells his own martyrdom (1^{7-13}). After Hezekiah's death, Manasseh, as foretold, forsakes the service of God and serves Satan, whereupon Isaiah withdraws first to Bethlehem and then to the desert with his companions (2^{1-11}). Meanwhile Belchira, a brother of the false prophet Zedekiah, son of Chenaanah, accuses Isaiah and his fellow-prophets to the king, of prophesying evil against Jerusalem, and claiming to have seen God, and calling Jerusalem Sodom, and the princes the people of Gomorrah (2^{12}–3^{10}). Manasseh seizes Isaiah and has him sawn asunder with a wood-saw. Isaiah dies with wonderful firmness and constancy, communing with the Holy Spirit till the end. This narrative is mainly historical in form, and contains nothing specifically Christian. In its outlook it might well be Jewish, and this supposition is confirmed by the Patristic references (*e.g.* in Origen and Jerome) which attribute the account of the sawing asunder of Isaiah to Jewish traditions, and also by the fact that the Talmud contains a similar account of Isaiah's death. Further, the original was probably written in Hebrew. In 2^{2} a play upon words appears when the passage is re-translated into Hebrew (מְלִכִירָא נְשָׁה). The name 'Malchira' in 1^{8} is a transliteration of מְלִכִירָא, as S. A. Cook has observed. Above all, the curious term 'a wooden saw' can hardly be explained except as a misrendering of מְשׂוֹר עֵץ, 'a wood-saw.'

(*b*) *The Vision of Isaiah* (6–11). In the twentieth year of Hezekiah, Isaiah, in the presence of the king, when speaking in the Holy Spirit, is taken up in mind (cf. 2 Co 12^{2-4}) through the firmament and each of the six lower heavens in turn, and finally arrives at the seventh heaven, to which he is admitted by special command of the Lord Christ. There he sees all the righteous from the time of Adam, including Abel, Seth, and Enoch, stript of the garments of the flesh, not sitting on their thrones nor as yet wearing their crowns of glory, until the Beloved has descended to earth ($9^{12.\ 13}$) and ascended again (9^{18}). He sees the Great Glory, and on His right the Lord (the Beloved) and on His left the Holy Spirit. He worships the three, and his Lord and the Holy Spirit worship the Great Glory. The Father commissions the Son to descend to earth, and tells of His ascension and final judgment. The Son descends through each heaven in turn, assuming in each the form of the angels who dwell in them, and finally passes through the firmament and then the air to the earth. There Isaiah beholds His wonderful birth, miracles, and crucifixion, resurrection, mission of the Twelve, ascension, and session on the right hand of the Great Glory. Isaiah returns to his body and binds Hezekiah to secrecy concerning the vision.

The date of this narrative is probably in the 1st cent. A.D. The vision is quoted not only by Jerome, *Com. in Isaiam*, lxiv. 4 (Vallarsi, iv. 761), but also by the *Actus Petri Vercellenses*, ch. xxiv. (p. 72, ed. Lipsius), and by Hieracas the heretic, according to Epiphanius, *Hær.* lxvii. 3. There is also a remarkable parallel between Ignatius, *Ep. ad. Ephes.* xix. and *Asc. Is.* 11^{16}. There appears to be a reference to the sawing asunder in He 11^{37}. The author wrote in Greek, and was a Christian with a Docetic tendency and a crude conception of the Trinity.

The title 'Ascension of Isaiah' properly belongs to this section of the work. Jerome so quotes it. Epiphanius refers to it as τὸ Ἀναβατικὸν Ἡσαΐου. The Ethiopic, Slavonic, and Latin texts of 6^{1} imply the title 'Vision of Isaiah,' and so does Montfaucon's Canon.

(*c*) *The Testament of Hezekiah*, a Christian Apocalypse (3^{13b}–4^{18}). This title is given in Cedrenus i. 120–121 (ed. Bonn), and is appropriate only to the above section. As Charles observes: 'that such a work was incorporated in the Ascension might also be inferred from 1^{2b-5a}, which describe the contents of Hezekiah's vision.' It describes, briefly stringing together various details in the manner of an epitome, the coming and death of the Beloved; the descent of the angel of the Christian Church; the ascension; the falling away of the Church, and the prevalence of error, impurity, strife, and covetousness; the coming of Beliar in the likeness of a lawless king, a matricide, who claims to be God, and demands Divine worship, and persecutes the saints for three years, seven months, and twenty-seven days. This persecution is ended by the second coming of the Lord, who drags Beliar into Gehenna, and gives rest to the godly, sets up a kingdom of the saints, who afterwards are transformed, and ascend, apparently, to heaven. The final judgment follows, and the godless are annihilated.

The date cannot be later than A.D. 100, for. 4^{13}

presupposes that there were a few still alive who had seen the Lord in the flesh. The fusion of the three originally distinct conceptions of the Antichrist, of Beliar, and of *Nero Redivivus* cannot well be put earlier than A.D. 88 (see Charles, *Asc. Is.* pp. li–lxxiii). So the date of this section falls between A.D. 88 and 100.

2. Importance for New Testament study.—(*a*) *The Trinity.*—i. The First Person is called 'the Great Glory' (9^{37} 10^{16} 11^{32}), 'the Most High' (6^{8} 7^{23} $10^{6.7}$), and 'Father' (8^{18}; cf. 7^{8} $10^{6.7}$ in Charles' restored text).

ii. The Second Person is generally referred to as 'the Beloved' ($1^{4.5.7.13}$ $3^{13.17.18}$ $4^{3.6.9.18.21}$ 5^{15} $7^{17.23}$ $8^{18.25}$ 9^{12}) or 'my Lord' (8^{13} 9^{37} $10^{7.16.17}$), and also once as 'Lord of all those heavens and these thrones' (8^{9}). His name is as yet unknown. He is 'the Only-Begotten, . . . whose name is not known to any flesh' (7^{37}), 'the Elect One whose name has not been made known, and none of the heavens can learn His name' (8^{7}). The title 'Christ,' and the phrase 'who will be called Jesus' (see 9^{5} *note* in Charles' ed.) are probably original to the work. The title 'Son of Man' in the Latin and Slavonic versions of 11^{1} is probably original, and was excluded by the editor of the present Greek version for doctrinal reasons (see Charles, *Asc. Is.* p. xxvi).

It is noteworthy that the title 'the Beloved' is bestowed on Christ by the *Bath Qol* in Mk 1^{11} 9^{7}, and it is used by St. Paul in Eph 1^{6}. As Armitage Robinson (*HDB* ii. 501) points out, it was probably a pre-Christian Messianic title. It is used in the OT of Israel, and so would naturally be transferred from the people to the Messiah, like the titles 'Servant' and 'Elect.' It was, moreover, a term interchangeable with the Messianic title 'the Elect,' as Luke (9^{35}) substitutes ὁ ἐκλελεγμένος (א B, etc.) for ὁ ἀγαπητός (Mt 17^{5}, Mk 9^{7}). In early Christian writings also the title is applied to Christ, *e.g. Ep. Barn.* iii. 6, iv. 3. 8; Clem. Rom. lix. 2 f.; Ign. *Smyrn.* inscr.; Herm. *Sim.* ix. 12. 5. No doubt the writer thought the term most appropriate in a work claiming to be an ancient Jewish prophecy of Christ, but its vagueness also betrays the undeveloped Trinitarian conceptions of the period. The Son and the Holy Spirit receive worship (9^{33-35}), but they in turn worship the Great Glory (9^{40}). They stand, one on His right hand and the other on His left (9^{35}). (We may compare the Hieracite doctrine in Epiph. *Hær.* lxvii. 3.) The command to descend to earth is given by the Father (10^{8}). The conception of the gradual descent from heaven to heaven, with corresponding transformation in form, suggests a Gnostic colouring, and possibly a Docetic tendency, as do also the statement that the Beloved escaped recognition at each stage, and the miraculous appearance of the born babe two months after the Virgin's conception. The *Protev. Jacobi* and the *Actus Petri* have interesting parallels to the narrative here (11^{3-14}), while we can hardly doubt that it is the source of Ignatius' words in *ad. Ephes.* xix., καὶ ἔλαθεν τὸν ἄρχοντα τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἡ παρθενία Μαρίας καὶ ὁ τοκετὸς αὐτῆς, ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ θάνατος τοῦ Κυρίου. 'The concealment of the real nature of Christ is the entire theme of 10^{8}–11^{19}.' He is, however, really crucified, and descends to the angel of Sheol ($11^{19.20}$; cf. 10^{8}). In His ascension He has resumed His proper form, and all the angels of the firmament and the Satans see Him and worship Him (11^{23}; cf. 10^{15}). On arriving in the seventh heaven, He sits down (not *stands*, as in 9^{35}) on the right hand, and the Holy Spirit on the left ($11^{32.33}$). His session with God, however, will not be realized by the angels of the world until the final judgment (10^{12}).

The significance of the crucifixion is nowhere noticed, but in 9^{16} the 'plundering of the angel of death' (cf. Ign. *ad. Magn.* ix.; Mt $27^{52.53}$; *Evang. Nicodemi*, i. i, xi. 1 [ed. Tisch.]) is regarded as the result of the *descensio in inferna* (cf. 1 P 3^{19} 4^{6}). In the *Test. Hez.* (*i.e.* 3^{13b}–4^{18}) His work includes the founding of the Church ('the descent of the angel of the Christian Church,' 3^{15}), and, after coming forth from the tomb on the shoulders of Gabriel and Michael, the sending out of the Twelve. Those who believe in His cross will be saved, and many who believe in Him will speak through the Holy Spirit. The Ascension, not the Resurrection, is the distinctive object of faith to the believer in 2^{9} 3^{18}. At His second coming the Lord will Himself drag Beliar into Gehenna (4^{14}), and give rest to the godly still alive in the body (cf. 2 Th $1^{6.7}$, 1 Th 4^{17}). The saints (*i.e.* the departed) will come with the Lord (1 Th 3^{13} 4^{14}) and descend and be present in this world (4^{16}), and the Lord will minister to those who have kept watch in this world (cf. Lk 12^{37}). Apparently an earthly Messianic Kingdom is implied (cf. Rev 20^{1-6}). It is followed by a spiritual translation to heaven, the body being left in the world (4^{17}). Then follows '[a resurrection and] a judgment,' and the godless are entirely destroyed by fire from before the Beloved (4^{18}).

iii. The Third Person is spoken of as an angel, the angel of the Spirit (4^{21} $9^{39.40}$ 10^{4} 11^{4}) or the angel of the Holy Spirit (3^{16} 7^{23} 9^{36} 11^{33}). In communion with Him, Isaiah endures his martyrdom, and also is carried in spirit to the third heaven. The Holy Spirit stands (9^{35}), and after the Ascension sits (11^{33}) on the left hand of the Great Glory. The angel of the Holy Spirit in 3^{16} must be regarded as Gabriel, and in 11^{4} He performs the part of Gabriel in the Annunciation.

(*b*) *The Resurrection* is apparently a spiritual one. The 'garments,' *i.e.* spiritual bodies, are reserved for the righteous, with the robes and crowns in the seventh heaven (4^{16} 7^{22} $8^{14.26}$). These garments are received at once after death (8^{14} 9^{11}), the thrones and crowns not till after the Ascension of Christ ($9^{12.13}$). The living whom the Lord finds on His return will be 'strengthened in the garments of the saints.' There is a temporary Messianic Kingdom, and (?) a feast (4^{16}), followed by a spiritual consummation in heaven (cf. Ph 3^{21}, 1 Co $15^{52.53}$). The righteous from Adam downwards are already in the seventh heaven, stript of the garments of the flesh, though not yet seated on their thrones and crowned (9^{9}). The Final Judgment is referred to in 4^{18} and 10^{12}.

(*c*) *Beliar.*—The idea of demonic possession is very prominent in the *Martyrdom of Isaiah.* Beliar is regarded as served by Manasseh and ruling in his heart ($1^{8.9.11}$ $2^{1.4.7}$ 3^{11} $5^{1.15}$), and as aiding Belchira (5^{3}). The name 'Beliar' is absent from the *Vision*, and in the *Test. Hez.* it has quite another meaning, the Beliar Antichrist appearing in the form of a man—Nero ($4^{2.14.16.18}$). In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* Beliar appears in both meanings, at times as the source of immoral deeds, and at times as the Antichrist (see Charles, *Asc. Is.* 1^{8}n.). In the *Sibylline Oracles*, ii. 167 he is to come as the Antichrist, working signs; in iii. 63–73 to proceed from the Roman Emperors, deceive the elect, and finally be burnt up. He is also called Matanbuchus (2^{4}) and Mechembechus (5^{3}). His relation to Sammael is puzzling. In part the two seem identical; both dwell and rule in the firmament (7^{9} 4^{2}), take possession of Manasseh (2^{1} 1^{9} 3^{11} 5^{1}), are wroth with Isaiah for his visions (5^{15} 3^{13} 5^{1}), and cause Isaiah to be sawn asunder (11^{41} 5^{15}). But in part Sammael seems to be subordinate. He exerts himself to win Manasseh as the subject of Beliar (1^{8}). Beliar has kings under him (4^{16}), and is the prince of this world (1^{3} 4^{2}; cf. 4^{18}). He will finally be cast into Gehenna with his armies (4^{14}). In 2 Co 6^{15} St. Paul asks 'What

concord hath Christ with Beliar?' Here either meaning of Beliar is possible. In 2 Th 2[1-12] the two ideas appear to be fused with yet a third—that of a human sovereign with miraculous powers. The 'man of lawlessness' is possibly a translation of 'Beliar' (cf. LXX: ἄνδρες παράνομοι in Dt 13[13] etc.). In *Asc. Is.* 2[4] Beliar is the angel of lawlessness, and makes Manasseh strong in apostatizing and lawlessness (cf. 2[7]). The sins specified are witchcraft, magic, divination and auguration, fornication, and the persecution of the righteous. The 'falling away' of 2 Th 2[3] is referred to in *Asc. Is.* 3[21]: 'on the eve of His approach, His disciples will forsake . . . their faith and their love and their purity.' Cf. 'few in those days will be left as His servants' (4[13]; cf. Lk 18[8]).

(*d*) *The Antichrist and Nero Redivivus.*—In 4[2] we are told:

'Beliar the great ruler, the king of this world [cf. Jn 12[31] 14[30] 16[11]] will descend, who hath ruled it since it came into being; yea he will descend from his firmament [cf. Eph 2[2] 6[12]] in the likeness of a man, a lawless king, the slayer of his mother [*i.e.* Nero; cf. *Sib. Or.* iv. 141, v. 145. 363, viii. 71] . . . will persecute the plant which the Twelve Apostles . . . have planted [*i.e.* the Church]. Of the Twelve, one [*i.e.* Peter] will be delivered into his hands. . . . There will come with him all the powers of this world [cf. Rev 16[14] 20[7-9]]. . . . At his word the sun will rise at night [cf. Rev 13[14] 19[20], 2 Th 2[9]]. . . . He will say "I am God" [cf. 2 Th 2[4]] . . . and all the people in the world will believe in him, and they will sacrifice to him [cf. Rev 13[4. 8. 12]]. . . . And the greater number of those who shall have been associated together to receive the Beloved, he will turn aside after him [cf. Mt 24[24], Mk 13[22]; contrast 2 Th 2[10-12]]. . . . And he will set up his image . . . in every city [cf. Rev 13[14]].'

The time of his sway will be 3 years, 7 months, and 27 days (4[12]). This period points back to Dn 7[25] 12[7] (cf. Rev 12[14]); but in 4[14] the time is given as (one thousand) three hundred and thirty-two days. During this period the few believers left flee from desert to desert (4[13]; cf. Rev 12[6. 14]). Beliar is finally destroyed, not by Michael but by the Lord Himself (4[14]).

(*e*) *Angels.*—While there is no reference to the functions of good angels as mediators or intercessors, spiritual powers are conceived of as the true cause of all action. Manasseh and Belchira are only agents of Beliar and Sammael and Satan. *Nero Redivivus* is only an embodiment of Beliar (4[2]). Angels, authorities, and powers rule in this world under Beliar their prince (1[3]; cf. Eph 1[21] 3[10] 6[12], Col 1[16] 2[10. 15], 1 P 3[22]). The angel of the Christian Church (cf. Rev 2[1. 8. 12] etc.) descends from heaven after our Lord's passion. The Holy Spirit and the angel of the Holy Spirit (see under 'Trinity') are identical, except perhaps in 3[16] and 11[4]. There is an angel of death (9[16] 10[14]), and an angel of Sheol (11[19]). Each heaven has its angels, with the superior ones to the right of the throne. The sun and the moon also have each an angel (cf. Rev 19[17]). The judgment of the angels is referred to in 1[5] 4[18] 10[12].

(*f*) *The Seven Heavens.*—The conception of the seven heavens which we find *e.g.* in the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* and in *Slavonic Enoch* is not to be found in the *Asc. Is.* Evil is found only in the firmament and the air; it is entirely absent from all the heavens. Nor is there any reference to natural phenomena or heavenly bodies in them. Each heaven is merely a duplicate of the one above, with no distinction, except of glory, until the sixth and seventh are reached (8[1. 7]). The sixth is not under any subordinate angel or 'throne,' but is ruled by the Great Glory in the seventh. There is an angel over the praise-giving of the sixth heaven, however, who challenges Isaiah when proceeding to the seventh (9[1. 4]). In the seventh are the Patriarchs, the righteous, the crowns and thrones and garments of the righteous, the Great Glory, the Beloved, and the angel of the Holy Spirit.

(*g*) *The Christian Church and its circumstances.*—The angel of the Christian Church which is in the heavens will be summoned by God in the last days (3[15]). The Church is the plant planted by the Twelve Apostles (4[3]). It consists of those who are 'associated together to receive the Beloved' at His Second Coming (4[9]). A great persecution is regarded as imminent, in which the few faithful remaining will 'flee from desert to desert, awaiting the coming of the Beloved.' For the expectation of the Coming, cf. 1 Th 1[10], 1 Co 1[7], Ph 3[20], He 9[28]. The Neronic Antichrist is regarded as destroying one of the Twelve Apostles (4[3]), and deceiving many of the faithful (4[9]). In 3[21-31] we have a contemporary picture of the Christian Church regarded as guilty of serious declension from its high calling. Church organization is not yet developed. We have mention of pastors and elders (3[24. 29]). There is a general disbelief in the Second Coming and in prophecy generally (3[26. 27. 31]), but prophecy is still existent, though there are 'not many prophets save one here and there in divers places.' The 'faith' (3[21]) is spoken of objectively, as in the Pastoral Epistles (*e.g.* 1 Ti 1[19]). Faith, love, and purity are the distinctive Christian virtues (as in 1 Ti 4[12]). There are lawless elders (3[24]), and much hatred exists among the Church leaders (3[29]). Covetousness and slander are common vices (cf. 2 Ti 3[1. 2]). The 'spirit of error' (3[28]) is at work among Christians (cf. 1 Jn 4[6], 1 Ti 4[1]). Cæsar-worship is already a difficulty (4[7-11]).

(*h*) *Apocryphal work.*—The only reference to another *apocryphon* occurs in 4[22], where the book 'Words of Joseph the Just' is probably to be identified with the Προσευχὴ τοῦ Ἰωσήφ (Fabricius, *Cod. Pseud. V.T.* i. 761–769; see *HDB* ii. 778).

3. The text.—(*a*) In its complete form the *Asc. Is.* is found only in the *Ethiopic Version*, and even this needs to be corrected and at times supplemented by other authorities. Of this Version there are three MSS, one at the Bodleian, and two inferior ones in the British Museum.

(*b*) There are two *Latin Versions.*—(i.) The fuller of the two was printed at Venice in 1522 from a MS now unknown, and reprinted by Gieseler in 1832.—(ii.) The other version occurs in two fragments discovered by Mai in 1828 in the *Codex Rescriptus* of the Acts of Chalcedon, Vat. 5750, of the 5th or 6th century.

(*c*) The *Greek Versions* are likewise twofold: (i.) a lost Greek text on which the Greek Legend was based; (ii.) the Greek text from which the Slavonic and the fuller Latin Versions were derived. Of this text 2[4]–4[4] have been recovered in the Amherst Papyri by Grenfell and Hunt.

The Greek Legend was found by O. von Gebhardt in a Greek MS of the 12th cent. (no. 1534, Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris). This work is really a lection for Church use, and so takes liberties in the way of rearranging and abbreviating the text. The *Martyrdom* is brought to the end, and other details are added. It is, however, very valuable for correcting and restoring the text.

(*d*) The *Slavonic Version* is extant in a MS in the Library of the Uspenschen Cathedral in Moscow. It belongs to *c.* A.D. 1200.

In all these authorities two recensions may be traced. The Greek Papyri, the Ethiopic, the Slavonic, and the fuller Latin Version follow the second recension of the Greek; the Greek Legend and the Latin fragments support the first Greek recension. Charles in his edition of the *Asc. Is.* (1900) has produced a critical text founded on all these authorities. To this work the present writer would express his deep indebtedness.

LITERATURE.—I. *CRITICAL INQUIRIES.*—R. Laurence, *Ascensio Isaiæ Vatis*, Oxford, 1819, pp. 141–180; K. I. Nitzsch, *SK*, 1830, pp. 209–246; G. C. F. Lücke, *Einleit. in die Offenbarung des Johannes*[2], Bonn, 1852, pp. 274–302; A. Dillmann, *Ascensio*

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Isaiæ, Leipzig, 1877, pp. v–xviii; G. T. Stokes, art. 'Isaiah, Ascension of,' in *DCB* iii. [1882] 298–301; W. J. Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, Edinburgh, 1891, pp. 236–275; A. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1893 ff., i. 854–856, ii. 573–579, 714; C. Clemen, 'Die Himmelfahrt des Jesaja,' *ZWT*, 1896, pp. 388–415, also 1897, pp. 455–465; J. A. Robinson, art. 'Isaiah, Ascension of,' in *HDB*, ii. 499–501; G. Beer, in Kautzsch's *Apok. und Pseudepig.*, Tübingen, 1900, ii. 119–123; R. H. Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah translated from the Ethiopic Version, which, together with the New Greek Fragment, the Latin Versions, and the Latin Translation of the Slavonic, is here published in full*, London, 1900, also *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, ii. 155–158; E. Littmann, *JE* vi. [1904] 642 f.

II. *Editions.*—(*a*) *Ethiopic Version.*—R. Laurence, A. Dillmann, and R. H. Charles, *opp. cit. supra.* (*b*) *Latin Versions.*—(i.) J. K. L. Gieseler, in a Göttingen programme, 1832; (ii.) A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio*, Rome, 1825–38, iii. 238 *f.*; both are given in the editions of Dillmann and Charles as above. (*c*) *Greek Versions.*—(i.) The Greek Legend—a free recension: O. v. Gebhardt, in Hilgenfeld's *ZWT*, 1873, p. 330 ff.; R. H. Charles, *Asc. of Isaiah*, pp. xviii–xxxiii, 141–148; (ii.) Papyrus fragment: Grenfell and Hunt, *Ascension of Isaiah*, London, 1901; R. H. Charles, *Asc. of Isaiah*, pp. xxviii–xxxi, 84–95. (*d*) *Slavonic Version.*—R. H. Charles, *Asc. of Isaiah*, pp. xxiv–xxvii, 98–139.

A. Ll. Davies.

ASCETICISM.—See Abstinence.

ASHER.—See Tribes.

ASHES.—See Heifer and Mourning.

ASIA ('Ασία).—Asia had a great variety of meanings in ancient writers. It might denote (1) the western coast-land of Asia Minor; (2) the kingdom of Troy (poetical); (3) the kingdom of the early Seleucids, *i.e.* Asia Minor and Syria (frequent in 1 and 2 Mac.); (4) the kingdom of Pergamum (Livy); (5) the Roman province Asia; (6) the Asiatic continent (Pliny). In Strabo's time—the beginning of the 1st cent. A.D.—the province was ἡ ἰδίως καλουμένη Ἀσία (*Geog.* p. 118), and in the NT (where the name is found 22 times—15 times in Acts, 4 times in the Pauline Epistles, once in 1 Peter, twice in Rev.) Asia almost invariably denotes proconsular Asia. St. Paul the Roman citizen naturally assumed the Imperial standpoint, and made use of Roman political designations, while the Hellenic Luke, though he frequently employed geographical terms in their popular non-Roman sense, was probably to some extent influenced by St. Paul's practice of using the technical phraseology of the Empire.

The province of Asia was founded after the death of Attalus III. of Pergamum (133 B.C.), who bequeathed his kingdom by will to the Roman Republic. The province was much smaller than the kingdom had been, until, on the death of Mithridates (120 B.C.), Phrygia Major was added to it. Cicero indicates its extent in the words: 'Namque, ut opinor, Asia vestra constat ex Phrygia, Caria, Mysia, Lydia' (*Flac.* 27); but the Troad and the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, Patmos, and Cos should be added. Pergamum, so long a royal city, naturally became the capital of the province, and officially retained this position till the beginning of the 2nd cent. A.D.; but long before that time Ephesus (*q.v.*) was recognized as the real administrative centre. When the provinces were arranged by Augustus in 27 B.C., Asia was given to the Senate; it was therefore governed by proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι, Ac 19[38]). Its beauty, wealth, and culture made it the most desirable of all provinces.

The only passage in which St. Luke certainly uses 'Asia' in the popular Greek sense is Ac 2[9], where he names Asia and Phrygia together as distinct countries, whereas in Roman provincial language the greater part of Phrygia belonged to Asia. In such an expression as 'the places on the coast of Asia' (Ac 27[2]) the sense is doubtful; but it is probable that, where the historian refers to Jews of Asia (Ac 6[9] 21[27] 24[18]), to 'all the dwellers in Asia' (19[10]; cf. 19[26 f.]), and to St. Paul's sojourn in Asia (19[32] 20[16. 18]), he has the province in view. St. Paul almost certainly uses the word in its Roman sense when he speaks of 'the firstfruits of Asia' (Ro 16[5] RV), the churches of Asia (1 Co 16[19]), afflictions in Asia (2 Co 1[8]), apostates in Asia (2 Ti 1[15]).

Though the Roman meaning of Asia is generally assumed by adherents of the S. Galatian theory, it is not incompatible with the other view. Thus Lightfoot, an advocate of the N. Galatian theory, holds that, while St. Luke usually gives geographical terms their popular significance, 'the case of Asia is an exception. The foundation of this province dating very far back, its official name had to a great extent superseded the local designations of the districts which it comprised. Hence Asia in the NT is always Proconsular Asia' (*Gal.*[5], 1876, p. 19, n. 6). Only those who find 'the Phrygian and Galatic region' (Ac 16[6]) in the north of Pisidian Antioch are obliged (like Conybeare-Howson, i. 324) to assume that Asia 'is simply viewed as the western portion of Asia Minor,' for the Paroreios belonged to proconsular Asia, in which preaching was expressly forbidden (Ac 16[6]). See Phrygia and Galatia.

1 P 1[1] is a clear instance of the use of geographical terms in the Roman administrative sense. The four provinces named—Bithynia and Pontus, though here separated, being really one—sum up the whole of Asia Minor north of Taurus. The Seven Churches of Revelation were all in proconsular Asia (Rev 1[4. 11]), and it is possible that the so-called 'Epistle to the Ephesians' was an *encyclα* to a group of churches in that province.

For the 'Asiarchs' (RVm) of Ac 19[31], see following article.

Literature.—F. J. A. Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter*, London, 1898, p. 157 *f.*; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 273 *f.*; W. M. Ramsay, *Church in Roman Empire*, London, 1893, and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, do. 1895, *passim.*

James Strahan.

ASIARCH.—In Ac 19[31] RVm reads 'Asiarchs' for RV 'chief officers of Asia' and AV 'chief of Asia.' The word is a transliteration of the Gr. Ἀσιάρχης, derived from Ἀσία, 'province of Asia,' and ἄρχειν, 'to rule,' and belongs to a class of names, of which Βιθυνιάρχης, Γαλατάρχης, Καππαδοκάρχης, Λυκιάρχης, Ποντάρχης, Συριάρχης are other examples. The titles are peculiar to Eastern, Greek-speaking, Roman provinces. As the real rulers of these provinces were the Roman Emperor and the Roman Senate, with their elected representatives, it is clear that such titles must have been honorary and complimentary. With regard to the duties and privileges attached to the dignities thus indicated there has been much discussion. The titles occur rarely in literature, much more often in inscriptions; and the lessons we learn from inscriptions are in direct proportion to their number. Several scholars of repute have held the view that the term Ἀσιάρχης is equivalent to ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας ('high priest of Asia'), the president of the Diet of Asia (κοινὸν τῆς Ἀσίας, *commune Asiæ*). This Diet of Asia was a body composed of a number of representatives, one or more of whom were elected by each of a number of cities in the province. The principal duty of the president of this body was to supervise the worship of Rome and the Emperor throughout the province (see under art. Emperor-Worship). Certain considerations, however, militate against the view that the terms 'Asiarch' and 'high priest of Asia' are interchangeable. The word Ἀσιάρχης is never feminine, whereas the title 'high priestess of Asia' is often applied to the wife of the high priest. There was only one ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀσίας (without further designation) at a time, whereas there were a

number of Asiarchs. Another (civil) office could be held concurrently with the Asiarchate, but not with the chief priesthood of Asia. Further, the title 'Asiarch' was held only during a man's period of office (probably one year*), but he was eligible for re-election. The origin of the view that 'Asiarch' and 'high priest of Asia' are two convertible terms is to be found in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (A.D. 155), where two separate persons named Philippos have been confused: (1) Philip of Smyrna, Asiarch, who superintended the games; (2) Philip of Tralles, who was high priest of Asia (the latter had been an Asiarch a year or two before). It is clear, therefore, that the honorary position of Asiarch was inferior to the office of high priest of Asia. Yet there was a connexion between the two. The high priest presided over the games, etc., but the Asiarchs did the work and probably paid the cost. Their election by their fellow-citizens to this honorary position was rewarded by games and gladiatorial shows. Both the Asiarchs and the high priest disappear after the early part of the 4th cent., for the obvious reason that, as the Empire was henceforth officially Christian, the machinery for Emperor-worship had become obsolete.

When we come to study the connexion of the Asiarchs with the Acts narrative, we are puzzled. It seems at first sight so strange that men elected to foster the worship of Rome and the Emperor should be found favouring the ambassador of the Messiah, the Emperor's rival for the lordship of the Empire. This is only one, however, of a number of indications that the Empire was at first disposed to look with a kindly eye on the new religion. Christianity, with its outward respect for civil authority, seemed at first the strongest supporter of law and order. Artemis-worship, moreover, bulked so largely in Ephesus as perhaps to dwarf the Imperial worship. Thus St. Paul, whose preaching so threatened the authority of Artemis, may have appeared in a favourable light to the representatives of Cæsar-worship, as likely to create more enthusiasm in that direction.

See also artt. DIANA and EPHESUS.

LITERATURE.—C. G. Brandis, *s.vv.* 'Asiarches,' 'Bithyniarches,' 'Galatarches,' in Pauly-Wissowa, Stuttgart, 1894 ff.; J. B. Lightfoot, Appendix, 'The Asiarchate' in his *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. ii. vol. iii., London, 1889, p. 404 ff.; W. M. Ramsay in *Classical Review*, iii. [1889] 174, and *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, London, 1895, p. 280 f.

A. SOUTER.

ASP (*ἀσπίς*).—The Greek word occurs in the classical writings of Herodotus (iv. 191) and Aristotle (*de Anim. Hist.* iv. 7. 14), and generally represents the Heb. פֶּתֶן (*pethen*) in the LXX (*pethen* is translated 'asp' in Dt 32^{33}, Job $20^{14.16}$, and Is 11^{8}, but 'adder' in Ps 58^{4} 91^{13}). In the NT the 'asp' is mentioned only once (Ro 3^{13}: 'The poison of asps [*ἰὸς ἀσπίδων*] is under their lips'). Here it is introduced in a quotation from Ps 140^{3} (139^{4}), where the Heb. word used is צִפְעוֹנִי (a *ἅπαξ λεγ.* and probably corrupt, perhaps read עַכְּנִי, 'spider'), but the LXX word is *ἀσπίς*, as in Romans. The general meaning of the passage is obvious (cf. Ja 3^{8}: 'The tongue can no man tame—a restless evil—full of *deadly poison*'), and the position of the poison-bag of the serpent is correctly described.

The serpent referred to is without doubt the *Naja haje*, or small hooded Egyptian cobra, which, though not found in the cultivated parts of Palestine, is well known in the downs and plains S. of Beersheba (cf. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 270), and frequents old walls and holes in the rocks (cf. Is 11^{8}: 'And the sucking-child shall play on the hole of the asp'). It does not belong to the viper tribe (*Viperidæ*) but to the *Colubridæ*, which includes the ordinary British grass-snake. The chief peculiarities of cobras are: (*a*) a clearly defined neck, which they can dilate at will, and (*b*) the equality in size of the scales on the back with those on the other parts of the body. There are about ten different species, of which the *Naja haje*, or Egyptian asp, and the *Naja tripudians*, or Indian cobra, are the best known. The latter is the species upon which Indian snake-charmers usually practise their skill, while the *Naja haje* is used for this purpose in Egypt.

See also SERPENT, VIPER.

LITERATURE.—H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*[10], London, 1911, p. 270 f.; *SWP* vii. 146; R. Lydekker in *The Concise Knowledge Natural History*, 1897, p. 424; Baedeker's *Palestine and Syria*[5], 1912, p. lvi; W. Aldis Wright, *The Bible Word-Book*[2], 1884, p. 50, for the use of the word; cf. also Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], 1902, p. 79; Driver, *Deuteronomy*[2], 1896, p. 372; *HDB*, vol. iv. p. 459; *EBi*, vol. iv. col. 4894; Murray's *DB*, p. 67; *SDB*, p. 837.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

ASSASSINS (or, more properly, *Sicarii* [cf. Ac 21^{38}], 'dagger-men').—The name given, according to Josephus, to a body of radicals in the Jewish Messianic agitation which culminated in the outbreak of A.D. 66. The name was derived from the short daggers worn by the members of the body (*sica*, a short, curved, possibly Persian sword), which they kept concealed in their clothing and used to stab people among the crowds. The *Sicarii* seem to have appeared first during the procuratorship of Felix, although Josephus in *BJ* VII. viii. 1 might be interpreted as ascribing their origin to a somewhat earlier period. He has a number of references to these men, whom he describes as follows (*BJ* II. xiii. 3):

'There sprang up another sort of robbers in Jerusalem who were called Sicarii, who slew men in the daytime in the midst of the city, especially at the festivals, when they mixed with the multitude, and concealed little daggers under their garments, with which they stabbed those that were their enemies; and when any fell down dead, the murderers joined the bystanders in expressing their indignation, so that from their plausibility they could by no means be discovered. The first man who was slain by them was Jonathan the high priest, after whom many were slain every day, and the fear men were in of being so treated was more harassing than the calamity itself, everybody expecting death every hour, as men do in war. So men kept a look-out for their enemies at a great distance, and even if their friends were coming, they durst not trust them any longer, but were slain in the midst of their suspicions and precautions. Such was the celerity of the plotters, and so cunning was their contrivance against detection.' See also *BJ* VII. x. 1.

It is difficult to say whether these *Sicarii* at first constituted an organized body, although such a view would seem to be implied by Josephus (*BJ* VII. viii. 1). They joined the Zealots (*ib.* II. xvii. 7), and inaugurated the reign of terror which filled Jerusalem after the outbreak of the Revolution. Subsequently they seized the great fortress of Masada (*ib.* IV. vii. 2), and there maintained themselves by plundering the neighbouring country, until they were besieged by the Romans under Flavius Silca. Their commander was one Eleazar (*ib.* VII. viii. 1), whom Josephus describes as an able man and a descendant of that Judas who had led the revolt against the census under Quirinius. After a considerable siege the Romans were on the point of taking the fortress when the *Sicarii* massacred themselves, one old woman alone escaping.

In Ac 21^{38} they have **'the Egyptian'** as a leader. Josephus mentions this Egyptian as having appeared during the procuratorship of Felix, but does not connect the *Sicarii* with him (*Ant.* XX. viii. 6; *BJ* II. xiii. 5). The *Sicarii* seem to have dispersed after the Roman war and to have disappeared from history, the references to *Sicarii* in the Mishna (*Bikkur.* i. 2, ii. 3; *Gittin* v. 6; *Machsh.* i. 6) probably being to robbers in general.

* But see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. ii. vol. iii. p. 412 ff.

LITERATURE.—See E. Schürer, *GJV*[3] i. [Leipzig, 1901] p. 574, n. 31 (*HJP* I. ii. 173), where further references will be found.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

ASSEMBLY.—In the Acts and Epistles (AV and RV) the English word 'assembly' occurs as follows, but in each instance a different Greek noun is translated by it.

1. In Ac 19[32. 39. 41] 'assembly' (*ἐκκλησία*) stands for the tumultuary mob gathered by Demetrius and his fellow-gildsmen in Ephesus to protest against the teaching of St. Paul, which was destroying the business of the shrine-makers. Though *ἐκκλησία* strictly denotes an assembly of the citizens summoned by the crier (*κῆρυξ*), this was a mere mob, with all a mob's unreasonableness: 'Some cried one thing, and some another, for the assembly was confused, and the more part knew not wherefore they were come together.' So runs St. Luke's 'logical, complete, and photographic' narrative. (For a similar description of a Roman gathering, cf. Virgil, *Æn.* i. 149: 'Saevitque animis ignobile vulgus.') In Ephesus the man revered for his piety and worth was the Secretary of the City (*γραμματεύς* [see TOWN CLERK]), who calls the gathering a riot (*στάσις*), and a concourse (*συστροφή*). If Demetrius and his gildsmen had just ground of complaint, they should have carried their case before the proper court, over which the proconsul presided, for the present gathering was outside the law, and had 'no power to transact business.' He, therefore, referred them to the lawful (AV) or regular (RV) assembly (*ἡ ἔννομος ἐκκλησία*), which is 'the people duly assembled in the exercise of its powers' (Ramsay). The Revisers' change of 'lawful' into 'regular' is perhaps hypercritical; for in practice, under the Roman rule, the distinction is not appreciable.

2. Ac 23[7]: 'The assembly [RV; AV the multitude] was divided' (*ἐσχίσθη τὸ πλῆθος*). The reference is to the council (*πᾶν τὸ συνέδριον*, 22[30]) summoned by Lysias the tribune of the Roman garrison in the tower of Antonia, consequent upon the tumult in the Temple, and St. Paul's arrest. We are not to understand a regular sitting of the Sanhedrin, but an informal meeting for what is known in Scots Law as a precognition ('a meeting of the councillors, aiding the Tribune to ascertain the facts' [Ramsay]). As Lysias called the meeting, he probably presided and conducted the business. This would account for St. Paul's ignorance of the fact that Ananias was the high priest, and explains his apology. As to the charge made against him, the Apostle conducted his defence in a way that won for himself the sympathy of the Pharisees. It is a needless refinement to find here difficulties of an ethical kind. 'Luke saw nothing wrong or unworthy in this, and he was best able to judge. Paul was winning over the Pharisees not merely to himself but to the Christian cause. Paul states the same view more fully in 26[6-8] where there is no question of a clever trick, for there were no Pharisees among his judges' (Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, 1910, p. 283). The result of this defence was that *τὸ συνέδριον* became *τὸ πλῆθος*.

3. Ja 2[2]: 'If there come into your assembly' (AV and RVm; RV and AVm 'synagogue': *εἰς τὴν συναγωγήν*).—James, writing 'to the twelve tribes scattered abroad,' uses the old familiar word 'synagogue,' which had become hallowed in the ears of the Dispersion by associations of worship and fellowship. This usage is a delicate indication (unintentional on the writer's part, of course) that the Christian meeting had its ties not with the Temple, but with the synagogues which for ages had nourished the faith of Israel.

4. He 12[23]: 'Ye are come . . . to innumerable hosts of angels, to the general assembly and church of the firstborn who are enrolled in heaven' (RV; *μυριάσιν ἀγγέλων, πανηγύρει καὶ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρωτοτόκων ἀπογεγραμμένων ἐν οὐρανοῖς*). In classical usage *πανήγυρις* is the festal assembly of the whole nation, gathered for some solemnity, such as the Olympic Games. But the word occurs only here in the NT, though it is found in LXX Ezk 46[11], Hos 2[11] 9[5], Am 5[21]. The passage has given rise to considerable variety of interpretation, indication of which may be seen in RV text and margin. The difficulty is to determine how many classes are referred to.

(*a*) A. B. Davidson ('Hebrews,' *Bible Class Handbooks, in loco*) holds that the only subject is angels, and translates: 'to myriads of angels,—even a festal assembly and convocation of firstborns enrolled in heaven.' In this interpretation he is followed by A. S. Peake (*Century Bible*, 'Hebrews').

(*b*) On the other hand, Westcott (*Hebrews*) contends for two classes—angels *and* men; and renders the passage: 'to countless hosts of angels in festal assembly, *and* to the Church of the firstborn enrolled in heaven.' So also Farrar (*Cambridge Bible for Schools*) and Edwards (*Expositor's Bible*).

Against this latter interpretation, it may be pointed out that men are mentioned separately—'and to the spirits of just men made perfect'—and it is improbable that the groups occur twice. 'Tens of thousands' is an almost technical term for angels; and, though 'firstborn' is not elsewhere applied to them, it is a quite natural name for the sons of God. Besides, if living Christians are referred to, as this interpretation seems to imply, it is awkward 'to speak of their coming to a company which includes themselves' (A. S. Peake). On the whole it appears better to abide by the first interpretation. It is the picture of noble souls returning home to God, and welcomed with the 'joy that is in the presence of the angels of God.' Students of Dante will compare the corresponding passage in the *Convivio*: 'And, as his fellow-citizens come forth to meet him who returns from a long journey, even before he enters the gate of his city; so to the noble soul come forth the citizens of the eternal life.' Bernard's great hymn (Neale's translation) 'Jerusalem the Golden' may also be cited as instinct with the spirit of He 12[22].

W. M. GRANT.

ASSOS ("Ασσος).—An ancient Greek city on the Adramyttian Gulf, in the south of the Troad. Originally an Æolic colony, it was re-founded, under the name of Apollonia, by the Pergamenian kings, whose dominions were converted into the Roman province of Asia in 133 B.C. Its situation was one of the most commanding in all the Greek lands. 'It is a strong place,' says Strabo, 'and well fortified with walls. There is a long and steep ascent from the sea and the harbour. . . . Cleanthes, the Stoic philosopher, was a native of this place. . . . Here also Aristotle resided for some time' (XIII. i. 58). The walls are still well-preserved, and the harbour mole can be traced by large blocks under the clear water. The summit of the hill was crowned by the Doric temple of Athene (built *c.* 470 B.C.), the panels of which—now mostly in the Louvre—are among the most important remains of ancient Greek art. The modern town, Behram Kalessi, is still the chief shipping-place of the southern Troad.

On a Sunday afternoon, probably in the spring of A.D. 56, St. Paul, having torn himself away from the Christians of Troas, walked or rode the 20 miles of Roman highway which connected that city with Assos, first passing along the western side of Mt. Ida, then through the rich Valley of the Tuzla, and finally reaching the Via Sacra, or Street of Tombs, which still extends a great dis-

tance to the N.W. of Assos. In the haven he joined his ship, which had meanwhile taken his companions round the long promontory of Lectum (Ac $20^{13f.}$).

LITERATURE.—J. T. Clarke, *Assos*, 2 vols., Boston, 1882 and 1898; C. Fellows, *Travels and Researches in Asia Minor*, London, 1852; Murray's *Handbook of Asia Minor*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.—A curious state of affairs exists with regard to the so-called 'Assumption of Moses.' The title is incorrectly applied to what is really the 'Testament of Moses,' a work which is extant in a more or less complete form in a Latin fragment discovered by Ceriani in a 6th cent. MS in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, and published by him in 1861. The true 'Assumption' survives only in quotations and references in the NT and early Christian writers; but from certain facts it appears that it was at a very early date appended to the 'Testament.' For example, in Ceriani's Latin MS in 10^{12} we have the reading 'From my death [assumption] until His advent.' Here the duplicate reading 'assumption' would appear to be an attempt to prepare for the account of the Assumption appended to the Testament. Moreover, as early as St. Jude's Epistle, we find quotations from both works in close juxtaposition. Under these circumstances, the present article includes an account of both works.

Both works alike must have been written in the 1st cent. A.D., and the former, if not the latter, in Hebrew, between the years 7 and 29. A Greek version of both, of the same century, is presupposed by the quotations and parallels in Ac 7^{36}, Jude $^{9.\ 16.\ 18}$, 2 Baruch, Clement of Alexandria, and Origen. The author was a Pharisaic Quietist. His silence with regard to the Maccabæan rising and its leaders is most significant. There could be no severer censure on the political and bellicose Pharisees of his time. For him Eleazar and his seven sons had been the true heroes, and not Judas and his brethren. He expects the ultimate triumph of Israel, but this is to be brought about by Divine intervention and not by the sword, and the human conditions prerequisite are a stricter observance of the Law and a national repentance.

The work is of great value in the stress it lays on spiritual religion and quietism. In this and in its singular freedom from the Jewish doctrine of merit it affords a parallel to NT teaching. On the other hand, it is thoroughly Judaic in its exaltation of the person of Moses, which seems to be set up as a Jewish counterpart to that of our Lord, while the pre-existence of Moses and Jerusalem is expressly asserted in $1^{14.\ 17}$.

1. Contents (historical and other allusions are explained in brackets).—i. In the 2500th year from the Creation, after the Exodus, Moses calls Joshua and appoints him his successor as minister of the people and of the tabernacle of the testimony, at the same time committing to his charge certain books which were to be preserved in the place which God had made from the beginning of the world (Jerusalem).—ii. After Joshua has secured to Israel their inheritance, the people are to be ruled for eighteen years (*i.e.* the fifteen judges, and the three kings, Saul, David, and Solomon) by chiefs and kings, and for nineteen years (the nineteen kings of Israel) the ten tribes shall break away. The two tribes maintain the Temple worship for twenty years (reigns), of which, however, four are evil and idolatrous.—iii. Then a king from the East (Nebuchadrezzar) shall come and burn their 'colony' (Jerusalem) and the Temple and remove the sacred vessels. The two tribes are carried into captivity, and confess their punishment to be just, as also do the ten tribes.—iv. At the end of the 77 years' captivity, one who is over them (Daniel) will pray for them. A king (Cyrus) has compassion on them, and parts of the two tribes return, while the ten increase among the Gentiles in their captivity.—v. Even the faithful two tribes sin, and are punished through the kings who share in their guilt (the Seleucids). They are divided as to the truth, and pollute the altar with their non-Aaronic priests, 'not priests but slaves, sons of slaves' (Jason and Menelaus).—viii. A 'second visitation' follows. The king of the kings of the earth (Antiochus Epiphanes) crucifies those who confess to circumcision, and compels them to blaspheme the law and bear idols, and persecutes them with tortures.—ix. Thereupon a man of the tribe of Levi, named Taxo (=Eleazar), exhorts his seven sons to fast for three days and on the fourth to go into a cave and die rather than transgress the commands of the Lord of lords.—vi. Next there are raised up kings bearing rule who call themselves priests of the Most High God (the Maccabees). They work iniquity in the Holy of Holies. They are succeeded by an insolent king not of the race of the priests (Herod), who will carry out secret massacres and rule for 34 years. His children are to reign for shorter periods. A powerful king of the West (Varus, governor of Syria) invades the land, burns part of the Temple, and crucifies some of the people.—vii. The times shall then be ended. Destructive and impious men (Sadducees) shall rule—treacherous, hypocritical, gluttons, oppressing the poor, and lawless. Though unclean in hand and mind, they say, 'Do not touch me, lest thou shouldest pollute me.'—x. Then God's kingdom shall appear, and Satan shall be no more, and the angel who has been appointed chief (Michael) shall avenge them of their enemies. The earth is shaken, the sun and moon fail, and the sea and the waters dry up. The Gentiles are punished, and Israel is happy, and triumphs over the Eagle (Rome), is raised to the stars, and beholds his enemies in Gehenna and rejoices over them. Until this advent of God there shall be 250 times from Moses' death.—xi. Joshua mourns that he is not able to take Moses' place as guide and teacher, prophet and advocate. The Amorites will assail Israel when Moses is not among them.—xii. Moses replies by placing Joshua in his own seat, and assures him that all is foreseen and controlled by God.

At the end of ch. vii. and again at the end of ch. xii. the MS breaks off in the middle of a sentence. Chapters viii. and ix. are read between v. and vi., as Charles suggests in his edition (pp. 28–30). They obviously refer to the Antiochian persecution, and are quite out of place after ch. vii., which describes the Sadducees who were contemporaries of the author. Burkitt argues (*HDB* iii. 449) that 'the Theophany in x. comes in well after the story of the ideal saint Taxo in ix., but very badly after the description of the wicked priests and rulers in vii.' But ch. vii. is mutilated at the end, and we cannot argue from the last reference which happens to be preserved in it. He suggests that the author 'filled up his picture of the final woes from the stories of the Antiochian martyrs.' But surely he would not need to borrow his picture of the ideal saint of the last times (and his name) from the same period.

2. Date.—The date of composition is clearly fixed by the words in 6^{7} 'and he (Herod) shall beget children who succeeding him shall rule for shorter periods.' As this is a prediction which was falsified by the event, for Antipas reigned forty-three years and Philip thirty-seven (while Herod reigned thirty-four), we must postulate a date earlier than thirty-four years from Herod's death, *i.e.* A.D. 30. A date nearer to the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6, which would suggest the impending deposition of his brothers, would be still more suitable.

3. Author.—The author is generally supposed to have been a Zealot (so Ewald, Wieseler, Dillmann,

Schürer, Deane, and Briggs). But, while well aware of the Maccabæan movement, he shows his aversion to Maccabæan methods by his silence in regard to the exploits of Judas and his brethren. His hero, Taxo, instead of taking up arms, withdraws into a cave to die, with the words 'Let us die rather than transgress.' It is not militancy but God's direct and personal intervention that will bring in the kingdom.

The same arguments prove that he was no Sadducee. His was no earthly ideal, but that of a heavenly theocratic kingdom ($10^{9f.}$). A Resurrection is not taught, it is true, but it is implied in the consummation of Israel's happiness in these verses. The Sadducees are attacked, and in $7^{3.6}$ there is a play on their name and their claim to be just (צדיקים and צדוקים).

He was not an Essene. He is a strong patriot and keenly interested in the fortunes of the nation. The Law is of perpetual obligation and is itself sufficient. The Temple is built by God Himself (2^4) in the place He prepared from the creation (1^{18}). Its profanations are often mentioned ($2^{8.9}$ 3^2 $5^{3.4}$ $6^{1.9}$). The sacrificial system is regarded as valid (2^6), and its cessation is a cause of lamentation (4^8). The altar is polluted only by injustice (5^4). The Essenes did not value the Temple sacrifices, and objected to animal sacrifice altogether. The future heavenly abode of the righteous, and the future punishment of Israel's enemies in Gehenna, are distinctively Pharisaic ideas. The pre-existence of Moses in 1^{14} is regarded as a unique distinction. The Essenes believed in the pre-existence of all souls alike.

We must conclude, therefore, that the author was a 'Pharisee of a fast-disappearing type, recalling in all respects the *Chasid* of the early Maccabean times, and upholding the old traditions of quietude and resignation' (Charles, 1897, p. liv).

4. The Latin text.—The Latin text presents a difficult task to the critical reconstructor of the original Hebrew text. To begin with, Ceriani's MS is a palimpsest, in which whole verses are at times indecipherable. In the next place, it is not the original Latin translation but a copy, in which the Latin itself has been corrected and corrupted. Thus in 5^6 we have six lines of duplicate rendering, and there are dittographies also in 6^3 8^5 11^{13}. In 11^2 the copyist has misread 'eum' as 'cum,' and corrects 'Monses' into 'Monse' accordingly. The version, however, is very literal, and, in spite of corruptions and carelessness, its Greek source is occasionally evident; and the original Hebrew idiom is frequently preserved. Greek words like *clibsis* (= θλῖψις, 3^7) and *heremus* (= ἐρῆμος, 3^{11}), and even a reading like *finem* in 2^7, which presupposes δρον in Greek [corrupt for ὄρκον], suffice to prove translation from the Greek; while corrupt passages like 4^9 5^5 10^4 11^{12} (see Charles' text) require re-translation into the original Hebrew in order to explain the corruption. In 7^8 we have a play on the name Sadducees (צדוקים)

'dicentes se esse justos (צדיקים)'

which is possible only in Hebrew. An Aramaic original postulated by Schmidt, Merx, and others is not necessitated by the order in 1^{10} 3^2 (see Charles, 1897, pp. xxviii–xlv).

5. The original 'Assumption of Moses.'—The subject-matter of the extant work (preserved largely in Ceriani's Latin MS) proves it to be a Testament of Moses, as it deals with the dying predictions and charges of Moses as related to Joshua, quite in the manner of the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (*q.v.*). It nowhere describes his 'Assumption,' and only in an interpolation (10^{12}) refers to it. The opening words have been thus restored by Charles to fill the gap in the MS—'Testamentum Moysi | Quae praecepit ano vi|tae eius Cmo et xxmo.' Throughout the work Moses is to die an ordinary death (*e.g.* 1^{15} 3^{13} $10^{12.14}$). In a Catena quoted in Fabricius (*Cod. Pseud. Vet. Test.* ii. 121, 122), and again in Section xiii. of Vassiliev's *Anecdota Græco-Byzantina* (pp. 257–258), we find references to a natural death of Moses, which may be derived from the original ending of the 'Testament.' In Vassiliev's work the words that follow seem to be derived from the true 'Assumption,' while Josephus (*Ant.* IV. viii. 48) seems to be aware of the new claims put forth for Moses' Assumption, while explaining the Scripture statement of his death as a precaution against deification of the national hero; *νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος, ἀφανίζεται κατά τινος φάραγγος. Γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.*

The fragments of the true 'Assumption of Moses' preserved in various sources are as follows.—We read in Jude [9]: 'But Michael the archangel, when, contending with the devil, he disputed about the body of Moses, durst not bring against him a railing judgment, but said, "The Lord rebuke thee."' Clem. Alex. quotes this verse in *Adumbrat. in Ep. Judæ* (Zahn's *Supplement. Clementin.*, 1884, p. 84), and adds: 'Hic confirmat Assumptionem Moysi.' Didymus Alex. *in Epist. Judæ Enarratio*, and the *Acta Synodi Nicæn.* ii. 20 also refer to St. Jude's words as a quotation from 'Moyseos Assumptio' or 'Ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως. The Devil's claim which Michael thus rebutted was (1) that he was lord of matter (*ὅτι ἐμὸν τὸ σῶμα ὡς τῆς ὕλης δεσπόζοντι* [Cramer's *Catena in Ep. Cath.*, 1840, p. 160: also Matthæi's edition of *Sept. Epp. Cathol.*, Riga, 1782, pp. 238, 239]); (2) that Moses was a murderer.

The answer to the second claim is not given, but the answer to the first is in fuller form than in St. Jude, in *Acta Synodi Nicæn.* ii. 20: *ἀπὸ γὰρ πνεύματος ἁγίου αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐκτίσθημεν*, thus claiming all creation as the handiwork of God's Holy Spirit. Origen (*de Princip.* iii. 2. 1) adds a reproach uttered by Michael to the serpent: 'a diabolo inspiratum serpentem causam exstitisse praevaricationis Adae et Evae.'

The Assumption finally 'takes place in the presence of Joshua and Caleb, and in a very peculiar way. A twofold presentation of Moses appears: one is Moses "living in the spirit," which is carried up to heaven; the other is the dead body of Moses, which is buried in the recesses of the mountains' (Charles, p. 106). So Clem. Alex., *Strom.* vi. 15; Origen, *hom. in Jos.* ii. 1; Euodius, *Epist. ad. Augustin.* 258, vol. ii. p. 839 (Ben. ed. 1836). This 'twofold presentation' would appear to be due to an attempt to reconcile Dt $34^{5f.}$ with the Jewish legend. Cf. Josephus, quoted above.

6. Value for New Testament study.—i. *Parallels in phraseology.*—These are confined to five passages: (*a*) Stephen's speech in Ac 7^{36}, where the words 'in Egypt and in the Red Sea and in the wilderness forty years' are the same as in *Ass. Mos.* 3^{11}. Cf. also Ac $7^{38.39}$ with *Ass. Mos.* 3^{12}.—(*b*) Jude [16]: cf. *Ass. Mos.* 7^7 'complainers'; 7^9 'and their mouth will speak great things'; 5^5 'respecting the persons of the wealthy.' Jude [18] 'in the last time' = *Ass. Mos.* 7^1 'the times shall be ended.'—(*c*) With 2 P 2^{13} cf. *Ass. Mos.* 7^4 'lovers of banquets at every hour of the day,' and with 2^8 cf. 7^6 'devourers of the goods . . . saying that they do so on the ground of justice (or mercy).'

The signs of the end in sun, moon, and stars in *Ass. Mos.* 10^5 resemble those in Mk $13^{24.25}$, while the phrase in 8^1 'there will come upon them a second visitation and wrath, such as has not befallen them from the beginning until that time,' is nearer Mt 24^{21} than Dn 12^1 and Rev 16^{18}.

There is also the well-known reference to the

lost 'Assumption' in Jude[9] (generalized in 2 P 2[10.11]) —'Yet Michael the archangel,' etc.

ii. *Parallels in doctrine and ideas.*—(*a*) The parallels with the *NT doctrine of Christ* are remarkable. Moses appears to fill the place which would be taken by Christ in Christian belief, as a Divinely appointed mediator, bound by no limitations of time or space, interceding on behalf of God's people. His pre-existenee and mediatorship are asserted in 1[14]. He was 'prepared before the foundation of the world (cf. Mt 25[34]) to be the mediator of His (God's) covenant' (cf. Gal 3[19]). Christ, too, was 'before all things' (Col 1[17], Jn 1[1] 8[58] 17[5]), and was the Mediator of a new and better covenant (He 8[6] 9[15] 12[24]). Baldensperger sees in 11[7] a definite attack on Christian views. The body of Moses would know no local sepulchre, nor would any dare to move his 'body from thence as a man from place to place.' This seems to imply the Jewish view that not only was Christ buried, and His body moved from the cross to the grave, but that His disciples had removed it from the sepulchre (Mt 28[13]). In 11[9] Joshua says: 'Thou art departing, and who will feed this people [cf. the commission to Peter in Jn 21[15-17]], or who is there who will have compassion on them, and . . . be their guide by the way (cf. Mt 9[36]), or who will pray for them, not omitting a single day?' cf. 11[17] (Ro 8[34], He 7[25]). But not only is Moses regarded as shepherd, compassionate guide, and intercessor; in 11[16] he is described as 'the sacred spirit who was worthy of the Lord (cf. Wis 3[5] 7[22]), manifold and incomprehensible, the lord of the word, who was faithful in all things (He 3[5]), God's chief prophet throughout the earth, the most perfect teacher in the world.' Cf., in regard to Christ, Jn 3[2] 'Thou art a teacher come from God,' 6[68] 'Thou hast the words of eternal life.' For the 'manifold Spirit,' cf. 1 Co 12[11-13], and for Christ as Spirit, 2 Co 3[17] 'the Lord is that Spirit.' In 12[6] Moses is 'appointed to pray for their (Israel's) sins and make intercession for them' (cf. He 7[25]). Moses also was the appointed revealer of God's hidden purpose (1[12. 13]). God had 'created the world on behalf of his people' (a common Jewish view; contrast He 1[2], Col 1[16], Ro 11[36], Jn 1[3]—where Christ is the final cause of creation). 'But he was not pleased to manifest this purpose of creation from the foundation of the world in order that the Gentiles might thereby be convicted' (by their own false theories). Cf. Ro 16[25. 26] '. . . the preaching of Jesus Christ . . . the revelation of the mystery which hath been kept in silence through times eternal, but now is manifested . . . unto all the nations unto obedience of faith.' In Eph 1[9. 10] the mystery of God's will, 'according to his good pleasure, which he purposed in him,' is not Israel but Christ as the goal of all creation. In Eph 3[4-11] it includes the bringing in of the Gentiles into the scheme of final restoration. In 1 Co 2[7], Eph 3[9], Ro 16[25] the purpose precedes the creation of the world.

(*b*) *Justification and good works.*—The Rabbinic doctrine of man's merit is entirely absent. Cf. 12[7] 'Not for any virtue or strength of mine, but in His compassion and long-suffering, was He pleased to call me.' Cf. Tit 3[5], 2 Ti 1[9].

(*c*) *Day of repentance.*—Jerusalem is to be the place of worship till 'the day of repentanee in the visitation wherewith the Lord shall visit them in the consummation of the end of the days' (1[18]). This repentance in Mal 4[6] and Lk 1[16. 17] is to be brought about by Elijah. It is the theme of John the Baptist (Mk 1[4]) and of Christ (1[15]). It is to usher in the 'visitation,' or the establishment of the theocratic Kingdom by God Himself in person.

(*d*) *Michael* is regarded as the chief antagonist of Satan and of Israel's foes. In 10[2] he is appointed chief, and 'will forthwith avenge them of their enemies.' Cf. Rev 12[7].

(*e*) *Gehenna* is still the place, not where the wicked and immoral suffer, but into which Israel's foes, the Gentiles, are cast. The dividing line between the future blessed and accursed is a national and not a moral one.

(*f*) *Messianic Kingdom.*—There is no Messiah. In 10[7] we are told 'the Eternal God alone . . . will . . . punish the Gentiles.' The Kingdom will come upon a general repentance (1[17]) 1750 years (10[12]) after Moses' death, *i.e.* between A.D. 75 and 107. The ten tribes share in the promises (3[9]) and in the final restoration (10[8]) Israel is finally exalted to heaven (10[6f.]) and beholds its foes in Gehenna (10[10]).

LITERATURE.—(*a*) CHIEF EDITIONS OF THE LATIN TEXT.—A. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana*, I. i. [1861] 55–64; A. Hilgenfeld, *NT extra Canonem receptum*[2], 1876, pp. 107–135; G. Volkmar, *Mose Prophetie und Himmelfahrt*, Leipzig, 1867; Schmidt-Merx, 'Die Assumptio Mosis . . .' (*Archiv f. wissen. Erforsch. des AT*, ed. Merx, 1868, I. ii. 111–152); O. F. Fritzsche, *Libri Apocryphi V.T.*, 1871, pp. 700–730; R. H. Charles, *The Assumption of Moses . . . the unemended Text . . . together with the Text in its . . . critically emended Form*, London, 1897; C. Clemen, *The Assumption of Moses*, Cambridge, 1904. (*b*) CHIEF CRITICAL INQUIRIES.—Rönsch, *ZWT*, xi. [1868] 76–108, 466–468, xii. [1869] 213–228, xiv. [1871] 89–92, xvii. [1874] 542–562, xxviii. [1885] 102–104; F. Rosenthal, *Vier apoc. Bücher*, 1885, pp. 13–33; E. Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. 73–83; W. Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*, 1888, pp. 25–31; W. J. Deane, *Pseudepigrapha*, 1891, pp. 95–130; E. de Faye, *Les Apocalypses juives*, 1892, pp. 67–75; R. H. Charles, *op. cit.* xiii–lxv; C. Clemen, in Kautzsch's *Apok. und Pseud.*, ii. [1900] 311–331; F. C. Burkitt, in *HDB* iii. 448–450; R. H. Charles, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha*, Oxford, 1913, ii. 407–424.

A. Lt. DAVIES.

ASSURANCE.—1. The word and its Greek equivalents.—'Assurance' (with the kindred forms 'assure,' 'assured of,' 'assuredly') is employed in the EV to render several Gr. words expressing certitude, or setting forth grounds of certainty.—(1) In Ac 17[31] it is used to render *πίστις*, 'faith,' which has the meaning here of 'pledge' or 'guarantee,' the Resurrection of Christ being taken by St. Paul, in addressing the Stoics and Epicureans of Athens on Mars' Hill, as warranting the faith, or imparting certainty to the conviction, of judgment to come.—(2) It is used in He 11[1] (RV) to translate *ὑπόστασις*, 'substance,' 'confidence,' where *πίστις* itself is defined as 'the assurance of things hoped for, the proving (*ἔλεγχος*) of things not seen.'—(3) In 1 Jn 3[19] we find the verb employed to translate *πείσομεν* from *πείθειν*: 'Hereby shall we know that we are of the truth and shall *assure* our heart before him,' where *πείσομεν*, translated 'shall assure,' signifies the stilling and tranquillizing of the heart that has been agitated by doubts, misgivings, or fears. (*πείσομεν* is only once again employed in the NT in this sense: in Mt 28[14], where it is rendered 'persuade,' and where Tindale's quaint translation is 'pease' [appease], the object of the persuasion being the Roman governor at Jerusalem.)—(4) In 2 Ti 3[14] the passive form of the verb is found as the rendering of *ἐπιστώθης*, 'thou hast been assured of,' referring to Timothy's training in the knowledge of the 'sacred writings which are able to make thee wise unto salvation.'—(5) In Ac 2[36] we find the adverb 'assuredly' employed to translate *ἀσφαλῶς*, 'surely,' 'certainly,' recalling *ἀσφάλειαν* in Lk 1[4].—(6) In Ac 16[10] the word *συμβιβάζων*, 'combining,' 'putting this and that together,' is translated in AV 'assuredly gathering,' which in RV has given place to the word of logical inference, 'concluding.'

(7) The word, however, of which 'assurance' is the definite and specific rendering is *πληροφορία* (1 Th 1[5], Col 2[2], He 6[11] 10[22]), with which may be taken the kindred verb *πληροφορεῖν*, passive *πληροφορεῖσθαι*. In determining the precise meaning of the Gr. original we receive no help from Gr. literature in

general, where the word is not found at all till a late period. The word πληροφορεῖν, however, has been found in papyri signifying 'to settle fully an account,' 'to give satisfaction as to a doubtful matter,' 'to be completely satisfied with regard to something that was owing' (A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, London, 1910, p. 82). It occurs once in LXX (Ec 8^{11}). Otherwise its use is exclusively NT and Patristic.—(*a*) πληροφορία is used absolutely in 1 Th 1^5, and, though RVm gives 'much fulness' as the translation of πολλὴ πληροφορία, this is weak and inadequate, and 'full assurance' of AV and RV brings out the proper force of the word and really expresses the Apostle's thought. The second term of the composite word (-φορία, -φορεῖν, -εἶσθαι) seems to carry with it a subjective force both in the noun and in the verb, as may be gathered from examples in the NT and in the Fathers. To this 2 Ti 4^5 and Lk 1^1 may be exceptions. We are justified, therefore, in rendering in Col 2^2 'full assurance of the understanding'; in He 6^{11} 'full assurance of hope'; and in 10^{22} 'full assurance of faith.' In 1 Clem. xlii. 3 μετὰ πληροφορίας πνεύματος ἁγίου is 'with full assurance produced by the Holy Spirit,' although it might be 'with full reliance upon the Holy Spirit.' This Clementine passage has the verb also (πληροφορηθέντες) and is peculiarly instructive as to the nature of the 'assurance' which possessed the apostles as they went forth to be ambassadors of Christ: 'Accordingly having received instructions and having attained to full assurance (πληροφορηθέντες) through the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ and having been put in trust with the word of God, they went forth in full reliance upon the Holy Spirit, preaching the glad tidings that the kingdom of God was about to come.'—(*b*) πληροφορεῖσθαι has the subjective force we have attributed to it in most of the Pauline and Patristic examples of its use. Of Abraham it is said that he was 'fully assured' (πληροφορηθείς) that what God had promised he was able also to perform (Ro 4^{21}). In regard to doubtful questions in the Apostolic Church, St. Paul bids each man be 'fully assured' in his own mind (Ro 14^5 RV). The prayer of St. Paul and his friends for the Colossian Christians is that they may stand perfect and 'fully assured' (πεπληροφορημένοι) in every thing willed by God (Col 4^{12}). In the Epp. of Ignatius, who contends so strenuously against Docetic views of the Person of Christ, we find the saint and martyr employing the verb in the same sense as St. Paul. He bids his readers be on their guard against the seductions of error and be fully assured (πεπληροφορῆσθαι) of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection as historical facts, for these things were truly and certainly done by Jesus Christ 'our Hope, from which hope may it never befall any of you to be turned aside' (*Magn.* 11). Elsewhere, speaking of the OT prophets, Ignatius declares that they were inspired by the grace of Christ Jesus 'to the end that unbelievers might be fully assured (εἰς τὸ πληροφορηθῆναι) that there is one God who manifested Himself through Jesus Christ, His Son' (*Magn.* 8).

2. The doctrine in the teaching of the apostles.—From an examination of the words employed by the NT writers to express Christian certainty, with the illustrations, which might easily be added to, from the Apostolic Fathers, we can gain a clear outline of the character of 'assurance.' It embraces a conviction of the truth of the Christian history, of the historical reality of the Birth, Passion, and Resurrection of Christ; trustful reliance upon the promises of God in Jesus Christ His Son; the exercise of the intelligence and the reasoning powers to know without doubt what God requires of His people; and the consciousness of a personal interest in Christ and His great redemption, wrought by the Spirit in the individual soul. This outline we are able to fill in from the apostles' teaching in passages where the word itself is not employed. Assurance, as an experience of the apostolic writers and their readers, meets us in nearly every one of the Epistles. St. James, in his Epistle, negatively urges it when he dwells upon the evils of the divided mind, and he has words of commendation for the perfected faith of Abraham (Ja $1^{6.8}$ $2^{21ff.}$). St. Jude knows the secret when he commends the readers of his brief Epistle to Him that is able to keep them from falling and to present them faultless before the presence of His glory with exceeding joy (Jude ^{24}). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, when he bids his readers show diligence to the full assurance of hope unto the end (He 6^{11}), means 'that your salvation may be a matter of certainty, and not merely of charitable hope' (A. B. Bruce). And pointing to the blood of sprinkling, and the rent veil, and the new and living way, and the heavenly High Priest, he bids them keep approaching 'with a true heart in full assurance of faith' (10^{22}). But St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul have teaching on the subject which may be a little more fully drawn out.

(1) *St. Peter's teaching* is given in Acts and in the Epistles that bear his name. St. Peter's speeches, on the day of Pentecost and afterwards, set forth the grounds of the assurance of the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus which possessed the apostles and their believing hearers. These grounds are (*a*) the prophetic words of Scripture finding their fulfilment not in David or any other, but in Jesus; (*b*) the personal testimony of the apostles to the things which they had seen and heard; (*c*) the manifestation of the risen Lord's presence and power in the miracles wrought in His name; (*d*) the inner witness of the Spirit—'we are witnesses of these things and so is the Holy Ghost, whom God hath given to them that obey him' (Ac 5^{32})—'the historical witness borne to the facts and the internal witness of the Holy Ghost bringing home to men's hearts the meaning of the facts' (Knowling, *ad loc.*; cf. 2^{16-34} $4^{20ff.}$). It is this assurance which the Apostle holds forth to the sojourners of the Dispersion in his First Epistle (1 P 1^{3-9}), whom the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ had begotten again to a living hope through the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead; 'who by the power of God are guarded through faith unto a salvation ready to be revealed in the last time.' Whether 2 Peter be the production of St. Peter or of some disciple writing in his spirit at a later time, it is the voice of full assurance we hear when the author says: 'We did not follow cunningly devised fables, when we made known unto you the power and coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, but we were eye-witnesses of his majesty' (2 P 1^{16}). Thus convincingly does the external and the internal witness blend in St. Peter's doctrine of assurance.

(2) *St. John's teaching* in his Epistles lays the chief stress upon the ethical tests, and has less to say of the inner witness. Not that the latter is overlooked. 'The anointing which ye received of him,' he says, referring to the Holy Spirit or a function of the Spirit, 'abideth in you, and ye have no need that any one teach you' (1 Jn 2^{27}). But St. John's doctrine of assurance embraces great Christian certainties. 'We *know* and have believed the love which God hath in us' (1 Jn 4^{16}). 'We *know* that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren' (3^{14}). 'Hereby shall we *know* that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him' (3^{19}). 'We *know* [being the children of God and recipients of redeeming love] that, if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him; for we shall see him even as he is' (3^2). 'We *know* that we have come to a knowledge of him, if we keep his

commandments' (2[3]). 'Hereby we *know* that we are in him; he that saith he abideth in him ought himself also to walk even as he walked' (2[5f.]).

Law aptly characterizes St. John's doctrine of personal assurance when he says: 'With St. John the grounds of assurance are ethical, not emotional; objective, not subjective; plain and tangible, not microscopic and elusive. They are three, or, rather, they are a trinity: Belief, Righteousness, Love. By his belief in Christ, his keeping God's commandments, and his love to the brethren, a Christian man is recognised, and recognises himself as begotten of God' (*Tests of Life*, Edinburgh, 1909, p. 297).

St. John applies his doctrine of assurance to prayer. 'Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, we have boldness toward God; and whatsoever we ask, we receive of him, because we keep his commandments' (3[21f.]). 'And this is the boldness which we have towards him, that, if we ask anything according to his will, he heareth us' (5[14]). And while this assurance gives boldness and confidence in prayer, it also gives boldness in the Day of Judgment: 'Herein is love made perfect with us, that we may have boldness in the day of judgment; because as he is, even so are we in this world. There is no fear in love: but perfect love casteth out fear' (4[17f.]).

(3) *St. Paul's teaching* lays the stress upon the inner witness which we desiderated in St. John. And yet in his enumeration of graces under the designation of 'fruit of the Spirit' we have sure evidences of the Spirit's indwelling whereby to 'assure our hearts' before Him. St. Paul's assurance rests also upon a broad basis of fact in the Person and work of Christ: 'I know him whom I have believed, and I am persuaded that he is able to guard that which I have committed unto him against that day' (2 Ti 1[12]). When, however, he uses the expression 'we know,' uttering his assurance of personal immortality, he attributes it to God who gave him the earnest of the Spirit (2 Co 5[1ff.]). In two great passages, Rom 8[14ff.] and Gal 4[6f.], St. Paul sets forth the witness of the Spirit to the sonship of the believer, which is the ground of his full assurance, by the childlike confidence which it works and the perfect liberty which it brings. And so he can exclaim: 'We know that to them that love God all things work together for good, even to them that are called according to his purpose. . . . For I am persuaded that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor powers, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord' (Ro 8[28. 38f.]).

But, although St. Paul cherishes this assurance and has no doubt or misgiving as to his personal salvation, this assurance does not cause him to slacken in the fulfilment of service and the pursuit of the eternal prize. Even he is moved by the wholesome fear lest he who had preached to others should yet himself become a castaway (ἀδόκιμος, 1 Co 9[27]), and be cast out of the lists as one who had not contended according to the rules.

'We must remember,' says a Christian writer before the middle of the 2nd cent., 'that he who strives in the corruptible contest, if he be found acting unfairly, fouling a competitor in the race, or trying with guile to overreach his antagonist, is taken away and scourged and cast forth from the lists. What then think ye? If one does anything unseemly in the incorruptible contest, what shall he have to bear?' (2 Clem. vii.). It is in the same spirit that the author of the *Didache*, writing before the close of the 1st cent., says: 'For the whole period of your faith will profit you nothing unless ye be found fully perfected at the last' (*Did.* xvi. 2; cf. *Ep. of Barn.* iv. 9).

LITERATURE.—F. H. R. von Frank, *System of Christian Certainty*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1886; W. J. Townsend, H. B. Workman, and G. Eayrs, *New Hist. of Methodism*, London, 1909; R. Seeberg, in *PRE*[3] vi. 160; the art. 'Assurance,' in *HDB*, *SDB*, and *DCG*; art. 'Certitude,' in *CE*, and art. 'Certainty (Religious),' in *ERE*, with the literature there cited.

T. NICOL.

ASYNCRITUS (Ἀσύγκριτος, or Ἀσύνκριτος, a Greek name).—The first of a group of five names (all Greek) of persons 'and the brethren with them' saluted by St. Paul in Ro 16[14]. Nothing is known of Asyncritus or of any member of this group. It is suggested that together they formed a separate ἐκκλησία, or church, within the Church of Rome. That such little communities existed in Rome, each with its own place of meeting, would appear from other similar phrases in Ro 16: 'the church that is in their house' (v.[5]), 'all the saints that are with them' (v.[15]), and from the references to the Christian members of the 'households' of Aristobulus and Narcissus (vv.[10. 11]). This, of course, assumes the Roman destination of these salutations. If the Ephesian destination be preferred, there is evidence of similar house-churches at Ephesus in 1 Co 16[19], and perhaps in Ac 20[20] (see art. PATROBAS). The name Asyncritus has been found in an inscription of a freedman of Augustus (see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], 1902, p. 427).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

ATHENS (Ἀθῆναι). — Athens, which St. Paul visited in the autumn of A.D. 48 (Harnack), or 50 (Turner), or 51 (Ramsay), was now in some respects very different from the city of Pericles and Plato. Her political and commercial supremacy was gone. Greece had for two centuries been the Roman province of Achaia, of which Athens was not the capital. The governor had his residence at Corinth, and the merchant-princes had forsaken the Piræus for Lecheum and Cenchreæ. But Athens was still the most beautiful and brilliant of cities, the home of philosophy, the shrine of art, the fountain-head of ideals. As the metropolis of Hellenism she had, indeed, a wider and more pervasive influence than ever, which the Roman conquerors, like the Macedonians before them, did their best to extend. 'From the Philhellenic standpoint, doubtless, Athens was the masterpiece of the world' (T. Mommsen, *Provinces of the Roman Empire*[2], London, 1909, i. 258). To be among her citizens was to breathe the atmosphere of culture. Her Lyceum by the Ilissus, her Academy by the groves of Cephissus, her Porch in the Agora, and her Garden near at hand, were still frequented by Platonists, Peripatetics, Stoics, and Epicureans. Her University drew to itself a host of foreign students, especially from Rome, and became the model of the younger foundations of Alexandria, Antioch, and Tarsus.

Neither the Republic nor the Empire ever fully applied the subject-relation to Greece, and the Athenians were always treated with special kindness. 'The Romans, after their conquest, finding them governed by a democracy, maintained their independence and liberty' (Strabo, IX. i. 20). Even in the Mithridatic war, when an ordinary town behaving as Athens did would have been razed to the ground, 'the citizens were pardoned, and, to this time, the city enjoys liberty, and is respected by the Romans' (*ib.*).

The outward aspect of Athens was little altered in St. Paul's time. Plutarch, who wrote half a century later, says in regard to Pericles' public edifices: 'In beauty each of them at once appeared venerable as soon as it was built; but even at the present day the work looks as fresh as ever, for they bloom with an eternal freshness which defies time, and seems to make the work instinct with an unfading spirit of youth' (*Pericles*, xiii.). Cicero conveys the impression which the city made upon every cultivated mind in his time: 'Valde me Athenae delectarunt, urbe dumtaxat et urbis ornamento, . . . sed multum ea philosophia' (*Ep. ad Att.* v. 10). The Philhellenism of the Empire surpassed that of the Republic, and of all the Roman benefactors of Athens the greatest was Hadrian, who not only completed the temple of Zeus Olympius, which had remained unfinished for 700 years, but embellished the city with many other public build-

ings, and gave the name of Hadrianopolis to a new quarter.

But, though Athens was outwardly as splendid as ever, she was inwardly decadent, being, in philosophy, letters, and art, a city living upon traditions. Her first-rate statesmen and orators, poets and thinkers, did not outlive the nation's freedom.

'The self-esteem of the Hellenes, well-warranted in itself and fostered by the attitude of the Roman government . . . called into life among them a *cultus* of the past, which was compounded of a faithful clinging to the memories of greater and happier times and a quaint reverting of matured civilisation to its in part very primitive beginnings. . . . The bane of Hellenic existence lay in the limitation of its sphere; high ambition lacked a corresponding aim, and therefore the low and degrading ambition flourished luxuriantly' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* i. 280, 283).

The decay of Athens was due less to the exhaustion of her creative energy, with the substitution of imitative for original work, than to the simple fact that the thought and art of her citizens were no longer wedded to noble action and brave endurance. Full of æsthetes and dilettantes, loving the reputation more than the reality of culture, letting a restless inquisitiveness and shallow scepticism take the place of high aspiration and moral enthusiasm, she became blind to the visions, and deaf to the voices, which redeem individual and collective life from vanity.

The devouring appetite of the Athenians for news had long been one of their best-known traits.

Demosthenes (*Phil.* i. p. 43) pictures them bustling about the Agora inquiring if any newer thing is being told (*πυνθανόμενοι κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν εἴ τι λέγεται νεώτερον*), the tragedy being that, while they were talking, Philip was acting. Thucydides (iii. 38) makes Cleon say to them: 'So you are the best men to be imposed on with novelty of argument, and to be unwilling to follow up what has been approved by you, being slaves of every new paradox, and despisers of what is ordinary. Each of you wishes above all to be able to speak himself. . . . In a word, you are overpowered by the pleasures of the ear, and are like men sitting to be amused by rhetoricians rather than deliberating upon State affairs.'

Among the philosophers of St. Paul's time the *penchant* for news took the form of an eagerness to hear the latest novelty in speculation or religion which any *σπερμολόγος* (picker-up of scraps of information) might have to publish (Ac 17^{21}), in order that they might exercise their nimble wits upon it, and most probably hold it up to ridicule.

Though St. Paul spoke the language of Hellas, and acknowledged himself a debtor to the Hellenes (Ro 1^{14}), yet Athens does not seem to have exercised any fascination over him. She did not beckon him like Rome; he did not see her in his dreams, or pray that he might be prospered to come to her; he never exclaimed, with a sense of destiny, 'I must see Athens.' That he ever visited her at all was apparently the result of an accident. He was hurried away from Berœa before he had time to mature his plans of future action, and he merely waited at Athens for the arrival of his friends, Silas and Timothy (Ac $17^{15ff.}$). To picture him wandering among temples and porticos, lost in admiration of works of genius, and 'perhaps witnessing the performance of a play of Euripides,' is to misunderstand him. He did not spend his leisure in Athens, any more than Luther in Rome, in appraising the masterpieces of plastic and dramatic art. They were both 'provoked'* by what they saw as they passed by. They were consumed with the prophetic zeal which seeks to replace a false or imperfect religion with a true and perfect one. St. Paul, indeed, knew the Hellenic world too well to imagine that, while the city was 'full of idols' (*κατείδωλον*), its men of culture were given to idolatry. In their case the worship of the gods survived only in that cultus of physical beauty to which innumerable sculptured forms bore silent witness, while such spiritual faith as they still retained found expression rather in altars *Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ*; to the existence of which Pausanias (I. i. 4) and Philostratus (*Vit. Apollon.* vi. 2) testify (see UNKNOWN GOD).

St. Paul's address before the court or council of Areopagus (*q.v.*) is a noble attempt to find common ground with the Athenian philosophers, an appreciation of what was highest in their religion, an expression of sympathy with their sincere agnosticism, an appeal to that groping, innate sense of spiritual realities, that universal instinct of monotheism, which lead to the true God who is near to all men, and who, though unseen, is no longer unknown. Renan suggests that St. Paul was 'embarrassed' by all the wonders that met his eyes in Athens, as if Athene herself had perhaps cast her spell upon him and made him somewhat doubtful of the Galilæan; but there is no sort of foundation for such a fancy. It is certain, however, that the Apostle had a new experience of a different kind in Athens. Faced by an audience half-courteous and half-derisive, he was first ridiculed and then ignored, when he would have preferred to be contradicted and persecuted. Not driven from the city by hostile feeling, but quitting it of his own accord, too unimportant to be noticed, too harmless to be molested, he departed with a crushing sense of failure, and, apparently as a consequence, began his mission in Corinth 'in weakness and fear and much trembling' (1 Co 2^{3}). It is possible that he felt he had made a mistake. All that he said to the philosophers of Athens was true, but ineffective. It did little or nothing to storm the enemy's citadel. In a modern phrase, it was magnificent, but it was not war. Another power was needed to humiliate the wise, as well as to end the long reign of the gods of Greece. It is significant that in Corinth the Apostle determined—not, indeed, for the first time, but certainly with a new emphasis—not to know anything save Jesus Christ and Him crucified (1 Co 2^{2}), who was for both Jews and Hellenes the power of God and the wisdom of God (1^{24}).

The Athenian synagogue (Ac 17^{17}), in which St. Paul met some 'devout persons'—*σεβόμενοι*, Gentiles more or less influenced by Judaism—was probably small, for the university city did not attract his compatriots like Corinth, the seat of commerce. His reasoning 'in the Agora every day with those who met him' naturally recalls those Socratic disputations in the same place, of which Grote gives a lively account in his *History of Greece* (London, 1869, viii. 211 f.). That the address before the Council of the Areopagus was not entirely fruitless is proved by the conversion of a man holding so important an official position as Dionysius the Areopagite (*q.v.*).

* *παροξύνομαι* is often used in the LXX to express a burning Divine (and prophetic) indignation against idolatry (Hos 8^{5}, Zec 10^{3}).

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JAMES STRAHAN.

ATONEMENT.—Although found only once in the NT (Ro 5^{11}) and there in the AV alone, this word has become the elect symbol in theological thought to indicate the doctrine in the Apostolic Church which placed the death of Christ in some form of causative connexion with the forgiveness of sins and with the restoration of men to favour and fellowship with God. The development of a doctrine of atonement in the NT is almost entirely the product of the experience and thought of the

Apostolic Church. It moved along two lines; these were neither divergent nor exactly parallel, nor is it probable that one was precisely supplementary to the other; they are best considered as converging towards an ultimate point of unity in which Godward and manward aspects are merged. They have been contrasted as objective and subjective, juridical and ethical, substitutionary and mystical. They correspond also to two definitions of the word itself. Originally and etymologically the word means 'at-one-ment'; it is a synonym for 'reconciliation' as an accomplished fact. Historically its usage signifies 'a satisfaction or reparation made by giving an equivalent for an injury, or by doing or suffering that which is received in satisfaction for an offence or injury' (*Imperial Dict.*, *s.v.*). Here its synonym is 'expiation' as a means to reconciliation. Theologically it has been chiefly used in this latter sense, to indicate 'the expiation made by the obedience and suffering death of Christ to mark the relation of God to sin in the processes of human redemption.' A decided modern tendency is to return to the more original use of the word. It will probably be seen that both uses are required to state the fullness of the apostolic doctrine.

The literature preserved in the NT witnesses to the undoubted fact that the Apostolic Church had very early established a close connexion between the death of Jesus the Messiah and the redemption of men from their sins. Within seven years of His death—or probably considerably less—a 'doctrine of the cross' was freely and authoritatively preached in the Christian community; it appears to have been distinctly Pauline in general character; it held a primary place in the apostolic preaching; it was declared to be the fulfilment of the OT Scripture; it was set forth as the essence of the gospel, and was definitely referred to the teaching of Jesus for its ultimate authority. This much seems to be implied in what is probably the earliest testimony, if regard be had to the date of the writings in which it occurs, concerning the apostolic doctrine of the atonement. It is St. Paul's confident assertion, 'I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures' (1 Co 15^3). This is undoubtedly typical of the teaching accepted by the primitive Church; whatever St. Paul's differences with other apostolic teachers on other matters may have been, agreement seems to be found here. The confidence of this common witness so early in the Apostolic Church raises many interesting questions, some of which must be considered. To what extent can we find the more elaborate Pauline doctrine, which we shall find elsewhere in his writings, presented in such fragments of the teaching of the first Christians as we possess? How far is the apostolic interpretation of Christ's death sustained by appeal to the experience and teaching of Jesus Himself? By what means had the swift transition been made by the apostolic teachers themselves from the state of mind concerning the death of Jesus which is presented in the Synoptic Gospels to the beliefs exhibited in their preaching in the Acts? How was the unconcealed dismay of a bewildering disappointment changed into a glorying? It is clear from the contents of the Synoptic Gospels that, whatever the confusion and distress in the minds of His disciples which immediately followed the death of Christ, they were already in possession of memories of His teaching which lay comparatively dormant until they were awakened into vigorous activity by subsequent events and experiences; these, together with the facts of their Lord's life and the incidents of His death, may be spoken of as the sources of the apostolic doctrine of the atonement, as to its substance. For the forms into which it was cast we must look to the religious conceptions—legal, sacrificial, ethical, and eschatological—which constituted their world of theological ideas, and the background against which was set the teaching of Jesus.

I. *SOURCES.*—**1. In the Synoptic Gospels.**—Briefly summarized these are: (1) The intense and consistent ethical interpretation that Jesus gave to the Kingdom He came to establish, and to the conception of the salvation He taught and promised as the sign of its establishment in the individual soul and in the social order. It was no mere change of status; it was a becoming in ethical and spiritual character sons of God in likeness and obedience; it was actual release from the selfishness of the unfilial and unbrotherly life, and access into living communion in holy love with His God and Father.

(2) The Baptism and the Temptation of Jesus, which initiated Him into the course of His public ministry, were events associated in the minds of those who preserved the Synoptic tradition with the voice from heaven, 'Thou art my beloved Son; in thee I am well pleased' (Lk 3^{22}). Apparently the consciousness of Jesus as He realized His vocation, judging from what He afterwards taught His disciples of its inner meaning, was aware of this combination of Ps 2^7 with Is $42^{1ff.}$—the Son of God as King, and the suffering Servant of the Lord. The inference Denney draws, though obviously open to keen criticism from the eschatological school, has a suggestive value: the Messianic consciousness of Jesus from the beginning was one with the consciousness of the suffering Servant; He combined kingship and service in suffering from the first.* This finds support in the accounts of the Temptation, which was supremely a temptation to avoid suffering by choosing the easy way.

(3) All the Synoptics assure us that, when Jesus received the first full recognition of Messiahship from His disciples, He instantly met it by the open confession that His suffering and death were a necessity. 'The Son of Man *must* (δεῖ) suffer—*must* go up to Jerusalem and be killed' (Mk 8^{31}, Mt 16^{21}, Lk 9^{22}). Henceforth His constant subject of instruction was concerning His death, which, when 'the Son of Man was risen from the dead,' His disciples were to interpret. The necessity associated with His death was not merely the inevitable sequence of His loyalty to His ideal of righteousness in face of the opposition of His enemies. It was that, but it was more. In the career of one such as Jesus the violent and unjust death to which He was moving could not be separated in thought from the Father's will to which He was so exquisitely sensitive, and which He came perfectly to fulfil. What was in His Father's will was appointed and could not be the mere drift of circumstances into which He was cast and from which the Divine purpose was absent. The necessity was inward, and identical with the will of God as expressed in Scripture; to His disciples it was incomprehensible.

(4) Jesus described His death as for others and as voluntarily endured. Definite terms are selected in which the meaning more than the fact of the death is set forth. 'The Son of Man came . . . to minister, and to give his life a ransom (λύτρον) for many' (Mk 10^{45}). Whether we approach the meaning of this term (see RANSOM) from Christ's conception of His life-work as a whole, or by closer exegetical or historical study of the word itself, it is clear that the giving of His life was to Jesus much more than the normal experience of dying; it was a dying which was to issue in largeness and freedom of life for mankind—it was probably even

* *Death of Christ*, 14 f.

more than 'on behalf of,' 'in the service of'; it was 'instead of' (ἀντί) men. From what He is to release them, however, is not definitely stated. The objection often made that the term is an indication of Pauline influence on Mark is part of the general problem of Paulinism in the Gospels, too large for discussion here. The saying is in perfect harmony with its setting.

(5) The other selected term is connected with the critically difficult passages recording the institution of the Supper. 'This is my blood of the covenant [possibly the 'new' covenant] which is shed for many unto remission of sins' (Mt 26^{28}). Here the purpose or ground of the death of Jesus is set forth. It is only just to say that Matthew alone makes the reference to 'remission of sins.' The earliest account of the Supper—St. Paul's (1 Co 11^{23-26})—omits this reference; he is followed by Mark and Luke. Questions also turn on the sacrificial significance of 'blood of the covenant.' The reference is obviously to the solemn ratification by blood-sprinkling of the covenant of Sinai (Ex 24^{8}). Whether this was strictly sacrificial blood with expiatory value is debated. Robertson Smith * and Driver † may both be quoted in favour of the view that 'sacrificial blood was universally associated with propitiatory power.' ‡ Whilst too much should not be built upon a single authority for the precise word of Jesus, the criticism does not touch the value of the citation as an index to the mind of the Apostolic Church.

(6) The awful isolation of the cry of Jesus on the cross, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?' (Mk 15^{34}) cannot easily be separated in the experience of the sinless Son of God from some mysterious connexion with the sin He clearly came to deal with by His death. It is at least capable of the suggestion that for a time His consciousness had lost the sense of God's presence, whose unbroken continuity had hitherto been the ethical and spiritual certainty of His spirit.

To complete the material provided for the apostolic doctrine in the Synoptics there should be added to the points already mentioned the minuteness and wealth of detail—quite without parallel in the presentation of other important features of His life—with which the death of Jesus is recorded, and also the extent to which the writers insist upon the event as a fulfilment of the OT Scriptures. We have, therefore, in the Synoptics, whatever view may be taken of the position largely held, that they were the issue of 'the productive activity' of the early Church under the stimulating influence of redemptive experiences attributed to the death of Christ, at least the starting-point of the ethical and juridical views of the atonement subsequently developed in the primitive community; they lack doctrinal definiteness, and distinctly favour the ethical more than the legal view of the process of redemption; they are also accompanied by evidences that the disciples listened unintelligently or with reluctant acquiescence to the words of Jesus concerning His death. This last feature indicates the dependence of the apostolic doctrine upon another source.

2. The apostolic experience.—The doctrine of atonement arose out of the Christian experience; it was the issue of a new religious feeling rather than a condition of faith. The springs of this new spiritual emotion must be sought, if the doctrine which is its result in the Apostolic Church is to be rightly appreciated. In this way also we shall provide a statement of the transition from the desolation wrought by the death of Jesus in the hopes of His followers to the triumphant temper and abounding joy of the primitive faith and preaching. The elements of this experience are:

(1) *The Resurrection.*—This is the starting-point of the new experience: the ultimate root of the apostolic doctrine of atonement was the presence of the Risen Christ in the consciousness of the primitive Christian community; for it was the secret of the restoration and enrichment of personal faith, the re-creation of the corporate confidence of the community, which 'was begotten again unto a living hope by the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead' (1 P 1^{3}). It was also the revealing light that brought meaning into the mystery of His death. Now and for always these two—death and resurrection—stood together. When the apostles stated the one, they implied the other; the Resurrection was the great theme of the apostolic preaching because it interpreted the significance of the Death. Both were closely and instinctively connected with the forgiveness of sins: 'The God of our fathers raised up Jesus, whom ye slew, hanging him upon a tree. Him did God exalt with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel and remission of sins' (Ac $5^{30f.}$). The redeeming virtue issues from the Death and Resurrection as from a common source, though the cross ultimately became its chosen symbol. Beginning to search the Scriptures to discover whether death had a place in the prophetic presentation of the Messiah, the disciples were surprised into the apprehension of the meaning of the words of Jesus spoken whilst He was yet with them; they thus came to see that the Death was only the shadow side of an experience by which He passed to the exaltation and authority of His redeeming work; the catastrophe was seen to have a place in the moral order of God, and the scandal of the cross was transfigured into the glory of the Divine purpose of redemption. This experience was followed by—

(2) *The Great Commission.*—The terms of this are influential for discerning the apostolic doctrine. As they appear in Mt. ($28^{19f.}$) and in Mk. ($16^{15f.}$) associated with baptism, which in the primitive Church was always connected with remission of sins, they are suggestive, but not free from critical difficulties. As they appear in Lk. ($24^{44ff.}$), from an excellent source, they have their chief significance; they are there bound up with 'my words which I spake unto you while I was yet with you'; with the fulfilling of the Scriptures concerning the necessity that 'the Christ should suffer and rise again from the dead the third day; and that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name'; and especially with the opening of the minds of those who were to be 'witnesses of these things' that they might understand them. The historicity of this as conveying the experience and convictions of the Apostolic Church is strong, and it affords exactly the link needed to unite what we find in the Synoptics with what appears as preaching and teaching in the primitive society. The illumination of the apostolic mind for its construction of a doctrine of atonement resulting from the Resurrection and the Great Commission was perfected by the experiences of—

(3) *Pentecost.*—The coming to abide with them of the Holy Spirit, 'the promise of the Father' (Ac 1^{4}), 'the Spirit of Christ,' was for the Apostolic Church the ultimate certainty of guidance into all the truth, and the supreme authority for its adequate utterance. The work of the Spirit as Jesus had defined it was: 'He shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you' (Jn 16^{14}). To the fullness of His ministry the Apostolic Church owed the interpretation of the cross, the inspiration of its preaching, the construction of its doc-

* *Rel. Sem.*^{2}, London, 1894, p. 319 f.
† *HDB*, art. 'Propitiation,' iv. 132.
‡ Denney, *Death of Christ*, 53.

trine, and especially the moral and spiritual results in the life of the individual and of the community which were the living verification of its power, and also the justification of the moral grounds on which the declaration and experience of remission of sins were based. The meaning of the words of Jesus is understood through the works of His Spirit; the significance of His death can be apprehended only in the light of the experience it creates. Only so can an adequate soteriology be reached. From first to last the apostolic doctrine of the atonement is the effort to interpret this experience in the relations in which it was conceived to stand to the Christian conceptions of God and man.

II. *THE DOCTRINE PREACHED.*—**1. In the Acts of the Apostles.**—The early chapters of the Acts contain the one partuiclar account of the earliest form the doctrine of atonement took in the Apostolic Church; for it is generally admitted that some source of considerable value underlies the speeches of Peter. Both their christology and soteriology are primitive in type—it is surely not the doctrine of the 2nd century. In this account the sufferings and death of Jesus the Messiah have a fundamental place. The cross is now more than a scandal; the 'word of the cross' is more than an apologetic device for getting over the difficulties of accepting a crucified Messiah. Although the great feature of the apostolic preaching is not the explanation of the death of Christ in relation to the remission of sins, but its power in spiritual renewal, it contains much which enables us to perceive how the primitive community was taught to regard it. Summarized, this is—(1) The death of Christ was a Divine necessity, appointed by God's counsel and foreknowledge. It was a crime whose issue God thwarted for His redeeming purpose (Ac 2^{23} 3^{18}).—(2) Jesus as the Messiah is identified with the suffering Servant of the Lord (4^{27} $8^{32\text{-}35}$). This conception, abhorrent to the Jewish mind and a sufficient ground for rejecting the Messianic claims of Jesus, is the assertion of the vicarious principle of the righteous one suffering for the unrighteous many and also the sign of a Divine fellowship.—(3) The great gift of the gospel—remission of sins—is set in direct relation to the crucified Jesus (2^{38} 3^{19} 5^{31} 10^{43}). The prominence given to this in every sermon suggests that this connexion cannot be considered accidental.—(4) Reference to the frequent observance of the Lord's Supper (2^{42}). When it is remembered that nothing in the Apostolic Church is more primitive than the sacraments, and that both of them bear implications of Christ's relation to the remission of sins, this reference is significant.—(5) Christ's death is not distinctly represented as the ground of forgiveness, by setting forth the Messiah's death as a satisfaction for sin or as a substitute for sin's penalty. It is set forth as a motive to repentance and a means of turning men away from sin, but its saving value is not more closely defined. But it is certain, however, that the early Apostolic Church attached a saving significance to the death of Christ.

2. In 1 Peter.—It is usual to associate with the indications of the doctrine in the early chapters of Acts the constructive tendencies found in 1 Peter. The Epistle of James is too uncertain in its date and authority, and its aim is too purely practical to warrant appeal to it on the apostolic doctrine of atonement. Indeed, 1 Peter is far from being free from difficulty when used for this purpose. The signs of Pauline influence are too strong for its use as a source of primitive Christian ideas without some hesitation. Still, the fact that St. Paul and St. Peter are represented as in harmony on the significance of the redemptive work of Christ, when they are manifestly at variance in other important factors of the primitive faith, is not without its value; it is possible also that their similarities may be accounted for by their common loyalty to the accepted Christian tradition. Taken as it stands, St. Peter's contribution may be epitomized thus: (1) Whilst the suffering death of Christ holds, as elsewhere in apostolic writings, the central place, its strongest appeal is made in regard to the moral quality of the sufferings. The patience and innocence of the Sufferer for righteousness' sake control its theological presentation. The exhortation to suffer with Christ by expressing His spirit in the life of discipleship obviously emphasizes the ethical appeal of His example, but this is based upon a due appreciation of His sufferings on our behalf. Quite a procession of theological ideas thus emerges. —(2) The covenant idea with its sacrificial implication in 'sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ' is present (1^{2}), possibly reminiscent of the words at the Supper.—(3) Ransomed 'with precious blood, as of a lamb without blemish and without spot, even the blood of Christ' (1^{19}), combines the idea of the sacrificial lamb with possibly an echo of the 'ransom' of Mk 10^{45}.—(4) The close connexion of Christ who 'suffered for you, leaving you an example, that ye should follow his steps,' and its ethical appeal, with the clear interpretation of the Passion as a sin-bearing, 'who his own self bare our sins in his body upon the tree' (2^{24}), and its profound moral issues, 'that we having died unto sins, might live unto righteousness; by whose stripes ye were healed'—shows how intimately what are termed the objective and subjective conceptions of the atonement are associated in the writer's thought; the end is moral and dominates the means, but the means are clearly substitutionary, to the extent that the obligations to righteousness involved in 'our sins' are assumed by the sinless Lamb of God.—(5) The writer once again glides with simple ease and familiarity from the force of the example of Christ to the abiding fact of His sin-bearing (3^{18}): 'Because Christ also suffered for sins once (*ἅπαξ*, 'once for all'), the righteous for (*ὑπέρ*) the unrighteous, that He might bring us to God.' Access to God is regarded as a high privilege obtained by a great self-surrender and not as a native right to be taken for granted. Of course these ideas, which the writer of 1 Peter discusses in this apparently incidental way, are closely akin to those of the righteousness by faith and ethical obedience 'in Christ' which St. Paul discusses so fully and of set purpose in Ro 3 and 6 respectively, and this may suggest his influence. If so, then the evidence of 1 Peter will fall into the later Pauline period of apostolic doctrine, which we shall now consider at length; but that would not depreciate its value as a witness to the faith of the Apostolic Church in its wider range.

III. *THE DOCTRINE DEVELOPED.*—**1. The Pauline type.**—It will be obvious to any reader of the literature of the Apostolic Church that its doctrine of atonement was the subject of considerable development in form. In tracing this the Pauline writings must be our main source. Of all NT writers, St. Paul goes into the greatest detail and has most deliberately and continually reflected upon this subject. Indeed, the abundance of the material he provides is embarrassing to any one seeking a unified doctrine. In St. Paul we find for the first time a philosophy of the death of Christ in relation to the forgiveness of sins, which is ultimately based upon an analysis of the Divine attributes and their place in the interpretation of the doctrine of the cross. At the same time the emphasis he lays upon this is regarded by him as in accordance with the belief and teaching of the primitive community; it is the centre of his gospel and theirs. It may be assumed, therefore, that

we are as likely to learn from him as from any other source what was the inner meaning of the primitive Christian belief. He declared that what he preached concerning the dying of Christ for our sins according to the Scriptures he 'received' (1 Co 15^3). Whilst it is possible that this statement finds a fuller definition in his further assertion, 'Neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it, but it came to me through revelation of Jesus Christ' (Gal 1^{12}), it seems clear that St. Paul's doctrine rested upon the common apostolic data given in (1) the words of Jesus respecting the necessity of His death on man's behalf; (2) the very early Christian idea that it was included in the Divine purpose; (3) the conception of the vicarious sufferings of the righteous and their merit founded on Is 53 which had been elaborated in later Jewish thought.* Although it seems clear that this late Jewish doctrine was a source of St. Paul's theory, it underwent partial transformation at his hands; it was ethicized; moreover, it was probably the vicarious idea, as it was associated with the prophetic rather than with the priestly or legal conceptions, that he appropriated; it was not the literal legal substitution and transfer, but the vicariousness of a real experience in which the righteous bear upon their hearts the woes and sins of the sinful.†

(1) *St. Paul's early preaching.*—The earliest indication of St. Paul's view of atonement would naturally be sought in his preaching during the fifteen or more years before he wrote the letters in which he sets forth more deliberately and with obvious carefulness his matured doctrinal judgments. The author of the Acts gives little light on St. Paul's method of setting out his interpretation of the death of Christ in his discourses; how he was accustomed to place it in relation to forgiveness of sin in his earliest preaching does not definitely appear. The discourse at Antioch in Pisidia may illustrate the character of his reference to it: 'through this man is preached unto you forgiveness of sins' (Ac 13^{38}); but nothing is defined more closely. To the Ephesian elders at Miletus he speaks about 'the Church of God, which he purchased with his own blood' (20^{28}). St. Paul himself gives us the only valuable account of his preaching. Its dominant topic was the crucifixion—'the preaching of the cross' (1 Co 1^{18}); 'I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified' (2^2). No explanation is given. But the fact that he made the cross supreme when it was regarded as a direct antagonism and provocative by those he sought to win—a scandal to Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles—implies that it was associated with an interpretation that made it something different from a martyrdom. Such a martyrdom neither Jew nor Greek would have regarded with the scorn they exhibited for the interpretation St. Paul gave them in order to meet their challenge for explanation.

(2) *The Pauline Epistles.*—On the whole, St. Paul's preaching carries us no further towards a knowledge of any reasoned doctrine of atonement than the position reached in the preaching of his fellow-apostles—that 'Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures.' Of course this is in itself a vast doctrinal implication. Still, for the structure of the Pauline doctrine we are shut up to his teaching in his Epistles. In his earliest writings—the Thessalonian Epistles—we practically get no further towards his doctrine than in his preaching, except perhaps that the idea emerges that in some way Christ identifies Himself with our evil that He may identify us with Himself in His own good (1 Th $5^{9f.}$). We meet the organized body of his doctrine in the well-authenticated group of his writings to the Galatians, Romans, and Corinthians, with a supplementary view in the Imprisonment Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. We may differentiate this teaching, but it has throughout most important underlying principles in common. It falls conveniently into five divisions—Atonement and Law; Atonement and Righteousness; Atonement and Personality; Atonement and Newness of Life; Atonement and the Universe. In briefly reviewing these, it should be remembered that according to St. Paul the love of God is the first and last motive of redemption, and that none of the atoning processes is separable from the full activities of the Divine Personality.

(*a*) *Atonement and Law.*—This is the form in which St. Paul construes his doctrine in the Galatian Epistle, which deals more exclusively than any other NT document with the significance of the death of Christ. 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for (*ὑπέρ*) us; for it is written, Cursed is every one that hangeth upon a tree' (Gal 3^{13}). The conception here is distinctly juridical; whether it is also penal will depend upon the definition of 'penal.' If punishment implies guilt, the sufferings of Christ were not strictly penal, for He is always set forth as guiltless; moreover, guilt cannot be transferred as guilt. His sufferings did, in St. Paul's judgment, serve the end of punishment; they were representatively penal; Christ took the place of the guilty as far as it involved penal consequences; for special emphasis is laid upon the instrument of death—the cross—and upon its curse, though there seems nothing to justify the attributing to Christ of the position suggested by the allusion to Dt 21^{23} of one 'accursed of God' which has at times been pressed by expositors. That He endured the consequences of such a position and in this sense was 'made a curse on our behalf' is the Apostle's application of it. This endurance is regarded as the recognition of the just requirement of the law of God—not the ceremonial law alone, but also the moral demands arising out of God's holy and righteous nature, and especially those which empirically St. Paul had put to the test in vain in his seeking after personal righteousness. St. Paul does not deny the authority of this law; he asserts it, but the fact that it was added to the promise for 'the sake of transgression' resulted in its making men sinful; it brought a curse: 'Cursed is every one which continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them' (3^{10}). With this curse in its consequences Christ identifies Himself, as in the Apostle's thought He had identified Himself with mankind in being 'born of a woman, born under the law' (4^4). By thus making Himself absolutely one with those under ban, absorbing into Himself all that it meant, He removed the obstacle to forgiveness in the righteous attitude of God towards sin which could not be overcome until sin had been virtually punished. It was thus that the way was opened for man to identify himself by personal faith and living experience with Christ's death, so that St. Paul was justified in saying: 'For I through the law died unto the law, that I might live unto God. I have been crucified with Christ; yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me' ($2^{19f.}$).

This conception of St. Paul's adds the ethical idea of atonement to the juridical, which other passages reiterate (5^{24} 6^{14}). It is, however, essentially Pauline to regard the ethical as depending for its possibility and efficacy in experience upon the juridical; otherwise 'Christ died for nought.' God must vindicate His law so that He may justly forgive; the operation of grace is connected with the assertion of justice. But ultimately St.

* Cf. Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, 59, 122.
† Cf. G. A. Smith, *Mod. Crit. and Preaching of OT*, London, 1901, p. 120 ff.

Paul's conception really transcends these contrasts; for it is God Himself who in His love provides the way to be both just and gracious; He, not another, provides the satisfaction. In the last analysis God is presented as removing His own obstacles to forgiveness; the death in which His righteous law is exhibited is the provision of His antecedent love; the commending of His love is the prior purpose resulting in Christ being 'made a curse on our behalf.'* Consequently the whole Christian life is resolved into a response to God's love exhibited in the death of His Son; it does away with the hindrance to forgiveness in God's law, and at the same time inspires the faith which conducts into ethical conformity to Christ in man's experience.

(*b*) *Atonement and Righteousness.*—This is dealt with exhaustively in the Epistle to the Romans; the great question the Epistle discusses is—How shall a sinful man be righteous with God? and the answer is—By receiving 'a righteousness of God' which is 'revealed from faith to faith.' In the interpretation of this answer we reach the heart of the apostolic doctrine, and upon it the great bulk of later historical discussions has turned. For more than the briefest hints here given of the points of exegesis involved, reference should be made to commentaries on the Epistle. St. Paul distinctly states the two sides of the meaning of atonement referred to in the beginning of this article. But his interest is primarily absorbed by the efficient cause of at-one-ment as the ideal end, viz. the atonement, the Divine provision of the satisfaction which the Divine righteousness requires to be exhibited in order that forgiveness of sins may be bestowed and a restoration of fellowship between God and man achieved. To this he devotes his utmost strength; he regards it as primary in the order of thought as well as in the redemptive process. Still he is nobly loyal to both conceptions, if, indeed, they were for him really two; for he thinks of the unity of the process with the end as exhibiting the perfectness of the Divine purpose of grace. This point will be discussed later. Meanwhile it must be pointed out that the strong divergencies revealed in the interpretation of the apostolic doctrine have frequently resulted from regarding one or other of these phases of the Pauline doctrine as in itself adequate to explain the whole. Ethical theories have sought to ignore the juridical means; juridical theories have often stopped short of the ethical end. The Pauline doctrine does neither. Both are met in the conception, essential to his doctrine, of the ideal and actual identification of Christ with man in his sin, and of man with Christ in newness of life; and also in the identification of both with God in His unchanging righteousness and in His eternal love; for St. Paul with ceaseless loyalty carries all the processes of redemption in time up to the initiative and executive of the Divine purpose.

Righteousness is the starting-point of his discussion; it is seen in 'the wrath of God revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men' (Ro 1^{18}). God can never be at peace with sin. Law brings no righteousness; 'by the law is the knowledge of sin' (3^{20}). All have sinned; not one is righteous; the necessity for a righteousness apart from the law is obvious. The provision of this, 'even the righteousness of God through faith in Jesus Christ unto all them that believe' (3^{22}), is the Divine atonement. This implies, of course, in its completion a great moral and spiritual change in the nature and character of those who 'have received the atonement'; that end does not yet receive St. Paul's attention; his mind is preoccupied with the means. He is not even at present intent on demonstrating the necessity of this ethical transformation; he is in subjection to the arresting fact that all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men was exposed to the Divine wrath, and is constrained to show how the wrath was withheld. This was not primarily to be sought in the measure in which men might be arrested by the fact and cease to sin; they must and would do that in proportion as they received the atonement. But for the time being St. Paul is confining his thought entirely to the 'objective' work of Christ in the atonement, whereby was provided and set forth the means by which the 'subjective' work of Christ in personal union with the believing soul might be possible; indeed, in some respects it had been actual also in the past, for sins had already been remitted by God. 'Being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus: whom God set forth to be a propitiation, through faith, by his blood, to show his righteousness, because of the passing over of the sins done aforetime, in the forbearance of God; for the showing, I say, of his righteousness at this present season: that he might himself be just, and the justifier of him that hath faith in Jesus' ($3^{24ff.}$).

Thus St. Paul conceived the method of deliverance from the wrath of God which was inevitable in the presence of unrighteousness; it is an objective work and is in response to faith, however full of personal renewal in righteousness its ethical implications may eventually become; for the destruction of sin and the gift of life are regarded as depending upon a free bestowal on sinners of a righteousness of God. The interpretation of this crucial passage and its context depends upon the meaning assigned to the terms 'righteousness of God' and 'propitiation.' The idea expressed in the former term occupies the central place in St. Paul's conception of atonement. Righteousness was his passion; its quest the *summum bonum* of his life; 'he had sought it long in vain, and when at length he found it he gave to it a name expressive of its infinite worth to his heart: the righteousness of *God*.'* To this title—'a righteousness of God'—he firmly adheres; it is distinctive; to him it is something belonging to the Christian man, yet it is not his personal righteousness of character; he receives it. It also belongs to God, but it is not His personal righteousness which is imparted to the believer. St. Paul's conception of it does not occur in the Gospels, where the term stands for the righteousness of which God is the centre, which is His essential attribute. The nearest approach to the Pauline sense in the teaching of Jesus is the grace of God in the free pardon of sin. In St. Paul, righteousness is a 'gift' from God to him who believes in Christ. He is dealt with as righteous. To regard the righteousness of God as essentially self-imparting, taking hold of human lives and filling them with its Divine energies, without any reference to the problem sin has created, is not Pauline. To St. Paul, as well as to all NT teaching, God's righteousness was the affluent, overflowing source of all the goodness in the world, but he felt that sin made a difference to God; it was sin against His righteousness; and His righteousness had to be vindicated against it; it could not ignore it.

Any view which failed to appreciate this problem would miss the characteristic solution that St. Paul unceasingly presents in the 'propitiation' in the blood of Christ, 'whom God had set forth to show his righteousness in passing over sins done aforetime.' Ritschl's view, that always in St. Paul the righteousness of God means the mode of procedure which is consistent with God's having the salva-

* Cf. P. Wernle, *Anfänge unserer Religion*, Tübingen, 1901, p. 146; Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, 67.

* Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 146.

tion of believers as His end,* overlooks the emphatic contention of the Apostle, that it is the ungodly to whom God is gracious rather than the faithful within the covenant privilege; this latter is the class referred to in the Psalms and Second Isaiah, to whom God exhibited His righteousness in presence of the wrongs done them by their enemies. Ritschl's conception is an attractive presentation of the meaning of the term in other relations, but it is irrelevant to St. Paul's distinctive meaning. The suggestive view of the term expounded by Seeberg in *Der Tod Christi*, that the righteousness of God means simply His moral activity in harmony with His true character, the norm of which is that He should institute and maintain fellowship with men; that if He did not do so He would not be righteous and would fail to act in His proper character, leaves unanswered in any distinctive Pauline fashion the question what means God takes to secure fellowship with sinful men so that He may act towards the ungodly in a way which does justice to Himself. St. Paul does not leave the presentation of Christ as a means by which this fellowship may be instituted, without a much closer definition; he clearly relates it to the vicarious principle lying for him in his elect word 'propitiation,' whether it be taken as a strictly sacrificial term or not (see, in addition, art. PROPITIATION).

Denney, who discusses these views at length,† maintains that the righteousness of God has not the same meaning throughout this passage ($3^{21ff.}$); it has 'in one place—say in v.[22]—the half-technical sense which belongs to it as a summary of St. Paul's gospel; and in another—say in v.[26]—the larger and more general sense which might belong to it elsewhere in Scripture as a synonym for God's character, or at least for one of His essential attributes.' But these two views are not unrelated; they cannot be discussed apart; we see them harmonized as complements in the true meaning of 'propitiation.' Christ is set forth by God as a propitiation to exhibit their unity and consistency with each other. When the Pauline view of 'propitiation,' as 'relative to some problem created by sin for a God who would justify sinners,' is accepted in a substitutionary sense and the argument of the passage reaches its climax, the two senses of the righteousness of God in it 'have sifted themselves out, so to speak, and stand distinctly side by side.'‡ God is the Just in His own character; and at the same time, in providing a righteousness of God through faith, which stands to the good of the believing sinner, He is the Justifier. That both these meanings are present in atonement and are there harmonized with one another, is what St. Paul seeks to bring out.

St. Paul would show God righteous in His forbearance in 'the passing over of sins done aforetime.' But, as he defines the effects of the propitiation, he leaves the wrath of God in the background; the forbearance of God becomes the centre of his thought; that is a gracious fact and must be accounted for. Why has God never dealt with sinful men according to their sins? He has always been slow to anger and of great kindness, a gracious God and merciful; sins done aforetime were passed over. Does the doing of this impugn His righteousness? St. Paul finds his apology for, and explanation of, the universal graciousness of God in the propitiation which He has set forth in Christ by His blood. God cannot be charged with moral indifference because He has always been God, the Saviour. Sin has never been a trivial matter; any omission to mark it by inflicting its full penal consequences has been due to forbearance, which now in the propitiation justifies itself to His righteousness. If, apart from this, God had invested with privilege those whose sin deserved the manifestation of His wrath, He would, St. Paul thinks, have suppressed His righteousness. To show the Justifier, whether 'in respect of sins done aforetime' or 'at this present season,' to be Himself just, St. Paul holds the setting forth of His righteousness by the propitiation in the blood of Christ to be necessary. Christ's death, therefore, was something more than a great ethical appeal of the love of God in suffering for sin to the heart and conscience of men; it had been rendered necessary by the remission of sins in ages before the Advent, as well as to justify the readiness and desire of God to remit the sins of any man who 'at this present season' 'hath faith in Jesus.'

This exaltation of the forbearance of God as the ultimate explanation of the propitiation is intended to make known the ultimate fact that the wrath of God against sin lies within the supreme constraint of the love of God—'His own love' which He commendeth toward us in that while we were yet sinners Christ died for us ($5^{6ff.}$). Christ was set forth by God Himself; His love provided the propitiation; there was no constraint upon Christ. He gave Himself up for us; there was no conflict between the Divine wrath and the Divine love; they were reconciled in God, and their reconciliation set forth in the propitiation in the blood of Christ. The wrath is the expression and minister of the love; mere self-consideration is unknown in the Divine activity. Moreover, where the love has prevailed, the wrath fails, 'While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; much more then being now justified in his blood shall we be saved through him from the wrath. For if while we were enemies we were reconciled to God through the death of his Son, much more being reconciled, shall we be saved by his life' ($5^{8ff.}$). The achievement of redemption in its ethical value proceeds from the death of Christ as the supreme demonstration of the Divine love, by evoking in sinful souls the response of a personal surrender to the newness of life to which it constrains. This may introduce the classical passage in St. Paul's writings on the doctrine of atonement. 'All things are of God, who reconciled us to himself through Jesus Christ, and gave unto us the ministry of reconciliation; to wit, that God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself, not reckoning unto them their trespasses, and having committed unto us the word of reconciliation. We are ambassadors therefore on behalf of Christ, as though God were entreating by us; we beseech you on behalf of Christ, be ye reconciled to God. Him who knew no sin he made to be sin on our behalf, that we might become the righteousness of God in him' (2 Co $5^{18ff.}$). The Pauline doctrine receives its most satisfying and probably its most permanent interpretation in the restoration of acceptable personal relations between God and man, and the perfecting of these in a fellowship of holy love.

(*c*) *Atonement and Personality.*—Love, the perfect expression of the Divine Personality, constrained God to identify Himself in Christ with us, and constrains us to identify ourselves in Christ with God. Personality finds its perfection in fellowship; self-identification with others is the ultimate of fellowship. Identification is the principle on which an interpretation of reconciliation most easily proceeds (see RECONCILIATION). Love is essentially self-impartation. Reconciliation is an exchange, the giving and receiving of love; 'at-one-ment' is its issue. This is based in the Pauline thought upon the Divine initiative. God 'made him who knew no sin to be sin on our behalf,' that there might be identification of righteousness as well as of love in the reconciliation, 'that we might become the righteousness of God in him,' 'not reckoning unto men their tres-

* *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, ii. 117.
† *Death of Christ*, 164 ff. ‡ *Ib.* 165.

passes.' These words suggest the idea of such an identification of men 'in Christ' that there is on God's part a general justification of mankind in the form of a non-imputation of sins, on the purely objective ground of God's satisfaction by self-giving in Him who knowing no sin was made sin on our behalf. Individual identification of man will follow, as, in response to God's entreating, each man is reconciled to God. 'For the love of Christ constraineth us; because we thus judge, that one died for all, therefore all died; and he died for all, that they which live should no longer live unto themselves, but to him who for their sakes died and rose again' (2 Co $5^{14f.}$). As the race died in Christ, His death is a true crisis in every man's history; there is a new creation, which includes both a new status and a new creature. That all died in Christ is neither wholly subjective nor wholly objective. St. Paul's full doctrine requires both; their death is died by Him, and His death is died by them. But in the order of thought He must first die their death, that they may die His. We never read that God has been reconciled; He reconciled Himself to the world in Christ, but men are reconciled or 'receive the reconciliation.' St. Paul's judgment is that the atonement is a finished work, but that the 'at-one-ment' is progressive; reconciliation is first a work wrought on men's behalf before it is wrought within their hearts; it is a work outside of men, that it may be a work within them; there is objective basis for the subjective experience.

Some interpreters, *e.g.* Denney,* would limit the reconciliation to what God in Christ has done outside of us; others, *e.g.* Kaftan,† hold that nothing is to be called reconciliation unless men are actually reconciled. St. Paul's doctrine is consistent with the view that reconciliation is both something which is done and something which is being done. The expression of that which is done and the source of that which is being done are seen in the solemn assertion that God made Him who knew no sin to be sin on our behalf. No exegesis is more than a halting interpretation of the profound significance of this saying. At least the words mean that He died for our sin in regard to its consequences. They seem, however, to mean more; but in what sense God's love in the gift of Christ can be said to be identified with 'sin on our behalf,' it is impossible to say. Certain it is that St. Paul had other and more usual ways of saying that the sinless One was a sin-bearer in the sense of an offering for sin. The strength of the saying is that He died to all that sin could mean, and that, in this dying unto sin once for all, the race with which He identified Himself in His sufferings and death died with Him; it is a death which contains the death of all, rather than solely a death which would otherwise have been died by all; in it their trespasses are not imputed unto them, and by the constraint of its demonstration of love they live not unto themselves but unto Him who died for them and rose again. The statement that all this was the work of 'God in Christ' suffices to refute any reading of the process of reconciliation which suggests a contrast that approaches competition between the righteousness of God and the love of Christ. It is identification which is supreme here. For, while it is no doubt true that the conception of Christ as substitute suits the interpretation of His death as sacrificial, the idea of representation best accords with the whole group of passages from which by induction St. Paul's law of redemption is to be gathered. In these, Christ appears as a central Person, in whom the race is gathered into an ethical unity, having one responsibility and one inheritance. In this identity even those realities usually regarded as inseparable from personality, such as sin and righteousness, are treated as separable entities passing freely from the one participant in the identification to the other—sin to the Sinless One, righteousness to the unrighteous. An objective identity of this order, however, does not permanently satisfy so keen a thinker as St. Paul; he cannot rest short of subjective identity between Redeemer and redeemed. Not only in virtual oneness by Divine appointment, but in actual union by living experience, is identification to be achieved. This provides the basis for St. Paul's teaching on—

(*d*) *Atonement and Newness of Life.*—The work of redemption was not wholly a matter of juridical substitution and imputation. Another line of thought of great importance is pursued, besides the freeing from the curse and the deliverance from wrath. The relation of men to the salvation of Christ is not purely passive.* They must enter into intimate union of life with Him. They must die in effect with Christ to sin on His cross, and rise with Him in newness of life. Through their faith they constitute His mystical body; they have corporate identity with Him in 'the life which is life indeed'; they are saved from the power as well as the guilt of sin; freedom from the law of sin and death completes the release from its condemnation; the release from past sin in the atonement in Christ's death does not exhaust its aim; it involves the actual renunciation of the selfish life and the realization of the life of holy love.

Although this conception is not wholly out of mind in chs. 3 and 4 of Romans and elsewhere (cf. Gal $2^{19f.}$, Col 2^{20} 3^{3}, Ph $3^{9f.}$), in which the juridical view of Christ's death is developed, it finds its full presentation in reply to an imaginary objection to the juridical view in Ro 6 and the following three chapters. The question, Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? starts St. Paul upon an exposition of the essential relation between the righteousness which is by faith in Christ as 'propitiation,' and the righteousness which is personal and real, through vital fellowship with His death and resurrection; 'crucified with him, buried with him, raised with him,' believers also walk with Him 'in newness of life.' There is something in the experience of Christ which they repeat so far as its ethical implications can be realized in their own experience; for the closest of links exists between the saving deed of Christ and the ethical issues of the salvation it has brought about. Although St. Paul does not make any direct use of the spotless holiness and perfect obedience of Christ save in so far as they issue in His death, still these ethical qualities of the Redeemer become the ethical demand in the redeemed as their union of life with Him is unfolded. The great Pauline conception 'in Christ' is required to complete on its ethical side the salvation which is 'through Christ' on the legal side.

In recent exposition the relation between these two—the 'subjective-mystical' view of salvation and the 'objective-juridical'—has been much discussed. Is the former an addition, a supplement, a correlative, or a transformation of the latter? 'Probably a majority of recent scholars hold that the conception of freedom from sin through a new moral life is primary in the thought of the Apostle';† others reverse this relation.‡ Denney strongly maintains that Christ's substitutionary death is primary, and that the ethico-mystical views are directly deduced from it; the latter

* *Death of Christ*, 145. † *Dogmatik*, § 52 ff.

* A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 120.

† *E.g.* Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, 70; W. Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 1895, ii. 198–201; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter*, Freiburg i. B., 1890, p. 139 (Eng. tr., London, 1895, ii. 104 f.).

‡ *E.g.* O. Pfleiderer, *Das Urchristentum*, Berlin, 1887, p. 229; E. Ménégoz, *Le Péché et la Rédemption d'après St. Paul*, 1882, ii. 251 ff.

indicate the inevitable result of a true appropriating faith in the substitutionary death of Christ, the sole object of which was to atone for sin; gratitude to Christ for this redemptive act of love being sufficient to evoke the whole experience of salvation on its ethical side. St. Paul's thought has only one focus—Christ's 'finished work,' His 'atonement outside of us.'* A. B. Bruce fears that the practical schism between these two experiences of faith in the objective work of Christ and personal union in His death and resurrection is too real for such a view; he thinks that the doctrine of an objective righteousness wrought out by Christ was first elaborated, that this 'met the spiritual need of the conversion crisis,' and that 'the doctrine of subjective righteousness came in due season to solve problems arising out of Christian experience'; consequently they are 'two doctrines,' two revelations serving different purposes, but not incompatible with or cancelling one another.† Lipsius regards the two lines of thought as parallel or interpenetrating.‡ H. J. Holtzmann makes the interesting suggestion that the expiatory doctrine is built up by St. Paul's use of popular Jewish conceptions and sacrificial categories applied to Christ's death, while the ethico-mystical view is the more direct product of his experience interpreted through Hellenistic ideas, especially the contrast of flesh and spirit.§ Whilst the two doctrines lie side by side within the same Epistle, it is difficult to regard them as separate doctrines representing quite distinct epochs of thought or experience in St. Paul. His teaching elsewhere on the work of the Holy Spirit should not be ignored in making adjustments between the two sides of his view of the atonement. It is on the interpretation of the place of St. Paul's ethical teaching on this doctrine that most marked differences exist; his doctrine of expiation is expounded with substantially the same results by scholars of the most divergent theological tendencies.‖

(*e*) *Atonement and the Universe.*—In two of the Epistles of the Imprisonment—those to Eph. and Col. (Phil. repeats the same circle of ideas as Rom. and Gal.)—St. Paul extends the reconciliation wrought by the death of Christ from the human race to the universe as it sustains moral relations to God; it is the cosmic view of the atonement, and is a result of seeking to provide a basis for the ruling idea of the absoluteness of his gospel. The 'world' for which Christ died is no longer the world of sinful men, as in 2 Co 5^{19} and Ro 3^{19}; it is vaster (cf. Ro $8^{19ff.}$); it includes angelic and possibly super-angelic beings, 'things in (or above) the heavens' (Eph 1^{10}); God has been pleased 'through him to reconcile all things unto himself, having made peace through the blood of his cross, through him, whether they be things on earth, or things in heaven' (Col 1^{20}). Here we pass from the region of the historical and experimental into that of vision and spiritual imagination. How far the categories of juridical and ethical, into which St. Paul's doctrine has been cast elsewhere, may be applied to the processes of the restoration of the whole universe to perfect unity with God in Christ, it is difficult to say. R. W. Dale¶ argues that they are fulfilled in removing the objective cause of estrangement; but it is evident that, if this is in itself inadequate for the realized salvation of the human race, it will not be likely to suffice for a higher race of moral intelligences; the personal union of sympathy and life implied in the subjective and mystical view will still be necessary for at-one-ment.

The Pastoral Epistles, though probably much later than St. Paul's earlier group in which his doctrine is chiefly stated, add no fresh ideas to his interpretation. This may imply that his doctrine had already become fixed in form and could be taken for granted, or that it is unwise to lay stress upon the view that it was a slowly developed teaching. The influence upon other NT writers of St. Paul's doctrine of the relation of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins should be carefully considered; the subject goes beyond the scope of this article.

2. The type presented in the Epistle to the Hebrews.—This is distinctive. Some suspect possible affinities with the thought of the apostolic group in the Church at Jerusalem. The writing exhibits many resemblances in language to the Pauline type, but the same terms are used with a different connotation, and there is an absence of many of St. Paul's characteristic forms of thought. The Pauline principle of substitution prevails, but it is presented more in the spirit and method of the Alexandrine exegesis and philosophy of religion—the relation of shadow to reality—or in the symbolism of the Jewish sacrificial system. Although one of the most theological of all the NT writings, it assumes rather than states a philosophy of the Christian redemption. The death of Christ is regarded as exclusively sacrificial. As atonement it is presented mostly on the objective side; even more than St. Paul, the writer emphasizes the work Christ does outside us, 'on our behalf.' St. Paul's supplement to this view in his ethico-mystical doctrine is only slightly considered. The term 'in Christ' does not occur; the circle of ideas it represents is absent; ethical implications of the vicarious view are found, but they are different and slighter. The idea of finality is the characteristic conception which dominates the presentation of Christ's redeeming work; it is 'eternal' in this sense. The ethical value of a sinless Offerer in perfect sympathy with His sinful brethren, for whom He presents His sacrifice perfect and without blemish, is a prominent characteristic in the doctrine of the atoning work. The perfect humanity implied makes it possible to start the interpretation of the doctrine of atonement in the Epistle, with Westcott, from the Incarnation; or, with Seeberg, from the Passion of the Offerer as identical with the historic Jesus. As His perfect Priesthood, which is almost identical with the latter, also includes the former, both in the historic fact and in the mind of the writer of the Epistle, it is more satisfactory to adopt it as the ruling idea.

(1) *Priesthood.*—Priesthood is the clearest way of access to the writer's main teaching; it unifies the distinguishable orders of sacrifice—sin-offering, burnt-offering, etc.—in the one characteristic function of the priest, which is to offer sacrifice and so to establish and to represent the fellowship of God with man, which is the root-idea of atonement. Such fellowship is visible and incorporate in the priest's person; through him the people draw near to God themselves, have their fellowship with Him, and become His people. The necessity for a priest and his mediation is that sin stands in the way of this fellowship; it cannot be ignored; its defilement is the acute problem in thought and experience which constrains the writer to set forth the Divinely appointed way for its removal. For this end God has appointed His own Son a High Priest for ever, that He may make 'propitiation'

* *Death of Christ*, 179–192.
† *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 214 ff.
‡ *Dogmatik*[3], Brunswick, 1893, p. 510.
§ *NT Theol.* ii. 117 f.
‖ *E.g.* Stevens, *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, pt. i. ch. iv.; Denney, *Death of Christ*, ch. iii.; Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*[2], Leipzig, 1890, ch. iii. (Eng. tr., 1877); Ménégoz, *Le Péché*, etc., ii. ch. iii.; H. J. Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* ii. 97–121; H. Cremer, *Die Paulinische Rechtfertigungslehre*[2], Gütersloh, 1900, pp. 424–448.
¶ *The Atonement*[8], 253 ff.

for the sins of His people (He 2^{17}). This is possible in only one way—sacrifice. The OT conception, upon the analogy of which this NT structure is built, is that propitiation must be made for sin, if sinful men are to have fellowship with God at all; the only propitiation known is the shedding of blood in sacrificial offerings. A root-principle, therefore, of the writer's theory is: 'Apart from shedding of blood there is no remission' (9^{22}). This sacrifice Christ provides in His blood; He is at once Priest and Sacrificial Offering; He is on this account capable of dealing effectively with sin as the obstacle to the fellowship of God and man; 'once (ἅπαξ—'once for all') at the end of the ages hath he been manifested to put away sin by the sacrifice of himself' (9^{26}).

(2) *Sacrifice.*—This offering of Himself is illustrated from the three elements of the Levitical system—(*a*) the sin-offering, (*b*) the covenant-offering, (*c*) the offering on the great Day of Atonement. As sin-offering, Christ's death was a final sacrifice for sins ($10^{12.\ 18}$), it made propitiation for the sins of the people (2^{17}), it put away sin (9^{26}). As a covenant-sacrifice, it ratified the new covenant, of which He was the mediator, by 'blood of sprinkling' (12^{24}); for this covenant also, that it might become operative, His death was necessary. As the high priest entered every year into the Holy Place, Christ has entered into the heavenly sanctuary to appear before the face of God for us (9^{24}). He also suffered without the camp ($13^{11f.}$). The writer dwells much upon the fact that all these were only symbolic and morally ineffective as types. Only in Christ's sacrificial offering of Himself and in the functions of His changeless Priesthood could be provided the eternal reality (see SACRIFICE). The writer also further defines all that Christ did and suffered in its relation to God—and especially to His love. It was by the grace of God that He tasted death for every man (2^{9}). God is not conceived in any sense as a hostile Being who is to be won over by sacrificial gifts to be gracious to man; these are never said to 'reconcile' God. The Priesthood of Christ was God's appointment and calling (5^{4}). Christ's supreme ministry was 'to do thy will, O God' (10^{7}). The same will was fulfilled 'through the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once for all' (ἅπαξ, 10^{10}). Christ's life and death are in perfect obedience to God, and are a revelation of the mind and love of God; such is God's gracious way of making it possible for the sinful to have fellowship with Him, of 'bringing many sons unto glory' (2^{10}); it was entirely congruous, the writer asserts, with God's perfect ethical nature and with man's sinful state. It is in the latter sense that the writer defines further the relation of the sacrifice of Christ to sin. His work is described as 'having made purification of sins' (1^{3}). He was offered to bear the sins of many (9^{28} 2^{17} $10^{12ff.}$). By whatever sacrificial illustrations His offering of Himself in His blood is set forth, the expiatory significance is common to them all; they represent the Divinely appointed way of dealing with sin as a hindrance to communion with God.

(3) *Theory.*—Beyond the relation to God and sin referred to, it is not easy, without going outside the pages of the Epistle, to state a doctrine which explains to the reason the grounds on which the sacrificial ministry of Christ as Priest and Offering becomes available for the establishing of the fellowship with God which is plainly set forth as its object. It is said 'to sanctify' men (2^{11} $10^{10.\ 14}$ 13^{12}); to enable them 'to draw near to God' (4^{16} $7^{19ff.}$ 10^{22}); 'to make perfect' (2^{10} 7^{19} 10^{14}); 'to purify' (9^{14}). It is difficult, however, to give a close definition of these terms. Primarily they refer to status; men's relation to God is altered rather than their character changed into ethical states befitting these terms as symbols of personal qualities; the immediate effect upon men is religious rather than ethical. But ultimately this effect is inadequate. As much as this was acknowledged to have been accomplished by the ancient priesthood and sacrifices, and it is the persistent plea of the writer that these ceased because they were inadequate: the blood of bulls and of goats can never take away sin or serve for the purification of the conscience. Christ's Priesthood and Offering were, on the other hand, 'better,' 'perfect,' 'eternal,' or final; they did what others could not do. In the end, therefore, those who shared their benefits would enter into possession and enjoyment of the ethical realities for which they were the surety; such persons were to become partakers of Christ (3^{14} ^{1} 6^{4}). Identification was to follow the more strictly vicarious relation. Meanwhile, however, the writer is Pauline to this extent that, whilst not excluding the ethical from the results of Christ's substitutionary work, he emphasizes first and strongly the objective benefits. He holds that eventually conscience and character will share in the blessings assured by access to God, but the ethical change is considered as the outcome of the change in the religious and juridical relation. Before the 'sanctified' become sinless or the 'perfect' faultless or the 'purified' pure, they have the status towards God of these, which is expressed in the privilege of fellowship. This is the effect of Christ's 'finished work' in His death: it is primary; and the moral renewal, though assured as its outcome, is secondary. Christ's death has done something in regard to sin once for all, and by one offering has brought men for ever into a perfect religious relation to God. That such an objective result is thus brought about seems clear from the Epistle, but what it is precisely which in God is related to this work is not stated by the writer, nor what constitutes the necessity in God for the Divinely appointed death of Christ. He does not go behind the Divine appointment; that God wills it is sufficient; this is for him axiomatic; in what its absoluteness lies is not stated. How far it is legitimate to read into the Epistle the Pauline ideas is doubtful; it has only the value of inference. The efficiency of the fact that Christ's death is the putting away of sin is the writer's contribution to the apostolic doctrine of atonement rather than its explanation. Denney finds the one hint of an attempt at explanation in 'Christ, who through the eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God' (9^{14}). The sinlessness of Jesus gave to His offering an absolute and ideal character beyond which nothing could be conceived as a response to God's mind and requirements in relation to sin. The ideal obedience even unto death may be the clue—the spiritual principle of the atonement that gives the work of Christ its value. The Epistle lays great stress on Christ's identification of Himself with man.

3. The Johannine type.—This is a sufficiently definite term to stand for a characteristic view of the atonement in the Apostolic Church found in the Fourth Gospel, in the three Catholic Epistles bearing the name of John, and in the Apocalypse. Criticism still leaves the problem of authorship in much uncertainty, but tends to greater agreement in 'ascribing all these writings to the same locality, to pretty much the same period, and to the same circle of ideas and sympathies.'* Reflecting probably the thought and experience of the last quarter, or even the last decade of the first century, they are later than all our other sources; and, being dominated by theological interest, they are

* Denney, *Death of Christ*, 241.

of particular importance for judging the views taken of the death of Christ and its relation to sin towards the close of the Apostolic Age.

Whilst the Epistle which deals with the death of Christ presents a more reflective interpretation of it than is found in the Gospel, both unite in dwelling upon the ethical and spiritual results of Christ's death in the experience and possibilities of the Christian sanctification rather than upon its relation to the satisfaction of the Divine law of righteousness. But the latter is by no means overlooked; it is present frequently by implication, it is occasionally explicitly referred to. The Johannine type is distinctly more favourable to the conception of 'at-one-ment' than to that of atonement; it is ethical and mystical rather than juridical. So much is this so that selected sayings could be collected which would easily weave themselves into a theory that Jesus saves by revelation, by the illumination of Divine light which becomes the light of life and the assurance of our fellowship in the life eternal. Redemption by revelation would be a fair interpretation, say, of the Prologue to the Gospel and of those portions of it in which the ideas of the Prologue rule. Salvation is in Christ's Person: 'this is life eternal, that they should know thee the only true God and him whom thou didst send, even Jesus Christ' (Jn 17^3). Jesus redeems men by revealing to them the truth about God in Himself; His work is supremely that of the Prophet of God, who so redeems His people into fellowship with God. Knowledge of God as He is draws men from sin. Christ dies, but this is inevitable because He is the Word made flesh, and must therefore share the end of all flesh and die, and 'so fulfil the destiny of a perfect man by a perfect death as by a perfect life.'* Broadly speaking this is true, but it is certainly not the only Johannine view of the saving work of Christ. It may be suggestive to discern the contrast between the Pauline view that revelation is by redemption, and the Johannine that redemption is by revelation, but it is not exhaustive; for the Johannine writings are also pervaded by a conviction of the necessity and saving value of Christ's death; He is as truly 'propitiation' as 'revelation.' St. Paul's view that, apart from His purpose of dying for redemption, Christ would not have come in the flesh at all, is not avowed by St. John, but it is not contradicted by him; his main interests are much more with the realities and issues of redemption than with its presuppositions and processes. Sin is the real problem for him as for St. Paul, and the death of Christ is the only means of removing it. This is stated in Gospel and Epistle with a wealth of variety. Whether they afford material for a full theory of expiation, as some expositors assume, may be questioned; but that they clearly state a connexion between the death of Christ and the cleansing away of sin, and indicate a theory of this relation which has affinities with the Pauline view and with that of the writer to the Hebrews, cannot reasonably be doubted.

Whilst in the very brief review of these references we must refrain from reading the Pauline meaning into the Johannine ideas and terms, we must not decline to recognize such similarities as we find are present in the writings.

(1) *References in Gospel.*—These fall into characteristic groups:—(*a*) *The references to the Lamb of God.*—Whether the saying put into the mouth of the Baptist (Jn 1^{29}) be critically valid or not, it is good evidence of the Johannine thought. We accept the saying as referring to Jesus who 'taketh away the sin of the world.' Its chief value is the use of the sacrificial symbol, 'the lamb'; Jesus takes away sin by the sacrificial method. The references in the Apocalypse to 'the Lamb' as it had 'been slain' (Rev $5^{6.\ 12}$), to 'those who have washed their robes in the blood of the Lamb' (7^{14}), who overcame 'because of the blood of the Lamb' (12^{11}), indicate that the power and purity of the new life in Christ were definitely associated with the shedding and sprinkling of His blood in the sacrificial sense. The phrase 'in the Lamb's book of life' (13^8), though it may not bear the strain of the idea of an eternal redemption, since 'from the foundation of the world' belongs grammatically to 'written' (see art. BOOK OF LIFE) rather than to 'slain,' indicates nevertheless that there is salvation in no other.—(*b*) *The references to 'the lifting up'* (Jn 3^{14} 12^{32}). These are best expounded by the comment of the writer himself. 'This said (Jesus), indicating by what kind of death he was to die' (12^{33}). They refer to the lifting up on the cross, though the exaltation that followed may be implied, in order that men might see Him in order to live and be drawn to Him by the appeal of His cross. If there be any expiatory idea here, it is implicit; it is not stated.—(*c*) *The references to eating His flesh* in Jn 6. Alone these might well be satisfied by the ethical interpretation of a spiritual appropriation of Christ; this conception is natural in the context; but, as it is scarcely possible at the late period of this writing to deny a reference to the 'Supper' and its connexion with remission of sins, the expiatory idea is most probably involved. In the exposition of any Johannine writings the place held by the sacraments in the Apostolic Church should never be ignored.—(*d*) *The references to the laying down of His life.*—'The Good Shepherd' (Jn 10^{11}), the prophecy of Caiaphas (11^{50}), the corn of wheat ($12^{23ff.}$), life laid down for friends (15^{13})—these with distinction of aspect show the application to Jesus of the vicarious principle; in the first and last instances the voluntary character of the self-sacrifice is important, whilst in the context of the third the soul-troubling of Jesus in presence of death suggests that the death was neither ordinary nor accidental. But there is no indication of a theory of how His death avails for the benefit of others. The one explanation that is sure is that He lays down His life in obedience to the constraint of love's necessity. This love is regarded by the writer both as Christ's own love and as the Father's. 'God so loved that he gave.' Love in each case is the gift of self.

(2) *References in Epistle.*—In passing from the Gospel, where the Johannine writer has emphasized the fact of the self-surrender in the death of Christ, obviously bringing it in wherever possible without attempting a definition of its relations, to the Epistle, we find a closer definition of these realities awaiting us. But here also the stress is laid upon the correlation of the death of Christ with the actual cleansing from sin rather than with the cancelling of guilt or the satisfaction of the law. Still, whilst the realization of purification, and not merely a provision of the means of its cleansing, is the primary meaning of the references to the redemptive work of Christ as the bearer of light and salvation, the latter is set forth in terms so intimately allied with the sacrificial terminology of the writers of the earlier apostolic Epistles, that the contention that there lies behind the passages the assumption of a judicial satisfaction for sin cannot be fairly evaded. The passages are: 'The blood of Jesus his Son cleanseth us from all sin' (1 Jn 1^7); 'And if any man sin, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the whole world' ($2^{1f.}$); 'Your sins are forgiven you for his name's

* Cf. B. F. Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, London, 1883, p. 34 ff., *Epistle to the Hebrews*, London, 1889, p. 293 ff.; H. Schultz, *Die Gottheit Christi*, Gotha, 1881, p. 447.

sake' (2^{12}); 'And ye know that he was manifested to take away sins; and in him is no sin' (3^5); 'Herein is love, not that we loved God, but that he loved us, and sent his Son to be a propitiation for our sins' (4^{10}). With these it is convenient to associate the strongest saying in the Apocalypse on the subject: 'Unto him that loveth us, and loosed us from our sins in his blood' (Rev 1^5). That the immediate interest in these references is to the ethical and spiritual results issuing from the death of Christ in its relation to sin will not be doubted. The question at issue is how far the inference from them, that they assume an antecedent value belonging to the death of Christ in putting away the judicial obstacle to the cleansing in the law and righteousness of God, can be established. The cleansing obviously depends upon the 'death' and the 'blood' of Christ.

We need not draw the distinction made by Westcott,* between the blood in the double sense of a life given and of a life liberated and made available for men, in order to justify a backward as well as a forward look in the symbol. The main burden of proof that the Johannine doctrine includes an objective as well as a subjective work of Christ is upon the use of 'propitiation.' It is not the same word (ἱλασμός, not ἱλαστήριον) as is used in the Pauline Epistles, but it is very closely akin. Is it likely, in being applied here to the same object, to have a different meaning? Used in the same Christian community within approximately the same period, and dealing with the same element in a common faith, is not the term probably used in the same accepted sense by the Johannine writer as by the writer to the Hebrews and St. Paul? If we are to interpret it, these usages are the only means at our disposal unless the Johannine literature itself provides others. This is not done. On the contrary, other terms are used that suggest that the place of ἱλασμός is in the same system of redemptive ideas that we find in the other apostolic writings. It is, for instance, co-ordinated with Jesus Christ as 'the righteous,' standing thereby in some relation to the moral order of the world, and with 'an Advocate,' which touches the judicial system of ideas; it is connected also with ideas of sacrifice and intercession which relate it to a system of mediating priesthood; the marked contrast between 'loveth' and 'loosed' in the operation of the love of Christ, which is the source and efficient cause of redemption in His blood from our sins in Rev 1^5, may also suggest a combination between the progressive liberation from our sins and the achievement once for all of our redemption in Him. The further statement that the 'propitiation' is not for *our* sins only but also for 'the whole world,' is not satisfied by the merely personal, and therefore for the present partial, experience of a subjective salvation. These are only inferences and nothing more, but they are of value in construing the Johannine witness into terms of the general apostolic teaching. The supreme value, however, of this witness is the matchless grace with which the writer relates 'propitiation' to the love of God. St. Paul had taught this as the ultimate source of redemption, but had associated with its expression the righteousness of law and the wrath of God against sin. The Johannine writer transcends these in dwelling with holy joy upon the issues of the propitiation, not only in actual cleansing from sin, but in lifting men into the presence of an eternal reality in which propitiation is an interchangeable term with the Divine love itself. In 4^{10} he defines propitiation in terms of love: 'He loved us and sent his Son to be the propitiation for our sins'; in 3^{16} he reverently identifies love with 'propitiation'—'In this have we known love, in that he (ἐκεῖνος) for us (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν) laid down his life.' The contrast such love implies is the ultimate of the apostolic doctrine of the atonement—it is the perfect expression of what the writer means when he declares that 'God is love.'*

4. The sub-apostolic period.—In the age immediately succeeding the apostolic, the Church appears to have exhibited no desire to interpret the relation of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins either with greater fullness than, or by any divergence of view from, that found in the apostolic writings; the forms exhibited there were found sufficient. The early Fathers treated the atonement as a fact, without any attempt to explain its grounds. They had no theory: they describe it mostly in the actual words of Scripture, with little or no comment; the types of interpretation given were sufficient to satisfy their intelligence concerning the experience of forgiveness of sins which so richly satisfied their heart. *Clement of Rome* in his First Epistle exhorts the Corinthians to 'reverence the Lord Jesus Christ, whose blood was given for us' (xxi.), who 'on account of the love He bore us gave His blood for us by the will of God; His flesh for our flesh and His soul for our souls' (xlix.). There is no clear statement as to the reasons that moved the will of God. The ethical appeal of the death of Christ is predominant; it is the supreme motive to gratitude, humility, and self-sacrifice. The references in the writings of *Ignatius* are chiefly that the death of Christ on the cross reveals His love, and that through His death we become partakers of spiritual nourishment in His body and blood (cf. *Trall.* viii. and *Rom.* vi.). *Polycarp* reminds his readers that 'the earnest of their righteousness' is Jesus Christ, who 'bore our sins in His own body upon the tree; who did not sin, neither was guile found in His mouth, but endured all things for us, that we might live in Him' (*Phil.* viii.). The Epistle ascribed to *Barnabas* deals with the subject in its relation to the sacrifices of the Jewish Temple, which are abolished in order that 'the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, might have a human oblation' (ii.). The Son of God is spoken of as One who 'suffered that His stroke might give us life'; 'let us therefore believe that the Son of God could not have suffered except for our sakes' (vi.). Our Lord's sufferings were necessary; why, it is not said. (For catena of quotations, consult R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*, 270 ff.; Moberly, *Atonement and Personality*, 326 ff.; Scott Lidgett, *Spiritual Principle of Atonement*, 420 ff.).

IV. *CONCLUSION.*—**1. Is there an apostolic doctrine of the atonement?**—Clearly the passages we have examined, which form the data for a doctrine of atonement, are brief and fragmentary in character. It is frequently pointed out that the books from which they are taken are in no strict sense a unity, and were not written with the object of being related to each other to form a unified volume; that they are only parts of a larger and richer whole which interpreted the faith of the Apostolic Age; that their unity is factitious.† This view is plausible. It must be admitted that the doctrine of atonement found no uniformity of expression in the Apostolic Church; but there is little room for doubt that there existed a central unity around which varied statements consistently moved; the latter were not a mere fortuitous grouping; they were orderly, and their movements were organized in response to a central gravity. The fact that the death of Christ had a direct relation to the forgiveness of sins and to the restoration of fellowship between God and man is funda-

* *Epistles of St. John*, 34 ff.; *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 293 ff.

* Cf. Denney, *Death of Christ*, 276.

† *Ib.* 2, for typical illustrations.

mental to the most divergent interpretations of the fact. The occasion of the reference, the purpose of the writers, and especially their immediate conception of the character of God and His relation to the moral order of the world, largely account for the varying forms of expression and illustration. For, taken apart, the aspects in which the death of Christ is viewed in the apostolic writings give sufficient warrant for the main types—legal and ethical—which mark the history of the doctrine in the subsequent thought of the Church.

But the most critical survey of these aspects does not sanction the contention of some recent writers that an apostolic doctrine of the atonement cannot be constructed.* A perfect doctrine may be so deeply grounded and so many-sided that no personal or corporate thought can completely expound it, and there may be many theories each having its value. The judgment expressed by R. F. Horton, 'The NT has no theory about the Atonement,'† is too easy a release from the intellectual necessity of seeking an interpretation of the profound fact which dominated the whole of the apostolic experience and teaching. The materials are certainly present in the apostolic literature for the construction of a theory—and more, a theory itself is potentially present and virtually expressed in the common experience and preaching of apostolic times where it is not formally defined. It is quite contrary to the spirit and attitude of the Apostolic Church to speak of the atonement, as Coleridge does, as 'the mysterious act, the operative cause transcendent. *Factum est*: and beyond the information contained in the enunciation of the FACT, it can be characterized only by the consequences.'‡ The apostolic writers regard fact and theory as permanently inseparable; 'reconciliation' involves its 'logos,' and they attempt an explanation of the great fact which had become the ground and appeal of their evangel; a fact of such a kind as the death of Christ, so rich in rational, ethical, and emotional content, and appealing to the whole ethical and spiritual being of man, could not be left without a 'meaning.' The simple connexion in any degree of causal relation between the fact of the death of Christ and the experience of forgiveness of sins is itself a profound theory as well as the mother of theories.

2. General character of the apostolic doctrine.—This, as presented in the literature of the Apostolic Age, is a unity in diversity. The diversity is apparent; it emerges as the stress of the interpretation of the death of Christ falls upon that which is accomplished by it objectively to man's inner experience and moral desert, in contrast with the effects subjectively achieved in the spiritual history of the individual believer and of the Christian community. The former represents what God does in and of and by Himself which, as exhibited in the life and death of His Son, justifies to Himself and in Himself the manifestation of His grace in the remission of sins; the latter is what man experiences in actual cleansing from sin and in conscious reconciliation with God in Christ; the former is represented as accomplished once for all in the sacrificial obedience of Christ even unto death; the latter is realized in the self-surrender of man under the constraint of the love of God in Christ, so that he enters into an inward spiritual fellowship with the suffering death of Christ, and in the power of his resurrection experiences the reality of ethical union with Christ; the former is regarded as a finished work, the latter as a progressive achievement; the former is atonement, the latter is 'at-one-ment.' The presence of this diversity of view in the faith of the Apostolic Church seems undeniable. Both aspects are dwelt upon; neither appears to be adequate alone. Each is carried back to the abiding purpose of God and regarded as the interpretation of His eternal love; the juridical stands for a reality in His nature as truly as the ethical; much in the apostolic doctrine is not covered by the conception of atonement which represents it as a perfect confession of sin on behalf of man by Christ as man's Representative; the juridical conception is not fairly stated as an *argumentum ad Judæos*, or as the mere inheritance of Jewish thought. For, although the idea of literal substitution lay so near to hand in later Jewish theology and was everywhere enriched for them by historic and Divinely-appointed ritual observance, the apostolic thinkers so deepen and transfigure it that it no longer tolerates the superficial conventional idea of an easy or mechanical transfer of man's guilt and penalty to another so that the sinner is exempt from further responsibility.

An objective view of atonement exaggerated into a system of imputations and equivalents is not found in the teaching of the Apostolic Church, neither is it ever set forth as a device for overcoming God's reluctance to forgive sins. We are presented rather with an intensely ethical conception of God's requirements and with a mystical view of man's relation to Christ as the Representative of the race. Substitution is thus deepened into moral identification and solidarity; even the outstanding feature of the apostolic view of atonement as 'propitiation' is explicitly correlated with the ethical nature of God; behind the figures of speech and juridical phraseology the redeeming work of Christ is presented as concerned primarily with personal relations and moral realities. In this reference in the processes of reconciliation to the Divine purpose and activity—'God in Christ reconciling the world unto himself'—and, still further, in the recognition of the fact that the sufferings of the righteous benefit the unrighteous, the unity of the apostolic doctrine is found. Objective and subjective views being thus regarded as manifestations of the self-imparting love of God, originating in Him, not in Christ apart from Him, justice and mercy as contrasted attributes in the Divine nature are transcended. The apostolic mind also rests more upon the declaration of the Divine righteousness in the blood of Christ than upon its satisfaction thereby. God declares Himself reconciled by something He had done whilst men were yet sinners. On Christ's part the reconciliation takes place through an act of self-emptying prior to, but manifest in, the Incarnation, with its obedience unto death, even the death of the cross. The unity of 'objective' and 'subjective' is verified also in the true experience of personal redemption, which is never regarded in the apostolic teaching as adequate apart from an ethical surrender of the self to God in Christ by the obedience of faith. Union with God in Christ is in the apostolic teaching a closer definition of having 'received the reconciliation.'

3. Finality and authority of the apostolic doctrine.—The interesting question whether the apostolic doctrine of the atonement is final for the thought of the Church and binding upon her teachers, is a phase of the living controversy respecting the permanent place of apostolic teaching in Christian thought, and lies beyond the scope of this article. It must suffice to point out that the teaching of the Apostolic Church gives no sanction for the view that the illumination of the minds of men respecting the significance of the death of Christ is limited to one type of interpretation or to one generation of men. It is possible to recognize a distinction between the contingent thought-forms of the Apostolic Age and the essential spiritual life with its fundamental certainties in an experience

* Cf. *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, London, 1895, p. 274.
† *Faith and Criticism*[3], London, 1893, p. 222.
‡ *Aids to Reflection*, ed. London, 1913, Com. xix.

of reconciliation, made real by God in Christ, which these thought-forms sought to express. This experience in the Apostolic Age, as in every other, was something more than a composite of the terms used in its interpretation, even when these terms were the coinage of the apostolic mind. The usual conditions for the discovery of truth which satisfies the intellectual nature will prevail here as elsewhere. The one way in which truth, which is the only reality having authority for the mind, reveals its authority is in taking possession of the mind for itself.* Truth justifies itself in the mind that receives it; it derives its authority in the realm of the moral and spiritual by the experience it creates. The mind, once it has come to know itself, cannot submit to receive its convictions on blank authority; even when that authority is an utterance of the apostolic mind, it must commend itself to the Christian consciousness by its power rationally to justify the facts to which that Christian consciousness knows it owes its existence. The question, therefore, whether the forms of the apostolic explanation of the relation of the death of Christ to the forgiveness of sins are final and binding upon faith, will depend upon their adequacy permanently to interpret the experience that Christian men will always owe to their knowledge of those facts in which the Christian experience first originated. The conviction that those facts have been mediated to the world through the Apostolic Church, will probably always suggest that the apostolic explanation of them will antecedently be regarded with attention commensurate with the unique value of its source. It seems fair, therefore, to expect that where the modern mind finds the unity of the apostolic doctrine of the atonement, it will also find its finality; and, where finality is found, permanent authority is readily acknowledged. But finality is in the living truth of the doctrine, not in its human source.

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FREDERIC PLATT.

ATTALIA ('Ατταλεία, Tisch. and WH -ία).—This maritime city of Pamphilia was founded by, and named after, Attalus II. Philadelphus, king of Pergamos (159–138 B.C.), who desired a more convenient haven than Perga (15 miles N.E.) for the commerce of Egypt and Syria. It was picturesquely situated on a line of cliffs, over which the river Catarrhactes rushed in torrents—or *cataracts*—to the sea. Attalia differed from its rival Perga, a centre of native Anatolian religious feeling, in being a thoroughly Hellenized city, honouring the usual classical deities—Zeus, Athene, and Apollo. Paul and Barnabas sailed from its harbour to Antioch at the close of their first missionary tour (Ac 14[25]). Both politically and ecclesiastically it gradually overshadowed Perga, and to-day it is the most flourishing seaport, with the exception of Marsina, on the south coast of Asia Minor. It has a population of 25000, including many Christians and Jews, who occupy separate quarters. The name has been slightly modified into *Adalia*.

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JAMES STRAHAN.

AUGUSTAN BAND.—During his voyage from Cæsarea to Italy, St. Paul was in the charge of the centurion Julius, of the σπεῖρα Σεβαστή, or 'Augustan cohort' (Ac 27[1] RVm). Two widely different views prevail as to the composition of this body of soldiers.

1. The theory of Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 51 f.) is mainly based on data supplied by Josephus. While legionary soldiers, who were Roman citizens, were sent only to provinces of the first order, governed by *legati*, those of the second order, administered by procurators—*e.g.* Judæa—were garrisoned by auxiliary cohorts of provincials, each from 500 to 1000 strong, usually attended by an *ala* of cavalry, and each named after the city from which it was recruited, *e.g.* 'cohors Sebastenorum.' At the time of the death of Herod Agrippa (A.D. 44) there was an *ala* of Καισαρεῖς and Σεβαστηνοί with five cohorts stationed in Cæsarea (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 1 f.). For their indecent demonstrations of joy at the king's death, they were at first threatened with banishment, but were ultimately forgiven and taken over by the Romans. They are frequently referred to during the period A.D.

*Cf. Denney, *The Atonement and the Modern Mind*, 6 ff.; W. L. Walker, *The Gospel of Reconciliation*, 60 ff.

44–66 (*Ant.* XX. vi. 1 ‖ *BJ* II. xii. 5; *Ant.* XX. viii. 7 ‖ *BJ* II. xiii. 7). In A.D. 67, Vespasian finally drafted from Cæsarea into his army five cohorts and one *ala* of cavalry (*BJ* III. iv. 2). Schürer holds that the 'Augustan cohort' is undoubtedly one of these five cohorts. He does not, however, regard σπεῖρα Σεβαστή as synonymous with σπεῖρα Σεβαστηνῶν. Σεβαστή is rather a title of honour, equivalent to *Augusta*, and the full name of the cohort in question would probably be *cohors Augusta Sebastenorum* (*HJP* I. ii. 53).

2. Mommsen, followed by Ramsay, attempts to connect the σπεῖρα Σεβαστή with a body of officers detached from the foreign legions and known as *frumentarii*, who were employed under the Empire not only, as their name indicates, in connexion with the commissariat, but as agents maintaining communications between the central government and the distant provinces. As they were constantly passing backwards and forwards, it was natural that prisoners should be entrusted to them, and in time they became hated as police-agents and spies. When Julius (*q.v.*), who on this theory was one of these couriers, arrived in Rome, he handed over his charge (Ac 28[16], AV and RVm) to the στρατοπεδάρχης, which is commonly translated 'captain of the Prætorian Guard.' Mommsen, however, thinks that the *præfectus prætorio* cannot have had laid upon him the humble duty of receiving prisoners, and prefers another interpretation based upon the term *princeps peregrinorum*, which appears in an Old Lat. version (called Gigas) as the equivalent of στρατοπεδάρχης. *Peregrini*, 'soldiers from abroad,' was the name given to the *frumentarii* while they resided at Rome, and their camp on the Cælian Hill was called *Castra Peregrinorum*. It is suggested (1) that Luke, who as a Greek was careless of Roman forms and names, used the Greek term σπεῖρα Σεβαστή not as the translation of an official Roman designation, but as 'a popular colloquial way of describing the corps of officer-couriers' (Ramsay, *St. Paul*[3], London, 1897, p. 315); and (2) that his στρατοπεδάρχης is an equally unofficial title, for which the Latin translator, being more at home in Roman usages than Luke, was able to supply the correct technical term. It is admitted that 'this whole branch of the service is very obscure. Marquardt considers that it was first organized by Hadrian; but Mommsen believes that it must have been instituted by Augustus' (*ib.* 349). The chief objection to the present theory is that the foundation seems too slender for the superstructure. There is no clear evidence that the title *princeps peregrinorum* came into use before the time of Septimius Severus (193–211). On the other hand, St. Paul's case would seem to be on all fours with that of an appellant mentioned in the correspondence of Trajan and Pliny (*Ep.* 57), regarding whom the Emperor gives this rescript: 'vinctus mitti ad præfectos prætorii mei debet.'

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JAMES STRAHAN.

AUGUSTUS.—1. The name.—The Lat. name *Augustus* occurs only once in the RV of the NT, namely in Lk 2[1]. The word, cognate with *augur*, had a sacred ring about it, having been applied (*a*) to places and objects which either possessed by nature or acquired by consecration a religious or hallowed character; (*b*) to the gods. It was a new thing to apply it to a human being, and the Senate felt and intended it to be so, when it conferred the title upon Octavian on 16 Jan., 27 B.C. By this title they went as near to conferring deification upon a human being as robust Italian commonsense would allow. 'It suggested religious sanctity and surrounded the son of the deified Julius with a halo of consecration' (Bury, *A History of the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 13). The official Gr. equivalent of *Augustus* was Σεβαστός. It is noteworthy that Luke in his own Greek narrative keeps the Latin word, whereas he puts the Greek Σεβαστός into the mouth of Festus (Ac 25[21, 25]; AV 'Augustus,' RV 'the emperor,' RVm 'the Augustus'). The difference is important. A Greek Christian like Luke could only use the word Σεβαστός (which meant 'to be worshipped,' 'worthy of worship') of God Himself: being a Greek, writing his own language, he had not the same objection to the foreign word *Augustus*, and he had to be intelligible. The absence of θεός ('god,' *diuus*), with the name of the deceased and deified Emperor in Lk 2[1], is also perfectly consistent with the Christian attitude (on Ac 27[1], see AUGUSTAN BAND).

2. Life.—The Emperor of whom we commonly speak as Augustus was originally named Gaius Octavius [Thurinus], like his father, and was born on 22 Sept., 63 B.C., the year of Cicero's consulship. The ancestral home of his race was Velitræ (modern Veletri) in the Volscian country, at no great distance from Rome. The family was equestrian and rich, the father of the future Emperor being the first of his race to enter the Senate. He had an honourable and successful official career, attaining to the prætorship and the governorship of the province of Macedonia. He died suddenly, and left three children, one of them the future Emperor (aged 4), whose mother was Atia. This Atia was the daughter of M. Atius Balbus and Julia, the sister of the great dictator Julius Cæsar. Augustus was thus the grand-nephew of the dictator. He received the dress of manhood at 15, and was allowed to accompany his grand-uncle to Spain (47 B.C.), where he already showed the quality of courage. Soon after he was sent to Apollonia on the other side of the Adriatic, to pursue his studies. He was still there when the dictator was assassinated, on 15 March, 44 B.C. It was then that he revealed what was in him. Though only eighteen and a half years of age, he, having been adopted into the Julian family by the will of his grand-uncle, whose heir he was at the same time constituted, took the name Gaius Julius Cæsar Octavianus, and immediately left for Italy, to claim not only the private but also the public inheritance of his grand-uncle. His great career is best followed in the next section. His private and family history may be summed up here. As a young man he was betrothed to a daughter of P. Servilius Isauricus, but he broke off this engagement, and for political reasons married Claudia, step-daughter of Mark Antony, in her extreme youth. Her he immediately divorced, and afterwards Scribonia, his second wife. Immediately after the second divorce he robbed Tiberius Claudius Nero of his wife, Livia Drusilla (38 B.C.), and with her he lived all the rest of his life. His immediate household consisted of her, her two sons by her previous husband, the future Emperor Tiberius (*q.v.*), and Drusus, as well as his own daughter Julia, Scribonia's child. Julia bore five children to the second of her three husbands, M. Vipsanius Agrippa, namely Gaius, Lucius, Agrippa, Julia, and Agrippina. Gaius and Lucius were adopted by their grandfather, but died early. All his direct descendants in fact died early or disgraced him, and he was forced to fall back on his step-son Tiberius for the succession. Drusus having perished in 9 B.C., Tiberius was compelled in his turn to adopt his nephew Germanicus. Augustus died 19 August, A.D. 14.

3. Official career.—The stages in Augustus' official career may be summed up as follows. He was recognized by the Senate in 44 B.C.; received prætorian *imperium* against Antony, on 19 August made consul (though hardly twenty years of age), elected *triumuir rei publicæ constituendæ* (with Antony and Lepidus) for five years, 43; appointed *augur*, 37 (or later); first conferment of *tribunicia potestas*, 36; between 37 and 34 elected *XVuir sacris faciundis*; 30, fourth consulship (hence annually, with certain exceptions, until the 13th was reached in 2 B.C.); 27, title *Augustus* and imperial powers; 23, the *tribunicia potestas* conferred on him for life; 22, a special *cura annonæ*; 18, imperial powers renewed for 5 years; 16 (before this date), elected *septemuir epulonum*; 15, coinage of gold and silver for the Empire reserved to Emperor; 12, elected *pontifex maximus*; 8, imperial powers renewed for ten years; 2, received title of *pater patriæ*; A.D. 3, imperial powers renewed for ten years, and again in A.D. 13. The 'deification' took place on 17 Sept., 14.

4. Achievements.—This bare enumeration marks the steps by which the power of Augustus was gradually consolidated, and with it the Empire itself. The achievements of Augustus which led to this result can only be briefly enumerated. Amongst the most important, because without them nothing further could have been attained, are his military achievements. His military career, with few exceptions, was continuously successful. It began by the driving of Antonius into Gallia Transalpina (43 B.C.), and was followed up by the defeat of Brutus and Cassius at Philippi (42), the defeat of Sextus Pompeius (36), and the defeat of Cleopatra and Antonius at Actium (31). At this point civil war ends, all his Roman enemies and rivals are removed, and he can give attention to frontier problems. A succession of frontier wars ends in victory for the Romans: in 19 the Cantabri were exterminated, in 15 the Raeti and Vindelici were conquered. The German wars gave great trouble throughout the later part of his reign, in which most valuable help was rendered by his step-sons Tiberius and Drusus. In the earlier period Augustus was most fortunate in possessing such an able lieutenant as M. Vipsanius Agrippa.

In other respects also Augustus was extremely active—in the spheres of law, religion, architecture, and building. He did all he could to restore the sapped virtue of the Italians by his encouragement of family life and his attempts to recover the simplicity of the ancient Italian religion. He was a patron of literature, and was greatly helped in his aims by the writings of Virgil and Horace. In all his schemes for the betterment of Rome, Mæcenas, an Etruscan knight, himself a patron of literature, was his right-hand man. Among the important statutes passed were the *Lex Iulia de adulteriis* (18 B.C.), the *Lex de maritandis ordinibus*, and the *Lex Papia Poppæa*—all in the interests of a worthy family life, which Augustus recognized to be the indispensable foundation of a truly great State. The *Lex Ælia Sentia* (4 B.C.) regulated the status of manumitted slaves, a large class of growing influence in the State (see CLAUDIUS). Augustus' interest in religion was shown by his acceptance of several sacred offices, as well as by the restoration of many decayed temples and rituals. His boast that he had found Rome made of brick and left it made of marble probably means no more than that he faced the (regular) brick core of buildings with marble slabs, but he certainly spent vast sums on building. Among the most important monuments of his reign are the Portus Iulius (37 B.C.), the Templum Diui Iuli (29), the temple of Apollo on the Palatine Hill, equipped with public libraries of Greek and Latin literature (28), and the theatre of Marcellus (11). The personal ability of Augustus is sometimes unjustly depreciated. It may be questioned if he owed more than inspiration to his grand-uncle.

5. Administration.—The Emperor's administration covered not only the whole of Italy, but the imperial (or frontier) provinces, where an army was required. He had financial agents also in the senatorial provinces. The great achievement of Augustus was that he ruled the Roman Empire as a citizen (though the chief citizen, *princeps*), under constitutional forms. In theory the Empire ceased with the death of the Emperor, but under these constitutional forms he laid the foundations of a lasting despotism. Luke refers in 2^1 to a census of the whole Empire ordered by him. This was one of his administrative reforms, and the census recurred every 14 years. A census of Roman citizens, as distinguished from subjects of the Empire, was taken twice in his reign, in 28 and 8 B.C. Cf. art. CÆSAR.

LITERATURE.—There are many vexed questions connected with the career of Augustus, which will make one always regret that T. Mommsen did not write the fourth volume of his *Römische Geschichte*, which was to cover Augustus' reign; cf., however, the second edition of the *Res Gestæ Divi Augusti* (Berlin, 1883), edited by him; V. Gardthausen's *Augustus und seine Zeit*, Leipzig, 1891 ff. (2 parts, each in three volumes, first part text, second part notes), has not filled the gap. Chronology of chief events is best given by J. S. Reid in *A Companion to Latin Studies* (ed. J. E. Sandys, Cambr. 1910), 129 ff. The theory of the Empire is best expounded in the same writer's chapter in the *Cambridge Mediæval History*, i., Cambr. 1911; a splendid account is found also in H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, London, 1893; A. v. Domaszewski's *Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1909, vol. i. pp. 11–250, by a master of Roman history and antiquities; etc. The chief ancient authorities are the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, Suetonius' *Life of Augustus*, Velleius Paterculus, Appian, Dio Cassius, and the early chapters of Tacitus.

A. SOUTER.

AUTHOR AND FINISHER.—In He 12^2 Jesus is called the 'author (AV and RV; AVm 'beginner,' RVm 'captain') and finisher (AV; RV 'perfecter') of (our) faith.' The Gr. word rendered 'author' (ἀρχηγός) occurs in three other passages, viz. Ac 3^{15} 5^{31} and He 2^{10}. It is translated 'captain' in He 2^{10} (AV; but RV 'author'); in Ac 3^{15} 'prince' (AV and RV; AVm and RVm 'author'); in Ac 5^{31} 'prince.' In classical Greek it is used for a 'leader,' one who precedes others by his example, and so for an 'originator.'

The reference in He 12^2 is to the previous chapter. The writer, in summing up the list of heroes of faith, bids us look unto Jesus, who is pre-eminently the Leader in that great company, and the Perfect Example of that virtue of which to a certain extent they have been witnesses. The insertion of the word 'our' in the EV obscures the meaning. 'The faith' refers to that which has been the main theme of ch. 11.

Alford, Bleek, Ebrard, Wordsworth, and A. B. Davidson translate ἀρχηγός in He 12^2 by 'leader'; Wyclif has 'the maker'; but Tindale, Cranmer, the Geneva and the Rheims all have 'author.'

As Jesus is the Leader in the great army of the Faith, so is He also the Finisher or Perfecter (τελειωτής). Therefore we run the race looking unto Him as our Leader and the only one who can sustain us to the end and perfect that which He has begun (cf. Davidson, *in loc.*).

MORLEY STEVENSON.

AUTHORITIES.—The word occurs thrice in the English NT: Lk 12^{11} RV (AV 'powers'; Gr. ἐξουσίαι), Tit 3^1 RV (AV 'powers'; Gr. ἐξουσίαι), and 1 P 3^{22} (Gr. ἐξουσίαι). This is by no means a complete list of the occurrences of ἐξουσία (sing. and plur.) in a quasi-concrete sense in the NT. It is characteristic that in the first and second of these places the word should be united with ἀρχαί, and

in the third with *δυνάμεις*. This collocation of words denoting power in some manifestation or other is due to the later Jewish theology, which postulated the existence of a number of spiritual powers (cf. artt. DOMINION, POWER, PRINCIPALITY, THRONE, etc.) inhabiting the air. These powers were defined in Greek under the various aspects of *δύναμις* (physical force), *ἀρχή* (magisterial power), and *ἐξουσία* (moral authority). At first each of the words was, no doubt, intended to carry a precise signification, and the complete list would comprise every sort of spiritual power man could conceive; but later the enumeration became so familiar as to be repeated without any clear distinction between the individual terms (so 1 P 3^{22}). The frequency of the use to indicate spiritual powers has a reflex effect. The word *ἐξουσίαι* is used in the first and second passages with reference to *earthly* powers. It does not seem possible to say precisely what powers are intended, but in the Gospel passage (where the wording is peculiar to Luke) it is probable that the Sanhedrin and the Roman procurator of Judæa would be included, while in the Titus Epistle the reference is to all those set in authority over the people—the Emperor, the governor and his suite, as well as the local magistrates. See also the following article. A. SOUTER.

AUTHORITY.—This word, which occurs much more frequently in RV than in AV, in most cases represents the Gr. *ἐξουσία*. It is used of delegated authority in Ac 9^{14} $26^{10.\ 12}$; of the authority of an apostle in 2 Co 10^{8} and 13^{10} (RV); of earthly rulers ('authorities') in Tit 3^{1} (RV), cf. Lk 12^{11}; and in RV of Apocalypse is substituted frequently for AV 'power'; cf. Rev 6^{8} 12^{10} $13^{4\text{-}12}$ 17^{12} (in 17^{13} it replaces AV 'strength'). Yet in many places RV still retains 'power' as the translation of *ἐξουσία*; cf. Ac 8^{19}, Col 1^{13}, Ro $13^{1\text{-}3}$, Rev 9^{10} 11^{6} etc. In 1 Co 11^{10} *ἐξουσία* is used in a peculiar sense ('for this cause ought the woman to have *ἐξουσίαν* on her head, because of the angels'), where a veil appears to be meant. Here AV gives 'power,' RV '*a sign of* authority,' with 'have authority over' in the margin.

In several passages *ἐξουσία* is used to designate a created being superior to man, a spiritual potentate, viz. 1 Co 15^{24}, Eph 1^{21}, Col 2^{10}, and, in the plural, Eph 3^{10} 6^{12}, Col 1^{16} 2^{15}, 1 P 3^{22}. In 1 Co 15^{24} and 1 P 3^{22}, AV and RV render 'authority' and RV also in Eph 1^{21}, the reason probably being that *δύναμις* also occurs in these verses for which the word 'power' was needed. In the other references the translation is 'power' or 'powers.' Seeing that *ἐξουσίαι* appear to be a class of angelic beings distinct from *δυνάμεις*, it would have been conducive to clearness if the word 'authority' had been used in all these passages. In Eph 6^{12} evil principles are obviously referred to (cf. 2^{2}); in 1 Co 15^{24} both good and evil angels may be included (Lightfoot, *Col.*[3] 1879, p. 154). See, further, under PRINCIPALITY, and cf. the preceding article.

In a few places 'authority' in AV represents other Gr. words, viz. Ac 8^{27} AV, RV, 'a eunuch *of great authority*' (*δυνάστης*); 1 Ti 2^{2} AV 'for kings and for all that are in *authority*' (*ἐν ὑπεροχῇ*), RV 'in high place'; 1 Ti 2^{12} AV 'I suffer not a woman . . . to *usurp authority* over the man' (*αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός*), RV 'to have dominion over'; Tit 2^{15} 'rebuke (AV reprove) with all *authority*' (*ἐπιταγῆς*).

W. H. DUNDAS.

AVENGING.—See VENGEANCE.

AZOTUS (*Ἄζωτος*).—Azotus, the Gr. form of 'Ashdod,' occurs often in 1 Mac. (4^{15} $5^{68}10^{77.\ 83f.}$ etc.), and once in the NT. St. Philip met the Ethiopian on 'the way that goes down from Jerusalem to Gaza,' and, after baptizing him, 'was found at Azotus' (Ac $8^{26.\ 40}$). Ashdod was the most important of the Philistine cities which formed the Pentapolis. Situated midway between Joppa and Gaza—about 25 miles from each—it passed through many vicissitudes. It appears often in the historical and prophetic books of the OT, in the Assyrian records, in the Maccabæan annals, and in Josephus. Herodotus (ii. 157) says that the siege which Azotus endured before it was subdued by Psammeticus, king of Egypt, was the longest on record, lasting 29 years. Ashdod survives in the modern *Esdûd*, a village on the slope of a wooded artificial mound (*tell*)—once, no doubt, a strong fortress—about 3 miles from the sea-coast, where the traces of a harbour have been found. The ancient city lies beneath the sand-drift that now threatens to bury the mud hovels of the village, among which some remains of old stone buildings are to be seen. The wide plain to the east is exceedingly fertile.

JAMES STRAHAN.

B

BAAL.—Baal (Ro 11^{4}, in a quotation from 1 K 19^{18}) was a generic name for a god among Semitic peoples, the literal meaning being 'owner' or 'lord.' Attempts have been made to show that this was the original name of the Sun-god, or that it represents the Supreme Being worshipped by the Canaanites. Neither of these contentions can be proved; indeed it is evident that the Baal of one place differed from that of another. Thus the reference in the text is to Melkart, the Baal of Tyre. The feminine article (*τῇ Βαάλ*) in the Greek of Ro 11^{4} is due to the frequent substitution of *bôsheth* (in Greek *αἰσχύνη*), 'shame,' for Baal by the Hebrews.*

LITERATURE.—A. S. Peake, art. 'Baal' in *HDB*; G. F. Moore in *EBi*; L. B. Paton in *ERE*; W. R. Smith, *RS*[2], London, 1894, p. 98 ff. F. W. WORSLEY.

* Hence frequently in LXX *ἡ Βαάλ* (=*ἡ αἰσχύνη*), though in 1 K 19^{18} the reading is *τῷ Βαάλ*.

BABBLER (Ac 17^{18}).—Augustine and Wyclif wrongly derive the word *σπερμολόγος* from *σπείρω λόγους* and translate it 'sower of words.' It is properly derived from *σπέρμα*, 'seed,' and *λέγειν*, 'to gather.' Originally an adjective, the derived substantive was used of small birds gathering crumbs (Aristophanes, *Av.* 233, 580). It was afterwards applied to loafers in the market-place who gained a precarious livelihood by what they could pick up, and it thus connotes 'a vulgar fellow,' 'a parasite.' Greek writers used it as a term of contempt for plagiarists and pseudo-philosophers (cf. Eustathius on Homer, *Odyss.* v. 490), and Zeno thus names one of his followers. W. M. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 242) speaks of the word as 'characteristically Athenian slang, clearly caught from the very lips of the Athenians.' The word thus contemptuously implies one who is an outsider and yet wishes to pose as one of the inner circle, and probably does

not refer to anything that the Apostle had said. It would seem, therefore, that the expression was used by the philosophers who have just been mentioned rather than by the populace in general. They resented the intrusion of one who had no credentials, and from the first viewed him with hostility (see, further, Ramsay, 'St. Paul in Athens,' in *Expositor*, 5th ser., ii. [1895] 262 ff.

F. W. WORSLEY.

BABBLINGS (1 Ti 6^{20}, 2 Ti 2^{16} *βεβήλους κενοφωνίας*). —The 'profane babblings, and the oppositions of the knowledge which is falsely so called' are all profitless speculation and empty religious talk which only minister questions, but have no value in the equipment of a man of God, or in the building up of the Church. The implied contrast is between intellectualism in religion and genuine piety in heart and life (cf. F. Godet, *Expositor*, 3rd ser., vii. [1888] 45 ff.).

Some have seen in 'the oppositions (*ἀντιθέσεις*) of the knowledge which is falsely so called,' a reference, covert or open, to Marcion's *Antitheses*; but this has scarcely been made out, and it is better to take the words as pointing to an *incipient* Gnosticism, hardly yet conscious of itself, against which the writer—be he St. Paul or a Paulinist—warns his readers (cf. M. Dods, *Introd. to NT*, London, 1888, p. 174). The Greek mind was always desirous of being saved by dialectic, and ready to hear or to tell some newer thing (cf. Ac 17^{21}). In the fermenting vat of the Greek cities in the Apostolic as well as in the sub-Apostolic Age there were frothy, windy men who knew everything about religion except 'the practick part' (cf. *Didache*, ii. 40–45: *οὐκ ἔσται ὁ λόγος σου ψευδής, οὐ κενός, ἀλλὰ μεμεστωμένος πράξει*—'Thy speech shall not be false, nor empty, but filled with doing'). Practical piety is the writer's theme, and he calls Christians to cultivate simplicity as it is in Jesus; not to lose themselves in a cloud of words, but to be direct and devout. Cf. A. Rowland (*1 Tim.*, London, 1887): 'It is easier to quibble over Christ's words than to imitate His life.' To the same effect, Butler (*Charge to the Clergy*) advises them 'not to trouble about objections raised by men of gaiety and speculation,' but to endeavour to beget a practical sense of religion 'upon the hearts of the people' (cf. *EBi* iv. 5094).

The standing type of the religious babbler is Bunyan's 'Talkative,' who will 'talk of things Heavenly or things Earthly . . . things sacred or things profane, things past or things to come, things more essential or things circumstantial.' To this masterly characterization 'of the evil excesses of some of the prophets, lunatic preachers, and loquacious hypocrites' in Puritan times may be added R. H. Hutton's description (*Contemporary Thought and Thinkers*, London, 1894, i. 257) of a certain rampant sceptic of yesterday as a man 'hurling about wildly loose thoughts over which he has no intellectual control.' These are the profane babblers of the Pastoral Epistles. They were not only unsettling to the Church—'If I had said "I will speak thus," I should have been faithless to the generation of thy children,' Ps 73^{15}—but the unreal words corrupted the babbler himself, as the writer not obscurely hints. His nature is subdued to what he works among (cf. Emerson: 'I cannot listen to what you are saying for thinking of what you are').

To use unreal words, to be constantly dealing with the greatest things, and yet to be too shallow or flippant to realize their majesty, was, in the Apostolic Age, and ever since has been, the peculiar snare and peril of religious speakers, and gives point to the taunt of Carlyle: 'When a man takes to tongue-work, it is all over with him.' The Carthusian student who went to a teacher and got the text 'I will take heed to my ways that I sin not with my tongue,' found that enough for a lifetime.

On the whole subject Newman's lines ('Flowers without Fruit,' in *Verses on Various Occasions*) are an apt and instructive commentary:

> 'Prune thou thy words, the thoughts control
> That o'er thee swell and throng.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited above, see A. Whyte, *Bunyan Characters*, i. [Edinburgh, 1895] 180; J. Kelman, *The Road*, i. [do. 1911] 180; Joseph Butler, *Sermons*, ed. Gladstone, Oxford, 1896, no. 4. W. M. GRANT.

BABYLON.—See APOCALYPSE and PETER, FIRST EPISTLE OF.

BACKBITING.—See EVIL-SPEAKING.

BALAAM.— The somewhat prominent place that Balaam holds in the Apostolic Age may be appraised by the three references to him in the NT (2 P 2^{15}, Jude ^{11}, and Rev 2^{14}); by the legends which grew round his name in Hellenistic and Haggadic literature, and later in Muhammadanism; and perhaps by the apparent popularity of the discussion of the 'Blessings of Balaam' by Hippolytus. Balaam has become the representative of false teachers and sorcerers, and we may suspect a play on his name in Rev 2^{14} (perhaps = 'lord of the people'), in order to brand certain Gnostic teachers as making gain for themselves out of the simple folk by the use of magic and by the teaching of a *gnosis* which tended to laxity of practice. (It is not improbable that in the Nicodemus of Jn 3 is enshrined a counter-play of words—the Jewish party also, it is hinted, had a false and carnal doctrine of their own.) Balaam becomes in legend a counsellor of Pharaoh; he and his two sons Jannes and Jambres (*q.v.*) were compelled to flee from Egypt to Ethiopia, where Balaam reigned as king till conquered by Moses. On this he and his sons returned to Egypt and became the master-magicians who opposed Moses. Finally, Phinehas attacked Balaam, who by his magic flew into the air, but was killed by Phinehas in the power of the Holy Name. See NICOLAITANS; also *JE* ii. 468 f.

W. F. COBB.

BALAK.—Balak is named in Rev 2^{14} along with Balaam. Like Balaam (*q.v.*), Balak is to be regarded here as a typical figure. The former teaches doctrine which is false in itself, corrupt in its motive, and immoral in its fruits; while Balak is, as in the OT, the heathen power which thrusts Balaam's sorceries on the faithful. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that, if Balaam is the teacher of Gnosticism, Balak is the Roman power which has adopted syncretism and seeks to compel the Christians to adopt its ways also, and so makes them fall into the corruptions attendant on pagan worship. W. F. COBB.

BAND (*σπεῖρα*, always 'cohort' in RVm).—As a province of the second rank, governed by procurators, Judæa was not garrisoned by legionaries, who were Roman citizens, but by auxiliaries, who were levied from subject races. Each cohort, varying from 500 to 1000 infantry, usually strengthened by an *ala* of cavalry, was named after the Greek city from which it was recruited—'cohors Sebastenorum, Ascalonitarum,' etc. The Jews themselves were exempted from military service. Various data supplied by Josephus (see the references in Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 51 f.) indicate that the Judæan forces were originally the troops of Herod the Great, which were taken over by the Romans after the deposition of Archelaus in A.D. 6. At ordinary times Jerusalem was garrisoned by one cohort—called by Josephus a *τάγμα* (*BJ* v. v. 8) —which was stationed at the tower of Antonia, on

the north side of the Temple, under the command of a chiliarch (Ac 21[31]). Part of this cohort —200 infantry, 70 horsemen, and 200 δεξιολάβοι, an obscure term translated 'spearmen' (see Schürer, *op. cit.* 56)—formed St. Paul's protecting convoy when he was transmitted by Claudius Lysias to the governor Felix in Cæsarea.

JAMES STRAHAN.

BAPTISM.—1. Christian baptism in the NT.—It will be convenient at the beginning of this article to collect the narratives of and allusions to Christian baptism in the NT. The command of our Lord to make disciples of all the nations by baptism (Mt 28[19]; see below, **4** and **8**) was faithfully carried out by the first disciples. Actual baptisms are recorded in Ac 2[38. 41] (the 3000 converts), 8[12f. 16] (Samaritans, men and women, and Simon), 8[36. 38] (the Ethiopian eunuch), 9[18] 22[16] (Saul), 10[47f.] (Cornelius and his friends), 16[15] (Lydia and her household), 16[33] (the Philippian jailer 'and all his'), 18[8] (Crispus and his house, and many Corinthians), 19[5] (about twelve Ephesians), 1 Co 1[14. 16] (Crispus, Gaius, and the household of Stephanas).

In addition to these narratives there are many allusions to Christian baptism in the NT—Ro 6[3f.], Col 2[12], baptized into Christ Jesus, into His death, buried with Him in baptism: a common thought in early times—e.g. *Apost. Const.* ii. 7 and often in that work (see A. J. Maclean, *Ancient Church Orders*, 123).—1 Co 6[11], sanctification and justification connected with the washing of baptism; three aorists, referring to a definite event: 'ye washed away (ἀπελούσασθε, middle) [your sins] . . . in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God'; cf. Ac 22[16] (above): 'arise and be baptized' (βαπτίσαι, 'seek baptism') and wash away (ἀπολούσαι) thy sins.'—1 Co 12[13], [Jews and Gentiles] all baptized in one Spirit into one body.—Gal 3[27], baptized into Christ, put on Christ. —Eph 4[5], 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism.'—Eph 5[26], Christ sanctified the Church, having cleansed it by the washing (λουτρῷ) of water with the word. The 'word' is said by Robinson (*Com. in loc.*) to be the 'solemn invocation of the name of the Lord Jesus'; Westcott (*in loc.*) adds: 'accompanied by the confession of the Christian faith, cf. Ro 10[9]'; Chase (*JThSt* viii. 165) interprets it of the word or fiat of Christ, and compares Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* iii. 5).—Tit 3[5], 'by the washing of regeneration (διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας) and renewing of the Holy Ghost'; see below, **8**.—He 6[2. 4], the first principles are repentance, faith, teaching of baptisms (βαπτισμῶν) and of laying on of hands, resurrection, and judgment; Christians were once enlightened (φωτισθέντας) and tasted of the heavenly gift, and were made partakers of the Holy Ghost; hence the name 'illumination' (φωτισμός) and 'illuminated' for 'baptism' and 'the baptized' in Justin (*Apol.* i. 61, 65) and elsewhere. Westcott interprets the 'teaching [διδαχῆς, but B reads -ήν, which is adopted in RVm and by WH] of baptisms' as instruction about the difference between Christian baptism and other lustral rites. Chase (*Confirmation in Apostol. Age*, p. 44 f.) denies this, and interprets the phrase of the baptism of different neophytes, 'the Christian rite in its concrete application to individual believers': the 'heavenly gift' is one part of the illumination or baptism, *i.e.* the gift of the Son, of Eternal life, of sonship (Chase); the partaking of the Holy Ghost is the other part. In any case the ἐπιθεσις χειρῶν must refer to the laying on of hands which followed immersion (see below, **6**), though Westcott would extend it to benedictions, ordinations, etc., as well.—He 10[22f.], 'our body washed with pure water' (our sacramental bathing contrasted with the symbolic bathings of the Jews [Westcott]), 'let us hold fast the confession (ὁμολογίαν) of our hope.'—In 1 P 3[21] baptism is the 'antitype' of the bringing of Noah safe through the water; the antitype is here the 'nobler member of the pair of relatives' (Bigg, *ICC, in loc.*), the fulfilment of the type; but in He 9[24] it is used conversely, as it often is in Christian antiquity when the Eucharistic bread and wine are called the antitype of our Lord's body and blood, e.g. *Verona Didascalia* (ed. Hauler, p. 112) 'panem quidem in exemplar quod dicit Graecus antitypum corporis Christi'; so Cyr. Jer., *Cat.* xxiii. 20; Tertullian similarly uses 'figura' (*adv. Marc.* iv. 10), and Serapion ὁμοίωμα (*Liturgy*, § 1). For other instances, see Cooper-Maclean, *Test. of our Lord*, Edinburgh, 1902, p. 172 f., and *Apost. Const.* v. 14, vi. 30, vii. 25. In Ps.-Clem. *2 Cor.* 14 the flesh is the 'antitype' of the Spirit.

In the Gospels, Christian baptism is three times referred to: Mt 28[19], 'Mk' 16[16], Jn 3[3. 5]. In the last passage the words ἐξ ὕδατος, read in all MSS and VSS, have been judged by K. Lake (Inaug. Lecture at Leyden, 17th Jan. 1904, p. 14) to be an interpolation, as they are not quoted by Justin. This deduction is very precarious (for an examination of it, see Chase, *JThSt* vi. [1905] 504, note, who deems the theory unscientific); but in any case the 'birth of the Spirit' could not but convey to the Christian readers of the Fourth Gospel a reference to baptism. Westcott truly remarks (*Com. in loc.*) that to Nicodemus the words would suggest a reference to John's baptism. An attempt to explain 'water' here without reference to baptism is examined by Hooker (*Eccl. Pol.* v. 59), who lays down the oft-quoted canon that 'while a literal construction will stand, the farthest from the letter is commonly the worst' (see below, **8**).

In these passages *water* is not always mentioned; but the word βαπτίζω, which to us is a mere technical expression, and its Aramaic equivalent (rt. טבל) would to the first disciples at once convey the idea of water. The element is mentioned or alluded to in Ac 8[36], 1 Co 6[11] 12[13] ('drink of one Spirit'), Eph 5[26], Tit 3[5], He 10[22], 1 P 3[20], and is necessitated by the metaphor of burial in baptism in Ro 6[4], Col 2[12]. Justin (*Dial.* 14) emphasizes the element used, by calling baptism the 'water of life'; so in Hermas (*Vis.* iii. 3) the Church (the tower) is built on the waters, 'because your life is saved and shall be saved by water.'

More indirect allusions to Christian baptism are found in the NT. The Israelites, by a metaphor from it, are said to have been baptized into (εἰς) Moses in the cloud and in the sea (1 Co 10[2]). Whatever view is taken of **baptism for the dead** (1 Co 15[29]), it alludes to the Christian rite. It has been interpreted (*a*) of vicarious baptism on behalf of those who had died unbaptized (cf. 2 Mac 12[43ff.], offering made for the dead); this was the practice of some heretics (so Tert., *de Res. Carn.* 48, *adv. Marc.* v. 10, and Goudge, Alford). But there is no evidence that it existed in the 1st cent., and the practice may have originated from this verse; could St. Paul have even tacitly approved of such a thing?—(*b*) The words ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν are rendered by many Greek Fathers 'in expectation of the resurrection of the dead'; but this forces the grammar, and gives no good sense to ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, which is the best attested reading at the end of the verse; also 'they which are baptized' means not *all* Christians, but some of them. —(*c*) Others interpret the verse of people being drawn to the faith and to baptism out of affection for some dead friend; Robertson-Plummer (*ICC, in loc.*) incline to this.—(*d*) Estius and Calvin render 'as now about to die,' *jamjam morituri*; but see (*b*).—(*e*) Luther renders 'over the graves of the dead'; here again see (*b*). Many other

suggestions have been made. It is probable that the problem is insoluble with our present knowledge, and that the reference is to some ceremony in the then baptismal rite at Corinth of which we hear no more, but not to vicarious baptism (see Plummer in *HDB* i. 245).

Other allusions to baptism (the complete rite, see below, **6**) may probably be found in the metaphors of anointing and sealing. For anointing, see 2 Co 1^{21} (*χρίσας*, aorist), 1 Jn $2^{20.\ 27}$ (the anointing abides in us and is not *only* a historical act). Though anointing may have accompanied the rite in the NT, and Chase (*Confirmation*, 53 ff.) decides that it was so used, yet it is also not improbable that its institution at a very early age of the Church may have been due to these very passages —that the practice came from the metaphor. We notice that in the *Didache*, § 7, anointing is not mentioned, but that in *Apost. Const.* vii. 22 (4th cent.), which incorporates and enlarges the *Didache*, it is introduced. It was certainly used very early. Irenaeus says that some of the Gnostic sects anointed after baptism (*c. Haer.* I. xxi. 3 f.); and as the Gnostic rites were a parody of those of the Church, this carries the evidence back to *c.* A.D. 150. It is mentioned by Tert., *de Bapt.* 7, *de Res. Carn.* 8; by Cyr. Jer., *Cat.* xxii. 1. From the anointing came the custom of calling the baptized 'christs,' *χριστοί* (Cyr. Jer., *loc. cit.*; Methodius, *Banquet of the Ten Virgins*, viii. 8, where Ps 105^{15} LXX is quoted). In the NT, *χρίειν* is used metaphorically of our Lord; cf. Lk 4^{18}, Ac 4^{27} 10^{38}, He 1^{9}.

For sealing, see 2 Co 1^{22} (same context as the anointing), Eph 1^{13} ('having believed ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise'), 4^{30} ('sealed in the Holy Spirit'). The aorists in all three passages, which connect the Holy Ghost with the sealing, point to the definite time when they became believers (Chase, *Confirmation*, p. 52). (The metaphor is used in Ro 4^{11} of circumcision; and otherwise in Jn 3^{33} 6^{27}, Ro 15^{28}, 1 Co 9^{2}, 2 Ti 2^{19}.) Hence in Christian antiquity the baptismal rite, either as a whole or in one or other of its parts, is frequently called 'the seal,' *σφραγίς*; *e.g.* Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 16, 'the seal is the water'; cf. viii. 6; Ps.-Clem., *2 Cor.* 7; Clem. Alex., *Quis dives*, 42; Tert., *de Spect.* 24 (*signaculum*); Cyr. Jer., *Cat.* iv. 16, etc.

To these passages must be added those which speak of Christian adoption: Ro $8^{15.\ 23}$, Gal 4^{5}, Eph 1^{5}; for these see art. ADOPTION.

2. Predecessors of Christian baptism.—(*a*) The words *βαπτίζω*, *βαπτισμός*, *βάπτισμα* are used in the NT of various *ceremonial washings* of the Jews. The verb is derived from *βάπτω*, 'to dip' (found in the NT only in Lk 16^{24}, Jn 13^{26}, and some MSS of Rev 19^{13}, always literally), and has in classical Greek the same meaning. In the NT *βαπτίζω* is used either metaphorically, of the Passion of our Lord (Mk $10^{38f.}$, Lk 12^{50}, and some MSS of Mt $20^{22f.}$ —so also *βάπτισμα*) and of the descent of the Holy Ghost at Pentecost (Ac 1^{5} 11^{16}, see below, **6**), or else of baptism and of Jewish ablutions. For these last, see Mk 7^{4} (the Jews 'baptize,' *v.l.* sprinkle, themselves before meat and have 'baptizings,' *βαπτισμούς*, of vessels), Lk 11^{38} (of washing before breakfast, *ἐβαπτίσθη πρὸ τοῦ ἀρίστου*), He 9^{10} (divers 'baptisms,' *i.e.* washings).* Ceremonial ablution was a common practice of the Jews (Ex 29^{4} etc., Mk 7^{3} *πυγμῇ νίψωνται*, Jn 2^{6} 3^{25}); and the allusions to washing in connexion with baptism (above, **1**) would be familiar to the early Christians, who also had the metaphor of cleansing; see 2 Co 7^{1}, 1 Jn 1^{7}, Rev 1^{5} (some MSS) 7^{14}; cf. 2 P 2^{22}.

(*b*) *Baptism of proselytes.*—The Jews admitted 'proselytes of righteousness,' *i.e.* full proselytes, with baptism, circumcision, and sacrifice. This custom was very common in Rabbinical times, though Josephus and Philo do not mention it, and some have therefore concluded that it did not exist in the 1st cent.; but Edersheim has clearly proved from ancient evidence that it was then in use (*LT* ii. 746, App. xii.). It may be added that the Jews in later times would not have borrowed baptism from the Christians, though it is intelligible that first John and then our Lord and His disciples should have adopted a custom already existing and have given it a new meaning. Such a baptized person was said by the Rabbis to be as a little child just born (cf. Tit 3^{5}; see Edersheim, *loc. cit.*).

(*c*) *The baptism of John* is described in all the Gospels. It was a preparatory baptism (Mt 3^{11}), the baptism of repentance (Mk 1^{4}, Lk 3^{3}, Ac 13^{24} 19^{4}), intended, by an outward symbol, to induce repentance which is the essential requisite for the reception of spiritual truth. So marked a feature of his teaching was baptism, that John is called pre-eminently '*the* Baptist' (*ὁ βαπτιστής*, Mt 3^{1} $11^{12f.}$, Mk 8^{28}, Lk $7^{20.\ 33}$ 9^{19}; Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. v. 2; in Mk $6^{14.\ 24f.}$ *ὁ βαπτίζων*). But he himself shows the difference between his baptism and that of Jesus, in that the latter was to be with the Holy Ghost (Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{33}) and with fire (Mt., Lk.). For the meaning of baptism 'with the Holy Ghost,' see below **6** and **8** (*e*). Baptism 'with fire' is explained in Mt 3^{12}; it is a baptism of judgment separating the wheat from the chaff, and burning the chaff with fire unquenchable (Allen, *Com. in loc.*; so ‖ Lk 3^{17}). This interpretation, however, is denied by Plummer (*ICC* on Lk 3^{16}), who prefers a reference to the purifying power of the grace given, or to the fiery trials that await Christians. Others see a reference to the 'tongues like as of fire' at Pentecost (Ac 2^{3}). However this may be, the fundamental difference between the two baptisms is that John's was a ceremonial rite symbolizing the need of repentance and of washing away sin, while that of our Lord was, in addition, the infusing of a new life; see below, **8**. The baptism of John is mentioned in the NT outside the Gospels in Ac $1^{5.\ 22}$ 10^{37} 11^{16} 13^{24} 18^{25} $19^{3f.}$; the last two passages show that it survived after Pentecost among those who had not yet received the gospel.

To this preparatory stage is also to be assigned the baptism of Jesus by John; it was not the institution of Christian baptism, though it paved the way for it, and in some sense our Lord may be said to have thereby sanctified 'water to the mystical washing away of sin.' Such also was the baptizing by Jesus' disciples during His earthly ministry (Jn 3^{22} 4^{2}); we note that our Lord carried on the Baptist's teaching about the approach of the kingdom and about repentance (Mk 1^{15}; cf. Mt 3^{2}), though in His teaching the Good Tidings predominated, while in that of John repentance was the chief note (Swete, *Com. in loc.*).

3. Preparation for baptism.—Instruction in Christian doctrine before baptism is to some extent necessary, because otherwise there cannot be faith and repentance. Our Lord commanded the disciples to teach (Mt 28^{20}, *διδάσκοντες*) as well as to baptize. St. Peter instructed the people and Cornelius before he commanded them to be baptized (Ac 2^{14-38} $10^{34-43.\ 48}$). Philip instructed the Samaritans and the Eunuch before baptism ($8^{5f.\ 12.\ 35}$). The instruction of Theophilus (Lk 1^{4}) was probably, at least in part, before baptism. Lydia's baptism followed a preaching (Ac 16^{13}), as did that of the Corinthians (18^{5}). But in most of these cases the

* *βαπτισμός* is used of Christian baptism in Col 2^{12} (*v.l.* *βάπτισμα*), and in the plural in He 6^{2} (see above, **1**); Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. v. 2) uses it of John's baptism. *βάπτισμα* is used in the NT 12 times of John's baptism and 3 (or 4) times of Christian baptism; for its metaphorical use see above.

teaching was very short, in some of them not lasting more than one day. And no instruction that can be properly so called is mentioned in the case of Saul (Ac 9^{18} 22^{16}), or the Philippian jailer (18^{8}; note 'immediately'), or the twelve Ephesians (19^{5}). Apollos had been instructed (*ἦν κατηχημένος*) in the way of the Lord, but only imperfectly, and Priscilla and Aquila taught him more carefully (*ἀκριβέστερον*, Ac 18^{26}). The allusions to the instruction of Christians in 1 Co 14^{19}, Gal 6^{6} (*κατηχέω*), Ro 12^{7}, Col 1^{28} etc. (*διδάσκω*), have no special reference to baptism. In Ro 2^{18} *κατηχέω* is used of Jewish instruction.

At a later period, persons under instruction for baptism were called **catechumens** (*κατηχούμενοι*, 'those in a state of being taught'; cf. Gal 6^{6}), and their preparation was called *catēchēsis* (*κατήχησις*; cf. our word 'catechism' from *κατηχισμός*, through Latin). The catechumens were taught the Creed, or Christian doctrine, during their catechumenate, and their instruction was called the 'traditio symboli'; they professed their faith at baptism, and this profession was called the 'redditio symboli' (see below, 5). The baptism in later times normally took place in the early morning of Easter Day, and the selection of candidates for baptism took place on the 40th day before (Cyr. Jer., *Cat.*, Introd. § 4; it was called the 'inscribing of names,' *ὀνοματογραφία*); thenceforward the selected candidates were called 'competentes,' *συναιτοῦντες*. In the 4th cent. the catechumenate lasted two years (Elvira, can. 42) or three years (*Ap. Const.* viii. 32, and several Church Orders); but this was never a hard and fast rule. Catechumens were not allowed to be present at the main part of the Eucharist or at the Agape (*Didache*, 9, and often in the Church Orders). See, further, A. J. Maclean, *op. cit.* pp. 16–19, 97; *DCA*, art. 'Catechumens.'

4. Formula of baptism.—It is not quite clear what words were used for baptism in NT times. In Mt 28^{19} our Lord bids His followers make disciples of all the nations, baptizing (*βαπτίζοντες*, present part.) them into the name (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*, AV 'in the name,' see 8) of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. These words are in all MSS and VSS, but F. C. Conybeare (*ZNTW*, 1901, p. 275 ff.; *HJ* i. [Oct. 1902] 102 ff.) and K. Lake (Inaug. Lect. at Leyden, 17th Jan. 1904) dispute their authenticity, because Eusebius often quotes the text without them or with 'make disciples of all the nations in my name.' The careful refutation of this view by Chase (*JThSt* vi. 483 ff.) and Riggenbach ('Der trinitar. Taufbefehl Matth. 28^{19},' in *Beiträge zur Förderung christl. Theol.*, Gütersloh, 1903) has made this position untenable, and we can with confidence assert that the full text is part of the First Gospel. It has, however, been denied that the words were spoken by our Lord. But the view that He made some such utterance, of which the words in Mt 28^{19} are doubtless a much abbreviated record, is the only way in which we can comprehend how such a Trinitarian passage as 2 Co 13^{14} could have been written, or understand the numerous passages in the NT which affirm the Godhead of the Son and of the Holy Ghost (Chase, *JThSt* vi. 509 f.; see also art. 'God' in *SDB*).

In Acts we read of people being baptized (almost always in the passive) 'in (*ἐν*) the name of the Lord Jesus' (2^{38} [*v.l.* *ἐπί*]), or 'into (*εἰς*) the name of the Lord Jesus' (8^{16} 19^{5}), or 'in (*ἐν*) the name of Jesus Christ' (10^{48}). In the Pauline Epistles we read of baptism into Christ Jesus, into His death (Ro 6^{3}), into Christ (Gal 3^{27}); with these passages cf. 1 Co $1^{13.\ 15}$ ('into the name of Paul,' 'into my name'), 10^{2} ('into Moses'), 12^{13} ('into one body'), Ac 19^{3} ('into what?'—'into John's baptism'); all these passages also have the passive 'to be baptized,' except 1 Co 10^{2} which (according to the best reading) has the middle *ἐβαπτίσαντο* (cf. 1 Co 6^{11}, Ac 22^{16}; above, 1); 1 Co 6^{11} has 'in (*ἐν*) the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God.' Of these passages only Ac 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^{5} are narratives of baptisms.

The Pauline references clearly do not refer to the formula used, though 1 Co $1^{13.\ 15}$ makes it probable that in some form the 'Name' was mentioned in the words of baptism. Do the other passages refer to a formula? On this point there is much diversity of opinion. (*a*) It is maintained that the formula at first ran 'in the name of the Lord Jesus' or the like; and that the First Evangelist introduced into his Gospel the Trinitarian formula which was in use towards the end of the 1st century (Robinson, *EBi*, art. 'Baptism'). It is not easy to see how, if the other formula was the original apostolic usage, this one could have been invented in the third or even in the last quarter of the 1st cent., unless indeed our Lord had really spoken such words as are found in Mt 28^{19}; and in that case it is hard to see why the apostles should have used a quite different formula.—(*b*) It is thought that the passages in Mt. and Acts alike refer to the formula used, but that baptism into Christ's name is necessarily the same as baptism into that of the Holy Trinity. The latter statement is quite true, but it does not meet the whole difficulty.—(*c*) It is said that none of the passages in Acts refers to a formula at all, but only to the theological import of baptism (see below, 8). This is quite probable; at least the differences of wording show that if a formula is referred to at all in Acts, it was not stereotyped in the first age.—(*d*) Assuming that our Lord spoke, at any rate in substance, the words recorded in Mt 28^{19}, many think that He did not here prescribe a formula, but unfolded the spiritual meaning of the rite (so Chase, *JThSt* vi. 506 ff., viii. 177; Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*, p. 124; W. C. Allen, *ICC*, *in loc.*). This view is extremely probable, whatever interpretation we put upon the passage, for which see below, 8. It was our Lord's habit not to make regulations but to establish principles; so Socrates (*HE* v. 22), speaking of the keeping of Easter, contrasts the practice of Jesus with that of the Mosaic Law in the matter of the making of rules.

It is quite possible that no formula of baptism is given in the NT at all, and even that at first there were no fixed words. It is probable that all the NT passages refer primarily to the theological import of the rite, though they may have a remote allusion to the mode of baptizing. But though we cannot assert that there was in the Apostolic Age a fixed form of words, it was a sound instinct which induced the Church, at least from the 1st cent. onwards, to adopt the Trinitarian formula, and it would be rash indeed to depart from it. If our Lord's words did not prescribe a form of words, at least they suggested it. We find it in the *Didache* (§ 7: 'baptize into the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost'), though in describing Christians in § 9 the writer speaks of them as 'baptized into the name of the Lord.' So Justin paraphrases: 'They then receive the washing with water in the name (*ἐπ' ὀνόματος*) of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit,' and says that 'he who is illuminated (see above, 1) is washed in the name of Jesus Christ . . . and in the name of the Holy Ghost' (*Apol.* i. 61). Tertullian says that the formula has been prescribed [by Christ], and quotes Mt 28^{19} exactly (*de Bapt.* 13; note especially that he translates *εἰς τὸ ὄνομα* by 'in nomen' though Migne, apparently by error, gives 'nomine'). In *de Praescr.* 20 he paraphrases the text: 'He bade them . . . go and

teach the nations who were to be baptized (intinguendas) into the Father (in Patrem), and into the Son, and into the Holy Ghost'; and in *adv. Prax.* 26 thus: 'He commands them to baptize into the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, *non in unum*'—*i.e.* not into one Person. The Trinitarian formula is the only one found in the Church in ancient times. It is prescribed or referred to in Origen, Hom. *in Lev.* vii. § 4, in the Church Orders (*Can. of Hipp.* xix. [ed. Achelis, § 133]; *Ap. Const.* iii. 16, vii. 22; *Ethiopic Didascalia*, 16, ed. Platt; *Test. of our Lord*, ii. 7), in the *Acts of Xanthippe* twice (M. R. James, *Apocr. Anecd.* i. [=*TS* ii. 3, Cambridge, 1893] p. 79), and in the *Apostolic Canons* [*c.* A.D. 400], can. 49 f. The fact that this last work forbids any other form probably shows that in some heretical circles other words were used.

Most of the Eastern Churches, Orthodox or Separated, use the passive voice 'N. is baptized,' or the like. The Westerns, on the contrary, always use the active: 'N., I baptize thee.' The latter is perhaps the older form; it is found in the *Canons of Hippolytus* and (in the plural, 'We baptize thee') in the *Acts of Xanthippe* (as above); and it is favoured by Mt 28^{19} itself ('baptizing them') and *Didache*, 7 ('baptize,' imperative). It is also found among the Copts and Abyssinians (*DCA* i. 162^b; H. Denzinger, *Ritus Orientalium*, Wurzburg, 1863, i. 208, 230, 235).

We may ask what is meant by the invocation of the Divine name over the persons who were being baptized, of which we read in Justin, *Apol.* i. 61 ('the name of God is pronounced over him') and *Ap. Const.* iii. 16 ('having named, ἐπονομάσας, the invocation, ἐπίκλησιν, of Father and Son and Holy Ghost, thou shalt baptize them in the water, ἐν τῷ ὕδατι'). In connexion with this, Ac 22^{16} ('calling on his name') is quoted; but there it is the baptized, not the baptizer, who 'invokes'; baptism is given in response to the prayer of the candidate. More to the point are Ac 15^{17} ('the Gentiles upon whom my name is called,' from Am 9^{12}), and Ja 2^{7} ('the honourable name which was called upon you,' RVm, τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς); cf. Nu 6^{27}, where God's name is put upon the Israelites by the threefold blessing, and Ac 19^{13}, where the Jewish exorcists named the name of the Lord Jesus over the demoniacs, saying, 'I adjure you by Jesus . . .' It is quite possible that in the NT passages there may be some reference to the words used in baptizing, which, as we have seen, probably (at least in the ordinary way) included a mention of the Name. But there is no evidence that any invocation was part of the rite in apostolic times, and Chase denies that it was so (*JThSt* viii. 164). Is it necessary to suppose that Justin and the writer of the *Apostolic Constitutions* refer to anything else than the Trinitarian formula of baptism?

5. Baptismal customs.—Some traces of customs which were part of the rite in the early Church are found in the NT. (*a*) A *profession of faith and renunciation of evil* is common in ancient times (*e.g.* Justin, *Apol.* i. 61, where the candidate undertakes to be able to live according to the faith; Tert. *de Bapt.* 6, *de Idol.* 6, *de Cor.* 3, *de Spect.* 4—Tertullian mentions the renunciations, for which see *ERE* i., art. 'Abrenuntio'). To such a profession the gloss of Ac 8^{37}, which is older than Irenaeus who mentions it (*c. Haer.* III. xii. 8), is the oldest certain reference. But it is possible that there is an allusion to it in 1 Co 15^{3-8}—or at least to an instruction before baptism—though no form of Creed can be intended (note v.^{3}: 'I delivered unto you first of all that which also I received'—the 'delivery' of the faith to the catechumens, see above, 3); also in Ro 6^{17} 10^{9}, 1 Ti 6^{12}, 2 Ti $1^{13f.}$, He $10^{22f.}$, 1 P 3^{21} (for this verse see *ERE* i. 38), Jude^3. While, however, it is extremely probable that some sort of a profession of faith was always made at baptism, the NT passages fall short of proof of the fact.

(*b*) *Trine immersion* is a very early custom, being mentioned in the *Didache* (§ 7) and by Tertullian (*de Cor.* 3, *adv. Prax.* 26). The practice of immersion would probably be suggested by the word βαπτίζω (see above, 1). But J. A. Robinson (*JThSt* vii. 187 ff.) denies this, and says that as the word is used of ceremonial washings in Mk 7^{4}, Lk 11^{38}, it need not imply immersion, though βάπτω (see above, 2) does; but need only denote ceremonial cleansing with water. Chase (*JThSt* viii. 179 f.) replies that the vessels in Mk 7^{4} must have been dipped in order to be cleansed, and also that Lk 11^{38} means bathing; to this may be added that ceremonial 'baptizing' of 'themselves' in Mk 7^{4} is shown by v.^{3} to mean the dipping of their hands into water. However this may be with regard to those passages, it seems more than probable that the word βαπτίζω to the first disciples, when used of baptism, conveyed the idea of immersion, both because it would be difficult otherwise to explain the metaphor of baptismal burial and resurrection (Ro 6^{4}, Col 2^{12}), and because the Jewish practice in proselyte-baptism (see above, 2) was to undress the candidate completely, and to immerse him so that every part of his body was touched by the water (Edersheim, *LT* ii. 745 f.; the candidate also made a profession of faith before the 'fathers of the baptism' or sponsors). But it is also probable that total immersion could not always be practised, as in the case of the Philippian jailer; and that when this was the case the candidate stood in the water, which was then poured over him.

There is no trace in the NT of *trine* immersion, which doubtless was founded on the Trinitarian formula, though this is no evidence against its existence in the apostolic period. Flowing ('living') water, if it can be had, is prescribed in the *Didache* (§ 7) and in several Church Orders (Maclean, p. 104). In case of necessity the *Didache* (*loc. cit.*) expressly allows affusion. Immersion is implied in *Ep. of Barnabas*, § 11, where we read of going down into the water laden with sin, and rising up from it bearing fruit in the heart.

(*c*) *Clothing the neophytes.*—In the early Church the putting off of the clothes of the candidates before baptism, and the clothing of them afterwards, usually in white robes, were emphasized as ceremonial actions; but of this we have no certain evidence before the 4th century. Constantine was buried in his baptismal robes (τὰ ἐμφώτια, *DCA* i. 162). The Church Orders make a great point of the clothing, and the *Test. of our Lord* mentions white robes (ii. 12, see Maclean, p. 105), as does Ambrose, *de Myst.* 34 (vii.). Even from the first, whether immersion was total or partial, there must have been an unclothing and a re-clothing; and this, as it would seem, gives point to the metaphor about 'putting off' (ἀπεκδυσάμενοι) the old man, and 'putting on' (ἐνδυσάμενοι) the new, in Col $3^{9f.}$, and about 'putting on' Christ in baptism in Gal 3^{27}; cf. Ro 13^{14}, Eph 4^{24}. The metaphor goes back in some degree to OT times; in Zec $3^{3f.}$ Joshua the high priest is stripped of his filthy garments as a symbol, and Justin (*Dial.* 116) perhaps applies this to Christian baptism: 'even so we . . . have been stripped of the filthy garments, that is, of our sins.' Josephus tells us (*BJ* II. viii. 5) that the Essenes clothed themselves in white veils and bathed as a purification, and then partook of a common meal with benediction before and after it; then, laying aside their garments, they went to work till the evening. But there was apparently no symbolism about this clothing.

(*d*) The *kiss of peace* after baptism is common in Christian antiquity. Justin (*Apol.* i. 65) describes it as taking place after the newly-baptized are received among the faithful and after the people's prayers, *i.e.* at the Eucharist which followed the rite of baptism. Cyprian (*Ep.* lviii. 4, *ad Fidum*) alludes to it at the baptism of infants. In the Church Orders it is used at Confirmation, as well as at the Eucharist, and (apparently) at all times of prayer (Maclean, pp. 18 f., 108). Tertullian (*de Orat.* 18) says that some did not observe it in times of fasting. There could be no better symbol of Christian love than this, and it is highly probable that it was used in worship in NT times; such would seem to be the suggestion of the '*holy* kiss' in Ro 16^{16}, 1 Co 16^{20}, 2 Co 13^{12}, 1 Th 5^{26}, and of the 'kiss of *love*' in 1 P 5^{14}. But there is no evidence in the NT as to its use in baptism.

(*e*) For a possible use of *anointing* in the NT, see **1**; for the *laying on of hands*, see **6**. The *sign of the cross* was used in early times, and was often called the 'seal' (Maclean, p. 108; Cyr. Jer., *Cat.* xiii. 36). Some think that this is referred to in the passages cited above in **1** about 'sealing'; but this is more than doubtful.

(*f*) Of three other early baptismal customs there is no trace in the NT. (*a*) *Sponsors* are mentioned by Tertullian in *de Bapt.* 18 ('sponsores'); cf. *de Cor.* 3 ('inde suscepti'). They were called 'susceptores' (*ἀνάδοχοι*) because they 'received' the newly-baptized when they came up from the font; cf. *ἀναλημφθείς*, Socrates, *HE* vii. 4. They are found in the Church Orders (Maclean, p. 98 f.); and, especially in the case of infants, when they make the responses for them, they might be the parents or others of their 'houses' (*Test. of our Lord*, ii. 8). In Justin (*Apol.* i. 61) 'he who leads the person that is to be washed to the laver' seems to be the baptizer. (*β*) *Fasting before baptism* is ordered in the *Didache* (§ 7), and is mentioned by Justin (*Apol.* i. 61) and Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 20; cf. *de Jejun.* 8), and frequently in the Church Orders (Maclean, pp. 133 f., 137 f.). This is analogous to the fasting in Ac 13^{2} before the sending forth of Barnabas and Saul. (*γ*) *The tasting of milk and honey* by the newly-baptized after baptism (and communion) seems originally to have been an Egyptian and 'African' custom only. It is mentioned by Tertullian (*de Cor.* 3, *adv. Marc.* i. 14), by Clement of Alexandria (*Paed.* i. 6), and in the *Egyptian* and *Ethiopic Church Orders*, the *Canons of Hippolytus*, and the *Verona Didascalia* (all these four are probably Egyptian), but not in the *Test. of our Lord* or in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (see Maclean, p. 46). It was, however, probably introduced into Rome by the 4th cent., for Jerome mentions it (*Dial. c. Luciferianos*, 8), and he was baptized in Rome *c.* A.D. 365. Thereafter it is several times mentioned in the West. It is suggested by Ex 3^{8}, which describes the promised land as flowing with milk and honey; though the *Canons of Hippolytus* (xix. [ed. Achelis, §§ 144, 148]) say that it is because the neophytes are as little children whose natural food is milk and honey, or because of the sweetness of the blessings of the future life.

6. The complement of immersion: the laying on of hands.—In Acts we have two *detailed* accounts of baptism in the Apostolic Age ($8^{12\text{-}17}$ $19^{1\text{-}6}$), and in both cases we read first of an immersion and then of a laying on of hands, the latter being expressly connected with the gift of the Holy Ghost. In Ac 8 Philip, one of the Seven, had preached to the Samaritans, and they were baptized. But as yet the Holy Ghost had fallen upon none of them, only they had been baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. Then the apostles Peter and John, who were sent down from Jerusalem by their fellow apostles, prayed for the newly-baptized that they might receive the Holy Ghost, and laid their hands upon them; and they received the Holy Ghost. In ch. 19, St. Paul finds about twelve men at Ephesus who had received John's baptism; these are 'baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus,' and St. Paul himself lays his hands upon them and the Holy Ghost comes upon them. We may note in passing that 'there is nothing in the narrative to lead us to suppose that he followed at Ephesus a course which he did not follow elsewhere' (Chase, *Confirmation*, p. 32). With these passages we may take He $6^{1\text{ff.}}$ (see above, **1**), where the 'teaching . . . of the laying on of hands' is added to that of 'baptisms' as part of the 'foundation.' Even if it does not refer exclusively to the baptismal imposition of hands after immersion, it at least includes it.

The meaning of this laying on of hands will be considered in § 8 below. Here we must notice the other passages of the NT which speak of the gift of the Holy Ghost. But two preliminary remarks must be made. (*a*) It would save much confusion of thought if it were remembered that in Christian antiquity 'baptism' is constantly used to comprehend the whole rite, immersion, and also laying on of hands, and other similar actions. It would therefore be well if we more often used the word 'immersion' (including in it all possible varieties of usage, total or partial immersion or affusion) when we are speaking of the action at the font, rather than the technical name 'baptism.' We are apt to put ancient references to baptism into a wrong perspective because we are accustomed to the long-continued separation of the two parts of the rite in the West.—(*b*) In studying Acts we shall do well to remember that St. Luke does not attempt in his narrative to give all the details of the historical actions which he records. As W. M. Ramsay truly observes, an author like St. Luke 'seizes the critical events, concentrates the reader's attention on them by giving them fuller treatment, touches more lightly and briefly on the less important events, omits entirely a mass of unimportant details' (*St. Paul*, London, 1895, p. 3).

In numerous passages of the NT the gift of the Spirit is explicitly connected with baptism (in its fullest sense), as in Ac 2^{38} $8^{15\text{-}17}$ $9^{17\text{f.}}$ $10^{44.\ 47\text{f.}}$ (before baptism) 19^{6}, 1 Co 6^{11} 12^{13}, Tit 3^{5}, He $6^{1\text{-}4}$ 10^{29} (which appears to refer to the repudiation of the baptismal confession and covenant; see Westcott, *Com. in loc.*; cf. v.$^{22\text{f.}}$), and in the passages which refer to 'sealing,' 2 Co $1^{21\text{f.}}$, Eph $1^{13\text{f.}}$ 4^{30} (see above, **1**); also in the Gospels, Mt 3^{11}, Mk 1^{8}, Lk 3^{16}, Jn 1^{33} 3^{5}, see above, **2** (*c*). The close connexion between the gift of the Spirit and baptism is seen also in the fact that our Lord calls the Descent at Pentecost a baptism (Ac 1^{5}; cf. 11^{16}), although in the case of those on whom the Holy Ghost then came there was no immersion.

To these passages we may add several where a definite historical bestowal of the spirit is mentioned: Ro 5^{5} (*δοθέντος*), 8^{14} (*ἐλάβετε*), 1 Co 2^{12} (*ἐλάβομεν*), 2 Co 5^{5} (*δούς*), 11^{4} (*οὐκ ἐλάβετε*, speaking of a 'different Spirit' in contrast to the Holy Ghost), Gal 3^{2} (*ἐλάβετε*; cf. v.^{3} 'having begun in the Spirit,' and v.^{5} where the present participle marks the continuance of the gift of the Spirit), 4^{6} (*ἐξαπέστειλεν*), 1 Th $4^{7\text{f.}}$ (*ἐκάλεσε*, the definite call, connected with *τὸν διδόντα*, 'who ever giveth' the Spirit: some MSS have the aorist *δόντα*; G. Milligan, *Com. in loc.*, takes the present part. as meaning 'the Giver of the Spirit'), 2 Th 2^{13} (*εἵλετο*), 1 Jn 3^{24} (*ἔδωκεν*; cf. 4^{13}, where the perfect *δέδωκεν* denotes the permanent effects of the gift; Brooke, *ICC* on 3^{24}). These aorists* point to a definite

* The RV has often been criticized as having too slavishly followed the Greek aorist in a way that does not suit the

event, and, taken with the passages in the preceding paragraph, would seem to refer to the Christian initiation.

In the other records of baptisms the imposition of hands is not mentioned, and in some the gift of the Holy Ghost is not alluded to. It would be unsafe (see above), especially in view of He 6^2, to infer that the laying on of hands was not practised except in the cases where it is explicitly referred to. But the case of Cornelius must be specially considered. Here the Holy Ghost was given before baptism and without any outward sign such as the laying on of the Apostle's hands. Yet St. Peter does not judge that, even after such a signal mark of God's favour, it is unnecessary for Cornelius and his household to be baptized in the usual manner. From this we may with Chase (*Confirmation*, p. 28) see on the one hand that it is wrong to undervalue the sacraments, and on the other that God is not tied down to them, but may give His grace without the interposition of outward ordinances. He is not bound, if we are. The same thing was seen at Pentecost, when the Spirit was given without the outward act of immersion having preceded.

Again, other reference to the laying on of hands after immersion is seen by some in 2 Ti 1^6 (which is usually taken to refer to Timothy's ordination, though Chase refers it—not 1 Ti 1^{14}—to his baptism, *i.e.* confirmation). In Ac 9^{17} (cf. v.[12]) also, Ananias lays his hands on Saul before baptism; but the allusion in both cases is doubtful. For the anointing, see above, **1.**

The name **confirmation**, *i.e.* 'strengthening,' for the complement of immersion is not found before the 5th cent.; it may be founded on the use of *βεβαιόω* in 2 Co 1^{21} with the allusion there to baptism.

For many centuries the baptismal rite—immersion, anointing (when practised), and laying on of hands—was normally one, and took place at one time. Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 8) speaks of the immersion, unction, and imposition of hands with invocation of the Holy Ghost as being administered on the same occasion; and the Church Orders are equally definite (Maclean, pp. 18 f., 105 ff.). Laying on of hands is also referred to in Tert. *de Res. Carn.* 8 (with immersion, unction, sealing with the sign of the cross, and communion), and by Cyprian (*Ep.* lxxi.), who speaks of those who have been baptized by heretics being received into the Church with imposition of hands that they might receive the Holy Ghost (cf. *Ep.* lxxii. 9, referring to Ac 8). Origen (*de Princ.* I. iii. 2) says that the Holy Spirit was given by the laying on of the apostles' hands in baptism; so Athanasius, *ad Serap. Orat.* i. 6. It is curious that Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* xx.–xxii.), who mentions immersion, anointing, and the communion of the neophytes, omits the laying on of hands, seeing that the contemporary Church Orders strongly emphasize it. It is a mistake to suppose that this custom ceased with Tertullian. The baptismal Eucharist with the first communion of the neophytes follows immediately in the Church Orders; cf. also Tertullian and Cyril as above, and Justin (*Apol.* i. 65).

In case of necessity there might be an interval between the immersion and the imposition of hands, as there had been in Ac 8. The Council of Elvira (*c.* A.D. 305, can. 38, 77) says that in such a case if the baptized dies before [his confirmation], he may be justified by the faith which he has professed; cf. also Jerome, *Dial. c. Lucif.* 9, who mentions the laying on of hands.

English idiom. Whatever justification there may be for this criticism in a version intended for public reading (though even there it is surely important that the hearers should know what the sacred writers exactly meant), yet it cannot be too strongly asserted that it is essential for the student to pay the greatest attention to the accuracies of the Greek tenses.

For the theological significance of the laying on of hands, see below, § 8.

7. Minister of baptism.—We gather from the NT that the apostles themselves did not usually baptize; their task was 'to preach the Gospel,' and St. Paul only rarely administered the sacrament himself, lest any should say that his converts were baptized into his name (1 Co 1^{14-17}). It is not recorded who baptized the 3000 at Pentecost (Ac 2^{41}), or the Samaritans ($8^{12f.}$, probably Philip), or Lydia and her household (16^{15}), or the jailer at Philippi and 'all his' (16^{33}), or the Corinthians (18^8), or the Ephesians (19^5); St. Peter's *companions* clearly baptized Cornelius and his company ($10^{47f.}$): he 'commanded' them to be baptized. Philip baptized the Eunuch (8^{38}), and evidently Ananias baptized St. Paul (9^{18} 22^{16}). It has been suggested that baptism was one of the functions of John Mark as 'minister' (*ὑπηρέτης*) to Barnabas and Saul (13^5; Rackham, *Com. in loc.*). On the other hand, St. Peter and St. John laid their hands on those who had been baptized in Samaria (8^{17}), and St. Paul laid his hands on the Ephesian neophytes (19^6; ct. v.[5]).

A similar rule is found in the baptismal customs of the succeeding ages. In the Church Orders the bishop is normally present at baptisms, but the presbyters actually immerse, and the deacons assist; then the newly-baptized are immediately brought to the bishop for anointing and laying on of hands; though the custom as to the person who anoints and the number and place of the unctions in the rite varies, the bishop always lays on hands (for details, see Maclean, p. 104 ff.). When, therefore, it is said that the bishop was the normal minister of baptism, it is not meant that he actually immersed, though doubtless he sometimes did so. St. Ambrose (*de Myst.* 8 [iii.]) speaks only of the bishop (*summum sacerdotem*) interrogating, and hallowing (the water, or the oil [?]). As time went on, either the immersion and the confirmation had to be separated, or else the latter was administered by the presbyter with oil consecrated by the bishop.

Deacons were allowed at Elvira (can. 77) to baptize in case of necessity; and so Tertull. *de Bapt.* 17 (who, like Elvira, allows laymen to baptize in such a case), *Test. of our Lord*, ii. 11, *Didascalia*, iii. 12 (ed. Funk); but this is forbidden in *Ap. Const.* viii. 28, 46 (ed. Funk). The *Ap. Const.* (iii. 9) and the 'Fourth Council of Carthage,' A.D. 398 (can. 100, Hefele, *Councils*, Eng. tr., ii. [1896] 417), forbid women to baptize. There is perhaps a permission to deacons to baptize in country places, in Cyr. Jer., *Cat.* xvii. 35; but this is uncertain. There may be a trace of presbyters confirming in the *Sacramentary* of Serapion and in the *Ap. Const.* (see Maclean, pp. 107, 110, 155).

8. Theological aspects.—(*a*) A study of the NT leads us to the conclusion that baptism is no mere ceremony whereby outsiders are fitly received into the Christian Church. It is a *means of grace*—it conveys by an outward sign the grace of God, but always under certain conditions, for which see below (*f*). St. Peter says that water after a true likeness (*ἀντίτυπον*) saves us, even baptism: a cleansing of the body, but also a cleansing of the soul; the outward part, water, is the symbol or sign of the inward washing (1 P 3^{21}). God saved us (*ἔσωσεν*, aorist) through the washing of regeneration and renewing of the Holy Ghost (Tit 3^5). The writer of the Appendix to Mk. says that 'he that believeth and is baptized shall be saved' (16^{16}). And this is in accordance with God's usual way of working. He normally uses outward instruments and means, though He is not bound by them and can work otherwise if He wills. On the one hand, He uses human beings as His instruments (cf., *e.g.*,

Ac 9[15] 13[2], Gal 1[15f.], Eph 3[7] for men as preachers of the gospel), and, on the other hand, He uses inanimate things or outward actions. Thus the 'gift of God' is conveyed by imposition of hands (2 Ti 1[6]). Jesus ordinarily (but not always) used outward means in healing and in doing other mighty works (*DCG* i., art. 'Gestures,' 1). So He instituted outward means (water, bread, and wine) for the two sacraments of the gospel. Among OT analogies may be noted the cloud and pillar of fire, which symbolized God's presence. By using outward means, God shows that matter is not, as Gnostic dualism asserted, naturally evil, but that it is consecrated by Him for His sacred purposes.

The same truth may be expressed by saying that baptism is a *pledge* or *witness of grace*, by which God assures us that He will perform His part of the covenant between Him and man; cf. the passages where the gift of the Spirit, the earnest (ἀρραβών) of our inheritance, is associated with faith, and by implication with baptism (Eph 1[13f.]; see above, 1).

(*b*) Baptism is a *union with God*. The baptized is incorporated into the Divine Being, united with Christ, apart from whom we can do nothing (Jn 15[5]). This baptismal union is clearly asserted in Ro 6[3], Gal 3[27], and by contrast is implied in 1 Co 1[13. 15] 10[2]; it is made possible only by the Incarnation, and by the glorifying of Jesus' humanity; see Jn 7[39]. It involves *sonship by adoption* (Ro 8[15ff.] [note the aorist ἐλάβετε, pointing to a definite time], Gal 3[26f.] 4[4f.]; see art. ADOPTION). This aspect of baptism as an incorporation into God holds good whatever view we take of the meaning of the Lord's command to baptize, which must now be considered carefully, as it is essential to the understanding of baptism.

(*c*) *Meaning of baptism 'in' or 'into the Name.'*—The words εἰς τὸ ὄνομα (or εἰς alone) in the baptismal passages are usually interpreted as denoting incorporation into a person or society, and the purpose for which the baptism is administered; but another view interprets the words in Mt 28[19] as meaning 'by the authority of.' (For a full discussion, see F. H. Chase in *JThSt* vi. 500 ff., viii. 161 ff.; J. A. Robinson in *JThSt* vii. 186 ff., and *EBi*, art. 'Baptism.')

It is agreed that by a Hebrew idiom common in Hellenistic Greek 'the name' of a person is used for the person himself. To believe in the name of some one is to believe in him (Jn 1[12] 2[23] 3[18], 1 Jn 5[13] πιστεύω εἰς; 1 Jn 3[23] πιστ. with dative—for the difference, see Westcott on Jn 5[24] 8[30f.]; cf. Ac 3[16]); to come, or to act, or to receive a person, in the name of some one, is to come or act or to receive one as his representative (Mt 18[5] 21[9] 23[39], Mk 9[37] 11[9] 13[6], Lk 13[35], Jn 5[43] 10[25] 12[13] 14[26], all with ἐν [τῷ] ὀνόματι; Mt 24[5] with ἐπ' ὀνόματι); to hope in God's name is to hope in Him (Mt 12[21], with simple dative, = Is 42[4] LXX with ἐπί); to have life in Christ's name is to receive life from Him (Jn 20[31]); to ask or give thanks in (ἐν) Christ's name is to do so in Him, *i.e.* for His merits (Jn 14[13f.] 15[16] 16[23f. 26], Eph 5[20]); to adjure in (ἐν) the name of a person is to adjure by him (Ac 16[18]; cf. 1 Co 1[10] διά); to receive remission of sins through (διά) Jesus' name is to receive it through Him (Ac 10[43]). In Jn 17[11f.] Jesus prays the Father to keep the disciples 'in (ἐν) thy name which thou hast given me' (so best text; cf. Ph 2[9]), and says that He has kept them while on earth in the Father's name—a very difficult passage. The latter phrase must mean 'as the Father's representative' (as above); for the former, cf. 17[6. 26], where the 'name' stands for God and His attributes, and we may perhaps paraphrase: 'in thyself, with whom I am one' (cf. 10[30]). In Col 3[17] to do all in (ἐν) the name of Christ is to do all 'in Christ,' however we are to understand that characteristic Pauline phrase (see J. A. Robinson, *Ephes.*, London, 1903, p. 22 ff.). So again in Lk 6[22] 'cast out your name' is equivalent to 'cast you out'; in Ac 15[26] Barnabas and Paul are said to have hazarded their lives for the name of Jesus, *i.e.* for Him.

In the above passages the translation 'by the authority of' is not possible. But 'in the name' can well be so translated in some passages, as when the disciples spoke or preached in Jesus' name, Ac 4[17f.] (ἐπί) 9[27] (ἐν); cf. Lk 24[47] (ἐπί); though here also it can be rendered 'as the representatives of.' So 'by the authority of' suits best in passages where devils are cast out or mighty works done 'in the name,' as Mt 7[22] (dative without prep.), Mk 9[38f.] (ἐν, ἐπί), 'Mk' 16[17] (ἐν), Lk 9[49] (ἐν, *v.l.* ἐπί), Ac 3[6] (ἐν; cf. 4[7. 10]); and in Lk 10[17], where demons are subject in (ἐν) Christ's name.

Three passages remain to be considered. Mk 9[41] has 'in (ἐν) name that ye are Christ's,' which is usually treated as an idiom: 'because ye are Christ's' (RV, Swete; the text followed by AV is faulty here), though Chase (*JThSt* viii. 170) renders 'in the Name, because ye are Christ's.' In Mt 10[42f.] 18[20] εἰς is used. In the former passage, 'into the name of a prophet' or 'disciple' can only mean 'as a prophet' or 'disciple,' *i.e.* with a view to the prophetic office or to discipleship. In the latter, 'gathered together into my name' is best rendered as 'drawn nigh to me'; cf. Dt 12[5], 1 K 9[3] (so Chase, *loc. cit.*).

Another line of interpretation of the passages with 'in the name' is that of F. C. Conybeare, who makes 'in the name of Jesus' a theurgic formula, an application of ancient magic (*JQR* ix. 66, 581). For an answer to this theory, which is quite inapplicable to several of the passages cited above, and which takes no account of the OT use of 'the Name,' see G. B. Gray in *HDB* iii. 480.

We may now consider the baptismal passages. In Mt 28[19], Ac 8[16] 19[5], 1 Co 1[13. 15] we read of baptism 'into (εἰς) the name'; and so 1 Co 10[2] 'into Moses,' 12[13] 'into one body,' Ac 19[3] 'into John's baptism,' Ro 6[3], Gal 3[27] 'into Christ,' or 'into his death'; while in Ac 2[38] 10[48], 1 Co 6[11] we read of baptism 'in (ἐν) the name.' The usual interpretation, at least of the former set of passages, is that the neophytes are in baptism incorporated with the Holy Trinity, or with Christ, with a view to (εἰς) remission of sins (Ac 2[38]) or to dying with Christ; the disciples of John are baptized with his baptism. Further, 'into the name' implies proprietorship: we are baptized so as to belong to God; and the same idea attaches to ἐπ' ὀνόματος, by which Justin explains baptism to the heathen (above, 4; see Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*, p. 125; Chase, *JThSt* vi. 501). If βαπτίζω conveyed to the first Christians the idea of immersion (above, 5), this interpretation follows necessarily. In that case, what is the difference, if any, between baptism 'in' and 'into'? Chase, who upholds the above interpretation, thinks that both involve the idea of incorporation or union, though the latter emphasizes the entrance into the name, while the former conveys the idea of the name encompassing the baptized (*JThSt* viii. 177, 184).

This line of interpretation is denied by Robinson (*EBi*, art. 'Baptism,' and *JThSt* vii. 191), who holds that εἰς and ἐν are synonymous in the NT, as they undoubtedly are in the Modern Greek vernacular, which has entirely lost ἐν except in a few phrases, εἰς having taken its place. On this view, 'in the name' is the translation preferred, and it is taken to mean 'by the authority' of the person mentioned. The statement that the two prepositions have the same meaning in the NT is hardly borne out by the facts. It is true that the tendency to confuse them had begun in the Apostolic Age; but it had not got very far, hardly beyond a fondness

for 'constructio praegnans,' as in Mk 1^9, where ἐβαπτίσθη εἰς τὸν Ἰορδάνην='went into the Jordan and was baptized there' (in v.^{6} we have ἐβαπτίζοντο ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ), or else='was immersed in Jordan' (Swete, *Com. in loc.*); cf. also Ac 8^{40} εὑρέθη εἰς Ἄζωτον, 'went to Azotus and was found there,' and Lk 4^{44}. The nearest approach to a real confusion of the prepositions is in Mt $5^{34ff.}$: 'Swear not . . . by (ἐν) the heaven . . . nor by (ἐν) the earth . . . nor by (εἰς, RVm 'toward') Jerusalem,' where Chase (*JThSt* viii. 166) suggests that ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις is avoided so as to exclude a local meaning, and that εἰς represents the direction of the oath, just as in Ac 2^{25}, Eph 5^{32}, He 7^{14} εἰς can only mean 'with reference to.'

In the opinion of the present writer no argument can be deduced from the fact that our Lord spoke Aramaic, and that both εἰς τὸ ὄνομα and ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι represent the simple phrase בשם. For (though we know little of the Palestinian Aramaic of the 1st cent.) the preposition in Syriac not infrequently denotes motion; see Payne Smith, *Thesaur. Syr.*, Oxford, 1879–1901, i. 430. And, as Chase remarks (*JThSt* vi. 507), the argument from the Aramaic preposition is robbed of all its force by the consideration that the Peshitta uses it in Ro 6^3, Gal 3^{27} for 'into Christ [Jesus],' which can only denote incorporation. Therefore the Aramaic phrase בשם can mean '(incorporation) into the name.'

The grave objection to Robinson's interpretation is that it does not suit the Pauline passages, which cannot be put aside as irrelevant. That 'Paul was not crucified for the Corinthians and they were not baptized into his name' (1 Co $1^{13f.}$), is a proposition in direct contrast to the statement that 'all we who were baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death' (Ro 6^3). The latter passage denotes incorporation, and so therefore must the former. Indeed, the passage in 1 Cor. would lose all force if it were translated 'by his authority.'

For a long list of Greek Fathers who interpret Mt 28^{19} of incorporation, see Chase, *JThSt* viii. 173 ff. On the other hand, Robinson says that the Western formula 'in nomine' can only mean 'by the authority.' This is not clear, and in any case it is significant that Tertullian, the father of ecclesiastical Latinity, understood Mt 28^{19} otherwise, for he translates by 'in nomen,' and paraphrases by 'in Patrem,' etc.; see above, 4. He clearly understood the baptismal command to denote incorporation.

The issue does not rest on the question whether εἰς and ἐν are interchangeable. It is the whole sentence in Mt 28^{19} which must be considered, and it is difficult to follow Robinson in thinking that it conveyed no idea of immersion to the first Christians. No doubt our Lord gave a new and more spiritual significance to a Jewish method of speech, but this is just what He did frequently in His teaching. If, as is probable, the account in Mt. is greatly condensed (above, 4), there is no difficulty about this. No doubt He explained His meaning to the disciples; we are led to interpret it by the writings of the disciples themselves. For these reasons the present writer cannot but think that Chase's interpretation is right, and that the RV has properly given the words as 'into the name.'

(*d*) *Meaning of 'being born anew' or 'from above.'*—In Jn $3^{3.5}$ our Lord speaks to Nicodemus of another birth, which He connects with water (see above, 1) and the Spirit, and which is requisite for seeing or entering the Kingdom of God; this birth is ἄνωθεν, which may be translated 'anew' (RV, and Westcott, *Com. in loc.*) or 'from above' (RVm, and Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*, p. 131). In favour of the latter is Jn 3^{31} ('he that cometh from above,' ἄνωθεν) and 19^{11}, and the fact that the writer often speaks of our being begotten of God (Jn 1^{13}, 1 Jn 3^9 4^7 $5^{1.4.18}$; in Jn $3^{3.5}$ the word is γεννηθῇ). In this case it is a heavenly birth that Jesus speaks of. In favour of the former is Gal 4^9 (πάλιν ἄνωθεν='over again'), but especially the fact that Nicodemus takes this meaning (v.^{4}), and also that the term 'regeneration' (παλιγγενεσία), which was used in the Apostolic Church (Tit 3^5) can best be explained as a reminiscence of our Lord's words on such an occasion, handed down orally. But may not both meanings of ἄνωθεν in Jn 3 be valid? The birth is both 'from above' and 'new.' A single word with more than one meaning is often used to express more than one truth.

This new or heavenly birth is the new start, the implanting of the new life, which is given to us by the Ascended and Glorified Christ through the Holy Ghost. And this new life is expressly connected with Christian baptism, whatever view we take of ἐξ ὕδατος in Jn 3^5; St. Paul speaks (Col $2^{12f.}$) of the Christian having been buried with (συνταφέντες) Christ in baptism, 'wherein (not 'in whom,' *i.e.* Christ) ye were raised with him (συνηγέρθητε), . . . and you being dead . . . did he quicken together with him (συνεζωοποίησεν)'—note the aorists, denoting an action at a given time; cf. also Eph $2^{5f.}$ (the 'sitting in heavenly places' in v.^{6} is not future, but present). This new implanting of life is called 'regeneration' in Tit 3^5 (as above), and is effected by washing or a laver (λουτροῦ), that is, by baptism. (παλιγγενεσία is used in Mt 19^{28} of the new age hereafter [cf. Ac 3^{22} 'the restitution of all things']; the application of it to the present age, as has been lately suggested, is most unlikely; for its use by non-Christian writers, see Swete, *Holy Spirit in NT*, p. 390, App. M.)

But the new life is like a seed. It may blossom and flourish, or it may die. It is the opportunity, the talent; but if it is not seized and put to good use, it is of no avail to the recipient, and even condemns him; see, further, below (*f*).

The figure of a new birth is very common in the Fathers in connexion with baptism; *e.g.* Justin, *Apol.* i. 61, 66, and Irenaeus, *c. Haer.* I. xxi. 1, III. xvii. 1 (ἀναγέννησις); Tert. *adv. Marc.* i. 28, *de Res. Carn.* 47 (*regeneratio*).

(*e*) *Baptism and the gift of the Spirit.*—We have seen (above, 6) how closely the gift of the Spirit is connected with baptism in the NT. We may now consider the meaning of that gift. Though the Holy Ghost is the Agent of all the Divine working, and therefore must be the Giver of life (cf. Ro $8^{2.11}$ etc.) at the immersion, yet the gift of the Spirit is said in Ac 8^{16} not to be bestowed then, but at a later stage of the same rite—at the laying on of hands (see above, 6). Tertullian remarks (*de Bapt.* 6) that 'in the waters we do not receive the Holy Spirit, but, having been cleansed in the water under the influence of an angel (*sub angelo*), we are prepared for the Holy Spirit.' What, then, did St. Peter and St. John pray for when they prayed that the Samaritans might receive the Holy Ghost (Ac 8^{15})? What was the gift of the Holy Ghost received in v.^{17}? One answer which has been given to this question must be dismissed as quite insufficient—that the miraculous signs vouchsafed in the infancy of the Church were the gift. It may be said that in v.^{18} Simon *saw* that the Holy Ghost was given, and that therefore there must have been some outward manifestation. In Ac 19^6 the neophytes spoke with tongues and prophesied (cf. 2^4 10^{46}). To state the matter in this way, however, is to confuse the outward evidences of the activity of the Spirit with the gift of the Spirit Himself. No one could suppose that all that the Church received on the Day of Pentecost was a mere speaking with 'other tongues.' To understand what the gift is, we cannot do better than consider our Lord's promise of the gift, in Jn 14–16. As He describes

it, it is a gift of guidance and teaching (14[26] 15[26] 16[8. 13ff.]), and, above all, a continued presence of the Spirit with us for ever (14[16f.]). It was not to be a gift for one generation only, but for us in modern times as well as for the first Christians. There is nothing in these chapters about the gift of tongues or other wonderful signs. Indeed, as Chase remarks (*Confirmation*, p. 114), 'in the teaching of the Apostles the thought of extraordinary charismata has a quite subordinate place.' When Saul received the Holy Ghost (Ac 9[17]) there appear to have been no outward phenomena. And, whether the laying on of hands in 2 Ti 1[6] was at baptism or at ordination (see above, **6**), it is significant that the 'gift of God' which was in Timothy by the laying on of St. Paul's hands was the 'spirit of power and love and discipline' (*σωφρονισμοῦ*). Indeed, it is difficult to suppose that the apostles could have laid so much stress on the gift if it was merely a speaking with tongues (which St. Paul somewhat disparages in 1 Co 14[2]), or prophesying. Throughout the Epistles, the gift of the Spirit is a very different thing; it is that inward strengthening which enables the Church to fight the battle with the hosts of evil and to win the victory. And this is what our Lord promised in the Johannine chapters quoted above.

(*f*) *Baptism not a magical charm.*—To say that God uses outward means or instruments as the normal manner in which He gives His grace is not to assert, on the one hand, that all who receive the outward means receive the grace, or, on the other hand, that God cannot give the grace otherwise. Hence the emphasis on the need of repentance and faith in those who are baptized; *e.g.* cf. Ac 2[38] for repentance, 18[8] for faith: 'believed and were baptized'; in 19[2f.] 'when ye believed' is equivalent to 'when ye were baptized' (*πιστεύσαντες—ἐβαπτίσθητε*). One or two references to the early Fathers (out of a large number) will show how strongly they felt this. Repentance and faith are both insisted on by Justin (*Apol.* i. 61). Origen says that the Spirit may leave the unworthy Christian after baptism (*in Joann.* vi. 33). Cyril of Jerusalem says that the outward rite will not convey the gift of the Spirit if the candidate does not come in faith (*Cat.* xvii. 35 ff.). It is equally recognized in Christian antiquity that it is possible for man to receive the grace without the outward sign in cases of necessity. For example, the 'baptism in blood' of unbaptized martyrs is recognized as sufficient by Tertullian, *de Bapt.* 16, and in the Church Orders (*Test. of our Lord*, ii. 5; *Can. of Hippolytus*, xix. [ed. Achelis, 101]; *Egyptian Church Orders*, 44) and elsewhere. The work of God is mighty, though the instrument is insignificant. Thus Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 2, 4) remarks on the simplicity of baptism, which makes people disparage the greatness of its effect, not realizing that the Spirit sanctifies the water.

9. Infant baptism.—There is no historical account in the NT of an infant being baptized; but the indirect evidence of the practice is strong. In view of the analogy of circumcision, it would be strange, supposing that infants had been excluded from baptism, that such exclusion should not have been mentioned. If infants needed to be brought into the inferior covenant by the outward sign of circumcision, still more would they need to be brought into the higher covenant by the outward sign of baptism. The Talmud says that infant children of proselytes are to be baptized with their parents (John Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr.* on Mt 3[6] in *Works*, xi. [London, 1823] 53 ff.), and this was probably the custom in the 1st cent. (see above, **2**). Our Lord by blessing little children with an imposition of hands (Mk 10[13ff.] *παιδία*; Lk 18[15] *βρέφη*, 'babes') shows that they are capable of receiving grace. In Mt 10[42], Jesus speaks of giving 'one of these little ones' a cup of cold water 'in the name of a disciple,' *i.e.* as a disciple (above, **8**), showing that infants can be disciples. No limit is placed on the baptismal command of Mt 28[19] ('all the nations,' not 'all the adults'). The households of Lydia, the Philippian jailer, Crispus, and Stephanas, not improbably included some infants, but all were baptized (cf. Ac 16[33], 'all his'). It is disputed whether 1 Co 7[14] refers to infant baptism (Robertson-Plummer, *Com. in loc.*, think that it does not), but at least it seems to point to the *right* of children to baptism, for otherwise could they be called 'holy' or 'consecrated' (*ἅγια*)? Cf. Goudge and Alford, *Comm. in loc.*

When we turn from the NT to the successors of the apostles, we find that the practice of infant baptism was probably in force at least *c.* A.D. 69. For Polycarp at his martyrdom (*c.* A.D. 155: for the date see Lightfoot, *Apostol. Fathers*, pt. ii. vol. i. [1889] 437 ff.) says that he had served Christ for 86 years. It is extremely unlikely that he was older, or at any rate more than 3 or 4 years older, than this at his death, and he must therefore have been baptized when he was an infant, or at least as a very young child; he seems to have been born of Christian parents (*ib.*). Justin speaks of men and women of 60 or 70 who had been made disciples (*ἐμαθητεύθησαν*) from childhood (*Apol.* i. 15), and compares baptism to circumcision (*Dial.* 43). Irenaeus (*c. Haer.* II. xxii. 4) says that Jesus came to save all who through Him are born again to God—infants, children, boys, youths, and old men. He passed through every age, becoming an infant for infants, thus sanctifying infants, etc. Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 18), who advocates' delaying baptism lest it should be rashly administered, especially in the case of infants, bears witness to the common practice of his day. It is to be noted that he does not blame infant baptism as a *novelty*, as he assuredly would have done had it been such. And thereafter the evidence of its existence is very abundant; see, *e.g.*, Cyprian, *Ep.* lviii.; *Can. of Hipp.* xix. (113, ed. Achelis), and all the Church Orders.

It is objected to these arguments that *faith* is required in the NT for baptism, and that infants cannot have faith. But this is not a true objection. If an adult coming to baptism has not faith, he puts the barrier of non-faith between God and himself; he cannot be in a neutral condition, but, if he does not believe in God, must disbelieve in Him. With an infant it is not so. In the age of innocence he cannot put a barrier between God and himself, and therefore the fact that he has not yet learnt to have an active faith does not preclude the working of the grace of God within him.

LITERATURE.—R. Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, bk. v. (ed. Bayne, London, 1902), esp. chs. lvii.–lxvi.; H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*[2], do. 1910, esp. App. I and J; D. Stone, *Holy Baptism*, do. 1899; A. J. Mason, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism*[2], do. 1893; D. Macleane, *The Heavenly Citizenship of Infants*, do. 1891; F. H. Chase, *Confirmation in the Apostolic Age*, do. 1909; A. C. A. Hall, *Confirmation*, do. 1900; F. E. Warren, *Liturgy and Ritual of the Ante-Nicene Church*[2], do. 1912; A. J. Maclean, *The Ancient Church Orders*, Cambridge, 1910; artt. on 'The Lord's Command to Baptize' in *JThSt* vi. [1904–05], vii. [1905–06], viii. [1906–07], by F. H. Chase and J. A. Robinson; artt. on 'Baptism' in *HDB* i. (A. Plummer), *DCG* i. (M. Dods), *SDB* (C. A. Scott), *EBi* i. (J. A. Robinson), *ERE* ii. (J. V. Bartlet, K. Lake, H. G. Wood); art. 'Laying on of Hands' in *HDB* iii. (H. B. Swete); artt. 'Confirmation' in *ERE* iv. (H. J. Lawlor and H. Thurston).

A. J. MACLEAN.

BAPTISM FOR THE DEAD.—See BAPTISM.

BARAK.—Barak (Βαράκ) was the ally of Deborah in the life-and-death struggle of Israel with the Canaanites. He won the great battle of Kishon (Jg 4. 5). He is named in the roll of the OT heroes

of faith (He 11[32]). He was one of those who διὰ πίστεως 'waxed mighty in war, turned to flight armies of aliens' (11[34]). JAMES STRAHAN.

BARBARIAN.—The Greeks of the age of independence divided mankind into two classes—Hellenes or Greeks, and Barbarians, the latter term having a special reference to those who did not speak the Greek language and were thus unintelligible to the inhabitants of Hellas. The word itself is almost certainly onomatopoetic, being an imitation of the way in which the peoples seemed to speak. It occurs for the first time in Homer (*Il.* ii. 867), and is used of the Carians (Κᾶρες βαρβαρόφωνοι). Plato divides the human race into Hellenes and Barbarians (*Polit.* 262 D). Even the Romans called themselves Barbarians till Greek literature came to be naturalized in Rome; and both Philo and Josephus regard the Jews and their tongue as barbarous. By and by the word came to be used as descriptive of all the defects which the Greeks thought foreign to themselves and natural to all other peoples, but the first and the main idea conveyed by the term is that of difference of language.

In the NT history of the early Church we find the term used in four different places.—(1) In Ac 28[2-4] it is applied by St. Luke to the Phœnician inhabitants of Malta, perhaps with a slight hint of contempt on the part of the author. (2) The Apostle Paul in 1 Co 14[11] refers to the ecstatic speaking with tongues, and declares that if any speak in an unknown tongue, 'I shall be to him that speaketh a barbarian, and he that speaketh will be a barbarian unto me.' Here the word is used in the original sense of one who speaks in an unknown tongue. (3) In the statement (Ro 1[14]), 'I am a debtor both to Greeks and to Barbarians,' St Paul uses the common conventional division of mankind; and, like Philo and Josephus, classes the Jews among the Barbarians. (4) In Col 3[11] we have a looser use of the term 'Greek and Jew . . . barbarian and Scythian.' The Apostle has been speaking of the abolition of all distinction in the offer of the gospel, and the classes selected are not mutually exclusive but mentioned with reference to heresies in the Colossian Church (cf. J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*[8], 1879, p. 216). The Apostle offers the gospel not merely to learned Greeks but to barbarians, and even to Scythians, who are popularly regarded as the lowest type of this class.

LITERATURE.—Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.*; see also artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*. W. F. BOYD.

BAR-JESUS.—In Ac 13[6] Bar-Jesus is described as 'a certain sorcerer, a false prophet, a Jew' whom Barnabas and Paul found at Paphos in the retinue of the proconsul in Cyprus. The comparison of him with 'the modern gipsy teller of fortunes' is 'misleading and gives a false idea of the influence exerted on the Roman world by Oriental personages like this Magian' (Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 78); nor can he be called an impostor. He was a representative of a class of men, very numerous in that day, 'skilled in the lore and uncanny arts and strange powers of the Median priests' (cf. *HDB*, art. 'Barjesus'), who possessed a familiarity with the forces of Nature not shared by their fellows, and which was commonly regarded as supernatural in its origin. They were both magicians and men of science; moreover, their system presented a religious aspect to the world. The presence of an influential exponent of such a current religious and philosophical system in the train of the *comites* of a Roman governor was quite natural; nor is there any need to suppose that Sergius Paulus (who was 'a man of understanding') was dominated by the Magian in any other sense than that Bar-Jesus had considerable influence and credit with his patron—an influence he was able to turn to his own private advantage. Hearing of Barnabas and Paul as travelling teachers in the island, the governor, a highly educated man, interested in science and philosophy, invited them to his court. He listened with such pleasure to their exposition that it became clear to all his retinue that they were making a marked effect on him. This was a challenge to Bar-Jesus, who had been the dominant religious influence in the court. He took steps to minimize the effect and to retain the governor's interest in himself and his system. The challenge was accepted by Paul, who superseded Barnabas as the chief Christian protagonist at this point. Special interest attached to the incident as an early but typical case of the meeting of two religious systems; it was the first collision of Christianity with the great religious force of Magianism. The result was a striking manifestation of the superior power residing in the Christian missionary, by which Bar-Jesus was struck blind for a season, and which deeply impressed the proconsul in favour of Christianity.

A phrase occurs in v.[8] which has caused perplexity: 'Elymas the sorcerer (for so is his name by interpretation).' All attempts to explain **Elymas** as the interpretation of Bar-Jesus have failed. This has been used to discredit the historicity of the narrative. Thus Schmiedel says it suggests the 'amalgamation of two sources,' and illustrates the tendency of Acts to establish a 'parallelism between Peter and Paul' (*EBi* i. 480 f.)—a theory urged by Weizsäcker, who considers this portion of Acts 'is far from being historical' (i. 275, 239–240), and finds a proof of double authorship in the use of the two names 'Saul who is also called Paul.' But Ramsay has explained the latter usage most convincingly. It was the fashion in bilingual countries to have two names, the native and the Greek. Amongst Jewish surroundings Paul's Jewish name 'Saul' was used naturally; but 'by a marvellous stroke of historic brevity' (Ramsay, 83) the author sets forth by a formula how in the court of the Roman governor, when the Apostle challenged the system represented by Bar-Jesus, he stood forth as Paul the Roman citizen, a freeborn member of that Greek-Roman world to which he carried his universal gospel. Does not the same explanation hold good for his opponent? Bar-Jesus is a Jewish name—the name of 'a Jew, a false prophet.' Elymas is the man's Greek name. It is the Greek form of an Arab word *alîm* meaning 'wise,' and ὁ μάγος ('the sorcerer,' AV and RV) is its translation. From the Jewish point of view the encounter was between Saul the Jewish teacher and Bar-Jesus the Jewish prophet. From the wider point of view it was between Paul the Roman citizen who championed Christianity, and Elymas the Greek philosopher and magician. It was not only Bar-Jesus the Jewish false prophet whom Paul blinded, but Elymas the Magian, the representative of that Oriental theosophy which Christianity was destined to meet so often. Luke the historian has special interest in describing the first encounter between the systems, and the signal victory won by the Christian Apostle over one who practised the occult arts. Paul probably shared the opinion of educated Judaism, that magic was associated with idolatry and the realm of darkness, and was therefore to be shunned as demoniacal. This explains the vigour of his denunciation.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* on 'Barjesus' (Massie) and 'Magic' (Whitehouse), and in *EBi* (Schmiedel) on 'Barjesus'; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, London, 1895, pp. 78–88 (cf. *Was Christ born in Bethlehem?*, do. 1898, p. 54); C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i.[2] do. 1897, pp. 80, 111, 240, 274; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 174–176; *EGT* on 'Acts,' 1900, p. 287. J. E. ROBERTS.

BARNABAS (otherwise Joses [AV] or Joseph [RV]).—A member of the primitive Church of Jerusalem and a close associate of Paul in the early years of his Christian career. He is not to be identified with Joseph called Barsabbas (Ac 1^{23}), though he is sometimes substituted for him by ecclesiastical writers (see JOSEPH [BARSABBAS]). Information regarding him is mostly derived from Acts. According to 4^{36}, the surname *Barnabas* was given him by the apostles, presumably as an honourable distinction, and signifies 'son of consolation *or* exhortation' (*υἱὸς παρακλήσεως* = Aram. *bar*, 'son,' and Heb. root which appears in *nābhî'*, 'prophet'). This etymology draws upon two different languages, and leaves the terminal form unexplained. Besides, the name may have been self-assumed, in accordance with a common practice of the Jews in their intercourse with the Gentile world. Other derivations therefore have been proposed, which give 'the son of Nebo,' 'the son of peace' (=Aram. *bar nᵉvāḥāh*), etc., as the meaning. In any case, the statement of Acts implies that Barnabas was noted for his prophetic or preaching gifts; and comparison with 14^{12} probably warrants the further inference that he was more fluent in Aramaic than in Greek.

In Ac $4^{36f.}$ Barnabas is introduced as a Levite of Cyprus, who sold land that he possessed, and devoted the proceeds to the use of the Church. No other Levite is mentioned by name in the NT. His ownership of land, in contravention of the law (Dt 10^{9}) which excluded Levi from part or inheritance with his brethren, is not surprising, as in later times this Deuteronomic prohibition cannot have been enforced (Jer 32^{7-12}; Jos. *Vita*, 76). From Cyprus the youthful Barnabas may have passed over to the neighbouring Tarsus, famous in his time for its culture as well as its commerce, and there made the acquaintance of Paul. At any rate, he appeared as his friend, and stood sponsor for him on his first visit to Jerusalem, when other members of the Church regarded him with distrust ($9^{26f.}$). Thereafter Paul retired to Tarsus, but Barnabas remained in Jerusalem till tidings reached the mother Church of the success of the gospel in Antioch, when he was commissioned to visit that city and confirm the disciples. Having sought out Paul at Tarsus, he induced him to join him in his work in Antioch. After a year of service there, the two fellow-labourers were dispatched to Jerusalem with alms for the needy Christians of Judæa (11^{22-30}). Soon after their return to Antioch they were solemnly set apart by the Church for special evangelization work, and started on what is usually called the first missionary journey, in the course of which they visited Cyprus and the southern parts of Asia Minor, accompanied as far as Perga in Pamphylia by John Mark (*q.v.*)—a relative of Barnabas (Col 4^{10})—whom they had brought with them from Jerusalem. In the account of the journey, the independent character of Paul appears in the precedence gradually accorded him over Barnabas, whose name has previously had first place in the narrative, probably because he had been better known in Antioch and Cyprus. Following upon this mission came a prolonged stay at Antioch, broken at length by another visit to Jerusalem, in consequence of dissensions that had arisen over the necessity of circumcision. A judgment on this question having been obtained from the leaders of the mother Church met in Council, Paul and Barnabas repaired again to Antioch, and began to consult about another missionary journey. As Barnabas, however, insisted on taking Mark with them, in spite of his defection on the previous journey, a sharp contention took place between them, with the result that Paul chose Silas as his companion, and proceeded to Syria and Cilicia, while Barnabas set sail with Mark for Cyprus (12^{25}–15^{41}). There is no further notice of Barnabas in Acts.

Galatians (chs. 1–2) partly covers the same ground as Acts, but between the two narratives a discrepancy appears which has provoked much discussion. Reviewing his association with the Church of Jerusalem, Paul asserts that it did not extend beyond two visits. One of these (1^{18}) seems to have been the occasion of his introduction by Barnabas, and the other (2^{1}) has usually been identified with the visit to the Council; but, in that case, what becomes of the intervening visit in Acts—that on which Paul and Barnabas conveyed the offerings of the Antiochene Christians? Its comparative recentness and the asseveration of 1^{20} preclude the supposition that it could have been forgotten or passed over by the Apostle. One solution of the difficulty is obtained by rejecting entirely the story of this visit in Acts, and taking the rendering of the facts only from Gal. (*EBi* i. 486). Others endeavour to harmonize the two accounts with a smaller sacrifice of the credibility of Acts. Such is the suggestion of Neander, Lightfoot, and others that, while Paul and Barnabas were both commissioned to carry the contributions from Antioch to Jerusalem, only the latter actually accomplished the journey; and that the author of Acts, finding the record of the appointment in his sources, naturally assumed that Paul had fulfilled his part of the mission. Such also is the view very generally held that the second and third visits of Acts were really one and the same—the visit to the Council recorded in Galatians; but that, as it was undertaken with the twofold object of bearing alms to the poor and discussing circumcision with the leaders of the Church, two accounts of it came into existence which the author of Acts erroneously supposed to refer to separate events. A third form of solution has been advanced by Ramsay and others, which would identify the second visit of Gal. with the second visit of Acts. Recently this view has been ably maintained by C. W. Emmet (*The Eschatological Question in the Gospels*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 191 ff.), who also contends that Gal. was written before the third visit of Acts had taken place, that is, before the Council of Jerusalem. On this theory, the accuracy of Acts is fully vindicated, but an early date is required for Galatians, which may not be generally conceded. Cf., further, GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO.

On one point—the parting of Paul and Barnabas—Gal. has been regarded as supplementing Acts. In Paul's account of the trouble with Peter at Antioch over the eating with Gentiles (2^{11-14}), his co-worker is represented as taking part with his opponents. Probably, for the moment, the mediating character of Barnabas betrayed him into a policy of vacillation which was the real origin of his disagreement with the Apostle. Their quarrel may have culminated in a separation over John Mark, but its actual cause was a matter of principle. From a subsequent reference of Paul to Barnabas (1 Co 9^{6}) it may be inferred that they were reconciled in later years, though not necessarily that they were again associated in their work.

Tradition has been busy with the name of Barnabas, but has preserved little that is deserving of trust. According to one legend, he was a personal disciple of Christ, even one of the Seventy mentioned in Lk 10^{1}, and preached the gospel in Rome during the lifetime of our Lord. Another asserts that he was the founder and first bishop of the Church of Milan, though Ambrose makes no mention of him as one of his predecessors in that

see. A third makes him the missionary or apostle to Cyprus, and states that he died by martyrdom at Salamis in A.D. 61. From an early date also the writing of an Epistle has been ascribed to him: (1) the Epistle to the Hebrews, the authorship of which was claimed for him by Tertullian; and (2) the Epistle to which his name has been attached since the time of Clement of Alexandria (see following article). In both cases the internal evidence is strongly against the authorship of Barnabas, such references, for instance, being made to the Jewish Law as were not likely to come from a member of the Jerusalem Church and a sympathizer with Peter at Antioch. McGiffert (*Apostol. Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 598 f.) argues very ingeniously in favour of Barnabas as the author of 1 Peter; but the reasons adduced by him, though plausible, are scarcely sufficient to establish his theory. There is nothing in the Epistle to necessitate a Levite authorship, and Barnabas need not have remained anonymous (Moffat, *LNT*, 343 n., 437).

LITERATURE.—In addition to references already given, see works generally on Paul, Acts, Galatians, and the Apostolic Age.

D. FREW.

BARNABAS, EPISTLE OF.—1. Object.—The chief object of the author of this Epistle was to impart to his readers a knowledge of what pertains to salvation that they might be saved in the Day of Jesus Christ (ii. 10, iv. 1, 9). The two lessons he impresses upon them are: (1) that the literal observance of the Mosaic Law is useless for salvation; (2) the necessity and duty of a moral life. This is the letter of a true Christian pastor of much moral and spiritual earnestness; he is deeply concerned for the salvation of his flock and desirous of imparting to them the best that he has.

2. Moral interest.—It is only right to emphasize our author's moral and spiritual aims because a large part of what he says, consisting of allegorical interpretations of the Mosaic Law, appears to modern minds strangely unreal and fantastic. But if his letter abounds in allegory, it is only because he is deeply impressed with the idea that the Law, if literally observed, will make shipwreck of men's salvation (iii. 6). His earnest advice is: 'Let us flee from all vanity, let us entirely hate the works of the evil way' (iv. 10; cf. 9). In his closing chapters (xix.-xxi.) he forsakes the allegorical method entirely, and devotes himself to a setting forth of 'the two ways,' the way of light and the way of darkness. The duties of loving, fearing, praising, and obeying God are named first. Then follows a series of injunctions, some negative and some positive in form, concerned chiefly with one's relations to others. A man's neighbour must be loved more than his own soul. The way of the 'Black One' is set forth in the form of a catalogue of vices and evil actions. Only two Commandments are quoted from the Decalogue—the third and the seventh. There is no direct appeal to either the teaching or the example of our Lord.

3. Attitude towards Judaism.—The main interest which the Epistle has for us to-day lies in the light which it throws upon the relations between Judaism and the Church. In order to appreciate the position of this Epistle in early Christian literature, it is necessary to make a brief review of the transition from Judaism to Christianity. Christianity did not come into the world at a point where there was a religious vacuum. It was founded by One who claimed to be the Anointed One of a definite national religion, which had existed for many centuries. He and His apostles believed in the Jewish religion, as the only true religion, used the Jewish Scriptures as the very word of God, and observed the national forms of worship as the Divinely-appointed mode of serving God. How then did His followers ever come to abandon the Law? Did they at any point make a complete break with all that was Jewish and begin afresh on an entirely new basis? By no means; there was no break, but merely a reorganization. The followers of Jesus believed that He, as Messiah, had authority from God to institute a new Covenant between God and His people Israel, and that He actually did so when He offered Himself on the cross as a sacrifice for sin. The logical consequences of this belief were not perceived all at once, but were bound to come to light as time went on.

(1) If the death of Jesus is sufficient to obtain salvation, the observance of the Law cannot be essential any longer. Hence, though believing Jews may continue to observe the Law if they will, there is not sufficient ground for compelling Gentiles who turn to God and believe on Jesus to do so also. This recognition of the Gentiles is the first step in the process, and is the position reached at the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15). The next step was to admit that it was not necessary for believing Jews to observe the Law, when such observance caused them to separate from their Gentile brethren. This step was being taken during the lifetime of St. Paul (Gal $2^{14ff.}$, 1 Co 9^{21}). The last step was to condemn all observance of the Law, whether by Jewish or by Gentile believers.

This last step is reflected in the pages of our Epistle. There is, however, this peculiarity about its position: the main stream of Christian thought believed that the Mosaic Law had been given by God to the Jews to be literally fulfilled. Our author, however, does not believe that the Law ever was intended to be taken literally; he says it was uttered in a spiritual sense which the Jews did not understand (x. 9). This error of the Jews was the work of an evil angel (ix. 4; cf. viii. 7); the true spiritual interpretation is known to Christians because God circumcised their ears (ix. 4). This spiritual interpretation of the Law is nothing more or less than a series of allegories. The scapegoat of the Day of Atonement is the type of Jesus who was to suffer (ch. vii.). The prescription that certain animals must not be eaten is explained as meaning that one must have no dealings with certain kinds of evil persons (ch. x.). If Abraham is said to have circumcised 318 men, the real meaning is Jesus and the Cross, because 'in the number 18, I stands for ten, H for eight. Here thou hast Jesus (ΙΗΣΟΥΣ). And because the cross in the T was to have grace, he saith also three hundred. So he revealeth Jesus in the two letters and in the remaining one the Cross' (ix. 8; cf. his treatment of the Red Heifer of Nu 19 in ch. viii.).

This position is supported by citing the prophetic condemnation of the idea that sacrifice and ritual can be made a substitute for a moral life (chs. ii. and iii.). In dealing with circumcision, our author seizes on those passages which speak of a circumcision of the heart (Jer 4^4, Dt 10^{16}, Jer 9^{26}), and argues that the Jewish circumcision 'is abolished, for he hath said that a circumcision not of the flesh should be practised' (ix. 4). The six days of creation are in reality 6000 years; hence the true Sabbath cannot be observed until the coming of the Son of God (ch. xv.). Similarly the building of a material Temple was a mistake; the true Temple is a spiritual Temple—the hearts of those with whom God dwells (ch. xvi.); thus all that is outwardly distinctive of the Jewish religion is interpreted in a spiritual sense: distinctions of clean and unclean, circumcision, the Sabbath and the Temple.

(2) Another logical consequence of belief in Jesus

as Messiah will further illustrate the mind of our writer. If the Messiah has indeed come in the person of Jesus, then the national religion of the Jews is not destroyed but proved to be the true service of the Living God, and its claim that it had received a direct Divine revelation is not exploded but vindicated by God Himself. Every one who believed in Jesus, believed that He came in fulfilment of promises made by God to the Jewish fathers; hence a Christian believer could not but regard the ancient Jewish Scriptures as the record of a unique revelation and treat them as the very word of God. This, too, is the position of our author; for, though he regards the literal observance of the Law as having been from the very first a fatal mistake, yet all his proofs of this are drawn from the OT itself and from what he believes to be its true exegesis. 'The Lord has made known to us by His prophets, things past and present.' The words of Scripture he constantly quotes as words spoken from the mouth of God (ii. 4, 5, 7, iii. 1, iv. 8, v. 5, 12, etc.; cf. iv. 7, 11, v. 4, etc.). Moreover, he uses the Scriptures to explain the mystery of the suffering of the Son of God. 'How did He endure to suffer at the hand of men? Understand ye. The Prophets receiving grace from Him, prophesied concerning Him' (v. 5, 6, 13, 14; cf. vi. 6, 7, x., xi.). The OT was his only source of authority in religion; he does not appeal to any Christian writing, or even to the words of Jesus; he feels he has fully proved his point if he can show that his doctrine is grounded in the Jewish Scriptures.

(3) If Jesus was the Messiah, He was clothed with full authority to mould the national religious life according to the will of God. Those who refused to believe and obey Him refused to obey and believe God, and by this act of disobedience cut themselves off from the Covenant and the mercies of God. On the other hand, those who did believe God and were obedient to His Messiah, became the true people of God, the New Israel, the present possessors of all the privileges that once belonged to the Jewish nation, and the recipients of all the Messianic blessings. If the purpose of God in creating the world and in calling Abraham had been fulfilled in Jesus, then it was not for the sake of unbelieving Jews but for the sake of the believers in the Messiah that the world had been created and Abraham called. They are the new People and yet the old, for they have been latent in God's intention since the Creation. Thus the Christians denied to the Jews any share whatever in the glorious heritage of the Jewish nation, and claimed it entirely for themselves.

This position throws light upon the mind of our writer. He is sure that the patriarchs from Abraham to Moses stood in a special relation to God and received special promises from Him (v. 7, xiii. 7, xiv. 1). But, whereas St. Paul would say that the physical descendants of Abraham were not cut off from this special relationship until they cut themselves off when they refused to believe in Jesus (Ro 11), our author thinks that they were cut off long before this, as long ago as the day of Aaron's golden calf. A Covenant, he says, was given to Moses to deliver to the Jews, but it was never really received. 'He hath given it (the Covenant), but they themselves were not found worthy to receive it by reason of their sins' (xiv. 1); for, when Moses perceived their idolatry, he cast out of his hands the two tables which he had received in the Mount, and they were broken in pieces (xiv. 1-4, iv. 6-8). St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews know of two Covenants—an old and a new; and the old was in force until the coming of the Messiah (Ro $7^{2ff.}$, Gal $3^{24f.}$ 4^{24}, He 8^{13}). The *Epistle of Barnabas* says that only one Covenant was ever in force—the Covenant of Jesus.

Our author does not cut Christianity away from all historic connexion with the Jewish past; on the contrary, he denies a place of privilege to the Jews after Mount Sinai, in order to show that that place really belonged to the Christians. There are two peoples—the Jews and the Christians. Of these, the Jews, the elder, are in the position of Esau and of Manasseh, who, though the first-born of their respective fathers, did not inherit the blessing; the Christians, like Jacob and Ephraim, though in each case the younger, have been made the recipients of the promises (ch. xiii.). Accordingly, to our author, the Christians have now come into what was always their own and had never belonged to the nation of Israel. 'Do not then say, "Our covenant remains to them also." Ours it is, but they have lost it in this way for ever, when Moses had just received it' (iv. 6; cf. 8). The Christians are 'the new people' of God (v. 7, vii. 5; cf. xiii. 6), a holy people (xiv. 6), who have been cleansed, forgiven (vi. 11), whose hearts have been redeemed out of darkness (xiv. 5), 'created afresh from the beginning' (xvi. 8), 'a new type' (vi. 11); 'He Himself prophesying in us, He Himself dwelling in us, opening for us who had been in bondage unto death. . . . This is the spiritual temple built up to the Lord' (xvi, 9, 10; cf. vi. 15).

It is not correct, then, to say with Krüger (*Hist. of Early Christian Lit.*, New York, 1897, p. 21) that to the writer of this Epistle 'Judaism was an error with which Christianity could have nothing to do, but which it must reject.' Our author accepts the Jewish Scriptures, the patriarchs, the promises, Moses, and the Law in its (to his mind) correct spiritual interpretation. His animus is against the Jews, not against the Jewish religion; from Sinai onwards they have in reality stood outside that religion; its privileges were always the peculiar property of the Christians, held in reserve for them until the coming of the Messiah.

4. Christology.—In the facts of the earthly life of our Lord the *Epistle of Barnabas* has but little interest. From incidental notices one gathers that Jesus had performed wonders and miracles (v. 8); that He had chosen twelve apostles to preach His gospel (v. 9, viii. 3); that He was crucified, set at naught and spit upon (vii. 9); that He was given vinegar and gall to drink (vii. 3). It is evident that the writer did not think that his readers stood in need of instruction in the details of the life of Christ.

Nor does he aim at expounding a doctrine of Christ's Person and work; but when one gathers together from different parts of his work the passages which refer to our Lord, one can see that his teaching is in line with that of the Catholic Church. Christ is 'the Beloved' of God (iii. 6, iv. 3, 8). He 'manifested Himself as the Son of God' (v. 9, 11, vii. 9), who was pre-existent, being present at and taking an active part in the Creation (v. 5, 10, vi. 12); One who came among men in the flesh (v. 6, 10, 11, vi. 7, 9, 14, xii. 10); who should not be called Son of David but Son of God, for David himself called him not son, but Lord (xii. 10, 11); who is about to come again, and that quickly, to judge both the quick and the dead (v. 7, vii. 2, xxi. 3).

His teaching on the Atonement belongs to the same early period of Christian teaching. He knows that Christ suffered for us (v. 5, vii. 2) and as a sacrifice for our sins (vii. 3, 5, v. 2), that we might be forgiven, sanctified (v. 1), and saved (v. 10); and that we may reign with Him hereafter when we have been made perfect (vi. 18, 19); that He might annul death, show the resurrection (v. 6) and give us life (vii. 2, xii. 5); that He might sum up the tale of the sins of those who persecuted His prophets (v. 11; cf. xiv. 5). He has no theory of

the Atonement and no definition of sacrifice; he is content to show that according to the Scriptures Christ died for our sins and that we are thereby saved.

5. **Authorship.**—The Epistle is anonymous. Tradition, however, has ascribed it to Barnabas the fellow-worker of St. Paul. Clement of Alexandria quotes it as the work of 'the Apostolic Barnabas, who was one of the seventy and a fellow-worker of Paul' (*Strom.* ii. 20; cf. ii. 6, 7, 15, 18, v. 8, 10). Origen speaks of 'the Catholic Epistle of Barnabas' (*c. Cels.* i. 63). Eusebius calls it 'the Epistle of Barnabas,' *i.e.* the Apostle (*HE* vi. 14, iii. 25). It seems to have been held in high esteem in Alexandria towards the end of the 2nd cent.; and, since it is found in Codex Sinaiticus beginning on the leaf where Revelation ends, one may conclude that it was once read in churches. In the West it was never regarded as canonical. Eusebius objected to it, and finally its connexion with the NT was severed entirely.

The external evidence is thus wholly in favour of the apostolic authorship. But, coming as it does from a period as late as the closing years of the 2nd cent., this testimony cannot overbalance the weighty considerations drawn from internal evidence which make it impossible to ascribe it to the companion of St. Paul. What we know of the apostolic Barnabas indicates that he took a view of the Mosaic Law wholly different from that reflected in this Epistle. The 'Son of Consolation' belonged to the earliest stage of the Jewish Christian controversy; he was ready to give the Gentiles liberty, but by no means ready to say that the Jews might abandon the Law altogether (Gal 2^{13}). It is, of course, quite possible that, after the incident of Gal 2, Barnabas might have come to acknowledge the entire freedom of the Jews, but even this would not bring him into the atmosphere of our Epistle; for here there is no question as to whether a believing Jew may or may not abandon the Law; the main idea is that no Jew, believing or unbelieving, ought ever to have observed the Law at any time, even before Christ came. Such an attitude as this lay altogether outside the purview of the thoughts of St. Paul's companion, if we may judge from what St. Paul tells us of him. And it is difficult to think that any Jew, born under the Law, and nurtured in the stirring traditions of its maintenance in the face of cruel persecution, could come to feel so little enthusiasm for and interest in the national struggles and heroisms that he could sweep them all away as things which never ought to have been. A soul so dead to patriotism was no true Jew. None but an alien could be so unsympathetic to the national history of the Jews.

Not very much more can be added to this. The author was probably one of the class distinguished by a *charisma* or 'gift' of teaching. Though he disclaims any intention of writing professionally, yet he was conscious of possessing 'some claim to a deferential hearing' (Bartlet, *EBr*[11] iii. 409). Two theories are advanced to account for the ascription of the Epistle to Barnabas. It was the work of a namesake of St. Paul's companion; or, it was known as coming from Alexandria, and hence was ascribed to Barnabas as to one prominent in the early history of that Church.

6. **Place.**—There is a general agreement among scholars that Alexandria is the probable scene of its composition. The general style and the use of the allegorical method are thoroughly Alexandrian. At Alexandria, again, the Jews were particularly strong, and in constant conflict with the Christians. Hence the bitter opposition to the Jews as a nation, and the anxiety to cut off all sympathy with Jewish practices. It has been observed that there are serious blunders in the descriptions of Jewish rites; our author agrees neither with the OT nor with the Talmud. But possibly his knowledge is derived from Alexandria rather than from Palestine. Kohler, in *JE* ii. 537, remarks that the letter shows an astonishing familiarity with Jewish rites.

7. **Date.**—There is much less agreement on the question of the date of the Epistle. It is plainly later than the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus in A.D. 70, for it alludes to that event (xvi. 4). Again, it is earlier than the second destruction under Hadrian in A.D. 132; otherwise, as Lightfoot remarks, some reference to this event would have been found.

A closer determination of the date depends mainly on the interpretation of a passage from ch. iv. This chapter contains a warning that 'the last offence' is at hand; for the Lord has shortened the times and the days that His beloved may come quickly. As a proof that the last offence, *i.e.* the Antichrist, is at hand, the writer quotes a prophecy from the Book of Daniel (Dn $7^{7.\ 24}$) to the effect that ten kings shall reign, and after them shall arise a little king who shall subdue three of the kings in one (ὑφ' ἕν). It is evident that the writer thinks that this prophecy has been, in part at least, fulfilled; he has seen something in recent history which corresponds with this vision. Thus much then seems clear; when he wrote this, there had been ten Cæsars on the Imperial throne. Unless we are to omit some of the Emperors from the list—a proceeding for which there seems no justification—the tenth Emperor brings us to the reign of Vespasian. If the 'little horn' had already appeared when the Epistle was written, then we must look for three Emperors subdued by the successor of Vespasian. And this, of course, Titus did not do. Hence it seems better to interpret the little horn as Antichrist, who has not yet been revealed, for this gets rid of the difficulty of finding one Emperor who had already subdued three. The writer found this reference to three kings in his text of the prophecy, and meant to leave it to the future to show who the three were and how they would be overthrown. But no matter how this point is settled, the tenth horn can scarcely be other than Vespasian, and this fixes the date of the Epistle at between A.D. 70 and 79. Another chapter (xvi.) is sometimes referred to as having a bearing on this question. This chapter speaks of a building of the Temple of God. Many commentators, including Harnack, take this as referring to the material Temple at Jerusalem, which they say the Jews expected Hadrian to rebuild. Hence they place this Epistle *c.* A.D. 120. But this rests on a misinterpretation of ch. xvi. It seems certain that the writer has in view the spiritual Temple built up in the hearts of believers, and hence the passage has no bearing on the question of date (cf. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 241). Certain other considerations, such as the absence of a reference to Gnosticism and the apparent possibility of a relapse into Judaism, have also been brought forward. Suffice it to say that none of these is incompatible with the date given above.

8. **Text.**—Until the discovery of the famous Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ) in 1862, this Epistle was known only in a Latin translation and in eight Greek MSS. The Latin Version is found in a MS of the 8th cent., but the translation was made from a text supposed by Müller to be earlier than ℵ. It does not contain the last four chapters. The Greek MSS all lacked exactly the same portion of the Epistle—the first five and a half chapters—and joined the remainder of *Barnabas* on to the end of the *Epistle of Polycarp* as though it were all one letter. Being thus plainly de-

scended from a common source, they are not independent witnesses for the text. With the publication of ℵ by Tischendorf in 1862 a complete Greek text appeared for the first time. In this Codex our Epistle follows Revelation, and is followed by the *Shepherd* of Hermas. Another complete Greek MS was discovered in Constantinople by Bryennios in 1875. A good account of the MSS will be found in Harnack's *Altchristl. Litteratur*, i. 58–61, and in Gebhardt-Harnack's *Pat. Apost. Op.* i. 2, pp. vii–xx.

9. Integrity.—Attempts have been made by Schenkel, Heydecke, J. Weiss, and others to show that the Epistle contains many interpolations. Hefele, Hilgenfeld, and Gebhardt-Harnack have maintained the opposite. Of special interest is the relation of our Epistle to the *Didache* (*q.v.*); for both set forth much the same moral teaching under the title of 'The Two Ways.' Rendel Harris (*Teaching of the Apostles*, Cambridge, 1888, pp. 17–20) maintains that the writer of *Barnabas* knew the *Didache* and quoted it from memory. Harnack, however, seems more successful in showing that the writer of the *Didache* used and improved upon our Epistle (cf. *Die Lehre der zwölf Apostel*, Leipzig, 1884, pp. 81–87).

LITERATURE.—English translations will be found in J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1 vol., London, 1891; *The Writings of the Apostolic Fathers*, tr. Roberts, Donaldson, and Crombie (=Ante-Nicene Christian Library, i.), 97 ff.; K. Lake, *Apostolic Fathers*, London, 1912. Reference should also be made to Gebhardt-Harnack, *Patrum Apost. Op.* i. 2 [Leipzig, 1878], who give a complete list of titles down to 1878 on pp. xlii–xliv; A. Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1893; A. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Litteratur*, Freiburg i. B., 1902–03; J. Donaldson, *Apostolical Fathers*, London, 1874 (=new ed. of vol. i. of *Crit. Hist. of Christ. Lit. and Doct.*); W. Cunningham, *A Dissertation on the Epistle of St. Barnabas*, do. 1877; C. J. Hefele, *Pat. Apost. Op.* iv. 8 [Tübingen, 1855]; S. Sharpe, *Epistle of Barnabas*, London, 1880; G. Salmon, *Introd. to the NT*[6], London, 1892, pp. 513–519; K. Kohler in *JE* ii. [1902] 537 f.; W. Milligan in *DCB* i. [1877] 260 ff.; J. Vernon Bartlet in *EBr*[11] iii. [1910] 408 f.; J. G. Müller, *Erklärung des Barnabasbriefes*, Leipzig, 1869.

HAROLD HAMILTON.

BARSABBAS.—See JOSEPH, JUDAS.

BARUCH, APOCALYPSE OF.—The subject of this article is a Jewish work composed not long after the Destruction of Jerusalem in A.D. 70, and now preserved only in Syriac. This Syriac is a translation from the Greek, of which only a tiny fragment is extant; the Greek itself seems to have been a translation from an Aramaic or Hebrew original.

The *Apocalypse of Baruch* was first published as a whole by Ceriani from the Ambrosian MS of the Peshiṭta OT (6th cent.). The Latin translation appeared in 1866, and the Syriac text in 1871. An English translation with full critical and explanatory commentary by R. H. Charles appeared in 1896. In *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. ii. [1907] 1055–1306, M. Kmosko gives the Syriac, together with an amended text of Ceriani's translation. The Greek fragment appeared in 1903 in *Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, vol. iii. pp. 3–7. By some oversight Kmosko does not notice this important discovery.

1. Contents.—The work professes to be written by Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah, immediately after the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadrezzar. It does not readily fall into sections, but may be analyzed as follows:

i.–xx. The capture of Jerusalem, and the vindication of God's power and justice in respect to it.

Baruch is miraculously shown the destruction of the wall of Jerusalem by angels and the hiding of the holy vessels* (vi. vii.), after which the Chaldæans enter. Baruch laments over Zion (x. 6–xii. 4); after seven days God reveals to him that justice will be done on the heathen (xiii. 5–12); the Fall of Jerusalem is a step towards the final judgment (xx. 2).

xxi.–xxxiv. Prayer of Baruch, and first Messianic revelation to him.

The world will last until all the predestined sons of Adam have been born (xxiii. 4, 5). At the end will come the Messiah, the Manna will descend again, and Behemoth and Leviathan will be there for the saints to eat (xxix.). After that comes the resurrection of the dead (xxx.).

Baruch assembles the people and warns them that Zion will be rebuilt and then again destroyed; the tribulation at the end of time is the worse (xxxii. 2, 6).

xxxv.–xlvi. Vision of the cedar and the vine.

The cedar is the Roman Empire, the vine is Messiah (xxxix. 5, 7); in the end the last great heathen ruler will be destroyed by Messiah (xl.).

Baruch again warns the people to keep the Law (xliv. 3, xlvi. 5).

xlvii.–lxxvii. Second prayer of Baruch, followed by a revelation to him about the resurrection of the good and the bad, and the vision of the black and the bright waters.

The dead will rise unaltered, but the righteous will then become glorious while the wicked waste away (l. li.). All history is divided into 12 parts: the black waters are the six bad periods, beginning with the Fall ('O Adam, what hast thou done to all those who are born from thee?' xlviii. 42); the bright waters are the short alternating gleams of righteousness, beginning with Abraham (lvi.–lxxii.). At the end the saints will have a glorious time (lxxiii f.).

Baruch again warns the people to keep the Law: if they do so, those left in the Holy Land will never be removed (lxxvii. 5, 6). To the captive Jews in Babylon he sends a letter by hand (lxxvii. 17), while to the lost Nine-and-a-half Tribes he sends a letter by an eagle (lxxvii. 19 ff.).

lxxviii.–lxxxvii. Baruch's letter to the Lost Tribes.

Baruch tells them of the destruction of Jerusalem, announces the approaching end of all things, and exhorts them to keep the Law. 'If we set our hearts straight we shall receive everything that we have lost and more' (lxxxv. 4).

2. Problems raised by the book.—The chief problems connected with the *Apocalypse of Baruch* are (1) its place in Jewish thought, especially in connexion with *4 Ezra* (*i.e.* '2 Esdras' in the English Apocrypha, which it much resembles); and (2) its literary history in Syriac and the relation of the Syriac text to the underlying Greek. It will be convenient to take this second group first.

(1) *Literary history*, etc.—The Ambrosian MS is the only one that contains the whole work, but the *Epistle of Baruch* (chs. lxxviii.–lxxxvii., see above) is extant in several Syriac MSS and found a place in the Paris and London Polyglots. This extract must be of exclusively Jacobite origin: it appears as a sort of Appendix to Jeremiah and is included in the Jacobite Massora. Its readings are inferior to that of the full text preserved in the Ambrosian Codex,* where it is dissociated from Jeremiah and immediately precedes *4 Ezra*.

The Syriac style indicates a very early date for the translation. It is idiomatic and flowing, like the Syriac translation of Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History*. So full, indeed, is it of genuine Semitic idiom that various perfectly good Syriac phrases have actually been regarded by R. H. Charles as the survival of original Hebrew idioms, persisting through the lost Greek intermediary. Especially is this the case with regard to the use of the infinitive absolute for emphasis, which is quite good Syriac and occurs in the *Ev. da-Mepharrĕshe*, though the construction is usually avoided in later forms of the Syriac NT.† And this general impression has been signally confirmed by the discovery of the Oxyrhynchus Fragment. Short as the fragment is, it gives us enough of the Greek text of chs. xii. xiii. and xiv. to tell us in what

* Note that the seven-branched candlestick is not included: *that* was actually carried in triumph by Titus.

* Here and there the extract is better, *e.g.* lxxxii. 4, where all the editors rightly prefer 'drop' (=σταγών, Is 40[15]) to 'pollution.'

† A good instance is Eus. *HE* iv. 15. 29, where ταῦτα οὖν μετὰ τοσοῦτον τάχους ἐγένετο θᾶττον ἢ ἐλέγετο is rendered in Syriac, 'And these things quicker than they were said were indeed done (*mest'ārū est'ar*).' It is obvious that such a rendering, while perfectly adequate, does not enable us to reconstruct the wording of the original.

manner the Syriac translator has gone to work. Especially important is xiii. 12, where the Greek has [ὑμεῖς γὰρ εὐερ]γετούμενοι ἀεὶ ἠχα[ριστεῖτε (ἀεί)],* but the Syriac is 'For always I have been benefiting you, and ye have been denying benefit always.' This sentence sufficiently shows how difficult it would be to reconstruct the Greek from the Syriac of *Baruch*, and how impossible to argue back to the wording of a hypothetical Hebrew or Aramaic original. At the same time 'denying benefit' (*kăphar beṭaibūthā*) is actually used for ἀχάριστος in 2 Ti 3^2 and in Lk 6^{35} syr.-sin. (not Pesh.): in a word, the Syriac of *Baruch* is akin in style to the earliest Syriac translations of the NT.

The *Apocalypse of Baruch* contains no formal quotations from canonical Scripture, but several sentences are obviously moulded upon the OT. As Charles has founded an argument on these for a Hebrew original, it is necessary to point out that the evidence is really indecisive. 'The quotations from the OT agree in all cases but one with the Massoretic Hebrew against the Septuagint,' says Charles. In support of this he adduces eight passages. In four of these, however (iv. 2, vi. 8, li. 4, lviii. 1), *Baruch* agrees with the Peshiṭta, as we might expect in a work which pays so much attention to Syriac idiom and is so little of a word-for-word rendering of the Greek. In two others ('Thy wisdom is correctness,' xxxviii. 2; and 'fled under Thy wings,' xli. 4) the Syriac does not agree with any biblical text.† The allusion in xxxv. 2 is admitted by Charles to be merely a paraphrase. The remaining passage is lxxxii. 4, 5, where the heathen are said to be 'like a drop' and 'counted as spittle': this agrees with the LXX of Is 40^{15} (ὡς σταγών . . . ὡς σίελος), but not with the Hebrew or the Syriac.‡ Thus the biblical allusions in *Baruch* do *not* prove that the author was acquainted with the Massoretic text: they merely show that the Syriac translator was familiar with the Peshiṭta. It is possible, of course, if the Greek be a translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, that the Greek translator changed the wording of lxxxii. 5 to agree with the Greek Bible; but there is no actual evidence which points in that direction. The 'sirens,' the 'Lilith,' the 'devils,' and the 'jackals' of x. 8 are all found in the Peshiṭta of Is $13^{21.\ 22}$ and $34^{13.\ 14}$. It should be added that there is nothing to suggest that the Syriac translator of the *Apocalypse* was a Christian rather than a Jew.

(2) *Relation to 4 Ezra.*—It is obvious that the *Apocalypse of Baruch* and that of Salathiel, commonly known as *4 Ezra*, have a great deal in common, both in ideas and in language.§ They must have issued from the same circle, if they are not actually the work of the same author. And, further, it is almost certain that they must have been originally composed in the same language, either both in Greek, or both in Hebrew or Aramaic. As has been indicated in the preceding paragraphs, most of the arguments for a Semitic origin of *Baruch* founded upon the Syriac text are inconclusive; but if the Latin text of *4 Ezra* (which is undoubtedly a literal translation of the lost Greek) creates the impression that this Greek was itself a translation, then after all we must regard the Greek of *Baruch* also as a translation.

From the linguistic side the chief arguments concern the names used for God and the occurrence of the infinitive absolute. Beside words which imply Κύριος (as in the LXX), we find *Altissimus* and *Fortis* (e.g. *4 Ezra* 9^{45}) in both works; these must correspond to Ὕψιστος and Ἰσχυρός in the Greek.* Ὕψιστος in a Jewish writing corresponds to עליון (Aram. עלאה); but as it was also a name of God in Greek its occurrence proves nothing as to the original language of our book. Ἰσχυρός, on the other hand, is only found as a name of God in translations, and implies אל (*El*); it is characteristic of the later Jewish translators Aquila and Theodotion, to a less degree of Symmachus, and not at all of the genuine LXX, which only uses ἰσχυρός as an adjective in the ordinary sense of 'strong' (Ps 7^{12} 41^{3}). Thus a reader of the Greek Bible would not be likely to use it by itself as a proper name for 'the Almighty.' Its presence in *Apoc. Baruch* and *4 Ezra* must therefore be held to suggest that the Greek texts of these works are translations.

The use of the infinitive absolute points in the same direction. If it were merely attested in Syriac, it might be explained away as an idiom introduced by the translator. But its frequent occurrence in the Latin text of *4 Ezra* (e.g. *excedens excessit*, 4^{2}) cannot thus be disposed of, and at present no real example of this idiom is known in works composed originally in Greek, though it is common in translations such as the LXX. The linguistic evidence, therefore, though not quite conclusively, points to a Semitic, and consequently to a Palestinian, origin for both *4 Ezra* and the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. But, as explained above, we are very far from being able to reconstruct the text of this hypothetical Hebrew or Aramaic original (lxiv. 7, 8).

Not only the language, but also the contents, of *Baruch* favour a Hebrew or Aramaic original. The circle of thought and tradition is throughout Palestinian, and uninfluenced by Greek speculation and culture. The legends incidentally referred to are specifically Jewish, and can be illustrated from the Talmud, such as that of Behemoth and Leviathan created to be the food of the saints (xxix. 4); or the story of Manasseh, who was cast into the brazen 'horse' (*i.e.* mule), and who, though he prayed from it to God and was delivered, yet was finally tormented.†

3. Integrity.—In what has been said above, the *Apocalypse of Baruch* has been treated as an organic whole. This has been controverted by Charles, who splits the book up into no fewer than six (or seven) separate fragments, on the assumption that an apocalyptist's anticipations of the future will be clear-cut and self-consistent. But this is hardly to be expected in a work which reflects the mind of an orthodox Jew just after the Destruction of Jerusalem. The Temple with its priests and sacrifices, nay, the very national existence, had been brought utterly to an end by the heathen. The individual Jews that remained were left with nothing but the Law and a tumult of impossible hopes. The author is swayed by his subject. He may believe that the captured city was not the true, the heavenly Jerusalem (iv. 2–6), and that it had been destroyed by the angels of God before the enemy were allowed to capture it (vi.–viii.). Yet the catastrophe is too recent to allow him calmly to contemplate the Fall of Zion, and his

* The reconstruction is practically certain, except the last ἀεί.

† In xli. 4, Charles translates 'fled for refuge . . . ' But *ʾĕraq* means 'fled'; the 'taking refuge' which is inherent in the Heb. חסה (Ruth 2^{12} etc.) is not expressed in the Syriac.

‡ The same comparisons are used in *4 Ezra* 6^{56}, which must similarly also be considered to show the influence of the Greek Bible.

§ A good account of these resemblances is to be found in H. St. J. Thackeray's art. 'Esdras, Second Book of,' in *HDB* i. 763 f. See also G. H. Box in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudepigr.* ii. 553 ff.

* The Greek fragment of *Apoc. Baruch* actually contains the word ἰσχυ[ροῦ].

† Another instance, important from the incidental manner of its occurrence, is in lxxvii. 25, where we read: 'Solomon also . . . whithersoever he wished to send or seek for anything, commanded a bird and it obeyed him.' This is a manifest allusion to the story of the wildfowl by which Solomon sent a letter to the Queen of Sheba at Kiṭṭor (2nd Targum to *Esther*, i. 2), a legend familiar in Arabic, but not current in Greek

lament over the ruins (x. 6–xii. 4) is uninterrupted by any gleam of hope. Surely this is what might be expected in a work of literature, apart from the fact that it is not till later in the book that revelations about the future are given to Baruch.

While, however, absolute consistency is not to be expected, it is necessary to show that the Fall of Jerusalem is assumed all through the book. A Jewish apocalyptist may vary in his anticipations of the future, but after A.D. 70 he could never write as if the Temple were still standing. No great weight, indeed, can be laid on passages like ch. xxvii., where neither the building nor the destruction of the Herodian Temple is mentioned; for the historical situation implied throughout is that of Baruch lamenting over the ruins of the recently destroyed Solomonic Temple, it being obvious that the author often practically identifies himself with Baruch, and his own recently destroyed Temple with the Solomonic. But besides these passages it has been asserted that the present existence of a Temple at Jerusalem is assumed in xxxii. 2ff., lix. 4, and lxviii. 5. On closer examination, however, this is seen not to be the case. Ch. xxxii. is an address by Baruch to the Jews left in the land after the Fall of Jerusalem. He tells them that Zion will be built again (v.[2]); but that building will not last: it will be thrown down and remain desolate, and only afterwards will it be renewed in glory (vv.[3. 4]). The whole context shows that it is a prophecy of the re-building of the Temple of Zerubbabel and its subsequent destruction, and we must interpret, or if necessary amend, the wording of v.[2] in accordance with that context. It is literally, 'Because after a little time the building of Zion will be shaken that it may be built again.' Either, therefore, this is an adaptation of Hag 2[6], Ezk 37[7], or the word for 'shaken' is a mistranslation for some word like 'set in motion.' In lix. 4 it is said that God showed Moses 'the likeness of Zion and its measurements, made in the likeness of the present Sanctuary.' But this phrase, corresponding to *τὰ νῦν ἅγια*, does not necessarily mean 'the Sanctuary which is now in good repair'; it need mean no more than 'the modern Temple,' as contrasted with the heavenly Pattern (Ex 25[40]). In lxviii. 5, Baruch is told that Zion will be built again, but in the later predictions of the final troubles before the advent of Messiah no mention is made of its subsequent destruction. But this is not conclusive, as no detailed historical predictions are made in lxix.–lxxiv. 'The Most High . . . alone knows what will befall' (lxix. 2).

In all this it must be borne in mind that *Apoc. Baruch* is known to us only from a single MS of a not very literal translation into Syriac of a Greek translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original. It is, therefore, only likely that some minor incoherencies may be due to accidents of transmission. But they are, after all, very few.

4. General point of view.—The *Apocalypse of Baruch*, then, is here regarded as a unity, and as the work of a Palestinian Jew writing soon after A.D. 70. *4 Ezr.* 3–14 may be described in similar terms. We have noticed some of the linguistic connexions between these works.* They coincide also in much of their teaching, in the division of history into 12 parts, in the importance attached to Adam's sin, in the legend of Behemoth and Leviathan, in the interest taken in the Lost Tribes,† in the stress laid on the permanence of the Law.

The chief difference between them lies in the psychology of the writers. The fate they anticipate for Israel is similar, but it affects them differently. The author of *4 Ezra* is not really a pessimist in the sense of believing that evil is ultimately victorious in this world. The eagle, *i.e.* Rome, is destroyed in the end; the last act in the world-drama is the glorious 400 years' reign of Messiah. Then comes the other world of full retribution. The scheme satisfies the Most High, who says, 'Let the multitude perish, which was born in vain' (9[22]). The really interesting thing is that it does not satisfy Ezra. 'This is my first and last saying,' says he, 'that it had been better that the earth had not given Adam, or else when it had given him to have restrained him from sinning' (7[46] [116]). 'We are tormented, because we perish and know it. Let the race of men lament and the beasts of the field be glad, for it is better with them than with us; for they look not for judgment, neither do they know of torments or of salvation promised unto them after death' (7[64ff.]).

There is nothing of this arraignment of Providence in the *Apocalypse of Baruch*. When the author thinks for a moment about the fate of apostate Israelites, he falls into intentional obscurity (xlii. 4, 5). In general, he is quite content to nerve himself to believe that the Mighty One will ultimately make the Israelites triumph in this world, and that, after that, in the world to come, the righteous will be abundantly rewarded and the sinners tormented. His main interests are immediate and practical. He has a definite message for his countrymen. Let those who are left in the Holy Land stay there (lxxvii. 6), and let one and all, especially the exiles, hold fast by the Law, though the Temple be destroyed. 'Zion hath been taken from us, and we have nothing now save the Mighty One and His Law' (lxxxv. 3); but 'if ye have respect to the Law and are intent upon wisdom, the lamp will not fail, and the shepherd will not depart, and the fountain will not run dry' (lxxvii. 16). This is the message of the last of the great series of Jewish Apocalypses. As Daniel shows us what was the spirit that nerved the *Ḥasîdîm* to resist Antiochus, so Baruch lets us see in what frame of mind it was possible for the Rabbis under Johanan ben Zakkai and his successors to sit down and adapt the religion and the hopes of Israel to the times of the long dominion of the Gentiles.

Cf. also art. ESDRAS (SECOND).

LITERATURE.—This is sufficiently indicated in the first paragraph of this article. In addition, since this article was written, the Apocalypse of Baruch has been re-edited by R. H. Charles in *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT*, Oxford, 1913, ii. 470–526; but the positions adopted in that edition only differ in unimportant details from the separate edition of 1896, to which Charles frequently refers back for the discussion of details.

F. C. BURKITT.

BASKET.—Two different words for 'basket' are used in connexion with St. Paul's escape from Damascus, one, *σφυρίς* or *σπυρίς* (Ac 9[25]), being the same as is found in the miracle of feeding the 4000 (Mt 15[37], Mk 8[8]), the other, *σαργάνη*, being peculiar to the Apostle's own version of the incident (2 Co 11[33]). The former kind of basket plays an important part in relation to the miracles of feeding, and the argument for its larger size as compared with *κόφινος* is supported by a reference to its use in facilitating St. Paul's escape (but see *DCG*, art. 'Basket'). The latter calls for detailed treatment here. It has been thought of: (1) as flexible, coming near the idea of reticule or net; (2) as rigid: either braid-work (used especially of fish-

* Among single phrases, the political situation is reflected in *habitatio Hierusalem* (*4 Ezr.* 10[47]) and 'the habitation of Zion' (*Bar.* lxxx. 7), *i.e.* 'the fact that Jerusalem, or Zion, was inhabited.'

† It is possible that to this interest the books owed their preservation in Syriac. Edessa itself is situated on 'the other side' of the Euphrates, and those Edessenes who read the Epistle may have half fancied that the *Epistle of Baruch* was addressed to their own ancestors.

baskets [*EBi*]), or wicker-work. This last seems to be nearest the truth. In Jewish usage the root סרר (סרר) attaches to weaving in the rigid form (*e.g.* basket-making) as opposed to the flexible (*e.g.* spinning). One species of work-stool is called סרגין. The basket-making industry was located in the neighbourhood of the Sea of Galilee, with headquarters at Scythopolis, and a ready outlet for the manufactured article was found in Damascus (see S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäologie*, ii. [Leipzig, 1911] 269 f., where many kinds are specified).

In the absence of knowledge as to the nature and size of the window (*θυρίς*), and other details of St. Paul's escape, we cannot hope to attain to a precise result regarding the structure of the *σαργάνη*. It need not be said that present-day traditions in Damascus are of little value. Only the lower half of the wall dates possibly from NT times (see *EBi*, art. 'Damascus'). For the device of letting a person down through a window, see Jos 2^{15} and 1 S 19^{12}; cf. also Josephus, *BJ* I. xvi. 4.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

BEAST.—The word appears with three references. —**1.** It signifies simply an irrational animal (2 P 2^{12}); a beast of burden (Ac 23^{24}); an animal used for food (Rev 18^{13}), or for sacrifice (He 13^{11}); or it is used as symbolizing Nature in its highest forms of nobility, strength, wisdom, and swiftness (Rev $4^{6ff.}$; cf. Ezk 1 and Is 6).—**2.** St. Paul writes that he fought with 'beasts' at Ephesus (1 Co 15^{32}). If these were actual beasts, then the Apostle, who had come off conqueror in the fight, instead of being handed over to the executioner, was set free by the provincial magistrate (cf. C. v. Weizsäcker, *Das apostol. Zeitalter*, 1886, p. 328 [Eng. tr., *The Apostolic Age*, i. (1894) 385]; A. C. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, 1897, p. 280 ff.). The uncertainties and difficulties of this position are, however, so serious that it is commonly abandoned in favour of a metaphorical interpretation, and for these reasons: (*a*) St. Paul was a Roman citizen; (*b*) neither in Acts nor in 2 Cor. is there any allusion to an actual conflict with beasts; (*c*) had he so fought, he would not have survived. Ignatius, referring to his journey to Rome where he was to suffer martyrdom, wrote, 'I am bound to ten leopards, that is, a troop of soldiers . . .' (*ad Rom.* 5). Some explain St. Paul's allusion by Ac 19; but this tumult was probably later, and such explanation disagrees with 1 Co $16^{8.9}$. Ramsay alleges a mixture of Greek and Roman ideas—in the Greek lecture-room St. Paul would become familiar with the Platonic comparison of the mob with a dangerous beast, and as a Roman citizen he would often have seen men fight with beasts in the circus (*St. Paul*, 1895, p. 230 f.). Max Krenkel (*Beiträge zur Aufhellung der Gesch. und der Briefe des Apost. Paulus*, Brunswick, 1890, pp. 126–152) suggests that Christians used 'beast' (cf. Rev. 13) with a cryptic reference to Rome's power (cf. the four beasts in Dn $8^{3ff.}$). We are certain only that St. Paul referred to some extreme danger from men through which he had passed in Ephesus, of which the Corinthians had heard (P. W. Schmiedel, *Hand-Kommentar zum Neuen Testament*, Freiburg i. B., 1893, p. 198).—**3.** In Rev. (11^{7} $13^{1ff.}$) two beasts are described, one ($13^{1\text{-}10}$; cf. Dn $7^{17ff.}$) symbolizing the hostile political world-power of Rome and the kings of Rome as vassals of Satan, the other ($13^{11\text{-}18}$) the hostile religious power of false prophecy (cf. 16^{13} 19^{20} 20^{10}) and magic, enlisted as ally of the political power—a false Christ or Antichrist, by which the worship of the Cæsar was imposed on the provinces. See, further, art. APOCALYPSE.

C. A. BECKWITH.

BEATING.—The AV uses the word 'beat' to express some form of corporal punishment, without defining the particular mode of infliction. **1.** In Ac 5^{40} 22^{19} when *δέρω* ('to scourge, so as to flay off the skin') is thus translated, the allusion is to the Jewish mode of castigation, inflicted with a leathern scourge, in the former instance by the authority of the supreme Sanhedrin at Jerusalem, in the latter by that of the rulers of the synagogues, or local Sanhedrins, at the instigation of Saul. St. Paul himself, during the period of his apostolic career previous to the writing of 2 Cor., was subjected to this species of chastisement on no less than five occasions (2 Co 11^{24}), none of which is referred to in the Acts.

2. In Ac 16^{22}, when *ῥαβδίζω* is rendered by the verb 'beat,' the allusion is to the Roman punishment with rods. In defiance of the Roman Law, which exempted every citizen from the disgrace of being scourged with rods or whips, the duumvirs at Philippi subjected St. Paul and Silas to this cruel form of maltreatment. St. Paul suffered from two other inflictions of the same sort, regarding which the Acts is silent.

3. In Ac 18^{17} 21^{32} the verb *τύπτω* is used to denote another mode of beating, namely, that inflicted by mob violence. In the case of Sosthenes, the assault, apparently by members of the Greek lower order, entailed no danger to the life or limb of the victim. In St. Paul's case, on the other hand, the onslaught by the fanatical Asiatic Jews was of such a violent character that nothing but the timely intervention of the Roman tribune prevented a fatal result.

See, further, art. SCOURGING.

W. S. MONTGOMERY.

BEAUTIFUL GATE.—See TEMPLE and DOOR.

BED, COUCH.—In the relevant section of the NT four different Greek words are translated 'bed.' In He 13^{4}, where the imperatives of the RV should be noted, the marriage-bed (*κοίτη*) is referred to, and is synonymous with the state of marriage itself. In Rev 2^{22} the clause *βάλλω αὐτὴν εἰς κλίνην* is to be taken metaphorically, representing the enforced recumbent position of the sick (cf. Mt 9^{2}, Mk 7^{30}, also Mt $8^{6.14}$), paralleled in the same verse by *εἰς θλῖψιν μεγάλην*, the portion of *τοὺς μοιχεύοντας μετ' αὐτῆς*.

The remaining instances are concrete, involving *κλιναρίων* ('beds') and *κραβάττων* ('couches') in Ac 5^{15}, and *κραβάττου* (this time translated 'bed,' both in AV and RV) in Ac 9^{33}. Regarding the former of these we find that *κλιναρίων*, the reading of the principal MSS, has replaced an earlier *κλινῶν*. *κραβάττων* (Vulg. *grabatis*) has equal MS authority with *κλιναρίων*, but *κραβάκτου(ων)* and *κραββάτου(ων)* are alternative spellings, particularly in Ac 9^{33}. It is difficult to distinguish between the two kinds of beds. *κλινάριον* is a 'small bed,' with or without reference to structure. In Jewish usage *κράβαττος* appears to be descriptive, and to have some connexion with the bands of leather that were used to fill up the framework, by means of which a couch or seat by day could be converted into a bed by night. It is equated to *σκίμπους, σκιμπόδιον*, which is defined as a mean bed for accommodating one person (Grimm-Thayer), but may with equal propriety be taken as akin to couch or sofa (see S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäologie*, i. [Leipzig, 1910] p. 66). Each kind was portable, and to this end a framework of some sort would have been of service, but was not essential. Meyer justly refuses to accept a distinction which makes the one word mean a soft, costly bed, and the other a poor, humble one. The story of Æneas (Ac $9^{33.34}$) suggests the presence of soft materials, which could be smoothed out (*στρῶσον*; cf. Mk 14^{15}). The references to bed and couch are indicative of simplicity, not to say poverty (cf. the *fœnum*, bed of hay, characteristic of the Jews [Juvenal, *Sat.* iii. 14 and vi. 541]).

The refined and luxurious modes that without doubt prevailed in the Græco-Roman world are only matter of inference from Rev 18[12].

Although there is no mention of bed in Ac 12[8], the passage may be cited as affording a vivid picture of one rising up from sleep, ungirt, with sandals put off, and the upper garment laid aside or perhaps having been used as a covering by night. The passage He 11[21] may reasonably be brought within the scope of this article, since it is likely that 'staff' should be rendered 'bed' (cf. Gn 47[31]). See article STAFF. W. CRUICKSHANK.

BEGINNING AND END.—See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

BELIAL, BELIAR.—This word occurs only once in the NT (2 Co 6[15]). To understand its meaning there we must trace its use in the OT. The word is Hebrew (בְּלִיַּעַל), but its etymology is uncertain. The ordinary derivation (from בְּלִי, 'without,' and rt. יעל, which in Hiph. הוֹעִיל='to profit') seems to be the best, and this makes the word mean 'worthlessness.' But T. K. Cheyne (*Expos.*, 5th ser., i. [1895] 435 ff.; cf. also art. 'Belial' in *EBi*) makes it mean 'one may not ascend' (so suiting Sheol in Ps 18[4f.]; see below), or 'hopeless ruin.' The Talmud makes it mean 'without the yoke' (בְּלִי עוֹל). The Syriac lexicographers (see R. Payne Smith, *Thesaur. Syr.*, Oxford, 1879–1901, i. 534) understand it to mean 'prince of the air'; they seem to have derived it from בַּעַל, *ba'al*, 'lord,' and the Syriac אֵתֶר =*ἀήρ*, 'air.' But the last two derivations are certainly wrong.

Taking the meaning 'worthlessness,' we note that the ordinary use of 'Belial' in the OT suits it very well; 'sons of Belial' or 'men of Belial' means 'worthless *or* wicked men,' according to the common Hebrew idiom which substitutes a genitive for an adjective. The word is, however, twice used in the OT as a quasi-proper name. In Ps 18[4f.] we read of 'the cords of death,' 'the floods of Belial,' 'the cords of Sheol,' 'the snares of death'; here Belial=the under world. Again, in Nah 1[15] we read that Belial shall no more pass through Judah; he is utterly cut off. In this passage Belial almost exactly corresponds to the 'man of lawlessness, the son of perdition' of St. Paul (2 Th 2[3], on which see Milligan, *Thessalonians*, London, 1908).

In 2 Co 6[15], where the best MSS (B C L P ℵ) and most of the VSS (but not the Vulgate) read **'Beliar'** rather than 'Belial' (Peshiṭta 'Satan,' but the Ḥarklensian Syriac 'Beliar'), the word is used as a proper name=Satan, or else Antichrist, Satan's representative. This use of the word is found frequently in the literature of the period. In the *Test. of the XII Patriarchs* (Benj. 3), Belial is the 'aerial spirit' (see AIR), and frequently in this book (*c.* A.D. 100?) is identified with Satan. In the *Sibylline Oracles* (iii. 63, 74, where the reference to the 'Augustans' or *Σεβαστηνοί* shows the passage to be a later interpolation, probably of 1st cent. A.D.; see also ii. 167), Belial is Antichrist. In the *Ascension of Isaiah* (iv. 2), Beliar is 'the great angel, the king of this world.' This work in its present form is probably not later than A.D. 100.

There are many forms of this name, chiefly due to the phonetic interchange of liquids: Belial, Beliar, Beliam, Belian, Beliab, Belias, Berial.

LITERATURE.—W. Baudissin in *PRE*[3] ii. [1897] 548, and in *ExpT* viii. [1896–97] 360, 423, 472, ix. [1897–98] 40; T. K. Cheyne in *Expositor*, 5th ser., i. [1895] 435, in *ExpT* ix. 91, 332, also in *EBi*, *s.v.*; P. Jensen in *ExpT* ix. 283; F. Hommel in *ExpT* ix. 567; W. Bousset, *Der Antichrist*, Göttingen, 1895, pp. 86, 99; R. H. Charles, *Ascension of Isaiah*, London, 1900, pp. li, 6; Levi-Kohler in *JE* ii. 658. A. J. MACLEAN.

BELIEF.—See FAITH.

BELOVED (*ἀγαπητός*, sometimes *ἠγαπημένος*; *ἀγαπητός* is also sometimes translated in EV 'dearly beloved' [Ro 12[19]] or 'well beloved' [16[5], 3 Jn 1]).—In the NT outside the Gospels 'beloved' is found as (*a*) a description of Christ, (*b*) a description of Christians.

(*a*) For the first usage, cf. Eph 1[6] (*ἠγαπημένος*); also 2 P 1[17] 'This is my beloved (*ἀγαπητός*) Son, in whom I am well pleased.' The latter is a quotation from the gospel story (cf. Mt 17[5]).

(*b*) As applied to Christians the term is much more frequent. Sometimes it refers to their relation to God. '*ἀγαπητοὶ θεοῦ* is applied to Christians as being reconciled to God and judged by Him to be worthy of eternal life' (Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.* *ἀγαπητός*). Cf. Ro 1[7], 1 Th 1[4], Col 3[12] (the Gr. in the last two cases is *ἠγαπημένος*). The commonest usage, however, is in reference to the mutual relations of Christians one to another; cf. Philem 1[6], 1 Ti 6[2]. 'Hence they are often dignified with this epithet in tender address, both indirect (Ro 16[5. 8], Col 4[14]) and direct (Ro 12[19], 1 Co 4[14], He 6[9], Ja 1[16], 1 P 2[11], 2 P 3[1])' (Grimm-Thayer). Particularly noteworthy is the phrase *ἀγαπητὸς ἐν κυρίῳ* (Ro 16[8]). In the sub-apostolic literature we find similar usages. *ἠγαπημένος* is used of Christ in Barn. 3[6] 4[3. 8] (some place this work in the 1st cent. A.D., though a 2nd cent. date is more usual). In 1 Clem., which is generally admitted to be of the 1st cent., we have *ἀγαπητός* of the relation of Christians to God (8[5]); while in the same epistle it is also found of the mutual relation of Christians to one another, and was a mode of address: 'beloved' (1[1. 5] etc.). Cf. also Barn. 4[1-9].

Origin and significance of the above usage.—In reference to Christ the origin of the term *ἀγαπητός* (*ἠγαπημένος*) is in Is 42[1]. As a name of our Lord it is parallel with *ἐκλεκτός*: both belong to the original Messianic stratum of early Christian theology, which, when set in opposition to the later developed 'pneumatic' Christology, receives the name of 'adoptianist.' Such opposition is, however, not necessary, as is shown by the occurrence of the term in Ephesians along with a highly developed Christology.

The use of *ἀγαπητός* to describe Christ is, however, undoubtedly closely associated with the description of Christians as *ἠγαπημένοι θεοῦ*. Cf. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–99, i. 185, note 4, where it is pointed out that 'Barnabas, who calls Christ the "Beloved," uses the same expression for the Church.'

As regards the usage in reference to the mutual relation of Christians one to another, the only points which need comment are its frequency, and the evidence this affords of the spirit of brotherhood which characterized the Primitive Church.

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

BENEDICTION (*εὐλογία*, *benedictio*).—This term has in the NT all the senses of *bĕrākāh* in the OT. It signifies: (*a*) praises given to God or Christ (Rev 5[12. 13] 7[12], Ja 3[10]); (*b*) in a sense exclusively biblical, favour or blessing from God (He 6[7]); (*c*) a blessing asked for (He 12[17]); (*d*) the blessing of the Christian gospel or calling (Ro 15[29], Gal 3[14], Eph 1[3], 1 P 3[9]); (*e*) the gifts or temporal goods bestowed on others (2 Co 9[5]); (*f*) by a figure, the cup of the Lord's Supper, on account of the thanksgiving and praise offered in connexion with it (1 Co 10[16]); (*g*) the fine and flattering speeches (Ro 16[18]) used by false teachers to lead away Christians—the only place in the NT where the word has its classical sense. It is the thought of the Apostle that Christianity is specially a religion which leads its followers to help and bless others (Ro 12[14], 1 Co 4[12] 14[16], 1 P 3[9])—an altruistic faith which reminds one by contrast of the luxuriant use of anathema and excommunication in the Middle Ages. From the

verb εὐλογεῖν has come the purely biblical and ecclesiastical word εὐλογητός, Vulg. *benedictus*, 'blessed,' which is the LXX translation of *bārûk*, participle of *bārāk*. God is called thus because praises are made to Him and He is the source of blessings (Ro 1^{25} 9^{5}, 2 Co 1^{3} 11^{31}, Eph 1^{3}, 1 P 1^{3}).

The word 'benedictions' is more commonly used of those well-wishings or spiritual blessings in Christ which form such a characteristic part of the closing sentences of the Epistles of the NT, especially those of St. Paul. One of these benedictions, under the title of the Apostolic Benediction, has passed into use in the public worship of many Churches of Christendom. Let us take these sentences in chronological order. (1) 'The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you' (1 Th 5^{28}). The verb in these greetings is omitted, but it is better, with nearly all scholars, to interpret them as prayers, and so supply εἴη, than as declarations and supply ἐστί.* The usual closing good wish in the letters of this period was ἔρρωσο or ἐρρωσθε= *vale*, 'farewell,' lit. 'be strong.' With St. Paul everything was looked upon from the standpoint of Christ, and even courtesies were to receive a new significance. (2) 'The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all' (2 Th 3^{18}). This is preceded by a statement that the greeting is added by St. Paul in his own handwriting, and that this will be a constant custom as a certificate of genuineness. Compare the σεσημείωμαι ('I have noted [or written, or sealed]'), generally contracted into σέση, with which many of the Egyptian papyrus letters and ostraca close,† or the postscript in one's own handwriting (ξύμβολον) which guaranteed an ancient letter.‡ (3) 'The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, brethren. Amen' (Gal 6^{18}). The word 'spirit' is added as in keeping with the emphasis on spirit in the letter, and the word 'brethren' is given as a token of St. Paul's affection in closing an Epistle in which he had to use stern rebuke. (4) 'The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen' (1 Co $16^{23.\ 24}$). The second clause is peculiar here. It is explained by the fact that St. Paul had been compelled to use censures, and he wished the Corinthians to know that his love was still abounding towards them. It never failed (13^{8}). It was, as Chrysostom says, 'something spiritual and exceedingly genuine.' But that love is only in the sphere of Christ, so that everywhere the verb of desire (εἴη) is to be understood, as in the strict sense St. Paul could not love those who did not love the Lord (v.^{22}) or who destroyed God's temples (3^{17}).§ P. Bachmann speaks of St. Paul's final benediction here in these fitting words: 'So ends a sound of faith, of hope and of love out of the deepest soul of the writer, and after such changing and manifold discussions he turns in his conclusion to the sentiment of his friendly and warm beginning.'‖ (5) 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Spirit, be with you all' (2 Co 13^{14}). The genitives here are subjective. It is the love which God has to us. This is always the use of St. Paul after ἀγάπη, 'love' (Ro 5^{5} 8^{39}, 2 Co 5^{14} 13^{13} etc.). It is not communion with the Holy Spirit as an object, but a communion belonging to the Spirit, of which the Son is the founder and centre, and of which the Spirit is the means and vital force. The verse prays for a holy fellowship in the Divine life mediated by the Spirit, and it is a fitting conclusion to an Epistle agitated by strife. This triple benediction is well called by Bengel a 'striking testimony' to the Holy Trinity. 'It offers,' says J. H. Bernard, 'a devotional parallel to the Baptismal Formula of Mt 28^{19}; and the order of its clauses receives its explanation in the later words of St. Paul in Eph 2^{18}. It is the Grace of Christ which leads us towards the Love of God, and the Love of God when realised through the Spirit's power, promotes the love of man (1 Jn 4^{11}), the holy fellowship fostered by the indwelling Spirit.'* The passage is one of the many evidences of how thoroughly part of the consciousness of the first Church were those ideas out of which grew the completely developed doctrine of the Trinity. That doctrine was thus not a deposit of Greek speculation on Jewish ground, but was the expression of the innermost life and thought of Christians from the beginning. At least it was of St. Paul, and in this respect he never had to defend his views. His view of the Son and Spirit as having their roots in the eternal life of the Godhead was taken as a matter of course by both Jewish and Gentile Christians. He never had to support the words of 2 Co 13^{14} against the charge of blasphemy. Their relegation of Christ and the Spirit to a substantial equality with God apparently offended no Christian sentiment.

J. Weiss recognizes this fact, and acknowledges that a growth in the estimate of Christ by the early Christians is hardly to be traced. It started at the full. He says: 'There is hardly a trace of gradual development; almost at once the scheme of the Christology was completed; already in the New Testament the principal conceptions of the later dogma are essentially present, though to some extent only in germ; and there one detects already all the difficulties, which the later church had to face. . . . This regarding of God and Christ side by side, which exactly corresponds to the enthronement of the two together, is characteristic of primitive Christian piety. . . . The historian is bound to say that Christianity from its earliest beginnings, side by side with faith in God as Father, has also proved the veneration of Christ to be to it a perfectly natural form of religion. . . . The early Christians . . . believed that they were acting in complete accordance with Christ's mind, when they adored him and sang hymns to him *quasi Deo*.'†

(6) 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you' (Ro 16^{20}). (7) 'Grace be with you' (Col 4^{18}). Notice the brevity. Von Soden speaks of the 'Lapidarstil' of the Epistle. (8) 'The grace of our [some authorities, 'the'] Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit. Amen' [best authorities omit 'Amen'] (Philem ^{25}). (9) 'Peace be to the brethren, and love with faith, from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all them that love our Lord Jesus Christ in uncorruptness' (Eph $6^{23.\ 24}$). St. Paul's benedictions are usually addressed directly to the reader, but here the third person is used, as is appropriate in a circular letter. Wieseler thinks that 'brethren' refers to the Jewish Christians and 'all' to the Gentiles, but this idea is fanciful. 'Peace' here is not simply a salutation of well-wishing, but has the Christian connotation of that peace which comes from reconciliation with God. Both peace and love go with faith, which is always presupposed in making the Christian. The 'love' is not Divine love but brotherly love, which shows itself where faith is, and through which faith works (Gal 5^{6}). The primal cause and fountain is God the Father, the mediate and secondary is Jesus. This is always the order with St. Paul, and must be in Christianity if it is a monotheistic religion. 'Grace': it is *the* grace, besides which there is no other—the loving favour of our God.‡ The 'incorruptness'

* For an able defence of the contrary view (ἐστί), see J. J. Owen in *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1862, p. 707 ff.

† G. Milligan, *St. Paul's Ep. to the Thessalonians*, 1908, p. 130.

‡ Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 105 (Eng. tr., *Light from the Ancient East*^{2}, 1911, p. 153).

§ G. G. Findlay, *EGT*, '1 Cor.' 1900, p. 953. See also the excellent remarks of Robertson-Plummer, *1 Cor.* (*ICC*, 1911), p. 402.

‖ *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 480.

* *EGT*, '2 Cor.,' 1903, p. 119.

† *Christ: The Beginnings of Dogma*, Eng. tr., 1911, pp. 12, 47, 48.

‡ See excursus on χάρις and χαριτοῦν in J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903, pp. 221–228.

(*ἀφθαρσία*) does not at all mean 'sincerity' as in AV, but imperishableness (cf. Ro 2^7, 1 Co $15^{42.50}$ etc., 2 Ti 1^{10}), and refers to the quality of their love. They have taken hold already of that endless and unbroken life in which love has triumphed over death and dissolution.* The true Christian's love is like God's, eternal, and it is directed towards, not simply God the Father (that is a matter of course), but towards Jesus, who with the Father is the object of his faith, hope and love, that is, of his worship. (10) 'The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit' (some MSS, but not the best, 'with you all') (Ph 4^{23}). The chronological order of the rest of the Epistles is not so certain. We follow that of Zahn. (11) 'Peace be unto you all that are in Christ' (1 P 5^{14}). 'Peace': the simple Hebrew salutation proper in St. Peter's autograph. (12) 'Grace be with you' (1 Ti 6^{21}). The same as in Col.; some MSS read 'with thee.' The plural in itself is not sufficient to show that the Epistle was intended for the Church as a whole. 'The study of papyrus letters,' says J. H. Moulton, † 'will show that singular and plural alternated in the same document with apparently no distinction of meaning.' (13) 'The Lord be with thy spirit. Grace be with you' (2 Ti 4^{22}). 'Lord' here means Christ, as generally in the Epistles. See Grimm-Thayer with references. Close personal association between Jesus and Timothy is prayed for. (14) 'Grace be with you all' (Tit 3^{15}). (15) 'Grace be with you all. Amen' (He 13^{25}). (16) 'Peace unto thee' (3 Jn ^{14}). This is a Jewish greeting; cf. Jn 6^{23} 19^{20}. (17) 'The grace of the Lord Jesus Christ be with the saints' (Rev 22^{21}). On the true reading see textual note in *EGT* and the references there given. Moffatt thinks this sentence was used at the close of the reading in worship, and from that custom slid into the text here. 'Apocalypses were sometimes cast in epistolary form, used in worship, and circulated by means of public reading.'‡ It will be seen from the above that in apostolic times there was no stereotyped form of benediction, just as there was not either then or later any stereotyped form of public worship.

We extend the list to a few benedictions in extra-canonical Epistles in or near apostolic times. (18) 'The peace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and with all men in all places who have been called by God and through Him, through whom be glory,' etc. (Clement of Rome, *Ep. to Corinthians*, 65 [A.D. 97]). (19) 'The Lord of glory and of every grace be with your spirit' (*Ep. of Barnabas*, 21 [A.D. 75–130, date uncertain]). Ignatius gives nothing like the apostolical benedictions, but the simple: 'Fare ye well in God the Father and in Jesus Christ our common hope' (*ad Eph.* 21), 'Fare ye well in godly concord' (*Mag.* 15), 'Fare ye well unto the end in the patient waiting for Jesus Christ' (*Rom.* 10), 'Fare ye well in Christ Jesus our common hope' (*Phil.* 11), 'Fare ye well in the grace of God' (*Smyr.* 13), and 'Fare ye well in the Lord' (*ad Pol.* 8).

The Aaronitic benediction (Nu 6^{22-26}), though always used in the synagogue, does not appear in our ancient sources or in any Church liturgy (except in the Spanish) until Luther introduced it in his Mass (1526). It was also used in the German Protestant Masses. For the use of benedictions in later Church history, see the articles in *PRE*^{3} ii. 588 ff.; *DCA* i. 193 ff.

LITERATURE.—See the brief but excellent article in F. Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, Paris, 1891–99, i. 1581–83; W. J. Yeomans in *Princeton Rev.* xxxiii. [1861] 286–321; J. H. Bernard in *Expositor*, 6th ser., viii. [1903] 372 ff.; and the works mentioned above.

J. ALFRED FAULKNER.

BENJAMIN.—See TRIBES.

BEOR.—Beor, the father of Balaam, is named in 2 P 2^{15} (AV, with some ancient authorities, **Bosor**, which may be a corruption of Pethor [Grotius], or may be due to the Greek sibilant taking the place of the Heb. guttural [Vitringa]). Balaam by his great wisdom became vain, so a fool (*ben bᵉ'ōr*), said Jerus. *Targ.* to Nu 22^5; cf. *JE* ii. 468; C. Vitringa, *Observ. Sacræ*, i. 936 f. W. F. COBB.

BERENICE, BERNICE (Ac $25^{13.23}$ 26^{30}).—Berenice, eldest daughter of Herod Agrippa I., was born in A.D. 28, and early betrothed to Marcus, son of Alexander who was alabarch at Alexandria. On the death of Marcus, Berenice was given by her father to his brother and her uncle, Herod, king of Chalcis, in the Lebanon. Two sons were the issue of this marriage. Herod of Chalcis died in A.D. 48. Berenice then joined her brother, who was to be known later as Herod Agrippa II., at Rome. The pair obtained an infamous notoriety, and are pilloried by Juvenal (*Sat.* vi. 156 ff.). After a considerable interval, Berenice 'persuaded Polemon, who was king of Cilicia, to be circumcised, and to marry her' (Jos. *Ant.* XX. vii. 3). This union was soon terminated by the return of Berenice to Agrippa. The two are next heard of on the occasion of their visit to Cæsarea to greet the newly arrived Procurator Festus. Of Berenice's part in the interview with the Apostle Paul we are told only that she appeared 'with much display.' Just before the outbreak of the insurrectionary movement in A.D. 66 she was at Jerusalem 'to perform a vow which she had made to God' (Jos. *BJ* II. xv. 1), and availed herself of the opportunity to beseech the Procurator Florus to abate the cruelties which were goading the Jews to war. When hostilities commenced, Agrippa and his sister took throughout the side of the Romans. This brought them into contact with Vespasian and Titus. Titus became enamoured of Berenice. On his return to Rome, he had her to live with him in his palace—to the scandal of the Roman populace (Dio Cass. lxvi. 15). The intrigue was not continued after the accession of Titus to the Imperial throne in A.D. 79. 'Berenicen statim ab urbe dimisit invitus invitam' (Suet. *Titus*, vii.). From that time Berenice is lost to view. A fragment of an inscription in her honour at Athens gives no indication of time or occasion. G. P. GOULD.

BERŒA.—Berœa (Βέροια, some MSS Βέρροια) was a city of Southern Macedonia, in the district of Emathia (Ptol. iii. 12). It stood on the lower slope of Mt. Bermios (Strabo, vii. Frag. 26), and commanded an extensive view to north, east, and south over the plain of the Axios and the Haliacmon. Its streets and gardens were abundantly watered by rills from an affluent of the latter river. Five miles to the S.E. of the town the Haliacmon broke through the Olympian range to enter the plain. Berœa was about 50 miles S.W. of Thessalonica, 30 miles S. of Pella, and 20 miles W. of the Thermaic Gulf. Its name survives in the modern *Verria* or *Kara-Verria*, which is one of the most pleasant towns in Rumili (Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, iii. 290 ff.).

To this city St. Paul and Silas withdrew when their converts, solicitous for their safety, sent them away from Thessalonica (Ac 17^{10}). It was an out-of-the-way town—*oppidum devium* (Cic. *in Pis.* xxxvi. [89])—and therefore a suitable place of retreat for the apostles, who continued to hope that

* J. A. Robinson, *op. cit.* 137–138, gives a long discussion. See also almost any scientific commentary, like Meyer, Lange, Ellicott, Alford, etc.

† *Expositor*, 6th ser., vii. [1903] 107.

‡ See Moffatt, *EGT*, 'Revelation,' 1910, p. 493 f.

the obstacles at Thessalonica would soon be removed and that they would be enabled to return—a hope which was not realized (1 Th 2[18]). Their city of refuge, however, proved a sphere of successful missionary activity. It was large and prosperous enough to have attracted a colony of Jews, whom the historian commends as more noble in spirit (*εὐγενέστεροι*) than those of Thessalonica, comparatively free from jealousy, less fettered by prejudice, more receptive of new truth. They daily examined the Scriptures (*τὰς γραφάς*)—especially, no doubt, the passages brought under their notice by the preachers, but not these alone—to find if the strange things taught found confirmation there, with the result that many of them believed (Ac 17[12]). Nor were the labours of the apostles confined to the synagogue. It is stated that 'of the Greeks and of those of honourable estate, men and women in considerable numbers believed' (v.[12]). This is the true rendering of the Greek words (*καὶ τῶν Ἑλληνίδων γυναικῶν τῶν εὐσχημόνων καὶ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ὀλίγοι*) rather than that in the RV, 'also of the Greek women of honourable estate, and of men, not a few.'

St. Paul's residence in Berœa probably lasted some months (W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 1895, p. 234). For the searching of the Scriptures daily (*τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν*), for the preaching of the gospel in the city as well as in the synagogue, and the consequent conversion not only of 'many' Jews but also of 'not a few' Gentiles, a considerable time was required. St. Paul would doubtless be slow to move farther south, and thereby put a longer distance between himself and Thessalonica, where his heart was. At length, however, malicious Jews came all the way from that city to Berœa, and so stirred up the baser passions of the crowds (*σαλεύοντες τοὺς ὄχλους*), that the Christians thought it advisable to send St. Paul forth 'to go as far as to the sea' (not *ὡς* but *ἕως ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν* being the true reading in v.[14]). That he was the real object of hatred is indicated by the fact that Silas and Timothy could safely remain behind (v.[14]). Contrary to his usual practice, the historian does not name the seaport of Berœa, but it was probably from the town of Dium, the great bulwark of the maritime frontier of South Macedonia, that St. Paul and his escort set sail for Athens (v.[15]). Sopater, who is mentioned in Ac 20[4] as one of St. Paul's later associates, was a Berœan. There is a tradition (*Ap. Const.* vii. 46) that Onesimus was the first bishop of the Church of Berœa.

LITERATURE.—W. Smith, *DGRG* i. [1856] 393; E. M. Cousinéry, *Voyage dans la Macédoine*, 1831, i. 57 ff.; Conybeare-Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, new ed., 1877, i. 399 ff.; T. Lewin, *St. Paul*[3], 1875, i. 235 ff.; W. M. Leake, *Travels in Northern Greece*, 1835, iii. 290 ff. JAMES STRAHAN.

BERYL.—Beryl (*βήρυλλος* [Rev 21[20]], a word of unknown etymology) is a mineral which differs little from the emerald except in colour. It never exhibits the deep rich green of that gem, being in general pale green, and sometimes yellowish, bluish, brownish, or colourless. Its finer varieties, which are transparent, are called aquamarine. It usually takes the form of long six-sided prisms, vertically striated. It was much prized as a gem-stone by the ancients, and very fine specimens of Greek and Roman engraving in beryl are extant. Its great abundance in modern times has depreciated its value. In RVm of the OT, 'beryl' stands for *shōham*, which Flinders Petrie (*HDB* iv. 620[b]) identifies with green felspar.

JAMES STRAHAN.

BIGAMY.—See MARRIAGE.

BIRTHRIGHT.—See FIRST-BORN.

BISHOP, ELDER, PRESBYTER. — The origin of the episcopate is, and is likely to remain, unknown. All the available evidence has been carefully collected, sifted, and estimated, and it is insufficient. Equally honest and equally capable critics infer different theories of the episcopate from it, and no solution of the problem can claim demonstration. We may hold, and perhaps be able to convince others, that one solution is more probable than another, but we cannot prove that it is the true one. All conclusions are tentative.

The problem is an old one, and as early as the 4th cent. there were two leading theories respecting the origin of the episcopate—that of Theodore of Mopsuestia and that of Jerome—but they are theories and no more. These two writers drew inferences from facts, or what they believed to be facts; they did not know more about the origin than we do. And they both start from the same fact, viz. that in the NT 'bishop' and 'presbyter' (or 'elder') are synonyms; they are two names for the same official. This is so generally recognized that there is no need to repeat the evidence. The two names are still synonymous in Clement of Rome (*Cor.* 42, 44), and by implication in Polycarp (*Phil.* 1) and the *Didache* (15), which we may date about A.D. 130–150. Ignatius is the earliest writer known to us who clearly separates 'bishop' from 'elder'; with him 'bishop' means the monarchical ruler of a local church, distinct from, and superior to, the 'presbyters' or 'elders.'

Starting from the original identity of 'bishop' and 'presbyter,' Theodore (on 1 Ti 3[1-8]) infers that episcopacy existed from the first. The first bishops, among whom were Timothy and Titus, were consecrated by apostles, governed whole provinces, and were sometimes called 'apostles.' Theodore erroneously supposed that 'laying on of the hands of the presbytery' (1 Ti 4[14]) meant consecration of Timothy by some of the Twelve. He was consecrated by St. Paul with certain elders (2 Ti 1[6]). 'The presbytery,' which in Lk 22[66] and Ac 22[5] means the body of elders in the Sanhedrin, here means a body of Christian elders. The details of Theodore's theory need not detain us; the central point in it is the proposition that the apostles instituted a distinct class of officials to be their successors. But did they? The question admits of no secure answer. It must be remembered that we have no evidence that either Christ or the apostles ever prescribed any particular form of government for the society which they founded; and there is the improbability that men who believed that Christ would very soon return would think it worth while to devise and prescribe a particular form of government for the increasing number of Christian communities. On the other hand, it is probable that, as the apostles passed away, and the Lord still did not appear, the communities would be driven to devise some form of government for themselves.

Jerome (*Ep.* 146, *ad Evangelum*) answers the question in the negative. The apostles did not institute distinct officials to be their successors. Churches were governed by a council of presbyters. But when presbyters began to form parties, and each presbyter thought that those whom he baptized belonged to him, it was decreed throughout the world that one of them should be elected and set over the others, and that on him should rest the general supervision of the Church. On Tit 1[5] he says that it is 'by custom rather than by the Lord's arrangement' that bishops are a higher order.

There is no need to assume that party spirit was in all cases, or even in most, the chief reason for setting one presbyter above the rest. The more usual reasons would be the obvious advantage

of having one person to whom doubtful matters might be referred, and the fact that in most colleges of presbyters there was one who was manifestly more capable than the others. When once a particular presbyter had been either formally elected, or allowed more and more to take the lead, his special functions would be likely to grow. The dignity of bishops appears to have developed rapidly. They led their congregations in public worship, regulating liturgical forms and the distribution of the alms. They also regulated the congregation's power of punishing and forgiving offenders. They represented their congregations in all relations, Godward and manward. They gradually absorbed the functions of the expiring charismatic ministry, and were at once prophets and teachers, and they conducted the correspondence with other local churches. The frequent appearance of questionable doctrines greatly augmented the importance of bishops, who came to be regarded as teaching with unique authority. Montanism was a revolt against this official episcopacy—an attempt to restore the charismatic ministry of the prophets, and when it failed, the triumph of episcopacy was complete. And it deserved to fail, not merely because of its extravagances, but because of its rebellion against external forms. In one sense, forms are unessential; the realities which the forms express are the things which matter. But it is only by continuity in the forms that the realities can be preserved; 'formlessness inspired by enthusiasm melts away. . . . The elaboration of a close hierarchical organization and the setting up of a fixed dogmatic teaching were proved to be the necessary means of self-preservation, if the Gospel itself was not to be lost in the vortex of Gnosticism' (Dobschütz, *Apostol. Age*, Eng. tr., London, 1909, pp. 122, 141). The bishops were witnesses to the deposit of faith, and as such decided as to the soundness of doctrines.

Probably the first function that was assigned to the bishop was that of being leader and guide in public worship. But we know very little about the beginnings of this worship. The influence of the synagogue in determining the form was considerable, and it is possible that certain heathen mysteries exercised some influence, but the latter point has been exaggerated. Clement's Epistle shows that the trouble at Corinth was about persons—whether certain presbyters had been rightly deposed; not about principles—whether government by presbyters could be rightly maintained. Clement himself was not a bishop in the later sense: he was president of the college of presbyters in Rome. But such a president would be likely to develop into a monarchical bishop. Clement is the first Christian writer to take the fateful first step of interpreting the nature of office in the Church by reference to Jewish institutions, for which, to a certain extent, the way is prepared in 1 Co 9^{9} and 1 Ti 5^{18} (Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, London, 1910, p. 72). He draws a parallel between the Jewish priest and Levite and the Christian priest and deacon, and bases an argument from analogy on the resemblance (*Cor.*, ch. 40). It is doubtful whether the mention of the high priest has any reference to a monarchical episcopate.

In James, the brother of the Lord, we seem to have the first instance of a monarchical ruler in a Christian community. But it is improbable that in connexion with him the idea of one ruler for the whole Church arose, and still more improbable that Mt 16^{18} was written as a protest against any such claim being made for one who was not one of the Twelve. It was not in Jerusalem, but in Asia Minor, that the monarchical episcopate as a permanent Christian institution had its rise, owing to causes which are unknown to us.

There are three possibilities with regard to the origin of both bishops and elders, and what is true of one need not be true of the other. Each may be (1) copied from Jewish synagogue officials, or (2) copied from Gentile municipal officials, or (3) due to spontaneous production. On the whole, it is probable that elders or presbyters were adopted from the synagogue, and that bishops arose spontaneously. But here we must carefully distinguish between origin and subsequent development. It is possible in both cases, and probable in the case of bishops, that the development of the office was influenced by secular municipal institutions.

In neither case does the word give us any definite information. By 'elders' (*πρεσβύτεροι*) may be meant either (1) seniors in age, or (2) people to be honoured for personal excellence, or (3) members of a council. The term 'bishop' (*ἐπίσκοπος*) denotes a supervisor or inspector, but tells us nothing of what he supervises or inspects. It may be buildings, or business, or men. In the NT it means an overseer of men in reference to their spiritual life, and is closely connected with the idea of shepherding; 'the shepherd (*ποιμήν*) and overseer (*ἐπίσκοπος*) of your souls' (1 P 2^{25}); 'the flock (*ποίμνιον*) in the which the Holy Ghost had made you overseers (*ἐπίσκοποι*) to tend (*ποιμαίνειν*) the Church (*ἐκκλησία*) of God' (Ac 20^{28}). Only once in the NT is 'shepherd' or 'pastor' used of Christian ministers (Eph 4^{11}); but it is used of Christ in He 13^{20}, 1 P 2^{25} 5^{4}; cf. Jn $10^{11.\ 14}$.

The term 'overseer' or 'bishop' (*ἐπίσκοπος*) having been used of Christ as 'the Overseer of souls,' it would be natural to use it of those of His ministers who in a special way continued this work; and it is more probable that the Christian use of the title arose in this way than that it was adopted in imitation of the secular *ἐπίσκοπος* in a city. As the specially gifted persons known as 'apostles, prophets, and teachers' became less common, their functions would be transferred to the permanent local officials, especially to the highest of them, viz. the bishops (*Didache*, $15^{1.\ 2}$). Neither bishops, elders, nor deacons appear in the lists of ministers and ministerial gifts in 1 Co $12^{28\text{-}30}$, Ro $12^{6\text{-}8}$, Eph 4^{11}. But this does not prove that St. Paul did not know or care about such officials. Where these officials existed, they were as yet only *local* ministers, and there was no need to mention them in speaking of gifts to the Church as a whole.

Timothy and Titus were not monarchical bishops. They were temporary delegates or representatives of St. Paul at Ephesus or in Crete; they were forerunners of the monarchical bishops, not the first examples of them. Nor can the 'angels' of the Seven Churches (Rev 1–3) be regarded as the bishops of those Churches. 'The invariable practice' of the writer of that book 'forbids such an interpretation' (Swete on Rev 1^{20}). Excepting James, and perhaps 'the Elder' in 3 Jn., there is no instance of the monarchical episcopate in the NT; but it was established in Asia Minor before A.D. 100, and had become wide-spread in Christendom by 150.

LITERATURE.—J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, London, 1891 ed., pp. 95–99, 181–269, *Dissertations*, do. 1892, pp. 137–246 (which contains additional notes to the essay in *Philippians*); M. R. Vincent, *Philippians*, Edinburgh, 1897, pp. 36–51; J. H. Bernard, *Pastoral Epistles*, Cambridge, 1899, pp. lvi–lxxv; *Priesthood and Sacrifice*, a conference ed. by W. Sanday, Oxford, 1900; A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, tr. Grieve, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 154–157, 230; A. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr.², London, 1908, i. 445–482; P. Batiffol, *L'église naissante*², Paris, 1909, pp. 115–152 (Eng. tr., *Primitive Catholicism*, London, 1911, pp. 97–163). See also works mentioned under CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

BITHYNIA.—Bithynia (Βιθυνία) was a fertile and highly civilized country in the N.W. of Asia Minor, bounded on the W. by the Propontis and the Bosporus, on the N. by the Euxine, on the S. by the range of Mysian Olympus, and on the E. by a doubtful line, some distance to the right of the river Sangarios (Strabo, XII. iv. 1; Pliny, v. 43). One of the kings of Bithynia changed the history of Asia Minor by inviting the marauding Galatians to cross the Bosporus (278 B.C.). Nicomedes III., the last king, made the Romans his heirs (73 B.C.), and after the expulsion of Mithridates of Pontus (64 B.C.), Pompey formed the dual province of *Bithynia et Pontus*, which was governed by a proconsul, residing at Nicomedeia. On the division of the provinces by Augustus in 27 B.C. it remained senatorial.

The presence of Jews in Bithynia is indicated by Philo (*Leg. ad Gaium*, 36). In his second missionary journey, St. Paul, always drawn to the great centres of Græco-Roman civilization, attempted with Silas to enter Bithynia (*ἐπείραζον εἰς τὴν Βιθυνίαν πορευθῆναι*), intending probably to evangelize Nicæa and Nicomedeia, but the Spirit of Jesus, who was leading them on westward, did not permit them (Ac 16[7]). The province which so nearly became an apostolic mission-field had not, however, to wait long for the gospel. 1 P 1[1] affords evidence of the early introduction and rapid progress of Christianity in the province of Bithynia. Details, however, are wanting.

'For Bithynia, like Cappadocia, we have no primitive Christian record: but it could hardly remain long unaffected by the neighbourhood of Christian communities to the South-West, the South, and probably the East; even if no friend or disciple took up before long the purpose which St. Paul had been constrained to abandon, when a Divine intimation drew him onward into Europe' (F. J. A. Hort, *First Ep. of St. Peter: I. 1–II. 17*, 1898, p. 17).

In A.D. 112 the younger Pliny was sent to govern the province of Bithynia, which had become disorganized under senatorial administration. His correspondence with Trajan bears striking testimony to the expansion of the Christian religion, which seemed to him a *superstitio prava immodica* (*Epp.* x. 96, 97). Not only in the cities but in the rural villages the temples were almost deserted and the sacrificial ritual interrupted. While the letters describe a state of things which was true of the province as a whole, there are some indications that Amisos in the Far East was the first city on the Black Sea to which Christianity spread (Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 224 f.).

LITERATURE.—W. Smith, *DGRG* i. [1856] 404; Carl Ritter, *Kleinasien*, i. [1858] 650 ff.; E. G. Hardy, *Plinii Epistulæ ad Trajanum*, 1889; W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, 1890; Conybeare-Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, new ed., 1877.

JAMES STRAHAN.

BITTERNESS (*πικρία*).—'Bitter' means lit. 'biting' (A. S. *bîtan*, 'to bite'), and *πικρός*, 'sharp' (from the same root as *pungo*, 'pike,' 'peak'). *τὸ πικρόν*, as that which has an acrid, pungent taste, is opposed to *τὸ γλυκύ* (Ja 3[11]). In LXX *πικρία* is often used to translate מֹרִי, a bitter and poisonous plant, which is always used figuratively. Moses says that the man or woman, family or tribe, that turns from Jahweh will be 'a root that beareth gall and wormwood' (*ῥίζα ἄνω φύουσα ἐν χολῇ καὶ πικρίᾳ*, Dt 29[18]). There is an echo of this saying in He 12[15], where any member of the Church who introduces wrong doctrines or practices, and so leads others astray, becomes a 'root of bitterness springing up' (*ῥίζα πικρίας ἄνω φύουσα*); and there may be another echo of it in Ac 8[23] (RVm), where Peter predicts that Simon Magus will 'become gall (or a gall root) of bitterness' (*εἰς χολὴν πικρίας ὁρῶ σε ὄντα*) by his evil influence over others, if he remains as he now is. But *χολὴν πικρίας* may be a genitive of apposition and the Apostle may mean that Simon is even now 'in Bitterkeit, Bosheit, Feindseligkeit, wie in Galle' (H. J. Holtzmann, *Apostelgeschichte*[3], 1901, *ad loc.*). In Ro 3[14] bitterness of speech is joined with cursing, and in Eph 4[31] *πικρία* is an inward disposition (cf. *ζῆλον πικρόν*, Ja 3[14]) which all Christians are to put away in order that they may be 'kind one to another, tender-hearted.'

JAMES STRAHAN.

BLACK.—See COLOURS.

BLASPHEMY (*βλασφημία*, vb. *βλασφημεῖν*, adj. and noun *βλάσφημος*; perhaps derived from *βλάπτειν*, 'to injure,' and *φήμη*, 'speech').—In ordinary usage and in Eng. law this word denotes profane, irreverent speaking against God or sacred things; but the Greek word has a wider sense, including all modes of reviling or calumniating either God or man. In 2 Ti 3[2] the RV has 'railers' instead of 'blasphemers'; in Ac 13[45m] and 18[6m] it gives 'rail' as an alternative, and in Rev 2[9m] 'revile.' 'As we be slanderously reported' (*βλασφημούμεθα*, Ro 3[8]); 'why am I evil spoken of?' (*τί βλασφημοῦμαι;* 1 Co 10[30]); 'to speak evil of no man' (*μηδένα βλασφημεῖν*, Tit 3[2]); 'these . . . rail at dignities' (*δόξας βλασφημοῦσιν*, Jude[8]; cf. 2 P 2[10]) are other examples of the use of the word with a human reference. The two meanings of *βλασφημία* are combined in Ac 6[11], where Stephen is accused of speaking blasphemous words (*ῥήματα βλάσφημα*) against Moses and God (*εἰς Μωσῆν καὶ τὸν θεόν*).

According to the Levitical law the punishment for blaspheming the name of Jahweh was death by stoning (Lv 24[10–16]); but as Roman subjects the Jews had not power to put any man to death. Though they attempted to observe the regular forms in their trial of Stephen for blasphemy, his death was not a judicial execution, but the illegal act of a solemn Sanhedrin changed by fanatical hatred into a murderous mob.

After Jesus had come to be acknowledged as the Messiah, the denial of His status and the insulting of His name were regarded by His followers as conscious or unconscious blasphemy. St. Paul recalls with shame and sorrow the time when, in this sense of the term, he not only was guilty of habitual blasphemy (*τὸ πρότερον ὄντα βλάσφημον*, 1 Ti 1[13]), but strove to make others blaspheme (*ἠνάγκαζον βλασφημεῖν*, Ac 26[11]). The fortitude of those who resisted his efforts made a profound impression on his mind, and probably did more than anything else to pave the way for conversion. Like Pliny afterwards in Bithynia (*Epp.* x. 97), he doubtless found it was all but impossible to make men and women speak evil of their so-called Messiah—'maledicere Christum'—or submit to any other test that would have indicated disloyalty to Him: 'quorum nihil cogi posse dicuntur, qui sunt re verâ Christiani' (*ib.*). When, on the other hand, St. Paul began to preach Jesus as His own Messiah, the blasphemies of his countrymen against that Name became his daily fare. The Jews of Pisidian Antioch 'contradicted the things which were spoken by Paul and blasphemed' (Ac 13[45]); those of Corinth 'opposed themselves and blasphemed' (18[6]); and the historian might have multiplied instances without end.

Blasphemy was not exclusively a Jewish and Christian conception. To the Greeks also it was a high offence *βλασφημεῖν εἰς θεούς* (Plato, *Rep.* 281 E). The majesty of the gods and the sacredness of the temples were jealously guarded. St. Paul, who reasoned against idolatry, never used opprobrious language about the religion of Greece or Rome. It was better to fight for the good than to rail at the bad. The town-clerk of Ephesus reminds his fellow-citizens, roused to fury at the bare

suspicion of dishonour to Artemis, that St. Paul and his companions were no blasphemers of their goddess (*οὔτε βλασφημοῦντες τὴν θεὰν ὑμῶν*, Ac 19[37]). Towards the cult of Cæsar, which was still kept within some bounds, the Apostle always maintained the same correct attitude. But in the Apocalypse, written in the reign of Domitian, there is a startling change. That emperor, 'probably the wickedest man who ever lived' (Renan), was the first to demand that Divine honours should be paid to himself in his lifetime. Not content, like his predecessors, with the title Divus, he caused himself to be styled in public documents 'Our Lord and God.' In Asia Minor the deification of Cæsar, the erection of temples in his honour, and the establishment of communes for the promotion of his worship became imperative, while the offering of incense to his statue was made the ordinary test of loyalty to the Empire. To the prophet of Ephesus all this seemed rank blasphemy, and he delivered his soul by denouncing it. He personified the Empire as the Beast whose seven heads had names of blasphemy (Rev 13[1]), to whom was given a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies (13[5]), who opened his mouth for blasphemies against God, to blaspheme His name and His tabernacle (13[6]); as the scarlet-coloured Beast who was covered all over with names of blasphemies (17[3]). That a creature called an emperor should assume the attributes of the Creator, and compel the homage of an infatuated world, was nothing less than a Satanic triumph; and whether men knew it or not, they 'were worshipping the dragon' (13[4]). Cf. art. EMPEROR-WORSHIP.

LITERATURE.—In addition to artt. on 'Blasphemy' in *HDB*, *EBi*, *SDB*, and *ERE*, with the literature there cited, see the relevant Commentaries, esp. **Sanday-Headlam**, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902); H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907; J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903. See also *CE*, *s.v.*, and Roman Catholic literature cited there.

JAMES STRAHAN.

BLASTUS.—Blastus, a chamberlain of Herod Agrippa I., is mentioned in Ac 12[20] in connexion with an embassy which the inhabitants of Tyre and Sidon sent to Herod at Cæsarea in order to obtain terms of peace. The ambassadors obtained an audience of the prince through the influence of Blastus, who no doubt had been liberally bribed for his services. The incident of the embassy is not mentioned by Josephus nor is the name of Blastus, and this omission has been regarded by some (*e.g.* Krenkel) as throwing doubt on St. Luke's narrative, while others regard the incident as a proof of St. Luke's independence, or as an intentional supplement to the account of the Jewish historian.

W. F. BOYD.

BLESSEDNESS.—This word occurs three times in the AV (Ro 4[6, 9], Gal 4[15]), but rightly disappears in the RV,* for the Gr. word *μακαρισμός* means not blessedness itself, but a pronouncement that some one is blessed. 'Blessedness' is simply a convenient generalization, expressing the meaning which NT writers convey by the adjectives translated 'blessed' or 'happy' (*μακάριος*, *εὐλογητός*) and the participle *εὐλογημένος*, 'blessed' (practically an adjective); cf. the verb *ἐνευλογέομαι* (Ac 3[25], Gal 3[8]) and *μακαρίζω* (Lk 1[48], Ja 5[11]). The various forms of *εὐλογέομαι* refer, literally, to being 'well spoken of,' and apparently always contain at least the latent thought of praise being conferred or happiness ascribed; *μακάριος*, however, expresses simply the possession of a quality, and for the ascription of this by others the verb *μακαρίζω* is needed.

Blessedness being a personal possession, any kind of action or utterance by others is of secondary importance in regard to it. Hence the crucial word is *μακάριος*, not *εὐλογέομαι*, etc. The RV has in Jn 13[17], 1 P 3[14] 4[14] altered the AV tr. of *μακάριος* from 'happy' to 'blessed'; it might well have made the same alteration in Ro 14[22], 1 Co 7[40]. Massie would banish 'happy' from the NT except in Ac 26[2] (*HDB*, art. 'Happiness'). In the OT אַשְׁרֵי 'O the happiness (or blessedness) of,' has been even more frequently translated 'happy' when it might have been rendered 'blessed' (cf. Ps 89[15] with 144[15], where the Hebrew is אַשְׁרֵי in both cases). Still, 'happy' is more suitable in the OT than in the NT, for the rewards promised to the OT saints are of a far more material and temporal order (see Ps 1[3-6]; the epilogue even of Job 42[10-17]; and *HDB*, art. 'Blessedness'). For the NT it is significant not only that *μακάριος*, which occurs very frequently, represented to the Greeks the higher and even the Divine bliss, but also that the lower and more ordinary word *εὐδαίμων*, with its suggestion of good luck, is entirely absent. For the use of *μακάριος* in the Gospels, see art. 'Beatitude' in *HDB* and in *DCG*. This was the regular term in NT times for 'departed' (to the world of blessedness); cf. Germ. *selig*, and see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*[2], 1911, p. 166. On the whole, it bears an exceedingly lofty meaning, though it is less spiritual in Luke than in Matthew. In 24[47] Matthew need not be understood as offering a coarsely material 'blessedness'; the servant is advanced in the *confidence* of his master. There is no need to question the inwardness of any blessedness offered elsewhere in Matthew. In Lk 12[37, 38] the spread table, and the flattering attentions received thereat, are somewhat prominent; but Jesus is speaking metaphorically, and elsewhere literal, materialistic views are rebuked (11[27, 28] and perhaps 14[15ff.]). Too much stress must not therefore be laid on 6[20, 21], although there the blessedness of being 'filled' seems to refer to food rather than, as in Matthew, to righteousness.

In the rest of the NT *μακάριος* is less used than in the Gospels. St. Paul has it twice only (Ro 4[7, 8]), and then in an OT quotation. In 1 Ti 1[11] and 6[15] (never in the Gospels) it is applied to God, but in this sense *εὐλογητός* is usual. In regard to men, it is applied to those who give (Ac 20[35]), who are forgiven (Ro 4[7, 8]), who endure temptation (Ja 1[12]), who act according to the perfect law of liberty (Ja 1[25]), who die in the Lord (Rev 14[13]; see also Rev 1[3] 16[15] 19[9] 20[6] 22[7, 14]). It stands for a good which is above happiness, and dwells not least with those who are counted worthy to sacrifice happiness for conscience' sake. It is based, partly, on a character which is its own 'better and abiding possession' (He 10[34m]). While it remains itself, it is above all adequate earthly reward and beyond all earthly overthrow. Above all, it is based in the spiritual world; to the 'pure in heart' the highest blessedness is to 'see God' (Mt 5[8]; cf. 1 Jn 3[2, 3]).

For various aspects of the idea of blessedness, as expressed in the NT by quite other words, see art. 'Blessedness' in *HDB*.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Blessedness' in *HDB*, *SDB*, and *DCG*; also F. C. Kempson, *The Future Life*, 1907, p. 308; J. M. Hodgson, *Religion—The Quest of the Ideal*, 1911, p. 106; T. G. Selby, *The Imperfect Angel*, 1888, p. 25; T. Binney, *King's Weighhouse Chapel Sermons*, 1869, p. 71; J. B. Lightfoot, *Sermons in St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1891, p. 178.

C. H. WATKINS.

BLESSING.—See BENEDICTION.

BLINDNESS.—Only once does this term refer to the absence of physical sight (Ac 13[11]), yet even there moral blindness is symbolized (cf. also the case of St. Paul, Ac 9[8ff.] 20[11], a temporary condition due to suggestion, or to sudden severe nervous tension which soon gave place to normal sight). All the other references to blindness (Ro 2[19], 2 Co 4[4], 2 P 1[9], 1 Jn 2[11], Rev 3[17]) are metaphysical and

* In the two passages in Rom. the RV substitutes 'blessing,' in Gal. 'gratulation.'

indicate a moral condition. Apart from the general fitness of such a figure to signify a moral condition, a special reason for its use by St. Paul is found in his experience before and after his conversion.—**1.** Blindness is alleged as a simple fact without explanation (2 P 1^9, Rev 3^{17}).—**2.** It is referred to the character and influence of the world, from which some of those who have joined themselves to the Christian community have not yet emerged—they still remain in the darkness in which they were before (1 Jn 2^{11}).—**3.** The god of this world, or Satan, who is supposed to have power over the course of affairs in the present age, is assigned as the cause of this condition (cf. Eph 6^{12}; *Ascension of Isaiah*, ed. Charles, 1900, pp. 11, 24, where Beliar=the ruler of this world).—**4.** To God is attributed in part the activity which results in moral blindness (Ac 28^{26}, Ro $11^{8.\ 10}$). This conception belongs to the circle of Jewish religious ideas—the prophetic doctrine of the absoluteness of God, the Pharisaic teaching of Divine predestination. Both of these lay in the background of St. Paul's thought (cf. Is $6^{9.\ 10}$, Ps 69^{23}, Ro $9^{30ff.}$), yet other elements also entered into and modified it. From the point of view of the Divine absoluteness, the Apostle did not doubt that God had the unquestioned right to be the sole cause of blindness in one or of sight in another—a prerogative which, however, He refrained from exercising. Hence a somewhat different explanation was to be sought for the blindness of Israel. That God had rejected the Jews as a whole was for the Apostle abundantly evident. Yet this did not contradict God's election and promise. Israel's guilt had, indeed, for the time being, annulled these; still, this was only one side of the reality. God's rejection of Israel was neither without purpose nor was it irrevocable. God's purpose was universal, embracing Gentiles as well as Jews, and if it appeared to pass from the Jews to the Gentiles, this was not the whole truth, nor was it final. For, firstly, some Jews had always remained faithful to the election, and secondly, the blindness of the remainder was only temporary—until the 'fullness of the Gentiles,' when all Israel, beholding the salvation of the Gentiles, should once more turn to God. The blindness is marked by two features. It is conceived of as pertaining not to individuals, but to the community; and it is one stage in the unfolding of a vast theodicy. The latter fact does not, however, relieve the community of either responsibility or guilt. Whether all the community living in the interim, that is, previous to the removal of the social blindness, will share in the recognition and acceptance of the election, is not considered by the Apostle. In the other passages of the AV the Greek words which are translated 'blinded' (Ro 11^7, 2 Co 3^{14}) and 'blindness' (Ro 11^{25}, Eph 4^{18}) are replaced in the RV by their proper equivalents 'hardened' and 'hardness,' which express also insensibility to the truth of the gospel.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Blindness' in *DCG*; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902); J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903, p. 264 ff.; B. F. Westcott, *Ephesians*, 1906, p. 66; *JThSt* iii. [1901-02] 81.

C. A. BECKWITH.

BLOOD.—1. Meaning of the term.—Among its simplest designations, 'blood' represents the blood which flows from wounds in the body (Ac 22^{20}); the extremity of human endurance of evil (He 12^4). The phrase 'flesh and blood' signifies the lower sensuous nature (1 Co 15^{50}; cf. Mt 16^{17}); any one whatever (Gal 1^{16}); the substantial basis of human life (He 2^{14}); and human power antagonistic to the gospel (Eph 6^{12}). Thus 'blood' may symbolize any aspect of human life inferior to that of the 'spirit.'

2. Origin.—The meaning of the term is derived from OT usage, as in St. Peter's reference to the portents of the Day of the Lord, quoting Joel's words, 'blood . . . the moon [shall be turned into] blood' (Ac $2^{19.\ 20}$; cf. Jl $2^{30.\ 31}$). The same usage together with dependence on the story of the plagues in Egypt appears in Rev. (6^{12} $8^{7.\ 8}$ 11^6 $16^{3.\ 4}$). Blood thus represents the greatness, awfulness, and finality of the Divine judgment, by which either a wicked condition is simply brought to an end (cf. also Rev 19^{13}), or a temporary dispensation gives place to the last age of human earthly existence in the fulfilment of God's purpose.

3. Usage.—(1) The word is related to Jewish ordinances. Among the prohibitions put forth by the council at Jerusalem was one enjoining abstinence from blood (Ac $15^{20\text{-}29}$ 21^{25}; cf. Lv 3^{17}). The reason for the edict was doubtless that assigned for the earlier restriction, that 'the life of all flesh is in the blood' (Lv 17^{14}). (2) Blood further symbolizes the life violently taken (Ac 1^{19} 22^{20}, Ro 3^{15}, Rev 16^6), for which the murderer is responsible (Ac 5^{28} Rev 17^6 18^{24}), and liable to the just judgment of God (Rev 6^{10} 19^2); perhaps, in poetic justice, a punishment like the crime (cf. 14^{20}). It may also signify the unpitying violence with which men treat their fellows (Ro 3^{15}). (3) In his denunciation that blood shall be upon one's own head, St. Paul meant that the Corinthians who had refused belief in the gospel were both responsible for their rejection and exposed to God's judgment against them (Ac 18^6; cf. 5^{28}, 2 S 1^{16}, Mt 27^{25}). In like manner one might be 'guilty of the . . . blood of Christ' (1 Co 11^{27}). (4) Blood represents the life of men capable of redemption, for which any herald of the gospel is responsible and of which he may be found guilty if he fails in his duty as a preacher of Christ (Ac 20^{26}). (5) It signifies the life given up for an atonement, both as presented to God and as having reconciling virtue for men (He 9^7 $10^{4.\ 18\text{-}22}$ $13^{11ff.\ 20f.}$).

4. The term used in connexion with the work of Christ.—The most important uses of the word centre in the work of Christ. In the Epistle to the Romans the reference to blood involves its relation on the one hand to the sacrificial-offering, on the other hand to the sin-offering, wherein it appears that the sacrificial is the sin-offering. In other letters of St. Paul the references to blood are incidental and determined by the particular feature of redemption in the mind of the Apostle at the moment. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the meaning of the word is derived from the analogy of the OT Scriptures, which in a very inadequate manner prefigured the offering which Christ made of Himself. Revelation is dominated by the OT usage of the word and is in a large degree influenced by prophetic language, although the common note of redemption through the blood of Christ is heard here also. As related to the work of Christ, then, the apostolic teaching concerning blood involves the following specific features: (*a*) It is connected with sacrifices, as that of the Day of Atonement (Ro 3^{25}, He $9^{7ff.}$), by means of which the relation of men to God, and indeed of God to men (cf. Ro 5^{10}), broken by sin, is restored by the death of Christ. According to the Epistle to the Hebrews, while the animal sacrifices as such were irrational, destitute of personal consent, intermittent, incapable of purifying, spiritual efficacy (He 10^4), this lack was more than set off by the blood of Christ. (*b*) As in the Old Dispensation all persons ministering at the altar, utensils of service and worship, and means of approach to God were cleansed with blood as a medium of purification (cf., however, Lv $5^{11ff.}$), so the blood of Christ signifies that all that which pertains to salvation in the heavenly sanctuary into which both He and His followers enter has been for ever purified in His blood (He $9^{22ff.}$). It is as if the author of the Hebrews conceived of sin as

having penetrated and defiled even the unseen heavenly world, which therefore needed to be set free from contamination and made holy in the same way as things belonging to the earthly tabernacle. (*c*) It is the sign and pledge of Christ's free surrender of Himself to His atoning death (He 9^{12-14}, Rev 1^5), and symbolizes the experience through which Jesus must pass on His way to perfected communion with God and the final stage of His mediatorial agency (He 10^{19} 13^{12}, 1 Jn 5^{6-8}; cf. 1 Co 15^{28}, Rev 19^{13}). (*d*) The blood is also the means for the ratification of the New Covenant (1 Co 11^{25}, He 9^{15-20} 10^{29} 13^{20}; cf. Mt 26^{28}, Ex 24^{6-8}). It could not but be that a ceremony, the meaning of which was so deeply embedded in the religious experience of the race, and which was so well fitted to symbolize the solemn consecration to mutual obligations, should find its significance completely expressed in the blood of Christ through which God would reunite Himself in even more spiritual bonds to the lives of Christ's followers. (*e*) The blood is represented as the purchase price of deliverance from sin (Ac 20^{28}, Eph 1^7, Col 1^{14}, 1 P 1^{19}, Rev 5^9; cf. He 9^{22}). The vivid imagery of this word receives nowhere a closer definition; its force lies in its suggestion of one aspect of the experience of the man who passes from the consciousness of the bondage of sin to the joyful freedom of forgiveness. (*f*) Hence the word is associated with forgiveness of sins. As a sacrificial offering Christ was at the same time a sin-offering (Ro 3^{25} 5^9, He 9^{12}), and as such His offering has expiatory efficacy. (*g*) By His blood as our High Priest He enters into the presence of God on our behalf (He 9^{12-24} 10^{19}), there both perfectly realizing fellowship with God for Himself and carrying forward His mediatorial work. (*h*) The blood has efficacy in the actual life of believers, disclosing its energy in their progressive personal sanctification (He 9^{14} 10^{19} 12^{24}, 1 P 1^2, 1 Jn 1^7, Rev 1^5 7^{14}), and in the power which it confers on them to overcome that which resists the Christian aim from without (Rev 12^{11}). (*i*) Blood is also a symbol of the inner fellowship of believers with one another and with God—the reference is social (1 Co 10^{16}, He 13^{12}).

Looking back over this subject as a whole, it is evident that the apostolic writers do not let their attention rest on blood as such, but only on blood as it is a vehicle and symbol of life. For the blood represents the life, even if this is taken by violence. Christ's blood freely given, with the sole aim of recovering men in sin to fellowship with God and to their Divine destination as children of God. The efficacy of the life of Christ thus given is continuous from the unseen world and in the purpose of God. Thus the blood which flowed once for all is not of transitory worth, but is endowed with the energy perpetually to create new redemptive personal and social values—it is eternal.

LITERATURE.—B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 1883, 'Additional note on i. 7,' p. 34 ff., also *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889, note 'On the Use of the term "Blood" in the Epistle,' p. 293 f.; W. Sanday and A. C. Headlam, *The Epistle to the Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), p. 91 ff.

C. A. BECKWITH.

BLOODY FLUX.—See DYSENTERY.

BOASTING.—This term is employed by AV with considerable frequency to render the group of words *καυχᾶσθαι, καύχησις, καύχημα*. They are found about 40 times in LXX, and about 60 times in the NT (exclusively in St. Paul's Epistles, except He 3^6, Ja 1^9 4^{16}). The forms *ἐγκαυχᾶσθαι* (2 Th 1^4) and *κατακαυχᾶσθαι* (Ro 11^{18}, Ja 3^{14}) are also found. The group belongs to what Lightfoot (Com. on Ph 3^5) calls 'the tumultuous eagerness of the Apostle's earlier style'; the words appear most frequently in 2 Cor., where personal feeling is deeply stirred. Whereas in AV they are rendered by 'boasting' and 'glorying' in about equal proportions, in RV 'boasting' has almost completely disappeared, and 'glorying' is found instead. The only place where 'boast' is now found is in Ja 3^5—'the tongue also is a little member and boasteth great things'; but here the verb is not *καυχᾶται* but *αὐχεῖ*, and the idea 'is properly to stretch the neck and hold up the head in pride, and hence to speak with proud confidence' (Hort, *ad loc.*). 'Boastful' still appears twice in RV (Ro 1^{30}, 2 Ti 3^2), taking the place of AV 'boasters,' and is the equivalent of *ἀλαζών*, the abstract noun *ἀλαζονεία* being rendered in Ja 4^{16} 'vaunting' and in 1 Jn 2^{16} 'vainglory,' the only two places where it occurs. The *ἀλαζών* ('boastful') has evil associations in both passages—in Ro 1^{30} with those who have been given over to a reprobate mind, and in 2 Ti 3^2 with the 'proud,' blasphemers, and such like. Similarly *ἀλαζονεία* is found in Patristic literature in lists of vices and corrupt practices—in *Didache* (v.1) along with 'self-will,' 'covetousness,' and others; in 1 Clem. xxxv. 5 bracketed with *ὑπερηφανία*, 'pride,' in such a list; and in *Ep. to Diognetus* (iv. 6) in conjunction with *πολυπραγμοσύνη*, 'meddlesomeness.' Aristotle saw in the *ἀλαζών*, 'not merely one making unseemly display of things which he actually possesses, but vaunting himself in those which he does not possess' (quoted in Trench, *Synonyms of NT*[8], Lond. 1876, p. 96). In no such category could St. Paul be placed when he speaks of himself, using *καυχᾶσθαι* or its cognates, as 'boasting' (2 Co 7^{14} 8^{24} 9^4). The RV, however, has replaced the word by 'glorying,' except in some cases where it uses 'rejoicing' (Ro $5^{2.11}$, but in Ja 4^{16} 'rejoice' of AV has also given place to 'glory'). 'Glorying' (or 'boasting') 'in the law,' or 'in works' as a ground of acceptance with God, or 'in men' as watchwords of sects or parties, is condemned by St. Paul (Ro 3^{27}, Eph 2^9, 1 Co 3^{21}). But the word expresses well the high level at which he lived, exulting in Christ Jesus. He gloried in the Cross (Gal 6^{14}), in free grace (Ro 5^{11}), in an approving conscience (2 Co 1^{12}), in his independence as an apostle (2 Co 11^{10}), in his converts (2 Th 1^4), and above all in Christ Jesus (Ro 15^{17}) and in God (1 Co 1^{31}), in the spirit of the Psalmist (44^8), and of the Prophet (Jer 9^{23}) who said in the name of God, 'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom . . . but let him that glorieth glory in this, that he understandeth, and knoweth me, that I am the Lord.'

T. NICOL.

BOAT.—See SHIP.

BODY.—1. The term.—In EV 'body' represents 3 different terms in the original. Once (Ac 19^{12}) it renders *χρώς*, which properly denotes the skin or the surface of the body. Thrice (Rev $11^{8.9}$) 'dead body' is the equivalent of *πτῶμα*, which corresponds to Lat. *cadaver*, Eng. 'carcase.' In all other cases 'body' stands for *σῶμα* in the Gr. text. Occasionally *σῶμα* is used of a dead body, whether of man (Ac 9^{40}, Jude[9]) or beast (He 13^{11}), but ordinarily it denotes the living body of animals (Ja 3^3) or of men (1 Co 6^{15} etc.). When distinguished from *σάρξ* (EV 'flesh'), which applies to the material or substance of the living body (2 Co 12^7), *σῶμα* designates the body as an organic whole, a union of related parts (1 Co 12^{12}); but *σῶμα* and *σάρξ* are sometimes used in connexions which make them practically synonymous (cf. 1 Co 5^3 with Col 2^5, 2 Co 4^{10} with v.[11]). In Rev 18^{13} *σώματα* is rendered by 'slaves' (marg. 'bodies'), the body only of the slave being taken into account by ancient law. From the literal meaning of *σῶμα* as an organism made up of interrelated parts comes its figurative employment to describe the

Christian Church as a social whole, the 'one body' with many members (Ro 12^5, 1 Co $12^{12ff. 27}$ etc.). Symbolically the bread of the Lord's Supper is designated as the body of Christ (1 Co 10^{16} $11^{24. 27. 29}$).

2. The doctrine.—Outside of the Pauline Epistles the references to the body are few in number, and do not furnish materials for separate doctrinal treatment. It is almost wholly with St. Paul that we have to do in considering the doctrinal applications of the word. His use of it is threefold—a literal use in connexion with his doctrine of man, a figurative or mystical use in his doctrine of the Church, a symbolic use in his doctrine of the Lord's Supper.

(1) *THE LITERAL BODY.*—The assumption is frequently made that St. Paul's doctrine of man was formed under Hellenistic influences, and that he sets up a rigid dualism between body and soul, matter and spirit (cf. Holtzmann, *NT Theol.* ii. 14f.). It is true that he makes use of the contrasted terms 'flesh' and 'spirit,' 'body' and 'soul,' which had become general among the Jews through familiarity with the LXX, and were thus indirectly due to contact with the Greek world. But, notwithstanding his use of these terms, St. Paul's doctrine of man was firmly rooted in the soil of OT teaching, and anything like the Greek dualistic antithesis between body and soul was far from his thoughts. For him, as for the OT writers, the psycho-physical unity of the human personality was the fundamental feature in the conception of man. The body, no less than the soul, was essential to human nature in its completeness, though the body, as the part that links man to Nature, held a lower place than the soul or spirit by which he came into relation with God. These two strands of thought—the essentiality of the body to a complete human nature, and its subordination to the soul—run through all the Apostle's anthropological teaching, and come into clear view in his teaching on the subjects of sin, death, sanctification, and the future life.

(*a*) *The body and sin.*—It is here that the argument for a positive dualism in the Pauline teaching regarding the body finds its strongest support. It must be admitted that St. Paul often speaks of the body and its members not only as instruments of sin, but as the seat of its power (*e.g.* Ro $6^{12. 19}$ $7^{5. 23f.}$). But it has been further alleged that he saw in the body the very source and principle of sin (Pfleiderer, *Paulinismus*, Leipzig, 1890, p. 53ff.). The argument depends on the interpretation given to the word 'flesh' (σάρξ) in those passages where it is employed in an ethical sense in contrast with 'spirit' (πνεῦμα). It is assumed by Pfleiderer and others that σάρξ in such cases simply denotes the physical or sensuous part of man, in which the Apostle finds a substance essentially antagonistic to the life of the spirit, making sin inevitable. But the objections to this view seem insuperable. In St. Paul's category of the 'works of the flesh' (Gal $5^{19ff.}$) most of the sins he enumerates are spiritual, not physical, in their character. When he charges the Corinthians with being 'carnal' (1 Co 3^3), he is condemning, not sensuality, but jealousy and strife. His doctrines of the sanctification of the body (1 Co $6^{15. 19}$) and of the absolute sinlessness (2 Co 5^{21}) of one born of a woman (Gal 4^4) would have been impossible if he had regarded the principle of sin as lying in man's corporeal nature. The antithesis of flesh and spirit, then, cannot be interpreted as amounting to a dualistic opposition between man's body and his soul. It is a contrast rather between the earthly and the heavenly, the natural and the supernatural, what is evolved from below and what is bestowed from above. The 'carnal' man, with his 'mind of the flesh' at enmity with God (Ro 8^7), is the same as the 'natural' man who receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God (1 Co 2^{14}), and so is to be distinguished from the 'spiritual' man in whom a supernatural and Divine principle is already at work (v.$^{13ff.}$; cf. $3^{1. 3}$).

But while the Apostle does not find in the body the very principle of sin, he does regard it as a lurking-place of evil and a constant source of liability to fall (Ro 6^6 $7^{23. 24}$). Hence his determination to bring the body into subjection (1 Co 9^{27}), and his summons to others to mortify its deeds (Ro 8^{13}; cf. Col 3^5).

(*b*) *The body and death.*—In his teaching about death, St. Paul lends no support to the doctrine of those Greek philosophers who saw in it a liberation of the soul from bondage to the body as such (cf. Plato, *Phædo*, 64ff.). The emphasis he lays on the inner and spiritual side of personality enables him, it is true, to conceive of existence, and even a blessed existence, in the disembodied state (2 Co 5^8). His sense, too, of the weakness of the flesh and its subjection to the forces of evil leads him to describe the present body as a tabernacle in which we groan, being burdened. But in the same passage he expresses his confidence that the house not made with hands will take the place of the present tabernacle, and that those who have heretofore been burdened will be so clothed upon, that what is mortal shall be swallowed up of life (2 Co 5^{1-4}). He longs not for deliverance from the body, but for its complete redemption and transformation, so that it may be perfectly adapted to the life of the spirit. In his view, death was not a liberation of the soul from bondage, but an interruption, due to sin (Ro 6^{23}), of the natural solidarity of the two component parts of human nature. But as Christ by His Spirit dwelling in us can subdue the power of sin, so also can He gain the victory over death—the culminating proof of sin's power (1 Co 15^{26}). In Christ the promise is given of a body not only raised from the grave, but redeemed from the power of evil, and thus capable of being transformed from a natural body into a spiritual body (v.^{44}; cf. Ph 3^{21}).

(*c*) *The body and sanctification.*—St. Paul's view of the body as an essential part of the human personality appears further in his doctrine of the bodily holiness of a Christian man. In Corinth the perverted notion had grown up that since the body was not a part of the true personality, bodily acts were morally indifferent things (1 Co $6^{13ff.}$). To this the Apostle opposes the doctrine that the body of a Christian belongs to the Lord, that it is a member of Christ Himself and a sanctuary of the Holy Ghost—thus making the personal life which unites us to Christ inseparable from those other manifestations of the same personal life which find expression in the bodily members. Yet this view of the communion of the body in man's spiritual life and its participation in the sanctifying powers of the Divine Spirit did not blind him to the fact that the body, as we know it, is weak and tainted, ever ready to become the instrument of temptation and an occasion of stumbling (Ro 6^{19}, 1 Co 9^{27}). And so, side by side with the truth that the body is a Divine sanctuary, he sets the demand that sin should not be allowed to reign in our mortal bodies, that we should obey it in the lusts thereof (Ro 6^{12}).

(*d*) *The body and the future life.*—Here, again, the same two familiar lines of thought emerge. On the one hand, we have an overwhelming sense of the worth of the body for the human personality; on the other, a clear recognition of its present limitations and unfitness in its earthly form to be a perfect spiritual instrument. The proof of the first is seen in St. Paul's attitude to the idea of a bodily resurrection. To him the

resurrection of Christ was a fact of the most absolute certainty (Ro 1[4], 1 Co 15[3ff.]); and that fact carried with it the assurance that the dead are raised (v.[15ff.]). Had he thought of the body as something essentially evil, had he not been persuaded of its absolute worth, his hopes for the future life must have centred in a bare doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and not, as they actually did, in the resurrection of the body. But while he clung passionately to the hope of the resurrection, he did not believe in the resurrection of the present body of flesh and blood (1 Co 15[50]). He looked for a body in which corruption had given place to incorruption (vv.[42. 43]) and humiliation had been changed into glory (Ph 3[21]). His doctrine of the resurrection includes the assurance that when the dead in Christ are raised (he has little to say of the physical resurrection of others), it will not be in the old bodies of their earthly experience, but in new ones adapted to heavenly conditions (1 Co 15[47ff.]), bodies that are no longer psychical merely, *i.e.* moving on the plane of man's natural experience in the world, but pneumatical (v.[44ff.]), because redeemed from every taint of evil and fitted to be the worthy and adequate organs of a spiritual and heavenly life.

(2) *THE FIGURATIVE OR MYSTICAL BODY.*—In 1 Co 12[12ff.] (cf. Ro 12[5]), St. Paul describes the relations in which Christians stand to Christ and to one another under the figure of a body and its members; and towards the end of the chapter (v.[27]) he says of the Corinthian Church quite expressly, 'Now ye are a body of Christ (*σῶμα Χριστοῦ*), and members in particular.' In ancient classical literature the figure was frequently applied to the body politic; and the Apostle here transfers it to the Church with the view of impressing upon his readers the need for unity and mutual helpfulness. As yet, however, the figure is plastic, and the anarthrous *σῶμα* suggests that it is the Church of Corinth only which St. Paul has immediately in view. This may be regarded, accordingly, as the preliminary sketch of that elaborated conception of the Church as Christ's mystical body which is found in two later Epistles. In Ephesians (1[22f.] 4[12]) and Colossians (1[18. 24]) 'the body of Christ' (*τὸ σῶμα τοῦ Χριστοῦ*) has become a fixed designation of the universal and ideal Church. Moreover, this further distinction is to be observed, that whereas in Rom. and 1 Cor. Christ is conceived of as the whole body of which individual Christians are members in particular, in Eph. and Col. the Church has become the body of which Christ as the head is ruler, saviour, and nourisher (Eph 5[23f.], Col 2[19]). In its later form the figure suggests not only the unity of the Church as the mystical body of Christ, but its absolute dependence upon Him who is the Head for its strength and growth and very existence.

(3) *THE SYMBOLIC BODY.*—The words, 'This is my body,' applied by Jesus to the broken bread of the Supper (Mt 26[26], Mk 14[22], Lk 22[19]), are repeated by St. Paul in his narrative of the institution (1 Co 11[24]). And the Apostle not only repeats the Lord's words in their historical connexion, but himself describes the sacramental bread as being Christ's body. 'The bread which we break,' he writes, 'is it not a communion of the body of Christ?' (1 Co 10[16]). In like manner he says that whosoever shall eat the bread of the Lord unworthily shall be guilty of the body of the Lord (11[27]), and that a participant of the Supper eats and drinks judgment unto himself 'if he discern not the body' (v.[29]). There are wide differences of opinion among Christians as to the full significance of this identification of the bread of the Lord's Supper with the body of the Lord Himself. But whatever further meanings may be seen in it, and even under theories of a Real Presence, which is something other and more than a purely spiritual presence, the bread which Jesus broke at the Last Supper was, in the first place, a symbol of His own body of flesh and blood which was yielded to death in a sacrifice of love.

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex.*[3], Edinburgh, 1880, *s.v.*; relevant sections in J. Laidlaw, *Bible Doct. of Man*, do. 1879; F. Delitzsch, *Bibl. Psychology*, Eng. tr., do. 1867; and the *NT Theologies* of Holtzmann [Tübingen, 1911], Weiss [Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1882–83], and Beyschlag [Eng. tr., do. 1895]. See, further, W. P. Dickson, *St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit*, Glasgow, 1883; H. H. Wendt, *Teaching of Jesus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1892, i. 156; H. W. Robinson, 'Heb. Psychology in relation to Pauline Anthropology,' in *Mansfield College Essays*, London, 1909; F. Paget, *Spirit of Discipline*, do. 1891, p. 80 ff.

J. C. LAMBERT.

BOLDNESS.—'Boldness' (with the allied expressions 'bold,' 'boldly,' 'to be bold') has several Greek equivalents in the apostolic writings.—(*a*) In the sense of *daring*, we find it used to render *τολμᾶν*, 'to dare,' 'to be bold' (2 Co 10[2] 11[21], Ph 1[14]). The cognate adverb *τολμηρῶς* in the compar. *τολμηρότερον* is used by St. Paul (Ro 15[15]). The verb, in composition with the strengthening prep. *ἀπό*, is used in Ro 10[20], where *ἀποτολμᾶν* has the force of 'to be very bold.'—(*b*) In the sense of *being of good courage* it is employed to render *θαρρεῖν* in 2 Co 5[6. 8] 7[16] (RV; the AV having 'confident,' 'confidence' in these places). In 2 Co 10[1. 2], where the same verb is rendered 'to be bold' in AV, the RV prefers 'to be of good courage'; and similarly 'we may boldly say' of AV in He 13[6] is rendered in RV 'with good courage we say.' In Ac 28[15] *θάρσος* occurs in the expression used regarding St. Paul—'he thanked God and took courage.' *θράσος* and *θρασύτης* are used in the sense of 'overconfidence,' 'insolence' in Patristic literature in company with such words as *πλεονεξία*, 'covetousness,' and *ἀλαζονεία*, 'boastfulness' (*Didache* iii. 9, v. 1).—(*c*) In the sense of *liberty and frankness of speech* it is employed to translate *παρρησία* and the derived verb *παρρησιάζεσθαι*. In classical usage *παρρησία* (*πᾶν* and *ῥῆσις*) is the frank and outspoken expression of opinion which was the cherished privilege of Athenian citizenship. In NT usage it denotes the glad and fearless confidence in drawing near to God, and having communion with Him, which is the dearest privilege of the Christian heart (Eph 3[12], He 4[16], 1 Jn 2[28]). It is contrasted with shrinking back from fear or shame (Ph 1[20], 1 Jn 2[28]). In reference to speech, it is plainness and candour without reserve or ambiguity, without parable or metaphor, without hesitation or misgiving, in the utterance of it (Jn 7[13] 11[14] 16[25. 29], Ac 4[29] 13[46] where *παρρησιάζεσθαι* is used). 'When it is transferred from words to actions, it appears always to retain the idea of "confidence, boldness"' (Lightfoot on Col 2[15]).

The chief usages of the word in the apostolic writers may be given as follows:

(1) *Fearlessness and frankness in the public proclamation of the gospel.*—Examples are St. Peter on the day of Pentecost (Ac 2[24]), St. Peter and St. John before the Council (4[13]), and in setting forth Christ to the people (4[29. 31]), St. Paul at Rome preaching to all and sundry (28[31]). In this sense *παρρησιάζεσθαι* is used of Saul at Damascus and Jerusalem (9[27f.]), of St. Paul and Barnabas at Antioch of Pisidia (13[46]), of Apollos at Ephesus (18[26]), of St. Paul himself at Thessalonica (1 Th 2[2]; cf. Eph 6[19f.]).

(2) *Confidence in prayer and communion with God through Christ.*—This is the privilege which St. Paul (Eph 3[12]) commends to his readers when he speaks of 'boldness and access in confidence' which are theirs through their faith in Christ. The same fearless confidence is dwelt upon by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews (4[16] 10[19]).

This joyous confidence in prayer is specially notable in St. John's First Epistle (3[21] 5[14]). It comes of abiding in Christ (2[28]), of the presence in the heart of the love which casts out fear (4[17f.]), of a clear conscience and an obedient life (3[20-23]).

(3) *Candid speech towards Christian brethren* (2 Co 7[4], Philem 8, and possibly 2 Co 3[12], if Chrysostom's interpretation be correct).

(4) *Fearless bearing in the Church and before the world acquired through the faithful discharge of duty* (1 Ti 3[13], Ph 1[20]).

(5) *Fearless confidence at the appearance of Christ and before His judgment seat* (1 Jn 2[28] 4[17-19]).—The Scriptural opposite is the shame of the man without the wedding-garment who was speechless (Mt 22[12]). Clement's words are a good illustration: 'The good workman takes with *boldness* the bread which is the reward of labour, but the slothful and the indolent dare not meet the eye of their employer' (1 Clem. xxxiv. 1). Cf. also Wis 5[1]: 'Then [in the judgment] shall the righteous man stand *in great boldness* before the face of them that afflicted him.'

LITERATURE.—D. Russell Scott, art. 'Boldness (Christian)' in *ERE* ii. 785, with lit. there cited; also J. H. Jowett, *The Transfigured Church*, 1910, p. 181. T. NICOL.

BOND (Col 2[14]).—The point here lies in the word χειρόγραφον. For 'bond' in the sense of δοῦλος, see 1 Co 12[13] etc., and in that of σύνδεσμος (ligament in surgery [very often]), see Col 2[19], etc. Col 2[14] is the only instance in the NT of the word χειρόγραφον, though there are other compounds with χειρ- (χειραγωγέω, Ac 9[8]; χειραγωγούς, Ac 13[11]; χειροποίητος, Eph 2[11], and ἀχειροποίητος, Col 2[11]; χειροτονέω, Ac 14[23]). This synthetic compound means originally 'handwriting' or 'autograph,' and occurs in this sense in Polybius (xxx. 8. 4), Dion. Hal. (v. 8), etc. Its technical use is for 'a note of hand, a bond or obligation, as having the "sign manual" of the debtor or contractor' (Lightfoot, *Col.*[3], 1879, *in loc.*); so To 5[3] ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ τὸ χειρόγραφον. See also Plut. (*Mor.* p. 829 A) and Artem. (*Oneir.* iii. 40). Its position as a κοινή word is greatly strengthened by the papyri, where it is very common (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 247). Some of these bonds in papyri texts are crossed out with the Greek cross-letter X, thus cancelling the note (cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*[2], 1911, p. 336 f.). A number of these 'crossed-out' bonds are in the papyri lists at Berlin, Heidelberg, and elsewhere. This was the method of official as well as private cancellation (see the Florentine Papyrus [A.D. 85], where the Governor of Egypt ordered the bond to be 'crossed out' [χιασθῆναι]). There is no evidence for the notion that these bonds were cancelled by hanging on nails (perforation). There are examples of inscribed leaden rolls being perforated and hung on nails, but not for cancellation by the nails (Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, p. 273 f.). St. Paul piles up his metaphors, as he often does, by the use of ἐξαλείψας ('blotting out'; cf. χιάζω, 'cross out'), ἦρκεν ἐκ τοῦ μέσου ('take out of the midst'; note change to indicative and perfect for notion of permanent removal). Dibelius (*Handbuch zum NT*, 'Kolosser,' 1912, p. 81) cites Epictetus' use of αἶρε ἔξω, αἶρε ἐκ τοῦ μέσου as synonymous. As to προσηλώσας τῷ σταυρῷ ('nailing to the cross'), E. Haupt (Meyer-Haupt, *Kom. Kol.*, 1902, *in loc.*) points out that with St. Paul it is not the cancelling by nailing, but the nailing to *the cross* that is dominant. These three metaphors all accentuate the main idea of the cancellation of the debt.

What the bond is in Col 2[14] scholars are not agreed. Probably the general notion of law is correct, since Gentiles as well as Jews seem to be included, rather than the Mosaic Law or the narrower notion of the purely ceremonial law. The addition of τοῖς δόγμασιν, difficult as to syntax, points to formulated commandment (Peake, *EGT*, 'Colossians,' 1903, *in loc.*) of some kind (cf. Eph 2[15]), though 'the moral assent of the conscience' (Lightfoot, *in loc.*) is surely involved also. No stress is to be laid on the fact of the law being written or not written (the autograph idea in χειρόγραφον) by the sinner, though, if the primary reference be to the Jews, they might be said to have signed the contract in giving assent to the law as represented in Dt 27[14-26]. The central idea is that the bond of moral obligation which was against us (καθ' ἡμῶν and ὃ ἦν ὑπεναντίον ἡμῖν) has been removed by the death of Christ on the Cross. It has been cancelled (crossed out) and hung up for all to see (nailed to the cross) as an obligation from which we are now free. It is a bold picture of grace *versus* works as the method of salvation. Christ has paid the debt and destroyed the note against us. Cf. St. Paul's offer to pay Philemon for the debt of Onesimus (Philem 18f.).

A. T. ROBERTSON.

BONDAGE.—'Bondage' in the EV uniformly represents δουλεία, which can equally well be rendered 'slavery.' Note the Vulg. *servitus* and Wyclif's corresponding term, 'servage.'

1. So far as literal slavery is meant in the use of this and kindred expressions, see art. SLAVERY.

2. 'Bondage' has an important figurative use in the Epistles in relation to spiritual experience. It denotes the state of sin. The place filled by slavery in the social structure of that age made such a figure natural and forceful. St. Paul conspicuously employs this description of the sinful state in his discussion of human sin in Ro 5–7. It is evident that he was far more deeply interested in man's spiritual bondage and his deliverance than in slavery as an institution open to challenge in the cause of humanity. No slavery in his view was comparable with that of a man 'sold under sin,' whether lord or slave. This became a commonplace in the thought of the early Church. The writings of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom notably furnish many instances of its vigorous enforcement. Similar sentiments, it should be added, were held by Plotinus (3rd cent.) and the Neo-Platonic School of Alexandria. (In the NT note the description of man as enslaved to sin, Ro 6[17]; or to passions and pleasures, Tit 3[3]; cf. 2[3].)

The bondage of the will ('the will, deprived of liberty, is led or dragged by necessity to evil' [Calvin, *Inst.* iii. 2]), a *theologoumenon* figuring so largely in the Augustinian and the Reformed theology, strains Pauline teaching and finds little or no illustration in the Ante-Nicene Fathers.

3. The righteous life, on the other hand, is also described as a bondage (Ro 6[18]). This servitude, which is that of the δοῦλοι of God, or of Christ (1 Co 7[22], etc.), is freedom in relation to that of sin (*as per se*, cf. 'Whose service is perfect freedom,' *Book of Common Prayer*), and *vice versa*. But St. Paul surely uses a gentle irony in representing sinners as 'free' from the bondage of righteousness (Ro 6[20]).

4. The term is used of other forms of religious life in contrast to the liberty of the Christian life. Thus in the allegory, wrought out in Rabbinical fashion, in Gal 4[21ff.], Judaism spells bondage; the gospel, freedom. In v.[3] and vv.[8-10] slavery ὑπὸ τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου includes apparently reference both to Jewish legalism and to Gentile devotion to false gods. In this connexion must be noted Ro 8[15] (cf. Gal 4[4-7]) with its striking contrast between the servile temper of fear characterizing life under law, so vividly depicted in Ro 7, and the filial spirit of happy confidence pertaining to Christian experience. For another instance of the association of

bondage with fear and the antithesis between the filial and the servile condition, see He $2^{14f.}$.

5. In Ro 8^{21} all creation is represented as being in bondage—'servitude to decay'—but hoping for deliverance and for that freedom which characterizes 'the glory of the children of God.' With this contrast the reference in 2 P 2^{19} to 'the bondage of corruption' as=moral degradation.

J. S. CLEMENS.

BONDS.—See PRISON, CHAIN.

BOOK.—See WRITING.

BOOK OF LIFE.—The actual phrase occurs in six passages only of the NT: Ph 4^3, Rev 3^5 13^8 17^8 $20^{12.15}$ 21^{27} (in 22^{19} the evidence for the reading 'book of life' [AV] instead of 'tree of life' [RV] is negligible). Of these passages the most important for the purpose of determining the meaning is Rev $20^{12.15}$, because there the book of life is distinguished from certain other books: 'and the books were opened, which is the book of life; and the dead were judged out of those things that were written in the books, according to their works . . . and whosoever was not found written in the book of life, was cast into the lake of fire.' The natural implication here is that the other books were records of works, but that the book of life was simply a register of the names of those destined for life—an interpretation which fits all the above-noted passages.

An interesting exegetical point comes up in connexion with Rev 13^8. The words 'from the foundation of the world' may grammatically refer either to 'written' or to 'the Lamb which hath been slain.' But in 17^8, where the same phrase occurs, the only natural way to take it is as referring to 'written'; and this is practically decisive for 13^8 also (so Swete, *Apoc. of St. John*[2], London, 1907, and RV). The phrase thus carries a suggestion of predestination; but this is not thought of as absolute, since the idea of blotting out a name from the book of life occurs quite freely.

With the above-noted passages there fall into line a number of others where the same conception is clearly implied: Lk 10^{20}, Dn 12^1, Ps 69^{28}, Ex $32^{32.33}$. The conception of a register found in all these passages seems to be based on the analogy of citizen-lists, registers of the theocratic community, such as are referred to in Is 4^3: 'He that is left in Zion shall be called holy, every one that is written among the living in Jerusalem' (cf. Neh $12^{22.23}$, Ezk 13^9). To be written in the heavenly counterpart of such a list meant to be assured of being a sharer in the blessings destined for the true Israel. Other passages which associate themselves more or less closely with this conception are 1 S 25^{29}, Ps 87^6 139^{16}, Is 48^{19}, Jer 22^{30}, He 12^{23}.

The conception of a heavenly record of man's actions, which we found clearly distinguished from the above in Rev $20^{12.15}$, appears equally distinct in Dn 7^{10} as compared with 12^1. See also Ps 56^8, Is 65^6, Mal 3^{16}.

Different again is the conception of the Book with the Seven Seals in Rev 5, for that is thought of as the book of destiny—the prophetic history of the world.

All three conceptions appear in the *Book of Enoch*. When the Head of Days 'seated Himself on the throne of His glory, and the books of the living were opened before Him' (*En.* xlvii. 3), the context makes it clear that the purpose of the opening of the books is not a great assize, it is a vindication of the righteous that is at hand, and 'the living' means, not all living, but the righteous. Charles remarks that 'books of the holy ones' in *En.* cviii. 3 has practically the same meaning. The complementary conception 'the book of those that shall be destroyed' appears in *Jub.* xxx. 22.* The second conception, that of a record, appears in *En.* lxxxix. 70 ff., where the evil deeds of the shepherds are recorded and read before the Lord; cf. xc. 17, 20, xcviii. 7, 8, civ. 7 (a daily record). The idea of a book of fate or prophetic history, is represented by the 'heavenly tablets,' lxxxi. 1, 2, xciii. 1 ff.; but this should be kept separate. See, further, following article.

As regards the origin of the conception, if we take the heavenly book in the wider sense of a record of men's actions or a prophetic world history, it is obviously one of those conceptions for which it is not easy to establish a relation of dependence between one religion and another, since it is likely to arise independently in various places. A. Jeremias (*Babylonisches im NT*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 69 ff., and art. 'Book of Life,' in *ERE*) has pointed to the Bab. New Year's Festival, at which it was conceived that an assembly of the gods determined the events of the year, and especially the duration of men's lives, which was written down in a 'tablet of life.' For the narrower conception of the book of life as set forth above, the most interesting literary parallel is that cited by Jeremias from the Akhmim fragments of the Coptic *Apoc. of Sophonias* (Zephaniah), tr. L. Stern, in *Zeitschr. für ägypt. Sprache*, xxiv. [1886]. There the seer inquires about two angels whom he sees, and is told by his angel guide: 'These are the angels of the Lord Almighty who inscribe all the good works of the righteous in His scrolls, sitting at the gate of heaven. They give these scrolls to me, to take them to the Lord Almighty, in order that He may write their name (*sc.* names of the righteous) in the Book of the Living.' This passage is not of any value as evidence for the source of the conception, for the work shows in many places dependence upon Rev., but it probably indicates correctly how the relation of the book of life to the other books in Rev 20^{12} is to be conceived. As Alford there explains it, on internal grounds, the other books are, so to speak, the 'vouchers' for the book of life.

In the Apostolic Fathers the conception occurs in 1 Clem. xlv. 8: 'Those who remained faithful, inherited glory and honour, were exalted and were inscribed by God in His memorial for ever'; Hermas, *Vis.* i. 3. 2: 'Cease not to admonish thy children, for I know that if they shall repent with their whole hearts they shall be inscribed in the books of life with the saints,' and *Sim.* ii. 9: 'He that does these things shall not be abandoned by God, but shall be inscribed upon the books of the living'; cf. *Mand.* viii. 6: 'Refrain thyself from all these things, that thou mayest live to God, and be enrolled with those who exercise self-restraint therein.'

Among homiletic expositions of the passage Rev 20^{12} one of the most impressive is that of St. Augustine in *de Civ. Dei*, xx. 14. Taking the book of life as a record of men's deeds, he observes that it cannot be understood literally, since the reading of such a record would be interminable. 'We must therefore understand it of a certain Divine power by which it shall be brought about that every one shall recall to memory all his own works, whether good or evil, and shall mentally survey them with a marvellous rapidity, so that this knowledge will either accuse or excuse conscience, and thus all and each shall be simultaneously judged.'

LITERATURE.—R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*[2], Oxford, 1912, note on xlvii. 3; H. Zimmern, *KAT*[3], Berlin, 1903, p. 401ff.; A. Jeremias, art. 'Book of Life' in *ERE*; W. Bousset, *Com.*

* It is interesting to note that the Old Latin (Donatist) text in Jer 17^{13} has 'recedentes a te scribantur in *libro mortis*' (see Burkitt, *Old Latin and Itala* [*TS* iv. 3 (1896)], p. 87).

(Göttingen, 1896) on Rev 8^5; B. Duhm, *Com.* (Göttingen, 1902) on Is 4^3; A. Bertholet, *Stellung der Israeliten u. der Juden zu den Fremden*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896.

W. MONTGOMERY.

BOOK WITH THE SEVEN SEALS.—There is no more impressive piece of symbolism in the Apocalypse than that connected with the seven-sealed book (Rev 5). Much of the imagery of Rev. strikes the modern Western mind as exotic and unattractive; it is only by a determined use of the historical imagination that we can bring ourselves to a sympathetic understanding of it. But here the qualities which we look for in great painting or in epic poetry are plainly to be seen. And this applies both to the imagery and to the dominant thought. The unnamed Presence in the glory of light on the central throne, the representatives of humanity and nature grouped around and before Him, the concentration of interest in the seven-sealed book held out upon (*ἐπί*, acc.) His hand, the dramatic challenge, the dread pause when there seems no answer, emphasized by the grief of the Seer, the triumphant approach of the Lion of the tribe of Judah—each point in the progress of the drama seizes the reader's imagination and increases the tension of his sympathies, till at last they are afforded relief by the magnificent burst of acclamation which follows.

And the thought, as has been said, is worthy of its setting, for this sealed book is the book of destiny, the prophetic history of the world as foreknown in the purpose of God; and the fact that the Lion of the tribe of Judah alone prevails to open the book is the symbolic expression of what would be described in modern language as the central significance of Christ in history. That the Lion is also the Slain Lamb attaches this significance especially to His sacrifice of Himself: 'For thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood . . . and hast made us unto our God, kings and priests.' In a word, the purpose of history is the founding of a redeemed humanity.

To touch on some of the details—the conception of a book containing the future history of the world is found in *Enoch*, lxxxi. 1, 2: 'And he said unto me: O Enoch, observe the writing of the heavenly tablets and read what is written thereon . . . and I read the book of all the deeds of men, and of all the children of flesh that will be upon the earth to the remotest generations'; and more especially xciii. 2, 3: 'Concerning the children of righteousness . . . I will speak to you . . . according to that which I have learned from the heavenly tables.' (Then follows a prophetic scheme of the history of Israel divided into seven weeks.)

The seals obviously imply the secret nature of the record (not here, directly, ratification), as in Dn 12^4. If the vision of ch. 5 stood alone, the sevenfold sealing might simply emphasize this idea, but the successive opening of the seals implies that the leaves of the book or parchment-roll are sealed down in successive portions, and the idea of completeness in the seven is thus referred to the history (cf. the seven weeks of Israel's history in *Enoch*).

The visions connected with the opening of the several seals are of less central interest, belonging rather to the general furniture of apocalyptic. The second to the sixth signify clearly war, famine, pestilence, persecution, convulsions of nature. As to the meaning of the first horseman, expositors are not agreed. Swete takes the first two together as representatives of war in its two aspects of victory and carnage. At the seventh vision the scheme, instead of moving directly to its completion, branches out into new ramifications.

LITERATURE.—See Literature at end of preceding article.

W. MONTGOMERY.

BOSOR.—See BEOR.

BOTTOMLESS PIT.—See ABYSS.

BOWL.—The word is used in the RV instead of 'vial' to translate *φιάλη*, which occurs 12 times in Revelation. The change was desirable, as the former word, a modification of 'phial,' has come to mean a small glass vessel or bottle, as in Milton's 'precious vialled liquors.' *φιάλη* meant in classical Greek (after Homer, to whom it was a cinerary urn) a broad shallow bowl used in drinking or in offering libations. Its saucer shape allowed its contents to be poured out at once or suddenly. It was often of finely-wrought gold or silver (Herod. ii. 151; Pind. *Nem.* ix. 122), and it is a familiar object in classical art. In the LXX *φιάλη* denotes a bronze bowl or basin (מִזְרָק) used in the sacrificial ritual of Tabernacle or Temple (Ex 27^3)—the vessel in which the priest caught the warm blood of the victim, to dash it upon the altar. These uses of the word, with striking modifications, are reflected in Revelation. (1) In a single passage (5^8) it is employed with its classical connotation, except that the offering which the vessel holds is not the pagan libation of wine, but the Levitical gift of incense. 'The *ζῷα* and the *πρεσβύτεροι* [representing perhaps all Nature and all saints] fell down before the Lamb, having . . . golden bowls [*φιάλας χρυσᾶς*] full of incense.' The Vulg. has 'phialas aureas,' but the proper Lat. equivalent of *φιάλη* was 'patera,' as in Virg. *Geor.* ii. 192, 'pateris libamus et auro.' The subjoined interpretation of the bowls and their contents as 'the prayers of the saints' is probably an editorial gloss suggested by Rev 8^4 (see INCENSE). (2) In every other passage where the word occurs the *φιάλη* does not exhale a cloud of fragrant incense, sent up with the adoration of saints, but is filled with the hot, bitter, poisonous wine of the wrath of God, which earth is made to drink—a figure resembling the prophetic 'cup of reeling' (Is $51^{17.\ 22}$), but even more appalling. The seven angels who have the seven bowls are 'laden with the seven last plagues' (Rev 21^9). Every emptied *φιάλη* means an added judgment falling on land or sea or air ($16^{1ff.}$). Hence in common speech the words 'vials' and 'wrath' have become almost inseparably linked together.

JAMES STRAHAN.

BREAKING OF BREAD.—See LOVE-FEAST, EUCHARIST.

BREASTPLATE.—See ARMOUR.

BRETHREN.—*In the OT this term refers to*: (1) *birth from the same parent or parents (very frequently, e.g., in Gn 37–50)*; (2) *membership of the same nation (e.g.* Ex 2^{11}*), with special emphasis on the bond thus established between the various single tribes (e.g.* Nu 18^2, Dt 3^{20}*), even when one of them is separated off* (Dt 10^9 $18^{2.\ 7}$); (3) *membership of other groups lying between the family and the nation, i.e. clans and single tribes* (see Dt 18^7, *where the Levite's* 'brethren' *are his fellow-Levites*); (4) *metaphorical applications which are too general and too various for exact delimitation.*

The OT and NT alike use only one word for 'brethren' (אָח and *ἀδελφοί* respectively), and trust to its flexibility to express every needed shade of meaning. *ἀδελφός* is of great frequency (about 40 times in Mt. and still oftener in Acts). In the Gospels the literal use predominates; in the Acts and Epistles various metaphorical uses. The literal use is especially clear in Mt 10^{21} 12^{46} 13^{35} 22^{25}, but Mt. tends more than any other Gospel to a metaphorical sense; cf. $5^{22.\ 23.\ 24.\ 47}$ 12^{48-50} 18^{15} 23^8 25^{40} 28^{10}, to which only Lk 8^{21} 17^3 provide even a partial parallel. The 'brother' intended is especially

one's fellow-Christian, and Mt. in this way leads over from the Gospels to the rest of the NT, much of which is, however, chronologically earlier.

ἀδελφός in the purely family sense (see (1) above) occurs in Ac 12[2], Gal 1[19], 1 Co 9[5], and perhaps 2 Co 8[18] 12[18] (A. Souter in *ExpT* xviii. [1906–07] 285). In its second sense it occurs in Ro 9[3] (cf. Ac 22[1. 5] 23[1. 5. 6], where St. Paul is addressing Jews). Usually, however, 'the brethren' (cf. ἀδελφότης, 'the brotherhood' [1 P 2[17] 5[9]]) means the Christian community (*e.g.* Ac 1[15]), and this is much more definitely marked off from non-Christians than in Mt. (cf. 1 Co 5[11] 6[5] 7[12]; the whole spirit of Gal., especially the privileged 'household of the faith,' 6[10]; and the alienation from 'the world' in Jn. and 1 Jn.).

ἀδελφός was common at this time in the Greek East as meaning 'member of a community' (see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 82f., *Light from the Ancient East*[2], do., 1911, p. 107), but it would be a mistake to minimize on that account its fervent tone in the NT, or its importance as suggesting a fulfilment of such words of Jesus as Jn 13[35] concerning mutual love. This love is a command (Jn 13[34]), a fundamental thing taught directly by God (1 Th 4[9]), a test of living or not living in God (1 Jn 3[14] 4[12]). Denney in *HDB* (art. 'Brotherly Love') points out that it found expression in two special ways—hospitality and care for persecuted Christians. The word 'brethren' is continually used in exhortation and appeal, sometimes strengthened by ἀγαπητοί ('beloved'), as in 1 Co 15[58]; or καὶ ἐπιπόθητοι ('and longed for') may further be added (Ph 4[1]). Again, brethren are called πιστός ('faithful' or 'believing'), as Col 1[2] 4[9], or ἅγιος ('holy'), as Col 1[2], He 3[1]. Frequently 'brother' has a pathetic tone (1 Co 8[11], Philem 7. 16. 20, 2 Th 3[15], Ja 2[15]). It is often a humble or a humbling word (Gal 3[15] 6[1], Ph 3[13], 1 Th 5[25], 2 Th 3[1]). In Ac 9[17] 22[13], 1 Co 16[12] (see Commentaries) it breathes a fine magnanimity. Gal 6[18] is noteworthy in that this most fiery of St. Paul's letters is the only one which has 'brothers' as its closing note.

C. H. WATKINS.

BRETHREN OF THE LORD.—See JAMES, EP. OF.

BRIDE, BRIDEGROOM.—See artt. FAMILY and MARRIAGE.

BRIMSTONE.—Brimstone (θεῖον),* or sulphur, is scientifically one of the most important of the non-metallic elements, widely distributed in the mineral world, sometimes pure, and sometimes chemically combined with other elements, forming sulphates and sulphides. It is found in greatest abundance in volcanic regions, and is extensively employed in arts and manufactures. Most of what is used in modern Europe is obtained from Sicily, which finds therein one of the sources of its wealth. The ancients used brimstone for ordinary fumigations and especially for religious purifications.

> 'Bring hither fire, and hither sulphur bring
> To purge the palace'
>
> (Homer, *Od.* xxii. 481 f.).

In the Græco-Roman period the hot sulphur springs of Palestine, on both sides of the Dead Sea, at Tiberias, and in the valley of the Yarmuk, were used medicinally. At the direction of his physicians, Herod the Great 'went beyond the river Jordan, and bathed himself in the warm baths that were at Callirrhoë, which, besides their other general virtues, were also fit to drink' (Jos. *Ant.* XVII. vi. 5).

But the biblical meaning, which is invariably determined by Gn 19[24], reflects the ideas of a pre-scientific age, in which the commercial value and domestic utility of brimstone were unsuspected, while electric currents and their sulphurous fumes were regarded as indications of the wrath of heaven. 'Fire and brimstone and a burning wind' (Ps 11[6]), 'an overflowing shower, and great hailstones, fire, and brimstone' (Ezk 38[22]), were not the mere symbols, but the actual media of Divine judgment. The association of lightning and brimstone was wide-spread and persistent, the ozonic odour which accompanies electric discharges being ascribed to the presence of sulphur. 'Fulmina, fulgura quoque,' says Pliny, 'sulfuris odorem habent, ac lux ipsa eorum sulfurea est' (*HN* XXXV. l. [15]). 'Sulfur aethereum' (Lucan, vii. 160) and 'sulfur sacrum' (Pers. ii. 25) are synonyms for lightning, and Shakespeare's 'stones of sulphur' are thunderbolts.

The prophetic writer of Revelation naturally retains the old picturesque language with its dread suggestion. His armies of angelic horsemen have breastplates of fire and of hyacinth and of brimstone—red and blue and yellow—and their breath is fire and smoke and brimstone (9[17]). The worshippers of the Beast and his image are to be tormented with fire and brimstone in the presence of the angels and the Lamb (14[10]). And the destruction of the wicked in the end of the age will be a magnified repetition of the overthrow of the cities of the Ghôr—the godless multitude are to be cast into the lake that burns with fire and brimstone, which is the second death (21[8]; cf. 19[20] 20[10]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

BROTHER.—See FAMILY.

BROTHERHOOD.—See BRETHREN, FELLOWSHIP.

BROTHERLY LOVE.—1. Meaning of the words and usage.—The word φιλαδελφία occurs in the NT in Ro 12[10], 1 Th 4[9], He 13[1], 1 P 1[22], 2 P 1[7]. The AV renders it in the first three passages 'brotherly love,' in the fourth 'love of the brethren,' in the last 'brotherly kindness' (in order to mark a qualitative as well as a quantitative distinction between φιλαδελφία and the following ἀγάπη). The RV has in all passages 'love of the brethren,' which is more correct, since in the Greek word the second part takes the place of an objective, not a subjective, genitive. The adjective φιλάδελφος is found in 1 P 3[8]. The original meaning of the word is the literal one of love for brothers (and sisters) by blood-relationship (cf. Xen. *Mem.* II. iii. 17, 'loving one like a brother'; Jos. *Ant.* IV. ii. 4, where the word is used of Moses and Aaron; Lucian, *Dial. Deor.* xxvi. 2, where it is used of Castor and Pollux). In the NT it has only the metaphorical sense of love towards the fellow-members of the Church—a usage which already occurs in earlier Jewish writings (cf. 2 Mac 15[14], the love of Israelite towards Israelite). It should be noted that 'the brotherhood' (1 P 2[17]) to which this love applies is nowhere in the NT humanity as such. 'Brethren' is not the correlate of the universal Fatherhood of God, but of that specific paternal relation which God sustains to believers (cf. Mt 23[8. 9]). The NT conception has its root in the redemptive experience of Israel (Zec 11[14], Mal 2[10]) and of the Apostolic Church. It obtains its significance for universalism through the missionary extension of this, not through philosophical abstraction from all positive differences as is the case with the Hellenic idea of cosmopolitanism. Even where the duty of love for all men is based on kinship by nature, this is traced back to creation in the image of God (Ja 3[9]). In 1 Th 3[12] love towards the fellow-members of the Church and towards all is explicitly distinguished,

* θεῖον is a word of uncertain etymology. It may be the neut. of θεῖος and mean Divine incense, from the supposed purifying and contagion-preventing virtue of burning sulphur; but Curtius allies it with θύω and *fumus*. Brimstone is the O.E. 'brenston' and Scot. 'bruntstane.'

but it is uncertain whether 'all' here means all Christians or all men. In 2 P 1[7] 'love' appears as something supplementary to 'brotherly love'; the context here requires the reference of this 'love' to man; the distinction between φιλαδελφία and ἀγάπη must therefore lie in the range of extent; at the same time the difference in the word used suggests the deeper and more intimate character of brotherly love (cf. φιλεῖν in Jn 5[20] 16[27]). In Gal 6[10] a distinction is made between the working of good toward 'all men' and toward 'them that are of the household of the faith.'

2. The primacy of love in Christianity.—The distinctiveness of Christianity lies not so much in the theoretical discovery or proclamation of the principle of love, either as constitutive in the Divine character or as regulative for human conduct, but rather in the production of forces and motives which give to the principle a new concrete reality in the life of men (cf. Mk 12[32], Lk 10[27], 1 Jn 2[7] 3[4]). Still, even as a subject of teaching, love occupies a prominent place in the apostolic writings. It appears not merely as one important factor among others in the Christian life, but as its chief and most characteristic ingredient, greater even than faith and hope (1 Co 13[13]). The Pastoral Epistles utter a warning against the absorption of the religious interest by the false gnosis and its asceticism or impure love to the detriment of true Christian love (1 Ti 1[5] 5[8], 2 Ti 2[22-25] 3[1-4. 10]). The primacy of love also finds expression in such passages as Ro 13[8-10], Eph 1[4], Ja 2[8], Rev 2[4].

3. Love for God.—The love thus made prominent is, before all else, love towards God. Ritschl's view, that the NT writers, especially St. Paul, conceive of love towards God as something difficult of attainment, and therefore hesitate to speak of it, except in the quotation which underlies Ro 8[28], 1 Co 2[9] 8[3], Ja 1[12] 2[5], is not borne out by the facts. Against it speaks 2 Th 2[3]. Conceptions like 'living unto God' (Ro 6[10. 11], Gal 2[19]), 'pleasing God' (Ro 8[8], Gal 1[10], 1 Th 4[1]), 'offering sacrifice to God' (Ro 12[1] 15[16], Ph 4[18], He 13[15], 1 P 2[5]), 'serving God' (Ro 1[9] 7[6] 16[18], 1 Th 1[9], 2 Ti 1[3], He 9[14]), all imply that the Christian's religious life is inspired by an affection directly terminating upon God (cf. also 1 Co 14[2], Rev 2[10. 13]). It is unwarranted, where the conception of love occurs without further specification of the object, to think exclusively of the fraternal affection among Christians mutually. In many cases the writers may have had in mind primarily the love for God. The very fact that Christian love must be exercised in imitation of Christ favours this primary God-ward reference (Eph 5[2]). Nor is it correct to say that the only mode of expressing love to God lies in the service of men. 1 Jn 4[12] is often quoted in proof of this, but the passage in the context means no more than that the invisibility of God exposes man in his feeling of love for Him to the danger of self-deception, which can be guarded against by testing oneself in regard to the actual experience of love for the brethren. Hence in 5[2] the opposite principle is also affirmed, viz. that the assurance of the genuineness of one's love for the brethren is obtainable from the exercise of love and obedience towards God. Only in so far as the love of God assumes the form of concrete deeds of helpfulness, it cannot serve God except in the brethren.

4. Interdependence of the love for God and love for the brethren.—The love for God and the love for the brethren are not, according to the apostolic teaching, two independent facts. In examining their relation, it should be remembered that the love for God and the love for Christ are to the NT practically interchangeable conceptions, Christ no less than God being the source and recipient of religious devotion (Eph 3[19]). This may be most strikingly illustrated by a comparison of the Gospel and the First Epistle of John: in the latter, love is derived from and attached to God precisely after the same manner as in the Gospel it is derived from and attached to Christ. The close union of love for God (and Christ) and love for the brethren can be traced both objectively and subjectively. *Objectively* it may be followed along these lines: the Divine purpose and the redemptive process do not contemplate the production of love for God in isolated individuals, but in the Church as the organic community of believers. It is through the conjoined love for God and the brethren that the Church is and works as an organism (1 Co 12, Eph 3[17]), 'rooted and grounded in love' (Eph 3[17], cf. Col 3[14] 'the bond of perfectness'); hence the same term, κοινωνία, 'communion,' is used for the fellowship with God and Christ and the fellowship with the brethren (1 Co 1[9], 2 Co 6[14] 8[4], Ph 1[5] 3[10], 1 Jn 1[3. 6. 7]); the act which produces love for God simultaneously produces love for the brethren, and the same Spirit which underlies and inspires the former likewise underlies and inspires the latter (Ro 15[30], 2 Co 6[6], Gal 5[22], Eph 1[4] 6[23], Col 1[8], 1 Th 3[12] 4[9], 1 Jn 3[14]); the inseparableness of the two also finds expression in the figure of the family or household of God (Gal 6[10], Eph 2[19], 1 Jn 1[7] 2[9] 5[1] [where, however, 'him that is begotten' may refer to Christ and not to the fellow-believer]). *Subjectively* the interdependence of love for God and love for the brethren presents itself as follows: through the recognition of the inclusiveness of the love of God the experience of the same acts as a motive-power for the Christian to include those whom God loves in his own love likewise; the Christian also recognizes that he is not merely the object of the Divine love, but also the instrument of its manifestation to others; he serves man in the service of God (Ro 6[13], 1 Co 7[23], 2 Co 8[5], Ph 2[17], 2 Ti 4[6]); the love of God and Christ shown him becomes to the believer an example of love to the brethren (Ro 14[15], 1 Co 8[11], 2 Co 8[8. 9], Eph 4[32] 5[2], Ph 2[4ff.], 1 Jn 4[11]); the idea of a close union between the two also underlies the formula 'faith energizing through love' (Gal 5[6]). Here faith as the right attitude towards God as Redeemer begets love for Him, which in turn becomes the active principle of service to others (cf. v.[13]). Because the love for others is thus founded on, and regulated by, the love for God, it not only does not require but forbids fellowship with such as are in open opposition to God and Christ (1 Jn 2[15] 5[16], 2 Jn [10], Rev 2[2. 6]).

5. The origin of brotherly love.—Religious love in general is a supernatural product. It originates not spontaneously from a sinful soil, but in response to the sovereign love of God, and that under the influence of the Spirit (Ro 5[5. 8] 8[28], 1 Co 8[3] [where 'is known of him' = 'has become the object of his love'], Gal 4[9] [where 'to be known by God' has the same pregnant sense], 1 Jn 4[10. 19]). Love for the brethren specifically is also a product of regeneration (1 P 1[22. 23]; cf. 1[2. 3]). Especially in St. Paul, the origin of brotherly love is connected with the supernatural experience of dying with Christ, in which the sinful love of self is destroyed, and love for God, Christ, and the brethren produced in its place (Ro 6[10ff.] 7[4] 8[1-4], 2 Co 5[14-16], Gal 2[19. 20]). Accordingly, love for the brethren appears among other virtues and graces as a fruit of the Spirit, a *charisma* (Ro 15[30], 1 Co 13, Gal 5[22] 6[8-10]). Although this is not explicitly stated in Acts, there is no doubt that St. Luke (if not the early disciples themselves) derived the manifestation of love in the Mother-church from the influence of the Spirit.

6. The essence of brotherly love.—A psychological definition of brotherly love is nowhere given in the apostolic writings, but certain notes and characteristics are prominently brought out.

These are: (1) *On the positive side.*—(*a*) *Personal*

attachment and devotion. The formulæ for this are 'to give oneself,' 'to owe oneself,' 'to seek the person' (2 Co 8[5] 12[14], Philem [19]). There is among the brethren an inner harmony of willing (Ac 4[32]). As such an inward thing true love goes beyond all concrete acts of helpfulness: it means more even than feeding the poor or giving one's body to be burnt (1 Co 13[3]); it involves an absolute identification in life-experience, which goes to the extent of bearing the burden of sorrow for the sins and the weaknesses of others (Ro 15[1], 1 Co 2[5], 2 Co 7[3], Gal 6[2]).—(*b*) *An energetic assertion of the will to love.* Love does not consist in mere sentiment; it is subject to the imperative of duty. St. Paul speaks of it as a matter of pursuit and zealous endeavour (1 Co 14[1]); it involves strenuous labour (1 Th 1[3] [where 'the labour of love' is not the labour performed by love, but the labour involved in loving]). Hence also its voluntariness is emphasized (2 Co 9[7]), and the continuance of its obligation insisted upon (Ro 13[8]).—(*c*) *Concrete helpfulness to others.* The NT throughout preaches the necessity for love to issue into practical furtherance of the interests of others. This is emphatically true even of St. Paul, notwithstanding his insistence on faith as the sole ground of salvation. The Apostle, because governed by the principle of the glory of God as subserved by the love of God, requires the work as essential to the completeness of love. 'Good works' is a standing formula in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 2[10] 5[10. 25] 6[18], 2 Ti 2[21] 3[17], Tit 1[16] 2[7. 14] 3[1. 8]); but it also appears in Ac 9[36], Ro 13[3] 14[6], 1 Co 6[20] 10[31], 2 Co 9[8], Eph 2[10], Col 1[10], He 10[24], 1 P 2[12], Rev 2[2. 19. 23. 26] 3[2. 8. 15] 14[13] 20[12] 22[12]. Hence the reference to the 'members' as organs of the service of God (Ro 6[13] 12[1]). The test of love lies in its helpfulness (Ro 14, 1 Co 8). Love 'edifies,' *i.e.* builds up, the fellow-Christian (1 Co 8[1]). It contributes, however, not exclusively, nor even primarily, to the material or intellectual, but to the spiritual benefit of others (1 Co 8[1]). The NT avoids the errors both of the Jewish and of the Hellenic practice of ethics. In Judaism the external acts had become too much detached from the personal spirit of devotion. In Hellenism the interest was too much turned inward and absorbed by a self-centred cultivation of virtue as such. Because all conduct is thus determined by the supreme principle of love as helpfulness, all casuistry is excluded and ethical problems are all reduced to the one question: what will benefit my brother? This absence of all casuistic treatment of ethical questions is characteristic of St. James as well as of St. Paul.

(2) *On the negative side.—The negation of self.* Love for the brethren originates only through the death of the sinful love of self. Those who die this death no longer live to themselves (2 Co 5[15], Gal 2[19] 6[14], Ph 2[4. 21]); love is the opposite of all self-pleasing and self-seeking (Ro 15[1ff.], 2 Co 2[4. 7], Gal 1[10], 1 Th 2[5], Eph 6[6], Ph 1[16ff.], Col 3[22]). It excludes every selfish cult of individuality (Ro 12[17] 14[18] 15[2]), all vain-glorying and excessive self-consciousness (Ro 3[27] 12[3], 1 Co 1[29] 3[21] 4[7], Ph 2[3], 1 Th 2[6]), all envious comparison of self with others (Ro 12[3], Gal 4[17]), all personal anger or resentment (2 Co 2[5] 12[20], Gal 5[20], Eph 4[26. 31] 6[4], Ph 1[17], Col 3[8], 1 Ti 2[8]); it is not, however, inconsistent with wrath for the sake of Christ and God (2 Co 2[7], Gal 1[8], 1 Th 4[14-16], Rev 2[2. 15. 19] 6[10. 16] 14[10]), with a strong sense of the independence of men in the service of God (1 Co 9[1. 19], Gal 2[5] 5[1]), with the right to glory in the distinction which God's grace has conferred (1 Co 1[31] 4[4], 2 Co 1[14] 7[14] 10[7] 11[10] 12[9], Gal 6[14], Ph 2[16]).

7. Forms of manifestation of brotherly love.—As such the following are conspicuously mentioned. (1) The external expression of the inward unity of love in the form of *common meals*, the *ἀγάπαι* (Ac 2[42], 1 Co 11[17-34], 2 P 2[13], Jude [12]). (2) The *κοινωνία* of benevolence through the *altruistic use of private means* (Ac 4[32], Ro 12[26] 15[26], 2 Co 8[2-5] 9[13] 12[14. 15], Gal 2[10] 6[10], He 6[10] 13[16]). This *κοινωνία* was not, however, in the early Church a 'community of goods' in the modern sense (cf. Ac 4[34. 35] with 5[4]). In the case of enemies, benevolence becomes the only form in which love can express itself (Ro 12[20], Gal 6[10]). (3) The *missionary extension of the blessings of salvation* to others. The duty of missions is distinctly put on the basis of love. Primarily this means love for God and Christ (Ro 1[9], 1 Co 9[17], 2 Co 4[13] 5[20]); but secondarily it signifies also love towards men (Ro 1[4]; cf. 13[8] and Eph 5[28], 1 Jn 1[1ff.]). It is characteristic of apostolic missions that they are not related to the individual but to the organism of the Church, and conceived not as an unconscious influence, nor as a secret propaganda (like the Jewish mission), but as an open proclamation and a deliberate pursuit. In the last analysis this is due to the consciousness that the Church as an organism is the instrument through which God and Christ bring their love to bear upon the world.

LITERATURE.—A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, Eng. tr.[2], 1908, i. 147-198; W. Lütgert, *Die Liebe im Neuen Testament*, Leipzig, 1905; E. Sartorius, *The Doctrine of Divine Love*, Eng. tr., 1884; B. Wilberforce, *Sanctification by the Truth*, 1906, p. 180.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

BUFFET.—The word 'buffet' is used in AV as the translation of *κολαφίζω* (lit. 'to give one blows with the fists, or slaps on the ear'), which means 'to treat with violence and contempt.' The verb is found only in the NT and later ecclesiastical writers, and is probably colloquial. In the exhortation to slaves in 1 P 2[20] it is used to describe the rough usage to which such persons were subjected by heathen masters as a punishment for their offences. The fact that it is so used, is probably the reason why it is preferred to other terms of similar import in 1 Co 4[11] ('we are buffeted'), where it is vividly descriptive of the ill usage which St. Paul constantly experienced in pursuit of his apostolic mission, especially when contrasted with the happier fortune of his Corinthian converts ('ye reigned as kings'). 1 Co 9[27] RV gives 'buffet' as the rendering also of *ὑπωπιάζω* (from *ὑπό* and *ὤψ*, 'to hit under the eye,' and then 'to beat black and blue'), a word admirably fitted to express the hardships and sufferings endured by St. Paul in the course of his ministry, and patiently submitted to as a salutary means of spiritual discipline. The fact that the Apostle speaks of himself as the agent in producing the discipline ('I buffet my body') need not be taken as evidence that ascetic practices, or bodily mortifications, are intended. He regarded his body as an antagonist to be subdued by the willing acceptance of adverse circumstances fitted to promote his personal sanctification.

W. S. MONTGOMERY.

BUILDING.—The usual NT word is *οἰκοδομή* = *οἰκοδόμησις*, a building in course of construction, as distinguished from *οἰκοδόμημα*, a finished structure.

1. 1 Co 3[9].—'Ye are God's husbandry (RVm 'tilled land'), God's building.' Without pressing the change of metaphor, it is, however, to be noted, as indicating the intensity of the Apostle's thought, how his mind grasps first one method of increase and then another. The Kingdom grows like the organic development in the vegetable world, where outside substances are incorporated and assimilated into the organism itself. Or it grows as a building from the foundation; stone is laid upon stone, according to a preconceived plan, till the whole is complete. Under his metaphor St. Paul describes the Church as God's, and the leaders of the Church as His instruments ('the saints build up the fabric'). In this light the factions of Corinth

are manifested. They have not grasped the Divine idea of the Church, and therefore they are rebuked: 'I could not speak unto you as unto spiritual but as unto carnal' (3[1]). With a tender smile of blame he calls them 'babes in Christ,' who have not grown into the height and freedom of their calling as God's fellow-workers (*συνεργοί*). Kindled with his metaphor, the Apostle rises to the thought of the gradual upbuilding of the Church (by transformation and accretion) through the ages, by many builders, and with varied material, but all on the once-laid foundation, to the glory not of the builders, but of the hand that guided and the heart that planned (cf. Longfellow's poem *The Builders*, and O. W. Holmes, *The Living Temple* and *The Chambered Nautilus*).

2. 2 Co 5[1].—'We know . . . we have a building (*οἰκοδομήν*) from God, a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens.' The punctuation in AV is wrong, and the sense of RV would be more explicit if it read 'We have in the heavens a building from God, an house not made with hands, eternal' (so Alford, de Wette, Meyer, and most Moderns). The house to which St. Paul looks forward is not heaven itself, though it is *in* the heavens, and comes from God as His gift. The Apostle is here moving among the conceptions of what he calls 'the spiritual body' (1 Co 15[42-45]), adumbrating in his paradox thoughts which are really unspeakable. Cf. also Ph 3[21] 'the body of our humiliation . . . the body of his glory.'

3. Eph 2[21].—'Each several building (*πᾶσα οἰκοδομή*) fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple' (RVm 'sanctuary'). AV has 'all the building,' and the difference ought to be carefully noted in point both of grammar and of thought. The weight of the best MSS favours the omission of the article, and Meyer translates accordingly 'every building.' Moule (*Ephesians* [in *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1886]) and Ellicott (*Com. in loc.*) contend that the article is implicit; the latter calls its omission 'a grammatical laxity,' and the former is of opinion that the law of the article is in some respects less precise in the NT than in the classics. This does not appear to be made out, and it is safer to abide by the established usage than to allow an *ad sensum* interpretation (which really assumes the point in dispute). Westcott (*Ephesians*, 1906) prefers to abide by the classical use (cf. *ExpT* xviii. [1906–07] 2 for a note on the similar expression in Eph 3[15]). *πᾶς* without the article = 'a various whole,' and this is the Apostle's thought. 'The image is that of an extensive pile of buildings, such as the ancient temples commonly were, in process of construction at different points over a wide area' (Findlay, *Ephesians* [*Expositor's Bible*, 1892], 146). Uniformity is not necessary to unity. The true catholicity is found in Jesus Christ Himself, the chief corner-stone, and not in external uniformity. The reading adopted in RV may be claimed as an incidental testimony to the early date of the Epistle. In point of fact, in the 2nd cent. the desire for formal unity would have rendered impossible the text 'each several building.' 'The Church swallowed up the churches' (Findlay). But here in the Apostolic Age, with the variety of circumstance, attainment, and social aspect in the churches, the essential idea of unity is nevertheless preserved, for 'each several building' is destined to be 'fitly framed together.' Each serves to make up the ideal temple of God, which is being built for ever. Each is a true part of that mystical body of Christ, the habitation of God through the Spirit.

4. He 9[11].—'But Christ being come an high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building' (AV); better RV 'but Christ having come a high priest of the good things that are come (RVm), through the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this creation (*οὐ ταύτης τῆς κτίσεως*).' The tabernacle is immaterial and spiritual as contrasted with the heaven and the earth. F. Field (*Notes on the Translation of the NT* [= *Otium Norvicense*, iii.], Cambridge, 1899, p. 142; ‖ Farrar, *Hebrews* [in *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, 1883], p. 139 f.) would translate 'not of ordinary construction.' 'Human skill had nothing to do with its structure, for man's work finds its expression in the visible order of earth, to which this does not belong' (Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1889, p. 258). For the different meanings assigned to 'tabernacle' and their bearing on the true humanity of our Lord, see TABERNACLE.

5. Rev 21[18].—'The building (*ἐνδόμησις*) of the wall thereof was jasper.' The word is passive and denotes the structure, what was built in. Cf. 'I will make thy battlements jasper' (Is 54[12] [LXX]). Some clear stone is intended, and not our modern jasper, which is generally red or brown.

W. M. GRANT.

BUSINESS.—The word occurs in the AV in Ac 6[3] (*χρεία*), Ro 12[11] (*σπουδή*, 'diligence,' RV) 16[2] (*πράγμα*, 'matter,' RV), and 1 Th 4[11] (*τὰ ἴδια*). The last named passage, 'Study to be quiet, and to do your own business,' implies that every Christian is expected to have an occupation. Christianity introduced a new ideal in this respect. Greek ethics regarded only certain occupations as being fit for those leading the highest life, and from these commercial activity was excluded (Plat. *Rep.* 495 C). Jewish teaching improved on this by requiring that every boy should learn a trade (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 318). But even under this rule some trades were condemned, *e.g.* those of tanner, butcher, miner, goldsmith, and even the physician's calling (F. Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Christ*, 1902, p. 56). Fishermen, on the other hand, were esteemed as being generally pious—an interesting fact in the light of our Lord's choice of some of them to be His apostles. The notion that some trades were necessarily degraded was abolished by Christianity, and St. Peter did not hesitate to lodge in the house of a tanner (Ac 9[43]).

In the conduct of their business Christians are required to set an example to the world. They are to be honest (1 Th 4[12]), to owe no man anything (Ro 13[8]), to avoid covetousness which leads to dishonesty (He 13[5]), and to refuse to go into partnership with extortioners (1 Co 5[11]). Business disputes between Christians are not to be carried before heathen tribunals (1 Co 6[5-8]). The actual giving up of rights may sometimes be demanded by faithfulness to the gospel. It is evident that, at any rate in Corinth, converts found it difficult at first in ordinary business dealings to rise to the new standard. Somewhat later arose another danger, which is still familiar, that men should use religion in order to improve their business prospects (1 Ti 6[5]). This inevitably led to a low commercial morality, such as that to which Hermas confesses (*Mand.* iii.). Even as a Christian he had been for some years accustomed to regard lying in business transactions as quite permissible.

While the first Christians looked upon all honest occupations as honourable, they refused to see anything sacred in the vested interests of trades which only exist by wronging others. At Philippi St. Paul put an end to the exploitation of the girl with second sight (Ac 16[16ff.]), and at Ephesus showed no tenderness for the profits of idolatrous silversmiths (19[24-27]). It is evident that persecution was often instigated by pagans whose business had been thus affected by the new faith. St. Paul experienced this in the two instances mentioned,

and Pliny's letter to Trajan testifies that there was much feeling against Christians amongst those who sold fodder for the victims used in heathen sacrifices.

LITERATURE.—Besides Commentaries on the texts mentioned, see E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London and N.Y., 1904, *passim*; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, p. 199 f.

C. T. DIMONT.

C

CÆSAR, CÆSAR'S HOUSEHOLD.—In origin the name 'Cæsar,' which has had such a wonderful history, culminating in the German *Kaiser* and the Russian *Tsar*, was simply a *cognomen* (or surname), indicating one branch of the *gens Iulia*, one of the old patrician families of Rome, which was said to have been descended from Æneas of Troy and Venus, through their son Iulus (Ascanius). The earliest known member of the family is Sex. Iulius Cæsar, prætor in 208 B.C.; the greatest is of course C. Iulius Cæsar, the dictator (lived from about 100 to 44 B.C.). The name was kept by all the early Emperors except Vitellius (and even he used it sometimes), in spite of the fact that after Nero no Emperor had a drop of Cæsarian blood in his veins. The complete official names of the Emperors who reigned during the hundred years following the birth of Christ are Imperator Cæsar Augustus (see AUGUSTUS), Tiberius Cæsar Augustus (see TIBERIUS), Gaius Cæsar Germanicus (nicknamed Caligula [*q.v.*]) (A.D. 37–41), Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus (see CLAUDIUS), Imperator Nero Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus (see NERO), Imperator Servius Sulpicius Galba Cæsar Augustus (9 June 68–15 Jan. 69) (see GALBA), Imperator Marcus Otho Cæsar Augustus (15 Jan.–25 Apr. 69) (see OTHO), Imperator Aulus Vitellius Cæsar *or* Aulus Vitellius Imperator Germanicus (2 Jan. 69–20[?] Dec. 70) (see VITELLIUS), Imperator Vespasianus Cæsar Augustus (69–79) (see VESPASIAN), Imperator Titus Vespasianus Cæsar Augustus (71–81) (see TITUS), Imperator Domitianus Cæsar Augustus (81–96) (see DOMITIAN), Imperator Nerva Augustus Cæsar (96–98) (see NERVA), Imperator Cæsar Nerva Traianus Augustus (97–117) (see TRAJAN). This enumeration shows how fixed the name Cæsar had become as part of the Emperor's name, quite irrespective of relationship. It will also explain how in all the places of the NT but two the name 'Cæsar' alone (with or without the article) is familiarly used, as equivalent simply to 'the Emperor.' In the Gospels the reference is to Tiberius (cf. Mk 12^{14-17} and parallels), in Acts and Philippians (4^{22}) to Nero. Where the historian seeks to date an event, he is naturally more precise (Cæsar Augustus, Lk 2^{1}, Tiberius Cæsar, Lk 3^{1}).

There are two aspects in which the Cæsar appears in the Gospels. In the section Mk 12^{13-17} it is the question of giving tribute to Cæsar that comes up. The inhabitants of Judæa, a Roman Imperial province, governed by one of the Emperor's agents, called a *procurator*, were by law bound to pay tax to the Emperor. The term used, κῆνσος, is the Latin word *census*, which means 'census' in our sense, but much more. The census paper was in the Roman Empire also an income- and property-tax return, on the basis of which the assessment of tax was made by the Imperial officials. Hence the word in the Gospels might almost be translated 'income-tax.' Luke alters his original to the good Greek word φόρος (Lat. *tributum*, war-tax; cf. Lk 23^{2}). The second aspect in which the Cæsar appears in the Gospels is that of the Messiah's rival to lordship over the chosen people. Jesus is charged with 'saying that he is an anointed king' (Lk 23^{2}; cf. Jn 19^{12-15}, Ac 17^{7}), for so we ought to translate it. When Pilate asks Him if He is the King of the Jews, He casts the word back to him, '*You* say it, the word is *yours*' (Burkitt, *Evangelion da-Mepharreshê*, 1904, ii. 58). Throughout the Apostolic Age and later, the Christians continue to use of their King in the spiritual sense the very same epithets as the pagans use of the Emperor. This fact must have accentuated the hostility of the Empire to the Church.

In Ac 25 and following, the Cæsar is appealed to by St. Paul, after his unjust arrest at Jerusalem. The right of appeal (*provocatio*) was one of the bulwarks of the original republican constitution. By it a citizen could appeal to his fellow-citizens in assembly against any injustice on the part of a magistrate. The plebeians were later also protected by their special officials, the *tribuni plebis*. By the Imperial constitution the Emperor possessed *tribunicia potestas* (see AUGUSTUS). Any aggrieved citizen could thus appeal to him, and the Emperor could quash the verdict of a lower court, and substitute his own verdict. The Emperor had also the *ius gladii*, the right of life and death, and this he could delegate to subordinates. St. Paul's experiences before purely Roman tribunals had been on the whole so satisfactory that he decided to risk appeal to the highest tribunal of all, knowing how valuable for the success of his mission a favourable verdict would be. His appeal was received by Festus, and he proceeded to Rome. Hartmann (see below under Literature) does not consider that St. Paul's appeal was an appeal in the proper sense of the term, but it seems better to follow Ramsay, especially as Luke's language is quite plain. In the silence of history, scholars are divided as to the result of the Apostle's appeal. Some consider that the conclusion of Acts (*q.v.*) means that it was unsuccessful, and that he was condemned and beheaded. Those who accept the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles believe that he was acquitted and released.

Cæsar's household.—St. Paul, writing from Rome to the Philippian Church in A.D. 60 or 61, sends greetings from all the Christians in Rome, but 'especially' from 'them that are of Cæsar's household' (Ph 4^{22}). The date shows that the 'Cæsar' is Nero, and the word *οἰκία*, translated 'household,' is doubtless a translation of the Latin *familia*. The word *familia* is the later form of the older *famulia*, derived from *famulus*, a household-slave, and in Latin carries with it the idea especially of the collection of slaves and freedmen in a house. The relations between slaves and masters in the Roman world were generally good, the slave being regarded more as an integral part of the family than hired servants are in modern times. In the Imperial palace at Rome they can hardly have numbered fewer than 2000, and an idea of the variety of their occupations can be got from a study of the list of nouns joined to *a, ab* in J. C. Rolfe's art. in the *Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie*, vol. x. [1898] p. 481 ff. or the *Thesaurus Linguæ Latinæ*, vol. i. [1905] cols. 22 and 23. It is remarkable that the list of names in Ro 16 coincides almost exactly with names of members of the Imperial household

recovered in Roman inscriptions, as Lightfoot first showed at length. The number of examples has since increased. No epigraphist could doubt that ch. 16 is an integral part of the Epistle to the Romans, and that most of the persons there named were 'of Cæsar's household.' Our knowledge of the life of such persons is mainly derived from Statius (e.g. *Silvæ* v. 1) and Martial.

For Cæsar-worship, see EMPEROR-WORSHIP and ROMAN EMPIRE.

LITERATURE.—Official names of Roman Emperors in R. Cagnat, *Cours d'épigraphie latine*[3], Paris, 1898, p. 177 ff.; on the *tributum* see A. H. J. Greenidge, *Roman Public Life*, London, 1901, p. 429 ff.; on Cæsar and the Messiah as rivals cf. the artt. of P. Wendland in *ZNTW* v. [1904] 335–353 and H. A. A. Kennedy in *Expositor*, 7th ser. vii. [1909] 289–307; on the appeal (*provocatio, appellatio*) see T. Mommsen, *Röm. Strafrecht*, 1899, 8er Abschnitt, p. 468 ff., *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii. [1907] 431–446, reprinted from *ZNTW* ii. [1901] 81 ff.; art. 'Appellatio' by Hartmann in Pauly-Wissowa; J. S. Reid in *Journal of Roman Studies*, i, [1911–12] 68 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 311 ff. On Cæsar's Household see the excursus in Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 171, and E. Riggenbach, in *Neue Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, i. [1892] 498 ff.; best collection of inscriptions in H. Dessau, *Inscr. Lat. Selectæ*, i. [Berlin, 1892] ch. vi.

A. SOUTER.

CÆSAREA (Καισάρεια or Καισάρεια Σεβαστή, named in honour of Augustus; known also as *Cæsarea Palæstinæ*, and in modern Arabic as *el-Kaiṣārīyeh*; to be distinguished clearly from *Cæsarea Philippi*). — Cæsarea was situated on the Mediterranean coast, 32 miles N. of Joppa, 25 S. of Carmel, and 75 N.W. of Jerusalem. It was once the chief port of Palestine. It was rebuilt by Herod the Great on the site of 'Straton's Tower' (Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 6). The city is closely associated with the history of the Apostolic Church, being especially notable as the place where the Holy Spirit was poured out upon the Gentiles (Ac 10[45]). The name occurs in Acts only. Philip the deacon seems to have resided at Cæsarea (8[40] 21[8. 16]). St. Paul was sent hence to Tarsus (9[30]). Cornelius, a Roman centurion, influenced by a vision to send to Joppa for St. Peter, here became the first convert of the Gentiles (10[1. 24] 11[11]). Here Herod Agrippa I. died (12[19]). Here St. Paul landed on his way from Ephesus (18[22]), being later escorted hither on his return from Jerusalem (23[23. 33]), and here he was imprisoned for two years, and tried before Festus (25[1. 4. 6. 13]).

In apostolic times Cæsarea was politically the capital of the province of Judæa, and the residence of the Roman procurators. Tacitus describes it as 'the head of Judæa' (*Hist.* ii. 78). Among its inhabitants there were both Jews and Greeks. The city was elaborately beautified with temples, theatres, palaces, arches, and altars. It was especially famous for its harbour (Jos. *Ant.* XV. ix. 6). Aqueducts supplied the inhabitants with water from Carmel and the Crocodile River. In the 3rd cent. A.D., it became the seat of a famous school of theology, in which Origen taught; also of the bishopric of Syria, Eusebius being the most celebrated of those occupying the office. Under the Arabs it unfortunately lost its former prestige and rapidly degenerated. At the time of the Crusades it was rebuilt by Baldwin II. Saladin took it in 1187. In 1251 it was re-fortified by St. Louis. Finally, in 1265, it was completely destroyed by the Sultan Bibars, since whose time it has remained in ruins.

Little is now left to mark the ancient city. Porter, writing in 1865, says: 'I saw no man. The Arab and the shepherd avoid the spot' (*Giant Cities*, 235). Thomson also (*Land and Book*, i. 72) speaks of it as 'absolutely forsaken.' Since 1889, however, a few Bosnians have settled among the ruins and carried on a small trade in brick. Most of the stones of the ancient city were used by Ibrahim Pasha in constructing the new fortifications at Acre. To the missionary, Cæsarea is one of the most interesting spots on earth, having been the cradle of the Gentile Church.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4, XVII. xi. 4, *BJ* I. xxi. 5, II. ix. 1; G. A. Smith, *HGHL* 138 ff., art. 'Cæsarea' in *EBi*, i. 617; C. R. Conder, art. 'Cæsarea' in *HDB*, i. 337, *Tent Work in Palestine*, new ed., 1887, pp. 107–110; Schürer, *HJP*, index, *s.v.*; *SWP* ii. [1882], sheet x.; Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*[5], 1912, p. 237 ff.; A. Neubauer, *Géog. du Talmud*, 1868; G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 1890, p. 474; H. B. Tristram, *Bible Places*, 1897, p. 75; J. L. Porter, *The Giant Cities of Bashan*, 1873, p. 233 ff.; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1881, i. 69 ff.; W. Smith, *DB*[2], art. 'Cæsarea.'

GEORGE L. ROBINSON.

CAIAPHAS (Καϊάφας). — Caiaphas, or Joseph Caiaphas, was appointed high priest in A.D. 18 by Valerius Gratus, and held office till A.D. 36, when he was removed by Vitellius (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. ii. 2, iv. 3). He was son-in-law of Annas (cf. art. ANNAS). Like most of the priests at this period, Caiaphas was a Sadducee in religion. By his masterly policy of conciliating his Roman masters he was able to retain his office for an unusually long period. His craft and subtle diplomacy as well as his supreme disregard for justice and religion are revealed in the advice he gave to the assembled Sanhedrin after Jesus had won the people by the raising of Lazarus—'It is expedient that one die for the people' (Jn 11[50]). Caiaphas saw clearly that if a popular movement in favour of Jesus were aroused, his power and position under Rome would be at an end, and he sought at once to give effect to his own advice. The trial of Jesus in his presence was a travesty of all legal procedure. Failing to obtain evidence from witnesses, he adjured the prisoner to declare whether or not He was the Messiah; and on Jesus declaring He was, the pious hypocrite rent his clothes, shocked at the blasphemy of the answer. Caiaphas is a type of the wily ecclesiastical opportunist, who places the success of himself and the institution he represents before all claims of truth or justice. Such a character is always ready to persecute, and in the Apostolic Church Caiaphas appears as a bitter persecutor of the apostles (Ac 4[6]). He is probably the high priest referred to in Ac 5[17-21. 27] 7[1] 9[1] who imprisoned Peter and John, presided at the trial of Stephen, caused the persecution recorded in Ac 8, and gave Saul of Tarsus letters to Damascus to apprehend the Christians there.

LITERATURE.—Josephus, *passim*; Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. [1907] 256, 271; art. 'Caiaphas' in *HDB* (M'Clymont) and *DCG* (C. A. Scott); E. Nestle, 'The Name "Caiaphas,"' in *ExpT* x. [1898–99] 135; W. M. Clow, *In the Day of the Cross*, 1898, p. 9 ff.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Sermons in St. Paul's Cathedral*, 1891, p. 75; A. Maclaren, *Christ in the Heart*, 1886, p. 255.

W. F. BOYD.

CAIN.—See ABEL.

CAINITES.—According to the scanty information we possess about the Cainites, they seem to have formed one of the Gnostic sects which are classed together under the somewhat inadequate and perhaps misleading name 'Ophites,' though the serpent, from which the name 'Ophite' is derived, seems to have played no part in their system. Our oldest source is to be found in Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* i. 31. He tells us that the Cainites regarded Cain as derived from the higher principle. They claimed fellowship with Esau, Korah, the men of Sodom, and all such people, and regarded themselves as on that account persecuted by the Creator. But they escaped injury from Him, for Sophia used to carry away from them to herself that which belonged to her. They regarded Judas the traitor as having full cognizance of the truth. He therefore, rather than the other disciples, was able to accomplish the mystery of the betrayal, and so bring about the dissolution of all things both

celestial and terrestrial. The Cainites possessed a fictitious work entitled 'The Gospel of Judas,' and Irenæus says that he had himself collected writings of theirs, where they advocated that the work of Hystera should be dissolved. By Hystera they meant the Maker of Heaven and Earth. They taught, as did Carpocrates, that salvation could be attained only by passing through all experience. Whenever any sin or vile action was performed by them, they asserted that an angel was present whom they invoked, claiming that they were fulfilling his operation. Perfect knowledge consisted in going without a tremor into such actions as it is not lawful even to name. Epiphanius (*Hær.* 38) characteristically gives a much longer account, in substantial harmony with what Irenæus says. He appears to have had some source of information independent of Irenæus. He speaks of Abel as derived from the weaker principle—a statement which bears the marks of authenticity. He also says that Judas forced the Archons, or rulers, against their will to slay Christ, and thus assisted us to the salvation of the Cross. Philaster, on the other hand, assigns the action of Judas to his knowledge that Christ intended to destroy the truth—a purpose which he frustrated by the betrayal.

The account given by Irenæus is unduly curt and the text not quite secure, but it is not difficult to form a general estimate of the sect from it, especially with the assistance of our other sources. Like other Gnostics, the Cainites drew a distinction between the Creator and the Supreme God. Presumably they identified the Creator with the God of the Jews. They viewed Him and those whom He favoured with undisguised hostility; redemption had for its end the dissolution of His work. They claimed kinship with those to whom He showed antagonism in His book, the Old Testament, and shared themselves in the same hostility. Nevertheless He was the weaker power, who could do them no permanent harm, for Sophia, the Heavenly Wisdom, drew back to herself those elements in their nature which they had derived from her. Presumably, then, they thought of a division of mankind into two classes—the spiritual and the material, the latter belonging to the realm of the Creator and deriving their being from Him, but doomed to dissolution, while the former class contained the spiritual men, imprisoned, it is true, in bodies of flesh, but yet deriving their essential being from the highest Power, opposed by the Creator and His minions, but winning the victory over them as Cain did over Abel. Unfortunately we cannot be sure what view they took of redemption. There is no doubt that they applauded the action of Judas in the betrayal, but our authorities differ as to the motive which prompted him. The view that Judas through his more perfect γνῶσις penetrated the wish of Jesus more successfully than the others, and accomplished it by bringing Him to the Cross through which He effected redemption, is intrinsically the more probable.

So far as the moral character and conduct of the Cainites is concerned, there is no doubt that Irenæus intended to represent them as shrinking from no vileness, but rather as deliberately practising it. Carpocrates, we are told, defended this practice by a theory of transmigration. It was necessary to pass through all experiences, and hence the soul had to pass from body to body till the whole range of experience had been traversed. If, however, this could all be crowded into a single lifetime, then the transmigration became unnecessary. We have no ground to suppose that the Cainites held such a view, but they seem to have professed the belief that this fullness of experience was essential to salvation. We have no substantial justification for doubting the truth of Irenæus' account, though accusations of immorality urged against heretics should always be received with caution. G. R. S. Mead (*Fragments of a Faith Forgotten*, 1900, p. 229) thinks that originally they were ascetics, while N. Lardner (*History of Heretics*, bk. ii. ch. xiv. [= *Works*, 1829, viii. 560]) questions whether a sect guilty of such enormities ever existed. But there is no valid reason to deny the generally accepted view that the Gnostic attitude to matter did lead to quite opposite results. To some it would seem a duty to crush the flesh beneath the spirit by the severest austerity, but the premiss might lead to a libertine as well as to an ascetic conclusion: if the spirit alone was important, the flesh but contemptible and perishable, what happened to the latter might seem a matter of complete indifference, inasmuch as its degradation could not stain the white purity of the spirit. The principle that the jewel is undimmed though its casket lie in the mire, or that the Gnostic may do what he will for he is saved by grace, probably found quite faithful expression in the attitude of such Gnostics as Carpocrates and the Cainites.

It is held by several scholars that some of the Ophite sects date back into the pre-Christian era, and, if this view is correct, Pfleiderer (*Das Urchristentum*[2], Berlin, 1902, vol. ii. pp. 52–54, 82, 97 f. = *Primitive Christianity*, London, 1910, vol. iii. pp. 72–74, 114, 136 f.) may be right in thinking that the Cainites whom we know from Irenæus were the successors of the people who were attacked by Philo in his *de Posteritate Caini*. Whether the reference in Jude[11] is to the Cainites must be regarded as very doubtful (see JUDE).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the Literature named in the article, the following may be consulted: H. L. Mansel, *Gnostic Heresies*, London, 1875; A. Hilgenfeld, *Die Ketzergeschichte des Urchristenthums*, Leipzig, 1884; A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur*, i. [Leipzig, 1893] p. 163 ff., ii. [1897] p. 538 ff. The subject receives some discussion in Church Histories and Histories of Doctrine. Of articles in Dictionaries special mention may be made of that in *DCB* by G. Salmon.

ARTHUR S. PEAKE.

CALF.—'Calf' (Ac 7[41], He 9[12. 19], Rev 4[7]) should be rendered 'ox' or 'steer.' **1.** The expiatory virtue of sacrifices of blood formed part of the Semitic belief from earliest times. In Lv 17[11] the reason given is that the life or soul of the animal is in the blood (cf. Gn 9[4], Dt 12[23]), which gives piacular efficacy to the sacrifice (see art. 'Sacrifice' in the Bible Dictionaries). **2.** The second of the four living creatures in the Apocalypse had the likeness of an ox, presumably as the symbol of strength. It was certainly for this reason that the bull was chosen as the symbol of Jahweh by Aaron (Ac 7[41]) and Jeroboam (B. Duhm, *Theol. der Propheten*, Bonn, 1875, p. 47; A. Dillmann, *Exodus*, Berlin, 1880, p. 337; J. Robertson, *Early Religion of Israel*, Edinburgh, 1892, pp. 215–220; similarly Kuenen and Vatke). The four living creatures remind us of certain of the signs of the zodiac (bull, angel, lion, eagle), and possibly they have some connexion with that source (so Moffatt and Gunkel). Irenæus (III. xi. 8) associates the living creatures with the four evangelists, and holds that the 'calf,' signifying the priestly and sacrificial character of Jesus, is the symbol of St. Luke. These traditions continued after his time, but there was considerable variety in the application of the symbols (see Zahn, *Forschungen*, Erlangen, 1881–1903, ii. 257 ff.; Swete, *Gospel according to St. Mark*[2], London, 1902, p. xxxvi ff.).

F. W. WORSLEY.

CALIGULA.—Caligula ('little boots') was a pet name given by the soldiers in his father's army to the boy who was afterwards known officially as Gaius Cæsar Germanicus. In a similar way the name 'Caracalla' or 'Caracallus' was applied popularly to Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoni-

nus (A.D. 198–217), and 'Elagabalus' to Imperator Cæsar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus (A.D. 218–222). These sobriquets had no official currency, but were useful as brief ways of referring to the names of Emperors, whose ancestors by nature or adoption had names so like their own, that confusion was certain to occur in conversation or writing about them. Caligula, who was named at birth Gaius Iulius Cæsar, was the third son of the distinguished general Germanicus, and Agrippina (the elder). As Germanicus was a son of Drusus, the adopted son of Augustus, and as Agrippina was a daughter of (Agrippa and) Iulia, the daughter of Augustus, Caligula was thus both by nature and by adoption a great-grandson of the Emperor Augustus. He is commonly said to have been born in the camp of his father (Tac. *Ann.* i. 41); but Suetonius (*Gaius*, 8) points out that the boy was born before his father left for his province. The date of his birth was 31 Aug., A.D. 12. From a very early time he displayed signs of the insanity which was to break out in the most signal manner when he attained to manhood. His mania took three forms—inordinate lust, inordinate vanity, and a homicidal tendency. No doubt, as in the case of other Emperors, we must allow for the influence of evil-minded gossip on our historical records, but there remains ample evidence to justify this statement. He was proclaimed Emperor on the death of his grand-uncle Tiberius on 18 March, A.D. 37. He was offered the honorary title of *pater patriæ* in the early days of 38, and died on 24 Jan. 41 at the hands of an assassin, C. Cassius Chærea, in one of the vaults of the palace on the Palatine Hill. He was thrice married, first to Iunia Claudilla, daughter of a patrician, M. Silanus.* She died in childbirth, and he afterwards married Lollia Paulina, daughter of M. Lollius, whom he had robbed from her husband Memmius. He soon afterwards divorced her. His third wife was Milonia Cæsonia. Caligula left no descendants.

Caligula's reign was as uneventful as it was short. The machine of government had been left in such perfect condition by Augustus and Tiberius that the recklessness of a Caligula could not in such a short time do serious harm. But one thing he could and did do: he wasted the savings of his predecessors. He succeeded to the Empire because he was the personal heir of Tiberius, not because he had been in any sense his partner in the Empire. It was the theory of the principate that it came to an end on the death of each Emperor, and that power returned to the Senate and people as in the days of the Republic; but in practice it was difficult, if not impossible, to pass over the Emperor's heir, and Gaius was thus proclaimed Emperor. His reign began with a relaxation of many of the restrictions of Tiberius' rule, but his only aim throughout was the pursuit of excitement and pleasure. There is no need to detail the countless variety of his insane actions. Towards the end of his principate he revived the reign of terror, which was such a feature of Tiberius' time.

Certain changes were made in the Eastern provinces in the reign of Gaius. The territory of Antiochus of Commagene, which had been made a province by Tiberius, was restored to his son: it ran along the northern side of the province of Cilicia. Herod Agrippa received the tetrarchy of his uncle Philip, along with Abilene. Later he obtained also Samaria, after Herod Antipas and his wife Herodias had been expelled by the Emperor at his instance. Thrace was also restored to a member of the old dynasty which had ruled it. To his kinsmen Polemo and Cotys, Gaius gave Pontus Polemoniacus and Lesser Armenia respectively. The Arabian Sohæmus was made ruler over the Ituræans. Ptolemæus, King of Mauritania, was executed, and steps were taken to convert his kingdom into two provinces. The most useful thing Gaius did in the way of provincial government was to put the legion which was in the province of Africa under the command of an Imperial *legatus*. Hitherto Africa had been the only senatorial province with Roman troops in it. This *legatus* had also civil functions in the Numidian part of Africa.

One aspect of Caligula's activity had a serious effect on the Jews, and thus drew forth two of the most interesting historical tractates of the Roman Empire, Philo's *Legatio ad Gaium* and *contra Flaccum*. The Emperor claimed to be worshipped as a god. This claim was naturally rejected by the Jews of Judæa and of Alexandria. The governor of Egypt, with ill-timed zeal, required them to set up statues of Gaius in their synagogues. The riots which resulted caused many deaths. In the year A.D. 40 the Jews of Alexandria sent an embassy to the Emperor to get the governor's decree rescinded. This embassy was unsuccessful, and but for the speedy death of the Emperor the consequences of the proposed sacrilege would have been most serious.

LITERATURE.—The ancient authorities are Suetonius, *Gaius*; Philo, *contra Flaccum* and *Legatio ad Gaium*; Dio Cassius; etc. The relevant parts of Tacitus (*Annals*, bk. vii. ff.) are lost. Modern books are J. B. Bury, *A History of the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, pp. 163, 214 ff., etc.; V. Duruy, *A History of Rome*, Eng. tr., do. 1884–86, iv. 370 ff. (splendidly illustrated); H. Schiller, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiserzeit*, Gotha, 1883, i. 304–314; A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, Leipzig, 1909, ii. 1–20.

A. SOUTER.

CALL, CALLED, CALLING.—These terms in the NT are for the most part the rendering of καλεῖν in its various parts and derivatives (κεκλημένοι, κλητοί, κλῆσις), or in one or other of its various compounds. Among its meanings are *invitation* (καλεῖν, -εῖσθαι [Mt 9^{13} 22^{8}, 1 Co 10^{27}, Rev 19^{9}], προσκαλεῖσθαι [Ac 2^{39}]); *designation* (καλεῖν, -εῖσθαι [Mt 1^{21} 5^{9}, Ac 14^{12}, He 2^{11} 11^{16}], ἐπικαλεῖν, -εῖσθαι [Mt 10^{25}, Lk 22^{3}, Ac 1^{23}, He 11^{16}]); *invocation* (ἐπικαλεῖσθαι [Ac 2^{21} 7^{59}, 1 Co 1^{2}, 2 Co 1^{23}, 1 P 1^{17}]); *summons* (μετακαλεῖν, -εῖσθαι [Ac 7^{14} 10^{32}]).

In the OT a call of God to His servants and His people is part of His gracious dealing with mankind. It was in response to a Divine call that Abraham (Gn 12^{1-3}), Moses (Ex 3^{10}), Bezaleel (Ex 31^{2}), David (Ps 78^{70}), Isaiah (Is $6^{8.9}$), Jeremiah (Jer 1^{4-5}), Ezekiel (Ezk 2^{3}) and other eminent servants of God entered into covenant with Him and fulfilled the tasks committed to them. Not only was Israel thus called as the people of God, but complaint is again and again made by the Prophets that they refused to hearken and stopped their ears that they should not hear (Is 6^{9}, Zec 7^{11-13}). The Prophets, moreover, had visions of the day when the Gentiles should be called into the covenant and service of Jahweh (Is 55^{4-5}). Of this OT meaning examples in the NT are our Lord's call of His apostles (Mt 4^{21}), the Spirit's call of Barnabas and Saul (Ac 13^{2}), the call of the High Priest of the old dispensation (He 5^{4}), where a Divine call to special service is given and accepted.

In the Epistles, and particularly in St. Paul, there is found the more definite meaning of the word as the call of God to the blessings of salvation. It is here intimately associated with the eternal purpose of God in human redemption. This is an advance upon what we find in the Gospels. In the Gospels 'the called' (οἱ κλητοί) are distinguished from 'the chosen' (οἱ ἐκλεκτοί), the former being those to whom the invitation to the gospel feast is addressed, and the latter the more select company who had heard and accepted it (Mt 22^{14}). In the Epistles 'the called' are 'the

*So Suet. *Gaius*, 12; but Bury, on what authority the present writer does not know, names Orestilla, wife of Cn. Piso, as his first wife (*A History of the Roman Empire*, p. 221).

chosen' (Ro 9[24], 2 Th 2[13. 14], 1 P 2[9], where *γένος ἐκλεκτόν* are those whom God 'called out of darkness into his marvellous light'). The *κλητοί* are the manifestation of the *ἐκλεκτοί*; 'of a *κλῆσις* which does not include the *ἐκλογή* the Scripture knows nothing' (R. Seeberg, in *PRE*[3], art. 'Berufung'). With St. Paul and also with St. Peter, it is more than an invitation, it is an invitation responded to and accepted, and it is so because 'the called' are already 'the chosen' (2 Th 2[13. 14], Ro 8[28]).

'The called' (*οἱ κλητοί*) to whom St. Paul addresses the Epistle to the Romans, are 'called to be Jesus Christ's' (Ro 1[6]) and they are 'called to be saints' (Ro 1[7]), the meaning of the word being identical with our 'converted.' They are 'called according to his purpose' (Ro 8[28])—God's electing purpose from all eternity; 'for whom he foreknew, he also foreordained to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren: and whom he foreordained, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified: and whom he justified, them he also glorified.' 'The called' in the thought of St. Paul are 'the elect' from all eternity, and their 'calling' through the gospel and the means of grace is the realization in time of God's purpose with them from eternity: 'that he might make known the riches of his glory upon vessels of mercy which he afore prepared unto glory, even us whom he also called not from the Jews only but also from the Gentiles' (Ro 9[24]). This thought of St. Paul's is also St. John's. We find it in the Revelation, where St. John pronounces the victorious followers of the Lamb 'called and chosen and faithful' (Rev 17[14], *κλητοὶ καὶ ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ πιστοί*)—a description entirely in keeping with St. John's record of the words of Christ: 'all that which the Father giveth me shall come unto me' (Jn 6[37. 38]), and His promise concerning the sheep to whom He gives eternal life and whom no man shall pluck out of His Father's hand (Jn 10[28]). 'The calling' (*ἡ κλῆσις*) is 'not of works' but of the sovereign grace of God (Ro 9[11]), 'who saved us and called us with a high calling (*ἁγίᾳ κλήσει*), not according to our works, but according to His own purpose and grace, which was given in Christ Jesus before times eternal' (2 Ti 1[9]). The call which thus comes from God is 'in Christ' (1 P 5[10]) and 'through the gospel' (2 Th 2[14]), to 'the fellowship of his Son' (1 Co 1[9]), to 'freedom' (Gal 5[13]), not 'for uncleanness but in sanctification' (1 Th 4[7]), to 'eternal life' (1 Ti 6[12]), to holiness 'like as he which hath called you is holy' (1 P 1[15]). It is, therefore, well designated 'the high calling of God (*ἡ ἄνω κλῆσις τοῦ Θεοῦ*) in Christ Jesus' (Ph 3[14]), 'a heavenly calling' (*κλῆσις ἐπουράνιος*, He 3[1]); and those who are partakers of it are exhorted to make their 'calling and election sure' (2 P 1[10]). For the goal, though predestined and prepared aforetime (Ro 8[28f.] 9[24]), is not attained without labour and conflict; as St. Paul exhorts Timothy: 'Fight the good fight of faith, lay hold on the life eternal, whereunto thou wast called, and didst witness the good confession in the sight of many witnesses' (1 Ti 6[12]). That 'the calling' is to more than a Christian profession is clear from the experiences which St. Paul associates with it; for, if he is 'a called apostle' (Ro 1[1]), the particulars of his call, which was his conversion, are given when he tells how it pleased God to separate him from his mother's womb and to call him by His grace and to reveal His Son in him (Gal 1[15. 16]). 'The calling' carries with it a great hope—'ye were called in one hope of your calling' (Eph 4[4])—for they that experience it do not only in this life partake of justification, adoption, and sanctification, but know that when Christ who is their life shall appear they also shall appear with Him in glory (1 Th 2[12]). For this 'the called' are kept (*τετηρημένοις κλητοῖς*, Jude[1]); and, many though the adversaries and difficulties be, 'faithful is he that called you, who will also do it' (1 Th 5[24]).

The call which St. Paul and the apostolic writers generally have in view exercises upon those who are the subjects of it a grace and a power which are of the Holy Spirit, who, in the words of the Westminster Divines, 'convincing us of our sin and misery, enlightening our minds in the knowledge of Christ, and renewing our wills, doth persuade and enable us to embrace Jesus Christ, freely offered to us in the Gospel' (*Shorter Catechism*, 31).

LITERATURE.—**Sanday-Headlam**, *Romans* (*ICC*, 1902), 12 f., 215 f.; R. Seeberg, *PRE*[3] ii. [1897] art. 'Berufung'; C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, ii. [1872] 639–732; art. 'Call' in *HDB*; 'Call, Calling' in *DCG*. T. NICOL.

CALLIMACHUS.—See QUOTATIONS.

CANAAN (AV **Chanaan**, Ac 7[11] and 13[19]).—In the NT Palestine is referred to as 'the Land' or 'the Land of Israel' (Mt 2[20]). The old designation 'Canaan' is used by St. Stephen, in making reference to the famine which sent Jacob's sons into Egypt; and by St. Paul at Antioch when referring to the destroying of the Canaanites and the giving of the Land of Promise to Israel.

J. W. DUNCAN.

CANDACE.—Candace (*Κανδάκη*) is mentioned in Ac 8[27] as 'queen of the Ethiopians,' *i.e.* of Meroë (see ETHIOPIA and ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH). It appears from various ancient authorities that this was a name always borne by the queen-mother of the Ethiopians, and that in many cases she reigned still as dowager: *e.g.* we read *Κανδάκην Αἰθίοπες πᾶσαν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα καλοῦσιν* (J. A. Cramer, *Catena in Acta Apostolorum*, 1844, p. 143), an extract from an anonymous author who proceeds to quote Bion (of Soli) thus: *Αἰθίοπες τοὺς βασιλέων πατέρας οὐκ ἐκφαίνουσιν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὄντας υἱοὺς ἡλίου παραδιδόασιν· ἑκάστου δὲ τὴν μητέρα καλοῦσι Κανδάκην*; cf. Athen. xiii. 566 and Pliny, *HN* vi. 29. The name in its Egyptian form is said to occur on the monuments, and a queen so named tried conclusions with the Romans during the reign of Augustus 24–21 B.C. and obtained some measure of success. The expression in Ac 8[27] that the *εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης*, whom Philip baptized, 'was over all her treasure' suggests that this monarch was powerful and wealthy. C. L. FELTOE.

CANDLE, CANDLESTICK.—See LAMP, LAMP-STAND.

CANKER.—See GANGRENE.

CAPPADOCIA (*Καππαδοκία*). — Cappadocia was an elevated table-land, with ill-defined and varying boundaries, in the east centre of Asia Minor. It was drained chiefly by the Halys and its tributaries, and intersected by great mountains, the highest of which, Argæus, is 13,000 feet above the sea. 'Persons who ascend it (but they are not many) say that both the Euxine and the Sea of Issus may be seen from it in clear weather' (Strabo, XII. ii. 7). Cappadocia was traversed by the great road of commerce from Ephesus to the Euphrates, by the pilgrims' route from Constantinople to Jerusalem, and by roads from the Cilician Gates to the cities of the Euxine. It was an excellent country for corn and pasturage, and it had some important centres of commerce. Jews had found their way into the country before the Maccabæan period, and in 139 B.C. the Roman Senate sent a letter to Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, directing him 'not to seek their hurt' (1 Mac 15[19. 22]). Philo (*Leg. ad*

Gaium, 36) also refers to Jews in Cappadocia. On the death of King Archelaus in A.D. 17, the country was formed into a Roman province (Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 42). It was administered by a procurator until the time of Vespasian, who joined it to Armenia and placed it under a *legatus*.

Jews of Cappadocia were sojourning in Jerusalem at the time of the first Christian Pentecost (Ac 2^9). The elect of the Dispersion in the province of Cappadocia are addressed in 1 P 1^1. Pagan Cappadocia was devoted chiefly to the cult of Ma, and the strength of its anti-Christian forces is indicated in Strabo's description of two leading cities, Comana and Morimene.

> The priest of Comana 'presides over the temple, and has authority over the hierodouli belonging to it, who, at the time I was there, exceeded in number 6000 persons, including men and women. A large tract of land adjoins the temple, the revenue of which the priest enjoys. He is second in rank in Cappadocia after the king, and in general the priests are descended from the same family as the kings' (XII. ii. 3). 'In Morimene, among the Venasii, is a temple of Jupiter, with buildings capable of receiving nearly 3000 hierodouli. It has a tract of sacred land attached to it. . . . The priest is appointed for life like the priest of Comana, and is next to him in rank' (XII. ii. 7).

Yet Christianity made rapid progress in Cappadocia, and its triumph in Cæsarea, the capital, so offended Julian the Apostate that he deprived the city of its freedom. Some of the other cities of Cappadocia—Nyssa, Nazianzus, Tyana, Samosata—are celebrated in Church history.

LITERATURE.—**W. M. Ramsay**, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, p. 445 ff.; **Th. Mommsen**, *Provinces of the Rom. Empire*^{2}, Eng. tr., do. 1909, i. 323 f., 332 f., ii. 19, 41, 63; **E. Chantre**, *Mission en Cappadocie*, Paris, 1898; **G. Long**, in *DGRG*, i. 506 ff.; art. 'Cappadocia' in *HDB* and *EBi*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CAPTAIN OF THE TEMPLE (Ac 4^1 $5^{24.\ 26}$, ὁ στρατηγὸς τοῦ ἱεροῦ).—This is St. Luke's name for the commander of the Levitical guard who kept order in the Temple precincts and guarded the house. He was not a civil officer, but a priest; and his duty, besides keeping the peace, was to make his rounds by night, visit all the gates, and see that the sentries were awake. The office appears in Neh 11^{11}, Jer 20^1, etc. In 2 Mac 3^4 he is called προστάτης τοῦ ἱεροῦ, and is said to be of the tribe of Benjamin. If the reading is correct, this would be an irregularity. In the time of Claudius Cæsar, one Ananus, the commander of the Temple, was sent in bonds to Rome to answer for his actions in a Jewish-Samaritan tumult (Jos. *Ant.* XX. vi. 2). For the name cf. also *BJ* VI. v. 3.

In the NT period, some of the high priests were blamed for nepotism, because, among other things, they made their sons 'captains of the Temple.'

In Ac 4^1 the captain intervened on the ground that the peace of the Temple was likely to be broken by the preaching of the apostles, who were regarded as unauthorized speakers, and as such were under the ban of Jer 29^{26}: 'that there might be an overseer in the house of the Lord for every man who is insane and prophesies, and that thou mightest put him in the stocks and in the block.'

In Ac $5^{24.\ 26}$ the captain of the Temple re-arrested Peter and John, who had escaped from prison the previous night. But clearly he was uncertain of his position, and recognized that popular opinion was on the side of the apostles. It was the policy of the Sadducees to avoid disturbance, and to give no excuse for the intervention of the Roman power. Therefore the arrest was effected courteously, 'without violence, for they feared the people lest they should be stoned.'

W. M. GRANT.

CAPTIVITY.—See BONDAGE.

CARE, CAREFUL.—The English word 'care' is used in two senses: (*a*) attention to something or someone, not necessarily painful (Lat. *cura*); and (*b*) anxiety, painful attention. This sense was due to the A.S. *caru*, 'sorrow,' becoming confounded with the Latin *cura*, 'attention' (see *HDB*, art. 'Care'). This confusion was not unnatural, since excessive attention, or conflicting attention (cf. μέριμνα 'drawing in different directions,' or Eng. 'distraction'), readily becomes painful. The sense of distress is not conveyed by the adjectival and adverbial forms—careful and carefully, careless and carelessly.

(*a*) Instances of commendable human care are to be found in concern for personal righteousness (He 12^{15}, Tit 3^8); zeal (σπουδή) for correcting a wrong (2 Co 7^{11}); interest in the welfare of one's fellows, especially those who are of the household of faith (1 Co 12^{25}, 2 Co 7^{12} 8^{16}, Ph 2^{20} 4^{10}); anxiety for the churches (2 Co 11^{28}). (*b*) Care is condemned when it has an unworthy object, *e.g.* forethought (πρόνοια) for the flesh to fulfil its lusts (Ro 13^{14}); the worship of mammon (1 Ti $6^{9.\ 10}$, He 13^5); or when it is purely selfish (Ph 2^{21}). (*c*) Care which distracts from the love and service of God becomes an evil. Marriage was regarded as legitimate and honourable in the early Church, but St. Paul saw in the cares of married life a menace to spiritual zeal and labour (1 Co 7^{32}). A lawful temporal care was recognized. He who made no provision (προνοεῖ) for those dependent upon him, and especially for his own family, had denied the faith and was worse than an unbeliever (1 Ti 5^8; cf. 2 Th $3^{6\text{-}15}$, Ro 12^{11}). But how readily the cares of the world crushed out the love of God! (2 Ti 4^{10}, He 13^5, etc.). (*d*) Human care has its remedy in the spirit which puts first of all the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. The secret of St. Paul's indifference to human loss (Ph $3^{7f.}$), and his contentment in whatsoever condition of life he happened to be (4^{11}), lay in the fact that the ordinary human interests of life had become utterly subordinate to the interests of God (cf. 1 Co 7^{21}, 'Were you a slave when God called you? Let not that weigh on your mind'). (*e*) Again, 'the *strain* of toil, the *fret* of care' is relieved in the thought of God's providence (Ph 4^6, 'in nothing be anxious'; 1 P 5^7, 'casting all your anxiety upon God, because he careth for you'; cf. He 13^5). Providence does not guarantee freedom from human pain, sorrow and persecution (2 Co $4^{8f.}$ $11^{23f.}$, etc.), but embraces these and all things, in a wide scheme of goodness (Ro $8^{28.\ 35\text{-}37}$; cf. Mt $10^{28.\ 29}$, God cares for the sparrows that fall to the ground). Care is relieved for the Christian, not so much by the hope of a change of human circumstances, as by his changed estimate of human values. Temporal things 'shall vanish all—the city of God remaineth' (2 Co $4^{16f.}$). See also art. COMFORT.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Care' in *HDB* and *DCG*; **R. W. Dale**, *Laws of Christ for Common Life*, London, 1899; **T. C. Upham**, *Life and Religious Opinions of Madame Guyon*, New York, 1877; **W. C. E. Newbolt**, *Counsels of Faith and Practice*, 1894, p. 161; **H. Black**, *Christ's Service of Love*, 1907, p. 42.

H. BULCOCK.

CARNAL.—In two cases (Ro 8^7, He 9^{10}) the adj. 'carnal,' and in one (Ro 8^6) the adv. 'carnally,' are used in AV to render the gen. of σάρξ 'flesh'; in Ro $8^{6.\ 7}$ RV substitutes 'of the flesh.' The 'carnal mind' or 'mind of the flesh' (Ro $8^{6.\ 7}$) denotes, according to St. Paul's frequent usage, human nature as fallen, sinfully conditioned, and hostile to the influences of the Holy Spirit; 'carnal ordinances' (He 9^{10}) are material ordinances as contrasted with those that are spiritual.

On the other occasions when 'carnal' is found in the Epistles it represents the adjectives σάρκινος and σαρκικός, which, according to their strict meanings, correspond respectively to the Lat. *carneus*

and *carnalis*, and the Eng. 'fleshy' and 'fleshly.' Belonging to the general class of proparoxytone adjectives in *-ινος* which are used to denote the material of which a thing is made (cf. *ξύλινος*, wooden, *λίθινος*, made of stone, etc.), *σάρκινος* properly describes that which is composed of flesh. It is the more literal and grosser term, while *σαρκικός* has an abstract and ethical application as denoting the 'fleshly' or what pertains to the flesh.

With regard to the use of the two words in the Pauline Epp., a difficulty arises owing to the way in which they are interchanged in different MSS. In the view of some scholars, *σάρκινος*, which was much the more familiar word of the two, has been substituted in some cases for *σαρκικός*, an adjective almost wholly unknown outside of biblical Greek (Winer, *Gram. of NT Gr.*, tr. Moulton, ed. 1882, p. 122). Others, conversely, are of opinion that *σαρκικός* as the more abstract term may have taken the place of the grosser *σάρκινος*, which might seem to a copyist less appropriate to the Apostle's meaning (Cremer, *Lexicon*, *s.v.*). There are cases, however (*e.g.* Ro 7^{14}), where according to the best readings *σάρκινος* stands when *σαρκικός* might have been expected. According to some commentators (Tholuck, Alford), St. Paul used the two adjectives indiscriminately. Meyer, on the other hand, who lays stress on the difference of meaning between the two words, thinks that the Apostle sometimes of set purpose employed *σάρκινος* as the stronger expression in order to indicate more emphatically the presence of the unspiritual element. He calls the Corinthians *σάρκινοι* (1 Co 3^1) because the flesh appeared to constitute their very nature; he says of himself in Ro 7^{14} 'I am carnal' (*σάρκινος*), to show by this vivid expression the preponderance in his own case of that unspiritual nature which serves as the instrument of sin.

The use of *σάρκινος* in such cases, however, is not to be taken as lending any support to the view that St. Paul recognized in the body the source and principle of sin. The language he uses in Gal $5^{19ff.}$, 1 Co 3^3 suggests rather that his contrast of 'carnal' and 'spiritual' (Ro $8^{5ff.}$) is equivalent to the contrast he elsewhere makes of 'natural' and 'spiritual' (1 Co $2^{13ff.}$). The 'carnal mind' or 'mind of the flesh' is the mind which is not subject to the law of God (Ro 8^7) because it has not received the Spirit of God (1 Co $2^{12.\ 14}$). See, further, FLESH, BODY.

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Lex. of NT Greek*[3], Edinburgh, 1880, and R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*[8], London, 1876, *s.vv.* *σαρκικός*, *σάρκινος*; Comm. of Alford and Meyer on passages referred to; J. Laidlaw, *Bible Doct. of Man*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1895, ch. vi.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), pp. 181, 412; H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, pp. 190, 214. J. C. LAMBERT.

CARPUS (Κάρπος).—Carpus was an inhabitant of Troas in whose house St. Paul probably lodged on his last journey to Rome. St. Paul writes from his prison to Timothy, and asks him to bring the cloak, books, and parchments which he had left at Troas with Carpus (2 Ti 4^{13}). Possibly the Apostle was arrested in Troas and compelled to leave these articles behind. Nothing further is known with any certainty regarding Carpus. The name is Greek, but his nationality is unknown. He is supposed by later tradition to have been one of 'the Seventy,' and the Greek Church honours his memory on May 26, the Roman and Syrian Churches on October 13. Both Hippolytus and Dorotheus include his name in their lists of the Seventy, and report that he became bishop of Berythus or Berœa in Thrace (*Acta Sanctorum*, May 26, Oct. 13; *Menologion*, May 26; N. Nilles, *Kalendarium Manuale*, Innsbruck, 1896, i. 165, 461). W. F. BOYD.

CASTAWAY.—This word has disappeared from the RV (1 Co 9^{27}), and its place has been taken by 'rejected' (*ἀδόκιμος*). The word is the negation of *δόκιμος*, 'acceptable,' 'accepted after trial,' and means 'unacceptable,' 'rejected after trial,' as in the LXX Is 1^{22} there is found 'your silver is rejected' (*τὸ ἀργύριον ὑμῶν ἀδόκιμον*). St. Paul, however, somewhat extends the metaphor, for the context shows that the ancient games, or, as he is writing to Corinthians, the Isthmian games, are in his mind. He contemplates the possibility of rejection, after having been successful in the contest, for not having contended in accordance with the rules. It would be distressing in the extreme after all his exacting training and his arduous struggle to be found by the umpire disqualified for neglect of the conditions. To have preached to others, and yet, through lack of Christian watchfulness, to have allowed the flesh to re-assert the mastery and so to become a castaway, to be rejected in the final scrutiny, is a possibility which urges the Apostle himself to more arduous exertions and lends earnestness to his appeal to the Corinthians. For an apposite parallel see 2 Clement, vii. See also art. ASSURANCE.

T. NICOL.

CASTLE.—The word *παρεμβολή*, translated 'castle' six times in Acts, meant in the Macedonian dialect an encampment, and in the LXX it is used for the camp of the Israelites in the desert (Ex 29^{14}, etc.). In the vivid narrative of St. Paul's arrest in Jerusalem (Ac 21. 22) it probably denotes the barracks of the Roman soldiers who were stationed at the castle of **Antonia**, though the RV as well as the AV identifies it with the castle itself.

The history of this fort goes back to the time of Nehemiah, who speaks of procuring 'timber to make beams for the castle (the *Bîrah*) which appertains to the house' (2^8; cf. 7^2). Probably on the same site John Hyrcanus, high priest from 135 to 105 B.C., built the Hasmonæan castle, which Josephus calls 'Baris' (*Ant.* XV. xi. 4; *BJ* I. xxi. 1). 'When Herod became king, he rebuilt that castle, which was very conveniently situated, in a magnificent manner, and because he was a friend of Antonius, he called it by the name of Antonia' (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3). Situated at the corner of the north and west cloisters of the Temple, it commanded, especially from its lofty S.E. tower, a view of the whole sacred precincts, while two staircases (*ἀναβαθμοί*, Ac 21^{35}, *καταβάσεις*, Jos. *BJ* V. v. 8) led down from it to the cloisters; and in the Roman period the soldiers of the cohort (*σπεῖρα*), which was always stationed in the city, 'went several ways among the cloisters, with their arms, on the Jewish festivals, in order to keep watch over the people' (Jos. *loc. cit.*).

The narrator of St. Paul's arrest was evidently well acquainted with this locality, and he graphically reproduces the details of the scene. News of a Temple riot—no uncommon occurrence—came up (*ἀνέβη φάσις*) to the commander of the cohort (*χιλίαρχος*, 'military tribune' RVm), who at once took soldiers and ran down (*κατέδραμεν*) to the fanatical crowd, probably just in time to prevent bloodshed (Ac $21^{31.\ 32}$). As St. Paul was about to be conducted up one of the staircases leading to the barracks, he was swept off his feet by the rising human tide, and had literally to be carried out of danger by the soldiers; but, recovering himself on the upper steps, he asked and obtained permission to address the baffled and still raging crowd, who turned a sea of angry faces upon him from below. His beckoning hand and his Aramaic speech secured a temporary silence, which enabled him to tell his vast audience the story of his conversion, but he could not get beyond the fatal word 'Gentiles' (22^{21}), and, leaving behind him a yelling mob,

he was marched into the barracks. Fort Antonia was for some days his place of confinement. Hither came his nephew with a message which saved him from falling into the hands of fanatical conspirators (23[16]), and here Christ Himself seemed to stand by him with words of good cheer (v.[11]). From the castle he was taken by night to Antipatris, and thence to Cæsarea (23[31-33]).

LITERATURE.—T. Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1875, ii. 135 ff.; Conybeare-Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1856, ii. 311 ff.; H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, 1895, p. 15; artt. 'Castle' and 'Jerusalem' in *EBi*, 'Castle' in *HDB*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CASTOR.—See DIOSCURI.

CATECHUMEN.—See BAPTISM.

CATHOLIC EPISTLES.—The title 'Catholic Epistles,' as applied to a group of seven Epistles in the NT, viz. those of James, Peter (two), John (three), and Jude, is first met with in Eusebius (*HE* II. xxiii. 25[*bis*] and VI. xiv. 1), and, somewhat later, in Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catecheseis*, iv. 36) and the original 'Euthalius' (ed. Zaccagni, 1698, i. 405, 409). We can thus trace the title in the above sense as far back as *c.* A.D. 310, and even then it comes before us as a long-established and familiar designation, the origin of which we may therefore assign to the 3rd century. As regards its usage by Eusebius, the context of the first passage cited (II. xxiii. 25) shows us that it cannot bear the meaning of 'canonical' or 'apostolic,' since he there employs it simply in the sense of Epistles not addressed to a definite and relatively narrow circle of readers. With this usage we may compare his application of the term 'catholic' to the Epistles of Dionysius of Corinth in *HE* IV. xxiii. 1, where he presumably makes use of an already current designation of that group of seven (!) Epistles, which, though directed to particular communities, might nevertheless, so far as their character and contents are concerned, have been addressed to any community in Christendom. The title 'Catholic Epistle,' again, as applied to a particular letter, is used, *c.* 260, by Dionysius of Alexandria (*ap.* Eus. *HE* VII. xxv. 7, 10) of 1 John—in contradistinction to the other two Epistles of John, which are not addressed to the Church at large; the term is used more frequently by Origen of 1 John, Jude, and 1 Peter, as also, in a single instance, of the *Epistle of Barnabas* (*c. Cels.* i. 63). The letter of the Apostolic Council in Jerusalem (Ac 15[23-29]) is referred to as 'catholic' by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* IV. xv. 97) *c.* 205, and he applies the same attribute to Jude in his *Hypotyposeis* (T. Zahn, *Forschungen zur Gesch. des NT Kanons*, pt. iii. [1884] 83, *Gesch. des NT Kanons*, i. [1888] 319 f.). The anti-Montanist Apollonius speaks (197) of a 'Catholic Epistle' which the Montanist Themiso had composed in imitation of the Apostle (*ap.* Eus. *HE* V. xviii. 5) —probably St. John in his First Epistle.

We may therefore assume that, by the end of the 2nd century, the title 'catholic' was applied to certain Epistles which, as contrasted above all with the Epistles of Paul, were not explicitly addressed to particular churches, and that it was likewise used on similar grounds of 1 John as contrasted with 2 and 3 John. From this point, again, a further step was taken, probably in the first half of the 3rd century, in applying the attribute 'catholic' to all the non-Pauline Epistles in the sacred collection, even although the term as hitherto used was not appropriate to 2 and 3 John. These, however, were by that time closely linked with 1 John. The usage of the term as equivalent to 'general' or 'encyclical' was still recognized by Leontius of Byzantium (*de Sectis*, ii. 4) and Œcumenius (*Com. in Ep. Cath. Jacobi*). The change by which the attributé 'catholic' came to signify the opposite of 'non-apostolic' or 'uncanonical' took place in the West, and it was there also that this group of seven Epistles in the NT came to be known generally as the Canonical Epistles (cf. Council of Damasus of 382; see C. H. Turner, *JThSt* i. [1899-1900] 554, and E. v. Dobschütz, *Decret. Gelasianum*, 1912, p. 28; Pseudo-Didymus, *in Ep. Can.* [in the Latin version], and Cassiodorus, *de Instit. Div. Lit.*, 8). It would thus appear that these terms were resorted to as a mere makeshift, and that they are of very little service to us either as regards the history of the canon or from the literary point of view.

LITERATURE.—Histories of the NT Canon, and Introductions to the NT, esp. H. A. Schott, *Isagoge hist.-crit. in libros Novi Fœderis*, Jena, 1830, pp. 371-5, and E. Reuss, *Gesch. der heiligen Schriften Neuen Testaments*[3], Brunswick, 1860, § 301 (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1884); E. T. Mayerhoff, 'Über die Bedeutung des Namens *ἐπιστολαὶ καθολικαί*' in *Hist.-krit. Einleitung in die petrinischen Schriften*, Hamburg, 1835, pp. 31-42; A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1895, p. 243 f. (Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1901, p. 50 ff.); the relevant excursuses of Jan van Gilse and W. C. L. Ziegler ('Animadversiones in sensum nominis *epist. cathol.*') in J. Dahl, *Commentatio exegetico-critica de αὐθεντίᾳ epist. petr.*, Rostock, 1807.

H. JORDAN.

CAUDA.—Cauda (**Clauda** in AV; Καῦδα in B, supported by *Gaudus* in Pliny, *HN* IV. xii. 61, and Pomp. Mela, ii. 14; Κλαῦδα in ℵ and most authorities, supported by Κλαῦδος in Ptolemy, III. xvii. 11) was a small island 23 miles S. of Crete. From the modern forms of the name—*Gavdho* in Greek, *Gozzo* in Italian—Ramsay argues that preference should be given to the ancient form which omits the letter 'l.' Favoured by a soft south wind, the ship in which St. Paul was sailing for Italy had rounded Cape Lithinos (now Cape Matala), four or five miles west from Fair Havens, and was making in a W.N.W. direction across the Bay of Messara for Port Phenice (*q.v.*), which there was the prospect of reaching in a few hours, when she was suddenly struck by a 'typhoon' (*ἄνεμος τυφωνικός*), or E.N.E. squall (see EURAQUILO), sweeping down from Mount Ida, and, not being able to face the gale (*ἀντοφθαλμεῖν*), she had to run before it (*ἐπιδόντες ἐφερόμεθα*) till she was fortunate enough to get under the lee of Cauda, where the comparatively smooth water enabled the crew to bring her to and prepare her to weather the storm (Ac 27[12-17]). 'The ship must have been laid to on the starboard tack under the lee of Cauda, for it was only on this tack that it was possible to avoid being driven on the African coast' (Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*[4], London, 1880, p. 97 ff.).

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, London, 1895, p. 326 ff.; A. Breusing, *Die Nautik der Alten*, Bremen, 1886, p. 169 ff.; artt. 'Cauda' in *HDB* and 'Clauda' in *EBi*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CELIBACY.—See MARRIAGE.

CENCHREÆ.—Cenchreæ (not 'Cenchrea,' as in AV; Κεγχρεαί [Tischendorf], Κενχρεαί [WH]; now the village of *Kichries*) was the eastern port of Corinth, 7 miles from the city, on the Saronic Gulf, opposite to Lechæum on the Corinthian Gulf. 'Cenchreæ,' says Strabo, 'serves for the trade with Asia, and Lechæum for that with Italy' (VIII. vi. 22). From the town of Schœnus—4 miles north of Cenchreæ—where the isthmus is less than 5 miles wide, a tramway (*δίολκος*) was laid to the other side, upon which vessels of smaller tonnage were conveyed bodily from sea to sea, avoiding a circuitous passage by the stormy headland of Malea. In A.D. 67, Nero, impressed by an idea which had previously commended itself to greater minds—notably to that of Julius Cæsar—made an abortive attempt to cut a canal across the Isthmus, a piece of engineering which was not accomplished till the end of the 19th century (1881-1893). Between

Cenchreæ and Schœnus was a famous sanctuary, in which stood 'the temple of Isthmian Neptune, shaded above with a grove of pine-trees, where the Corinthians celebrated the Isthmian games' (Strabo, *loc. cit.*). From the pines were cut those garlands for the brows of the victors in the stadium, which St. Paul contrasts with immortal crowns (1 Co 9^{24-27}). At Cenchreæ, St. Paul, on the eve of his sailing for Syria to attend the Passover, had his head shorn on account of a vow (Ac 18^{18}). During his prolonged residence in Corinth, Cenchreæ had become the seat of a church, of which Phœbe was a *διάκονος*—if not a deaconess in the full technical meaning of later times, at any rate in a more definite sense than is implied by 'servant' (Ro 16^{1}). She was a *προστάσις*—succourer, patroness, guardian—of many wayfaring Christians who passed through that bustling seaport (16^{2}). It has generally been assumed that this Cenchrean lady, whom St. Paul so warmly commends, was the bearer of the Roman Epistle to its destination (Renan, *St. Paul*, 1869, p. 219), but there is strong reason to believe that Ro 16 is a letter meant for Ephesus (see ROMANS).

LITERATURE.—Conybeare-Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, 1856, ii. 224; T. Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1875, i. 299 ff.; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias*, 1898, iii. 6 ff.; E. B. Redlich, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913, index, *s.v.*

JAMES STRAHAN.

CENSER.—**1.** The writer of Hebrews mentions the 'golden *θυμιατήριον*' first among the pieces of furniture which belonged to the Holy of Holies (9^{4}). He had in view Ex 30^{1-10}, which is generally regarded as one of the latest strata of P. His words raise a question as to the meaning of the word *θυμιατήριον*, and another as to the position of the article so named, both of which questions have been the subject of much controversy. (1) AV and RV, following the Vulgate—'aureum habens thuribulum'—render *θυμιατήριον* by 'censer'; but RVm and American RV, like Clement Alex., Calvin, and most modern scholars, translate it as 'altar of incense.' Etymologically the word—a neut. adj.—may mean anything employed in the burning of incense, whether a censer *in* which, or an altar *upon* which, the act is performed. When *θυμιατήριον* occurs in the LXX—2 Ch 26^{19}, Ezk 8^{11}, 4 Mac 7^{11}—it no doubt means 'censer,' being a translation of קְטֹרֶת, while the altar of incense is *τὸ θυσιαστήριον θυμιάματος* (or *-των*) in Ex $30^{1.\ 27}$, Lv 4^{7}, 1 Ch 7^{49}, etc. But it is also certain that *θυμιατήριον* became the usual Hellenistic name for the altar of incense, and Philo (*Quis rer. div. hær.* 46, *Vit. Mos.* iii. 7), Josephus (*Ant.* III. vi. 8, viii. 2, 3, *BJ* v. v. 5), and the versions of Symmachus and Theodotion use the word with this meaning in Ex 30^{1}. Unless the writer of Hebrews follows the same usage, he entirely ignores the altar of incense in his description of the furniture of the tabernacle, which is scarcely credible. (2) *Prima facie*, the author of Hebrews has fallen into error in naming this altar among the furnishings of the most holy place. He may be supposed to have been misled (*a*) by the ambiguous instructions regarding it given in Ex 30^{6}: 'thou shall put it before the veil that is by the ark of the testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the testimony'; (*b*) by its designation as *ἅγιον τῶν ἁγίων* in Ex 30^{10}; and (*c*) especially by the fact that in Ex 25^{23-40} 26^{35}, only the candlestick and the table are mentioned as standing in the holy place. Such a mistake on the part of the writer, whose acquaintance with the ritual practice of Judaism was second-hand, would not prove him the *Monstrum von Unwissenheit* that Delitzsch suggests. Still, it is not certain that he was really wrong. He does not say that the Holy of Holies *contained* the *θυμιατήριον* (contrast *ἐν ᾗ* in He 9^{3}), but that it *had* (*ἔχουσα*) such an altar. Evidently he was thinking, not of the local position of the altar, but of its intimate relation to the ministry of the inner sanctuary on the Day of Atonement.

2. In Rev $8^{3.\ 5}$, *λιβανωτός*, which is strictly 'frankincense,' the gum exuding from the *λίβανος*, is used instead of *λιβανωτὶς* (or *-τρὶς*) for 'censer,' corresponding to the *πυρεῖον* (*πύριον*) or *θυίσκη* ('fire pan') of the LXX. In the prophetic symbolism this censer holds (1) the fire which burns the incense that is added to the prayers of the saints, and (2) the fire, or hot ashes, of God's vengeance, which are cast upon a hostile and impenitent world. See INCENSE.

LITERATURE.—Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.* *θυμιατήριον*; Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 295; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, ii. 363; H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, p. 108; *ExpT* i. [1889–90] 74, ii. [1890–91] 18; see also art. 'Censer' in *HDB* and Literature there cited.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CENTURION.—See ARMY.

CEPHAS.—See PETER.

CERINTHUS.—Probably Cerinthus was educated in Egypt (Hippol., vii. 7, 33; x. 21 [ed. Duncker]); certainly he taught in proconsular Asia contemporaneously with John, the writer of the Gospel and Epistles, *i.e.* in the last quarter of the 1st cent. A.D. (Polycarp, quoted in Iren., *adv. Hær.* III. iii. 4). Cerinthus is one of the earliest of the Gnostics. The world, he taught, was made not by the Supreme God, but by a Power inferior to, and ignorant of, Him. He denied the virgin birth of Jesus, who was, however, pre-eminent for righteousness, prudence, and wisdom. He separated Jesus and Christ. Christ descended on Jesus after baptism and left Him before the crucifixion. Jesus suffered and rose again, but Christ, a pure spirit, was impassible (Iren., *adv. Hær.* I. xxvi. 1; cf. III. xi. 1; Hippol., vii. 33, x. 21; Pseudo-Tertullian, *adv. omn. Hær.* x.).

It is not incredible that Cerinthus judaized to the extent of teaching the obligation of circumcision and the Sabbath (Epiph., *Hær.* chs. i. and ii., and Philaster). Though Judaizing and Gnosticism afterwards became inconsistent with each other, at Cerinthus' stage such a limited alliance is not unthinkable. It is, however, his christology that is most important, and it is an interesting query—Is it this that is attacked in 1 John? Beyond doubt St. John has an actual heresy in view; he gives no mere general warning against errors that *may* arise. The crucial passage is 1 Jn $4^{2.\ 3a}$, which, literally translated from the critical texts, reads: 'Hereby know ye the spirit of God; every spirit which confesses Jesus Christ come in the flesh is of God, and every spirit which confesses not Jesus is not of God.' The use of 'Jesus' alone in v.^{3a} makes it almost certain that v.^{2} should be taken to mean 'confesses Jesus as Christ come in the flesh.' Thus it is not Docetism that is opposed, but a separation such as Cerinthus made between Jesus and Christ. Further, according to Socrates (*HE* vii. 32), 'confesses not' in v.^{3} was substituted for an original 'dissolves' or 'disrupts' (*λύει*, so Vulg. *solvit*). If we accept this, the case may be said to be proved. It is exactly the christology of Cerinthus that is attacked. So in 1 Jn 2^{22}, the denial that Jesus is Christ can scarcely be the old Jewish denial, but a refusal like that of Cerinthus to identify Jesus with Christ. Again, in 1 Jn 5^{6} 'blood' probably refers either to the birth or to the death of Christ, both of which Cerinthus denied. Quite possibly other errors are in St. John's mind as well as Cerinthianism. Docetism, no doubt, was a real danger, and passages like 1 Jn $1^{1f.}$ seem to have it in view. But it is probable in the highest degree that it is mainly Cerinthus who is to St. John the enemy of the truth.

The errors dealt with in 1 John had antinomian consequences. According to Gaius of Rome (quoted by Euseb., *HE* iii. 28), Cerinthus taught the coming of a millennium of sensual delights. Too much credence, however, is not to be attached to such statements. In early days, as always, heretics were readily and rashly painted as moral delinquents, and, as noted above, John may have others besides Cerinthus in view.

Other views have been attributed to Cerinthus, but the evidence is so scanty, confused, and contradictory, that it is not worth while to state them.

LITERATURE.—J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*[3], London, 1879; H. L. Mansel, *The Gnostic Heresies*, do. 1875; A. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 411 ff.; D. R. A. Lipsius, *Zur Quellenkritik d. Epiphanios*, Vienna, 1865, p. 328 *f.*; R. Law, *The Tests of Life*, Edinburgh, 1909, chs. ii. and xiii.; art. 'Cerinthus,' by A. S. Peake, in *ERE* iii. 318.

W. D. NIVEN.

CERTAINTY.—See ASSURANCE.

CHAIN, BONDS.—The word ἅλυσις is used of the coupling-chain or manacle by which the prisoner was attached to his guard, as distinguished from πέδη, the foot-fetters. It differs apparently from δεσμοί in conveying the idea of attachment rather than confinement. Among the Romans, it was customary to attach the prisoner by a light chain to the soldier responsible for his safe custody. One end of the chain was fastened to the right wrist of the captive, and the other to the left wrist of his custodian, whose right hand was thus free. It is to this method of confinement that St. Paul alludes, when speaking of his 'chain' (Ac 28[20], Eph 6[20m], 2 Ti 1[16]). Sometimes, for greater security, the prisoner was bound to two soldiers, one on each side of him, in which case, of course, the use of two chains would be necessary. This more rigorous method of confinement is the sort to which St. Peter was subjected during his imprisonment (Ac 12[6]), and also St. Paul during the early days of his captivity at Jerusalem (Ac 21[33]). Later on, at Cæsarea and Rome, the latter Apostle, although still kept in strict military custody, was permitted to enjoy a considerable measure of freedom (Ac 24[23] 28[30*f.*]). More frequently, the less precise and graphic terms δεσμοί and δεσμά, '**bonds**' or 'imprisonment' are used to describe the condition of persons in captivity. St. Paul, speaking of himself as a prisoner, makes repeated allusions to his 'bonds' (Ph 1[7. 13. 14. 16], Col 4[3], 2 Ti 2[9], Philem [10. 13]). The neuter and masculine forms are used with distinct shades of meaning, δεσμά referring to the fetters by which the person was bound (Ac 16[26] ['bands'] 20[23], 26[29]), δεσμοί to the state of captivity into which the person had been thrown.

W. S. MONTGOMERY.

CHALCEDONY (χαλκηδών).—Chalcedony is the precious stone with which the third foundation of the wall of the New Jerusalem is garnished (Rev 21[19]). The ancient meaning of the word is uncertain. In modern mineralogy the chalcedony is 'a micro-crystalline form of quartz . . . a translucent substance of rather waxy lustre, presenting great variety of colours, though usually white, grey, yellow or brown' (*EBr*[11] v. 803). But the chalcedony of Pliny (*HN* xxxvii. 72–73) was a green stone—an inferior kind of emerald—from the copper-mines of Chalcedon in Bithynia, whence its name. Flinders Petrie (*HDB* iv. 621[a]) suggests that it was 'dioptase' or silicate of copper.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CHAMBERLAIN.—The only person clearly designated as such in the NT is Blastus, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ κοιτῶνος τοῦ βασιλέως (*sc.* Herod Agrippa I.), whom the Tyrians and Sidonians persuaded to befriend them against the king's displeasure at Cæsarea, and to obtain peace for them 'because their country was nourished by the king's country' (Ac 12[20]). The office he held would obviously involve great intimacy and influence with the king. Erastus, who is called 'the chamberlain of the city' in Ro 16[23] (AV; RV 'treasurer'), held a different office (see STEWARD). The eunuch of Ac 8[27ff.] also held a different office; he 'was over all' the queen's 'treasure' (see ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH).

C. L. FELTOE.

CHANAAN.—See CANAAN.

CHARISMATA.—See GIFTS.

CHARITY.—See ALMS, LOVE.

CHARITY, FEAST OF.—See LOVE-FEAST.

CHASTISEMENT.—The subject of chastisement and chastening is frequently mentioned in the OT and the NT. The NT terms are παιδεύω and παιδεία, which correspond to יָסַר and מוּסָר of the OT. In classical usage these words refer to the whole of the education of the παῖς, including the training of the body. Sometimes they are used of the results of the whole process. They do not contain, however, the idea of chastisement. In the OT, Apocrypha, and NT this idea of correction, discipline, chastening, is added to that of the general cultivation of mind and morals: the education is 'per molestias' (Augustine, *Enarr. in Pss.*, 119[66]); see Lk 23[16], He 12[5. 7. 8], Rev 3[19]; cf. Lv 26[18], Ps 6[1], Is 53[5], Sir 4[17] 22[6], 2 Mac 6[12] (see Westcott on He 12[7]; Trench, *NT Syn.*[8], 1876, p. 23; Milligan, *Greek Papyri*, 1910, p. 94). In Ac 7[22] there is found the only NT instance of the verb in its general Greek sense. In 2 Ti 3[16] the noun is used for disciplinary instruction, the correction of mistakes and curbing of passions, that virtue may be increased. Pilate uses the verb in speaking of the terrible scourging of Jesus (Lk 23[16. 22]; cf. Dt 22[18]), but it is a very mild term for the fearful *flagellatio*.

Chastisement, as part of the moral discipline of character, is the positive duty of a father (Eph 6[4]). In this passage, 'chastening' is substituted by RV for AV 'nurture,' which is too weak a word, but 'discipline' might be better still. The same idea of parental correction of the faults of children is found in He 12[9], where the fathers are described as παιδευταί (cf. Plato, *Dialogues*, tr. Jowett, 1892, index, *s.v.* 'education'). In this fatherly fashion God Himself chastens His children for their ultimate good (He 12[4-11]; cf. Pr 3[11*f.*], Rev 3[19]). The evils with which God visits men are rods of chastisement (1 Co 11[32], 2 Co 6[9]; cf. Pr 19[18] 29[17], Wis 3[4ff.] 11[10ff.], 2 Mac 6[16] 10[4]). Such treatment is not a sign of antipathy or rejection, but an evidence of true love. God does not leave His wayward children to their fate, but strives to bring them to becoming reverence and reformation. Sometimes the chastisement is of such a terrible character that the one who suffers is said to be 'delivered unto Satan' (1 Co 5[5], 1 Ti 1[20]; cf. Job 2[6], Ps 109[6m], Ac 26[18]). But even in these cases the ultimate object is the recovery of the sinner, 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' and 'that they might be taught not to blaspheme.' The 'thorn in the flesh' afflicted St. Paul so grievously that he called it 'a messenger of Satan' (2 Co 12[7ff.]; cf. Lk 13[16], *Jub.* x. 2), but it saved him from being 'exalted overmuch' and became a means of such abundant grace that he was led positively to glory in his weakness. This same grace of God, which brings salvation to all who receive it, does not always appear in gentle instruction, but sometimes takes the form of stern chastisement; in a word, whatever means is necessary for the perfect redemption of the soul, that

means will grace employ (see Tit $2^{11ff.}$). To those who submit to this process of chastening, the rewards are immense and enduring. Compared with them the 'affliction' is 'light,' and the pain of the present moment is transformed into 'an eternal weight of glory' (2 Co 4^{16-18}).

As to the relation between παιδεία and νουθεσία, 'chastening and admonition' of Eph 6^4, T. K. Abbott (*Eph. and Col.* [*ICC*, 1897] 178) maintains that παιδεία is, as in classical writers, the more general, νουθεσία the more specific term, for instruction and admonition. On the other hand, Grotius, followed by Ellicott, Alford, and many others, declares: 'παιδεία hic significare videtur institutionem per poenas; νουθεσία autem est ea institutio quae fit verbis.' The Vulg. translates 'in disciplina et correptione.' The probability is that the former word refers to training by 'act and discipline,' the latter to training by 'word.' See also ADMONITION and DISCIPLINE.

LITERATURE.—H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, 1895, p. 101; R. C. Trench, *NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 107 f.; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, p. 63; the Commentaries on Ephesians, esp. J. Armitage Robinson, 1903; *ExpT* xiv. [1902-03] 272; see also artt. 'Chastening' and 'Nurture' in *HDB*.

H. CARISS J. SIDNELL.

CHEERFULNESS (O.E. *chere*, 'face,' 'look'; L. Lat. *cara*, 'the face').—The abundance of expressions of buoyant gladness in a weak and persecuted community, as was the Christian Church of the first century, is striking. Whereas we might expect depression and sighing, we find everywhere singing at midnight in the prison houses (Ac 5^{41} 16^{25}, Ro 8^{35-37}, 1 P $1^{6.8}$, etc.). Although St. Paul is described as once saying that his service has been with tears (Ac $20^{19.31}$), and in his letter to Corinth confesses that he writes with many tears and with deep suffering and depression of spirit (2 Co 2^4), such utterances stand isolated among a multitude of phrases suggestive of rejoicing and exultation. The Apostle's references to depressing circumstances of life are usually to indicate his triumph over them (Ph $3^{7.8}$, 2 Co $4^{7ff.}$ 6^4 11^{30} 12^9). Is there affliction? That may be joyfully regarded as filling up what was lacking in the sufferings of Christ (Col 1^{24}), as building up character (Ro 5^3; cf. He 12^{11}, Ja 1^2), as winning an eternal weight of glory (2 Co 4^{17}). Even martyrdom for faith is a thought inspiring joyfulness (Ph $2^{17.18}$). Are there those who preach Christ out of envy and contentiousness? No matter, Christ is being preached (Ph 1^{15-18}). St. Paul's very imprisonment is having happy results—the Imperial guards have thereby heard of Christ, and other brethren have been inspired by St. Paul's sacrifice to bolder service (Ph 1^{12-14}). There is much in human life to give gladness—meetings with friends (Ph $2^{28.29}$, 2 Ti 1^4, 2 Jn ^{12}), even the very remembrance of them (Ph 1^4), the sharing of the joys of others (Ro 12^{15}, 1 Co 12^{26}), the success of one's work (Ph 2^{16}), the faithfulness of converts (1 Th $2^{19.20}$), their repentance after error (2 Co 7^9), their thoughtful liberality (Ph 4^{10}). One may rejoice in a good conscience (2 Co 1^{12}), in the joy set before those running the good race (He 12^2), in the inspirations and consolations of Christian faith (Ro $5^{2.11}$ 15^{13}, 2 Co 1^{24} $5^{6ff.}$, Ph 1^{25}, 1 P 1^8). Not only is there cause for joy in the argued inferences from Christian beliefs—in the direct experience of the Holy Spirit there is joy and peace which the world cannot give (Ro 14^{17}, Gal 5^{22}, 1 Th 1^6; cf. the characteristic features of mysticism in W. James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902, lects. 16 and 17). Christian cheerfulness is not based on a denial of the reality of the dark things of life, but on the proportioning of them by the larger elements of joyful Christian faith and experience. A shallow, worldly cheerfulness must not be confused with the joy of the Christian in God. Human good cheer is only for a season (1 Co 7^{30}); there is a laughter which should be turned to grief, and gladness to shame (Ja 4^9). Exhortations to rejoice are found in 1 Th 5^{16}, Ro 5^3 (cf. Col 1^{11}) 12^{12}, Ph 3^1 4^4 ('χαίρετε expresses the predominant mood of the Epistle, a mood wonderfully characteristic of Paul's closing years' [H. A. A. Kennedy, *EGT*, 'Philippians,' 1903, p. 466]).

H. BULCOCK.

CHERUBIM (χερουβίμ).—Among the symbolic ornaments of the Tabernacle the writer of Hebrews mentions 'the cherubim of glory overshading the mercy-seat' (9^5). In Solomon's Temple there were two colossal cherubim whose out-spread wings filled the most holy place (1 K 6^{23-28}), but in the ideal description of the Tabernacle two much smaller figures are represented as standing on the ark of the covenant itself (which was only about four feet long), facing each other and overshadowing the place of God's presence. The cherubim were 'das beliebteste Ornamentstück der Hebräer' (Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*, Freiburg, 1894, p. 268). It is significant that while precise directions are given regarding their material, position, and attitude, nothing is said of their shape except that they were winged. Their enigmatic form made them fitting symbols of the mysterious nature of the Godhead. Originally, no doubt, they were far from being merely allegorical. They had lived long in the popular imagination before they came to be used as religious emblems. They were mythical figures probably suggested by the phenomenon of the storm-cloud, in which God seemed to descend from heaven to earth, the thunder being the rushing of their wings and the lightning their flashing swords (cf. Ps $18^{10.11}$). While Lenormant (*Les Origines*, 1880–84, i. 112 f.) and Friedrich Delitzsch (*Wo lag das Paradies?*, 1881, p. 150 f.) connect them with the winged bulls which guarded the entrance to Assyrian palaces, others associate them with the Syrian griffins (probably of Hittite origin) which were supposed to draw the chariot of the sun-god (Cheyne, *EBi* i. 745). Behind the cherubim of Ezekiel ($10^{1ff.}$) which are the original of the 'living creatures' of Rev 4^{6-8}, there may be the signs of the zodiac (Gunkel).

When the later Hebrews wished to represent the presence of Jahweh among them in the Temple at Jerusalem, they adopted the cherubim as the awful symbols alike of His nearness and of His unapproachableness. It is improbable that these works of art had a purely human appearance. Schultz (*OT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 1892, ii. 236) inclines to the view that they were 'composite figures, with the feet of oxen, the wings of eagles, the manes of lions, and the body and face of men.' A. Jeremias (*The OT in the Light of the Anc. East*, 1911, ii. 126), following Klostermann, thinks it possible that 'the conception is that of four cherubim (two cherubim, each with a double face).' As the symbols were blazoned on the doors, walls, and curtains of the Temple, their general appearance must originally have been quite well known, but time once more threw a veil of mystery over them, and Josephus declares that 'no one can tell or guess what the cherubim were like' (*Ant.* VIII. iii. 3).

LITERATURE.—I. Benzinger, *Heb. Arch.*[2], 1907, index, *s.v.* 'Kerube'; A. Furtwängler, in Roscher, *Lex.* i. 2, col. 1742 ff., art. 'Gryps'; art. 'Cherub' in *EBi* and 'Cherubim' in *HDB*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CHIEF PRIEST.—See PRIEST.

CHILD, CHILDREN.—See FAMILY.

CHILDREN OF GOD, SONS OF GOD.—Amongst the many ways current in antiquity of expressing the relationship existing between God and man

(Creator, King, Lord, Husband, Father), two were derived from human relationships of the family life —God is the Husband or Bridegroom of His people, or He is their Father. With the former we are not now concerned. The latter plays a large part in the teaching of the NT. It will be convenient to examine this teaching under four heads: (1) the doctrine of St. Paul, (2) that of the Johannine writings, (3) that of 1 Peter, (4) that of the remaining books.

1. St. Paul.—It is natural that we should find in this writer, who was the champion and protagonist of the movement for the extension of Christianity to the Gentiles, the most unrestricted expression in the NT of the sonship of mankind as related to God. In Ac 17[28] he bases an argument upon the phrase of the poet Cleanthes 'for we are his offspring.' If Eph 3[15] 'the Father from whom every family in heaven and earth is named' should more rightly be translated 'of whom all fatherhood in heaven and earth is named,'* we have here the thought that Fatherhood is an element in the very being of God, and that all other forms of paternity are derived from Him. The words of Eph 4[6] 'one God and Father of all' will then be naturally interpreted of this universal Fatherhood of God. It is, however, natural enough that in a Christian writer this conception of the universal Fatherhood of God should find little emphasis, and that it should be of infrequent occurrence, for the conception of sonship was wanted to express a closer and more vital relationship than that between God and unredeemed humanity. St. Paul, therefore, generally uses it to denote the relationship between God and the disciples of Christ, whether Jews or Gentiles. Writing in the stress of the Jewish controversy, he finds it necessary to vindicate the claims of the Gentile Christians to the name 'children *or* sons of God.' Gentile Christians are 'children of promise' (Gal 4[28]). It is they who as 'children of promise' are Abraham's seed (Ro 9[8]). And this sonship had been foretold by Hosea (Ro 9[25]). To express the process by which the Christian becomes a son of God, St. Paul takes from current Greek and Roman terminology the metaphor of 'adoption': † so in Ro 8[15] 'ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father'; so again in Gal 4[4-6] 'God sent forth his Son . . . that we might receive the adoption of sons . . . and because ye are sons, God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, crying, Abba, Father.' The metaphor occurs twice besides in connexion with the genesis of the idea of adoption in the mind of God, and with its complete realization in the future. In Eph 1[5] St. Paul speaks of God as 'having foreordained us unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto himself.' In Ro 8[23] he speaks of Christians who have the first-fruits of the Spirit, who therefore have already received in some measure the spirit of adoption, as 'waiting for our adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.' He seems to mean that only at the resurrection, when the body rises incorruptible, will the process of adoption be really completed, and made manifest. Adoption to sonship, then, according to St. Paul, presupposes the revelation of the Son of God: 'God sent forth his Son that we might receive the adoption of sons' (Gal 4[5]). It was effected by the imparting to the disciple of the Spirit of the incarnate Son, or, in other words, of the Spirit of God. 'God sent forth the Spirit of his Son into our hearts' (v.[5]); 'As many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God' (Ro 8[14]). This involves real likeness to the Son of God: 'He foreordained them to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born amongst many brethren' (v.[29]). Cf. such passages as 2 Co 3[18] 'we all . . . are being changed into the same image.' At the unveiling or apocalypse of Christ there will also be an unveiling, or manifestation, of the sons of God (Ro 8[19]), in which in some sense the whole created universe will share (v.[21]). Lastly, adoption involves fellowship with the Son of God (1 Co 1[9]) and joint participation with Him in present suffering, and in future glory (Ro 8[16f.]).

2. Johannine writings.—In this literature the terms 'the Father,' 'the Son' are most characteristically used to express the relationship between God and the Word of God incarnate in Jesus Christ. Whether God is spoken of as the Father of all men is doubtful. The same question arises here as in the Synoptic Gospels. There Christ speaks repeatedly to His disciples of God as 'your Father': in Mt., commonly, *e.g.* 5[16. 45. 48]; in Mk., twice, 11[25. 26]; in Lk., thrice, 6[36] 12[30. 32]. They are to address Him in prayer as 'our Father' (Mt 6[9]) or 'Father' (Lk 11[2]). They are so to imitate Him that they may be His sons (Mt 5[45], Lk 6[35]). In the Fourth Gospel we find for 'your Father' the simple 'the Father.' Of course we may read into these phrases the idea of the universal Fatherhood of God; and the general tenour of Christ's teaching, interpreted in the light of history, makes it certain that He meant to imply this. But we must remember that He was speaking to Jews, who had long been accustomed to think of God's Fatherhood as a term specially applicable to the pious Jew, or to the Jewish nation. His hearers would not, therefore, necessarily have read a universalistic sense into His words, and He nowhere explicitly speaks of God as Father of all men outside His own disciples (members of the Jewish nation). The nearest approximation to this would be His use of 'the Father' in speaking to the Samaritan woman (4[21. 23]). For the term 'Father' as applied to God in the OT and in the later Jewish pre-Christian literature, where it is generally used to denote the relationship between God and the individual pious Jew, see W. Bousset, *Rel. des Jud.*, Berlin, 1903, p. 355 ff.; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902, p. 184 ff. The phrase, 'the children of God who were scattered abroad' (Jn 11[52]), probably refers to the members of the Gentile churches of the writer's own period. These became 'children of God' when they became Christians. In connexion with sonship as used of the relation between God and the disciple of Christ the most characteristic feature of the Johannine writings is the use of the metaphor of re-birth. In Jn 1[12f.] it is said that those who receive the incarnate Word, or who believe on His name, are given authority to become children of God. (It is just possible that we have here an allusion to the Pauline conception of sonship by adoption.) Then follows a description of the process by which this position of 'children' was reached. They were begotten, not along the lines of physical birth, but 'of God.' There is a very interesting variant reading (Western) which makes these words descriptive not of the spiritual birth of the Christian disciple, but of the birth in a supernatural manner ('not of a husband') of the Word, who thus became flesh. And even if that be not the original reading, it would seem that the writer in choosing terms in which to describe the spiritual birth of the disciple has selected terms which presuppose acquaintance with the tradition of the birth from a virgin. The disciple, like the Lord Himself, was born, not by physical generation, nor of fleshly passion, nor at the impulse of a human husband, but of God. In 3[3] the necessity of thus being born from above, or anew, is once

* See J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903, p. 83 f.

† See W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, p. 337 ff.

more emphasized. In 3^5 the birth is described as a begetting of the Spirit which takes place at baptism ('of water,' unless these words are an early gloss). In the First Epistle the idea recurs. The communication of the Divine life from God in this spiritual birth is connected, as in St. Paul, with 'faith.' 'Every one who believes that Jesus is the Christ is begotten of God,' 1 Jn 5^1 (cf. Gal 3^{26} 'sons through faith'). But 'love,' and 'doing righteousness' are also the external signs of spiritual birth (cf. 4^7 'Every one that loveth is born of God,' and 2^{29} 'Every one that doeth righteousness is begotten of Him'). And just as in St. Paul adoption to sonship involved an increasing conformity to the likeness of the Son of God, so in St. John the birth from God involves the idea of freedom from sin. 'Every one that is begotten of God does not commit sin' (3^9; cf. 5^{18}). It carries with it also the certainty of victory over 'the world.' 'Whatsoever is begotten of God overcometh the world' (5^4). Just as it is characteristic of St. Paul, with his metaphor of adoption, to speak of Christians as 'sons,' so it naturally follows from St. John's preference for the idea of re-birth to speak of them as 'children.' And lastly, just as St. Paul seems to look forward to the resurrection as the moment when adoption to sonship shall be consummated, so St. John looks forward to the manifestation of Christ as the moment when likeness to Him, which is involved in sonship, will be perfected (cf. 1 Jn 3^2 'Beloved, now are we the children of God, and it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. But we know that if he [*or* it] shall be manifested we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is').

3. 1 Peter.—Here, too, we find the conception that Christians have passed through a process of re-birth. The word used is not the simple 'to beget,' as in Jn $3^{3.5}$, but a compound 'to beget again,' which is found also in 'Western' authorities of Jn 3^5. Thus when St. Peter speaks of God who 'begat us again,' he describes the life of Christians as a new life into which they had entered, and at the same time emphasizes this life as having originated by a Divine act of God. In 1^{23} he speaks of Christians as 'being begotten again, not of corruptible seed, but of incorruptible, through the word of God.' The seed here seems to describe the Divine nature (cf. 1 Jn 3^9), and the 'word' apparently means the message of the Gospel of the incarnate 'Word.' It is in harmony with this conception of the re-birth of Christians that St. Peter speaks of them as invoking 'a Father' (1^{17}).

4. The idea of sonship finds little expression in the remaining books of the NT. In He $12^{5.7.8}$ affliction is regarded as a proof that God deals with the sufferers as with sons. This is merely metaphorical. More to our point is He $2^{10f.}$ 'It became him, through whom are all things, and all things through him, in bringing many sons to glory, to make the leader of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one.' Some would see in the 'sons' a reference to the universal Fatherhood of God, but more probably it is Christians who are meant, who have become 'sons' by uniting themselves with the one Son. Consequently He and they are all sons of one common Father. The use of 'sons' is in this case parallel to that of 'children' in Jn 11^{52}. The conception of sonship does not occur in James, 2 or 3 John, 2 Peter, or in Jude, for the phrase 'God the Father' in 2 P 1^{17}, 2 Jn[3], and Jude[1] seems to have reference rather to the relationship between God and Christ than to that between God and men. In the Apocalypse it occurs only in 21^7, where it is to be the privilege of those who inherit the new Jerusalem that they will be sons of God.

If we now try to summarize the teaching of the Apostolic Age as expressed in the writings of the NT on the conception of sonship of God, the following appear to be the main lines of thought: (1) There is a recognition of the universal Fatherhood of God, to be seen in the teaching of Christ when once it was detached from a literal Jewish interpretation (cf. especially the Parable of the Prodigal Son, and the use of the term 'the Father' in the conversation with the woman of Samaria). It appears, too, in St. Paul's words to the non-Christian Athenians. Whether the inference that God is the Father of all men, from Eph 3^{15}, is a necessary one may be more doubtful. The correlative to this thought of the Fatherhood of God should logically be that of the universal sonship of men. But this receives very scanty expression in the NT (cf. again the Parable of the Prodigal Son, Ac 17^{28}, and perhaps He 2^{10}). (2) In a unique sense Jesus Christ is the Son of God. (3) The Christian disciple by virtue of his union with Christ becomes a son, or child, of God. In the language of St. Paul he is adopted to be a son. In the language of St. John and St. Peter he is born or begotten again. The condition of such sonship is faith. It is characterized by guidance by the Spirit, and it manifests itself in love and in righteousness. Consisting in the gift of new life from God (incorruptible seed, or the Spirit), it implies growth, *i.e.* a progressive assimilation to Christ Himself. The consummation of this process will be a final adoption at the resurrection (St. Paul), or likeness to Christ at His manifestation (St. John).

LITERATURE.—For Sonship of God by new birth, in antiquity, see A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, Leipzig, 1903, p. 157 ff.; for Adoption, see W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Com. on Galatians*, London, 1899, p. 337 ff. and art. 'Adoption' in *ERE*. For Sonship of God in the NT, see the Theologies of the NT, *e.g.* G. B. Stevens, Edinburgh, 1899, pp. 69 ff., 591 *f.* For Sonship in St. John, see B. F. Westcott, *Epistles of St. John*, London, 1883, p. 120 f.; O. Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, Eng. tr., i. [1906] 365 ff., iv. [1911] 227 ff.

W. C. ALLEN.

CHILIARCH.—See ARMY.

CHILIASM.—See PAROUSIA, ESCHATOLOGY.

CHIOS (ἡ Χίος; now 'Scio').—The name was given to a beautiful island in the Ægean Sea, separated from the mainland of Asia Minor by a picturesque channel, 6 miles wide, which is studded with islets. Its capital was also called Chios. In the 5th cent. B.C. its inhabitants were said to be the wealthiest in Greece. It produced 'the best of the Grecian wines' (Strabo, XIV. i. 35). Under the Roman Empire it was a free city of the province of Asia, till the time of Vespasian, who included it in the Insularum Provincia.

St. Paul passed Chios in his last recorded Ægean voyage (Ac 20^{15}). Sailing in the morning from Mitylene in Lesbos, his ship, after a run of 50 miles, cast anchor at night near the Asian coast, opposite Chios (ἀντικρυς Χίου) and under the headland of Mimas. Next day she struck across the open sea (παρεβάλομεν) for Samos. Chios was one of the seven claimants to the honour of being the birth-place of Homer, and its pretensions received stronger support from tradition than those of any of its rivals. 'The blind old bard of Chios' rocky isle' was familiar with the course pursued by St. Paul, for he represents Nestor as standing in his ship at the Lesbian Bay and doubting—

> 'If to the right to urge the pilot's toil . . .
> Or the straight course to rocky Chios plough,
> And anchor under Mimas' shaggy brow'
> (*Od.* iii. 168–172).

Josephus describes a voyage of Herod the Great in the opposite direction. 'When he had sailed by Rhodes and Cos, he touched at Lesbos, as thinking he should have overtaken Agrippa there; but he was taken short here by a north wind, which hindered his ship from going to the shore, so he remained many days at Chios. . . . And when the high winds were laid he sailed to Mitylene, and thence to Byzantium' (*Ant.* XVI. ii. 2).

LITERATURE.—Conybeare-Howson, *St. Paul*, new ed., London, 1877, ii. 262 f.; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, do. 1895, p. 292 f.; T. Bent, in *Eng. Hist. Review*, iv. [1889] pp. 467–480; Murray's *Guide to Asia Minor*. JAMES STRAHAN.

CHLOE.—St. Paul was told of the factions in Corinth *ὑπὸ τῶν Χλόης*, 'by them of Chloe' (1 Co 1^{11}). It is not said that she was a Christian, nor is it clear whether she lived in Corinth or in Ephesus. Probably she was an Ephesian Christian lady, whose 'people' (*i.e.* her Christian slaves, or companions, or even children) had brought back disquieting news after visiting Corinth. Her name is an epithet of a goddess and was often given to slaves; hence it has been conjectured that she was a freedwoman of property.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* on 'Chloe' and on 'I. Corinthians,' p. 487[a]; Comm. on 1 Cor. by Findlay (*EGT*, 1904), pp. 785, 763, and by Godet (1889), i. 21, 64. C. v. Weizsäcker discusses the situation in Corinth, and takes a different view about Chloe: see his *Apostolic Age*, i.[2], London, 1897, pp. 305, 318, 325, 335. J. E. ROBERTS.

CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY.—In studying 'Christology' the object is to ascertain what were the opinions, convictions, or dogmas regarding the Person of Christ which were held by particular authorities or by the Christian Church as a whole at any particular time. In the period now under review 'dogmas' do not enter into consideration, seeing that the Apostolic Age does not furnish any instance of common opinion enforced by authority, which is what 'dogma' consists in. On the other hand, the limits of our period are set not by the 'Age of the Apostles' strictly understood, but by the documents which form our NT, even though some of them may be held to proceed from a generation subsequent to that of the apostles.

It has been usual to divide the subject into pre-Pauline and Pauline (with post-Pauline) Christology; and the division only does justice to the great place occupied by St. Paul in the interpretation of Christian experience and the correlation of Christian thought. But the classification is open to a two-fold objection. In the first place, it tends unduly to depreciate the importance, indeed the normative value, of Christian experience and reflexion anterior to St. Paul; and, in the second place, by grouping the other forms of Christology as 'post-Pauline' or 'sub-Pauline,' it assumes or alleges a relation of dependence between them and the Christology of the Apostle; whereas the fact of this relation and the measure of it are parts of the whole problem, and call for careful investigation. It is preferable, therefore, to consider first primitive Christology, and then sub-primitive Christology, without assuming any continuous line of development.

I. *THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY.*—**1. Sources.**—The material for the study of this period is far from copious, and its value has been much disputed. Yet its importance is so great that it demands careful examination. The possible sources may be classified under three heads: (1) the Acts of the Apostles, especially the earlier half; (2) certain statements and allusions in St. Paul's Epistles as to views held in common by himself and the primitive Christian community; and (3) certain elements in the Synoptic Gospels, in which, it has been suggested, we find reflected the Christological idea of a later generation. We shall take these in the reverse order.

(1) *The Synoptic Gospels.*—Here it is not proposed to make any use of what some claim to recognize as 'secondary' material in the Synoptic Gospels. Firstly, even if the presence of such material be admitted as a possibility, there is the greatest uncertainty as to its amount and its distribution. While there has undoubtedly been a tendency in some critical writers to exaggerate the influence of later theology on the Synoptic record, it is also quite possible that the criteria to which they appeal may need to be revised. Neither the absolute nor the relative dates of the NT documents have been ascertained with sufficient certainty, nor yet has the inner history of the period been realized with sufficient precision, to make the discrimination of such material anything but very precarious. But, secondly, even if there were much more certainty than there is as to the Synoptic material which is really secondary in character, it would be of little use for our purpose, seeing that the criterion by which it is distinguished is precisely its harmony with the views of a later period; and on that account it cannot be expected to yield any new and positive information as to the opinion held in the period to which *ex hypothesi* it belongs.

(2) *The Epistles of St. Paul.*—These provide at least valuable confirmation of what may be otherwise ascertained as to the opinion held by the primitive community, partly through direct statement by the Apostle as to what was the gospel he had 'received,' and partly through inference which may be made from his own views, as to that out of which they had developed. But beyond this we cannot go. The Epistle of James, even if its date be early, would add nothing to our knowledge of the primitive Christology. The First Epistle of Peter, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Apocalypse all represent a stage in some degree in advance of the common basis from which they started; and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles embody the results of still longer experience and deeper analysis.

(3) *The Acts of the Apostles.*—There remains, as the chief source of material for constructing the pre-Pauline Christology, the Book of Acts, more especially the first eleven chapters. Not many years ago it would have been difficult to justify at the bar of scholarly opinion the use of this document as a trustworthy source. No book was so seriously discredited as a historical source by the representatives of the 'Tübingen theory.' Now, however, that the governing historical principle of that theory has been shown to be untenable, and the conclusions based upon it have been either abandoned or seriously modified, the way has been opened for a reconsideration of the Acts as to both its date and its historical value. In the opinion of most competent scholars, the authorship may now be restored to St. Luke and the date placed within the first century, some assigning it to the nineties, some to the eighties. Quite recently a strong case has been made out by Harnack for the still older view that it was written in the sixties before the death of St. Paul.

But what is more important for our purpose than the possible revision of the date is the abandonment of the charge of history-making for party (or eirenical) purposes, and the recognition that St. Luke was not simply an echo of St. Paul (see Jülicher, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., 1904, p. 437; J. Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911, p. 301). In particular there is an increasing disposition to acknowledge that in the speeches of the earlier chapters we have the thought of the primitive community preserved and reproduced with singular fidelity. The admission

of Schmiedel in his art. on the Acts (*EBi* i. 48) is significant:

'A representation of Jesus so simple, and in such exact agreement with the impression left by the most genuine passages of the first three gospels, is nowhere else to be found in the whole NT. It is hardly possible not to believe that this Christology of the speeches of Peter must have come from a primitive source.'

In the Acts of the Apostles most of the material is contained in the five speeches of Peter and the speech of Stephen, those of Peter being (*a*) on the day of Pentecost ($2^{14ff.}$); (*b*) in Solomon's portico ($3^{12ff.}$); (*c*) the first before the Sanhedrin ($4^{8ff.}$); (*d*) the second before the Sanhedrin ($5^{29ff.}$); and (*e*) the short speech at Joppa ($10^{34ff.}$). When we proceed to collect and classify the relevant statements in this part of the Acts, we find that they point to the following conclusions. (i.) The Christians of the early days identified Jesus with the Messiah. (ii.) They appealed for confirmation of this conviction to the fact that God had 'raised him from the dead'; and also that He had been 'exalted' by, and to, the right hand of God, the Resurrection and Exaltation marking a decisive moment in the Messiahship. (iii.) At the same time they referred back behind the Resurrection to facts and characteristics of His earthly ministry. (iv.) In spite of the dignity and authority to which they believed Him raised, they consistently referred to Him in terms of humanity, as to one who had been, while upon earth, a man among men. (v.) They promptly began to attach to Him certain OT titles and types, some of which had already been recognized as Messianic, others possibly not; *e.g.* 'Son of Man,' 'Servant of God,' 'Leader of Salvation,' 'Saviour,' 'Judge,' and 'Lord.' (vi.) They connected the death of Jesus, on the one hand, very definitely with the determined purpose of God; and, on the other, with the blotting out of sin. And for these reasons this Jesus was the subject of the 'good news' (5^{42}), the object of faith (9^{42} 11^{17}), and the cause of faith in men (3^{16}).

(i.) The first point hardly requires to be illustrated. Not only the speeches but the narrative as a whole bear witness to the fact that the 'disciples,' to use St. Luke's word, identified Jesus who had died but risen again with the Messiah of Jewish expectation. This was indeed the one point which at the outset distinguished them from the other Jews in Jerusalem. Other grounds of distinction, ultimately leading to separation, were doubtless latent in their minds—recollections of the Master's teaching, of His attitude to the Law and the ritual of the Temple. But in the meantime 'the disciples' are found haunting the Temple and observing the formal hours of prayer; St. Peter proudly claims that no unclean or forbidden food has passed his lips (10^{14}), and, thirty years later, St. James can assure St. Paul that all the thousands of Jewish Christians in Jerusalem are 'zealous of the law' (21^{20}). But with an enthusiasm which no scorn could quench, a determination which neither threats nor imprisonment could weaken, they proclaimed to high and low their conviction that the Jesus they had known was the Messiah. It is one of the water-marks of the primitive character of St. Luke's narrative that he everywhere shows his consciousness that this is the meaning of *χριστός*. He never employs it as a proper name. His name for our Saviour is either 'Jesus' or 'the Lord'; and *χριστός* when it stands alone always means 'Messiah.' This is specially significant in passages where 'Christ' and 'Jesus' occur together, in apposition; *e.g.* 3^{20}, 'that he may send the Messiah who has been before appointed—Jesus'; 5^{42} 17^{3} 18^{5} 18^{28}, 'shewing by the scriptures that Jesus was the Messiah.' The completeness with which this fact is attested must not blind us, however, to two uncertainties, which immediately arise. The first may be stated thus: What did the disciples understand by the Messiah? What character, rôle, or function did they assign to Him? And the second thus: At what point did they understand Him to have entered on His Messiahship? They identified Jesus with the Messiah of Jewish expectation; but did that mean that He had been (and was still, and was to return as) Messiah, or that the Messiahship was a dignity conferred on Him after death and at the Resurrection? The answer to these questions follows on the examination of the other elements in the primitive conviction.

(ii.) That conviction rested upon, and appealed to, the Resurrection as the conclusive proof of the Messiahship of Jesus. But the Resurrection was uniformly connected with the Exaltation to the right hand of God, or with its equivalent—the participation of Jesus in the Divine 'glory.' In each of St. Peter's recorded speeches these two factors are significantly combined ($2^{32.\ 33}$ 3^{13} 7^{55} $10^{40.\ 42}$). The Resurrection is thus regarded as the externally visible side of a great transaction which has its true significance in the Exaltation of Jesus to Messianic rank and honour in heaven; it was a public declaration of His station; the man whom they had seen crucified now occupied the place of dignity and authority which prophecy and apocalyptic had assigned to the Messiah. God had now 'made him both Lord and Christ' (2^{36}). The word 'Lord' (*κύριος*), like 'Christ,' is probably used as an official title; but in any case the phrase witnesses to the belief that the Resurrection and Exaltation had marked a decisive moment in the Messiahship of Jesus.

(iii.) At the same time, St. Peter is careful to emphasize on more than one occasion the ministry which had preceded the Crucifixion and Resurrection. He marks the limits of that ministry ($1^{21.\ 22}$) in accordance with those set by the Gospels. In his first speech ($2^{22ff.}$) he describes its character—'Jesus the Nazaræan (cf. 3^{6} 4^{10} 6^{14} 22^{8} 24^{5} and 26^{9}), a man approved of God unto you by mighty works and signs and wonders, which God did by him in the midst of you, even as ye yourselves know.' And specially in the address preceding the baptism of Cornelius ($10^{36ff.}$), St. Peter, having begun with words which make echoes of Messianic passages in Isaiah (52^{7}; cf. Nah 1^{15}), proceeds to remind his hearers of something already familiar to them—the ministry of 'Jesus the one from Nazareth,' which began from Galilee after the baptism proclaimed by John. Him God had anointed with the Holy Spirit, and He had gone about doing deeds of kindness and healing all who were tyrannized by the devil. Of all that He had done also in Judæa and Jerusalem (as well as of the Resurrection) St. Peter and his comrades were appointed to bear witness. The only epithets applied to Jesus which might throw light on the impression He had made are 'holy' and 'righteous' (3^{14} 4^{27} [cf. 4^{30}] 7^{52} [cf. 22^{14}]). The ascription of the characteristic 'righteous' is probably due to a reminiscence of a description already traditional for the Messiah (cf. *En.* 38^{2} 46^{3} 53^{6}), and the collocation of 'holy' and 'servant' may have a similar origin; but in 3^{14}, where both epithets are applied to the historical Jesus, the contrast drawn in the following paragraph with the 'murderer' for whom the Jews had asked suggests that the words at the same time connote the consciousness that they fitly describe the character of Jesus.

(iv.) This Jesus, whether He be referred to in the days of His flesh or in His present Exaltation at the right hand of God, is consistently represented in terms of humanity. It cannot be said that any special stress is laid on His human nature. The time had not yet come when it was necessary to emphasize His true manhood over

against Docetic or Gnostic tendencies. If some slight emphasis is to be detected, it is due rather to wonder that One to whom so much honour is assigned, through whom so much is expected, was One with whom the disciples had been on familiar terms. This is suggested by the frequency with which the simple name 'Jesus' is used (three times as often as the title 'Christ'), by the reiterated designation 'Jesus the Nazaræan,' and by the emphatic demonstration which occurs more than once—'This Jesus did God raise up' (2^{32}; cf. 2^{36}). It is 'Jesus' whom Stephen sees standing at the right hand of God (7^{55}), and 'Jesus' who speaks to Saul from heaven. It was in the fact that St. Peter and St. John had been companions of 'Jesus' that the members of the Sanhedrin found some explanation of their boldness and powers of speech (4^{13}). It was in the name of 'Jesus' that they taught (4^{18}), and in the same name that they wrought miracles. The miracles of Jesus Himself were not ascribed to His independent initiative; they were wonders which 'God did by him' (2^{22}); and the explanation of His power which is given elsewhere (10^{38}) is that God had anointed Him with the Holy Ghost, and that God 'was with him' (10^{38}). For God had 'raised him up' in the sense in which He 'raised up' prophets of old, and 'sent him to bless' His people in turning away every one of them from their iniquities (3^{26}). In all this we see the tokens of a very early form of Christology; one, moreover, which would be very difficult to account for either as the invention or as the recollection of a later generation.

(v.) But this is not a complete account of the Christological phenomena of these chapters. There are numerous indications that from the very outset the minds of some at least of the disciples were at work on the material provided for them by (*a*) their recollection of what Jesus had been, said, and done; (*b*) the facts of His Crucifixion and Resurrection; and (*c*) the promises and predictions of the OT, together possibly with some of the language of the apocalypses. The result of this reflexion is seen in the ascription to Jesus as Messiah of certain important titles and functions which indicate more precisely the relation in which He stands towards God or the function He discharges towards men. In his speech on the day of Pentecost St. Peter was ready with a quotation from Ps 16, and an exegetical interpretation of it which was sufficiently in accord with contemporary methods of exegesis to commend it to his hearers. Not long after, we find him making the definite general statement that God had fulfilled the things which He foreshowed 'by the mouth of all his prophets that his Christ should suffer' (3^{18}; cf. also 3^{24} 10^{43}). We are justified, therefore, in looking to the writings of the prophets for the sources of phrases and ideas now connected with Jesus as the risen Messiah.

(*a*) *The Servant of God.*—That is undoubtedly the source of the striking description, *τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* *θεοῦ*), which occurs twice in St. Peter's second speech ($3^{13.\ 26}$) and twice (*τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου*) in the prayer of thanksgiving ($4^{27.\ 30}$). The rendering familiar to English ears through the AV translates *παῖδα* by 'Son' in the first two passages, by 'child' in the last two. But according to the view now generally held it is the alternative meaning of *παῖς* which is here intended, viz. 'servant'; and we have in the phrase a deliberate echo of the language of Deutero-Isaiah concerning the 'Servant of the Lord.' Such a usage, in the first place, is a further indication of the primitive character of St. Luke's material. It is found elsewhere only in Clement, the *Didache*, and the *Martyrdom of Polycarp*. It is an early Messianic title for our Lord which is not repeated in the later books of the NT (see further A. Harnack, *Date of Acts and Synoptic Gospels*, Eng. tr., 1911, p. 106; *History of Dogma*, Eng. tr., i. [1894] 185, note 4).

Further, the application of this title to Jesus is very significant, whether it is traced to independent reflexion on the part of the apostles, or whether it be due to appreciation on their part of the same factor in the consciousness and in the utterances of Jesus. Its effect was to link on to the traditional conception of the Messiah a series of ideas of quite a different character, including humility, submission, vicarious suffering and death. The importance of this identification is illustrated by the exposition of Is 53^{7} given by Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch (8^{35} 'beginning from this scripture he preached unto him Jesus'); and the same interpretation probably underlies St. Paul's statement, 'Christ . . . died for our sins according to the scriptures.'

(*β*) *Prince and Saviour.*—The same OT context is probably the source of another striking designation, *ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σωτῆρα*. 'Him did God exalt unto his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour' (5^{31}; cf. 3^{15} 'ye slew the Prince of life'; and He 2^{10} 'the author (prince, or captain) of their salvation'; also 12^{2} 'author and finisher' [Westcott, 'leader and consummator']). The variety in the renderings reflects an ambiguity in the word *ἀρχηγός*. It describes one who both inaugurates and controls; and the *ἀρχηγὸς τῆς ζωῆς* at once inaugurates and controls the Messianic experience of salvation here described as *ζωή*. There is thus a close parallelism between the two phrases 'Prince of life' and 'Prince and Saviour'; and when they are taken together, and weighed with the context in which the first is found, their connexion with the language of Isaiah becomes plain, *e.g.* Is 60^{16} *ἐγὼ Κύριος ὁ σώζων σε*, and 55^{4} *ἰδοὺ μαρτύριον ἐν ἔθνεσιν ἔδωκα αὐτὸν, ἄρχοντα καὶ προστάσσοντα τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. The 'sufferings of the Christ' had been foretold 'by the mouth of all the prophets'; and the same prophecies, to the study of which the apostles had been led by His death, supplied forms for the expression of their faith in Him.

(*γ*) *Son of Man.*—This title for Jesus occurs once only—in the account of the martyrdom of Stephen (7^{55}). Stephen 'looked up stedfastly to heaven and saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God; and he said, Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of man standing at the right hand of God.' Two things are clear: the name 'Jesus' and the title 'Son of Man' are already felt to be interchangeable, and the title belongs to Jesus as the Messiah. There is no other instance of the phrase in the NT outside the Gospels, Rev 1^{13} being no exception. It provides, as Bartlett says (*ad loc.*), 'a water-mark of the originality of this utterance,' and even the most cautious critics admit that this speech of Stephen reached St. Luke from a very early source. These two facts—the early date to which the phrase must be assigned and its uniqueness outside the Gospels—point to its being a reminiscence of what is attested by the Gospels—our Lord's custom of describing Himself by this title, and describing Himself with a veiled allusion to His Messiahship. But even if the primitive community was itself responsible for this identification, and did not take it over from our Lord Himself, that would not diminish the significance of the phrase for the primitive Christology. 'This identification of the historical Jesus with the "Son of Man" of Daniel and Enoch is very significant, because directly it is accomplished, the further thought can no longer be resisted, that Jesus of Nazareth is not simply a man, who in the future is to be exalted to heavenly

glory, but *an original heavenly being, who came down to accomplish this work of his on earth*' (J. Weiss, *Christ*, Eng. tr., 1911, p. 59 f.). The community, for which this was a just and intelligible description of Jesus, was preparing and prepared for any interpretation of His being which is contained in the NT.

(δ) The phrase *Son of God* is also used, but only once—in 9^{20}. St. Paul 'preached Jesus, that he is the Son of God.' But the title is used in its Messianic and official sense, founded on Ps 2^{7} (cf. Mt 16^{16}, Jn 1^{49}); and the sentence implies no more than the closing words of v.^{22} 'proving that this is the Christ.' A later generation failed to recognize this, and the consequence is seen in the TR of 9^{20}, where 'Christ' has been substituted for 'Jesus'—a useful illustration of the way in which the copyists felt the lack of the word 'Christ' as a name, and therefore introduced or substituted it (some nine times in all in Acts).

(ε) *The Lord.*—Χριστὸς, παῖς θεοῦ, ἀρχηγὸς τῆς σωτηρίας, ἀρχηγὸς καὶ σωτὴρ, υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου—these are elements out of which a rich Christology might rapidly develop. And there is still one to add, which is probably the most pregnant of all—the title ὁ Κύριος. The Synoptic Gospels witness to the habit of addressing the Master, or speaking of Him, as ὁ Κύριος; and there it is simply an expression of profound respect. As such the word was also in common use among the Hellenists of the Empire, applied alike to gods and to Emperors. St. Paul shows himself conscious of this when he says (1 Co 8^{5}) that there are in fact many 'gods and lords so-called.' But when he asserts the claim of Jesus to the title in a unique sense, he is only doing what the infant Church had done before him. 'Indubitably therefore let the whole house of Israel know that God has made him Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified' (Ac 2^{36}). 'He is Lord of all' (10^{36}). This became in fact the chosen and prevailing appellation of Jesus Christ, especially among the Gentile Christians, where the historical significance of 'Christ' was unfamiliar. But how far the usage was from originating in Gentile circles we learn from its familiarity there in the Aramaic form of 'Maran atha,' *i.e.* 'Our Lord comes' or 'Our Lord, come.' That St. Paul could count on this being understood by the Christians at Corinth betokens antecedent and wide-spread usage of the formula in Palestinian circles.

The special and unique significance of the title as now applied to Christ arises out of its use in the LXX as the usual euphemistic equivalent of 'Jahweh.' For those familiar with the OT in the Greek version, ὁ Κύριος was a synonym for God; the outstanding fact in connexion with the Christology of the Acts and Epistles is that the same word has become the common, the preponderating designation of Jesus Christ. And the connotation which is involved in its application to Him is the same. This follows from the transference to Christ not merely of the title but also of phrases from the OT, the original reference of which was to Jahweh. When the believers on Christ are described as οἱ ἐπικαλούμενοι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, 'those who call upon this name,' *sc.* the name of Jesus our Lord (9^{21}; cf. 9^{14} 2^{21} 22^{16} and Ro 10^{12}, 1 Co 1^{2}), language is appropriated to Christ which in the OT had been used to describe the worshipper of the true God (cf. Gn 4^{26} 12^{8}, 2 K 5^{11}). Stephen dies 'calling upon (the Lord) and saying, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit'; and Peter postulates universal dominion of the same Person—'He is Lord of all' (10^{36}).

'There cannot be the least doubt,' says J. Weiss (*Christ*, p. 46 f.), 'that the name has now a *religious* significance. To make clear the religious import of the use of the name "Lord" by the early Christians, one would have to cite the whole of the NT. For in the expression "Our Lord Jesus Christ" the whole primitive Christian religion is contained in germ. Dutiful obeisance, reverence, and sacred fear lest he should be offended, the feeling of complete dependence in all things, thankfulness and love and trust—in short, everything that a man can feel towards God, comes in this name to utterance. . . . That which is expected from God, the Lord can also impart.'

Corresponding with these significant titles there are certain functions ascribed to the risen Christ, which throw valuable light on the conception of Him which prevailed in the primitive community. He is represented (*a*) as One whom it is natural to approach in prayer, (*b*) as One who can forgive and save, and (*c*) as One who is destined to be the Judge of quick and dead.

(*a*) The practice of addressing prayer to Christ is established in the case of St. Paul (see below), and his references to the practice give no ground for the supposition that it was a novelty which originated with him. Rather do they suggest a practice which was already familiar, and requiring no defence, and so serve to confirm the evidence of the Acts to the effect that from the beginning the disciples addressed the Risen Lord in prayer. It is in this sense that the Christians in Damascus are described by Ananias as 'those who call upon thy name' (9^{14}), with this significance that the dying Stephen cries, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit,' and 'Lord, lay not this sin to their charge,' and it is at least possible that the same idea underlies St. Peter's quotation from Joel (Ac 2^{21}), for the speech to which it is prefixed leads up to the conclusion that Jesus has been made Lord and Christ (see Zahn, *Die Anbetung Jesu*[5], 1910).

(*b*) The words of Stephen are addressed to One who has the power to forgive; and the title of 'Saviour' is no empty form. That 'salvation,' which, whatever be the precise contents of the term, always stands for the highest good, can be obtained through Him, and through no other. In 4^{12} ('there is no other name,' etc.) St. Peter is probably contemplating Jews only, and salvation as conceived by them, *i.e.* as the Messianic deliverance of the future. This Jesus, who is the Christ, is to return, after 'seasons of refreshing from the presence of the Lord' at 'the time of the restoration of all things' (3^{21}). That return will prove the culminating and final fulfilment of predictions made by Moses and the prophets who followed him, concerning both the glories and the judgment of the Messianic times.

For, (*c*) when He comes, Christ will fulfil the function for which He has been destined by God; He will act as Judge of quick and dead (10^{42}).

These last are the only references in the early chapters of Acts to the Parousia of Christ and its attendant circumstances. We have to observe therefore the sobriety and the reticence of the expectation, especially when compared with the exuberance of earlier and contemporary writing on the subject. There is no reference to the restoration of the Kingdom to Israel, or to the humiliation and destruction of Israel's foes—features of the future which were part of the common form of Messianic expectation. In fact, the tone of these speeches is strangely different from what we should have expected from a Jew speaking under the conviction that the Messiah had been manifested in Jesus, and would shortly return to fulfil the Divine programme. We miss even the eschatological scenery connected with the Return, with which the apocalyptic sections of the Synoptic Gospels have made us familiar, and also that emphasis on the imminence of the Return which appears in the early Epistles of St. Paul. And yet, in the announcement that Christ comes to judge the quick and the dead, St. Peter ascribes to Him a function which sets Him on the plane of God (see Scheel in

RGG i. 1743, foot). The exalted Jesus, despite the clearness with which He is defined as a man, is yet One to whom men pray, One who exercises the Divine functions of forgiving, saving, and judging. And 'what is honoured in worship stands wholly and without qualification on the side of God' (Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, p. 185).

(vi.) Further light is shed upon the conception of Christ held by the primitive community by the significance assigned to His death. It is true that the references to this subject are unexpectedly few, brief, and general. The early chapters of Acts present a very exact reproduction of the natural situation in which the death of Jesus was a fact known to all, one which called for explanation, and, in the absence of explanation, was without religious value; but one for which an explanation was emerging under the guidance partly of the OT, partly of reminiscences of the Master's teaching, and partly of the spiritual experience of the disciples. The following points are to be noted.

(*a*) The death of Jesus was very definitely referred to 'the determined counsel and foreknowledge of God' (2^{23}). Herod and Pontius Pilate with the Gentiles and the Jews as a people had only carried out what had been ordained to happen by the hand and will of God (4^{28}). In this there is nothing that goes beyond the Jewish doctrine of the Divine foreknowledge; but the statement of it involved a problem which was calling for solution. To what end had God ordained the death of the Messiah?

(*β*) This death, though the fact had hitherto been ignored, had actually been predicted by the prophets of the OT. 'Those things which God before showed by the mouth of all the prophets that his Christ should suffer, did he thus fulfil' (3^{18}; cf. 10^{43}, 1 P 1^{10}, Lk $24^{25ff.\ 44ff.}$). The repeated emphasis on 'all the prophets' (cf. 3^{24}) is not to be explained as due merely to hyperbole. It arises from, and illustrates, the conviction that Christ was the goal and the fulfilment of the whole prophetic anticipation of redemption; though St. Peter might have found difficulty in quoting many prophetic words directly bearing on the death of Christ, the conviction he expresses is that that death must now be recognized as an essential element in the working out of the redemptive purpose.

(*γ*) The disciples commemorated the death of Jesus by a frequently repeated eucharistic meal in which they 'showed forth the Lord's death.' That this practice began so promptly after the birth of the community (2^{46}) is a fact which must be due to recollection of the Last Supper, and so involves conscious remembrance of the significance which the Master had attached to the breaking of the bread, at least according to the shortest form in which the words are reported: 'This is my body which is on your behalf' (1 Co 11^{24}). Behind that would lie recollections of other things He had said bearing upon His death which had been vague and cryptic at the time.

In these factors—the correlation of the death of Jesus with the whole redeeming purpose of God, the foreshadowing by prophecy of the vicarious value attaching to the death of the innocent servant of God, and the remembered attitude of Jesus towards His own death—we have the conditions for a rapid evolution of a doctrine of reconciliation through the Cross. The doctrine itself is not here; but distinct approximation to it can be traced in the collocation of Jesus as suffering Messiah with an appeal for 'repentance unto remission of sins' ($3^{18.\ 19}$). In 2^{38} when the people have heard the declaration that God has made Jesus Lord and Christ, and ask, What are we to do? the answer is 'Repent, and be baptized, every one of you, in the name of Jesus Christ unto remission of your sins.' There is a superficial similarity to the summons issued by John the Baptist, but a fundamental distinction in that the ground of the apostolic appeal is the fact of Christ, a fact as yet unanalyzed; and the baptism is to be 'in the name of Jesus Christ,' *i.e.* it involves and symbolizes the confession of Jesus as the Christ, and heart-felt submission to His Personality. In 5^{31} ('Him did God exalt to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance and remission of sins'), if, as is probable, 'God' is to be understood as the subject of the infinitive clause (cf. 11^{8} and Ro 2^{4}), the Exaltation and indirectly the death have remission of sins in part for their object and result.

More cannot be said. The nature of the connexion between the death of Jesus and the Divine plan remains obscure. To explain it was the work of a longer Christian experience, a deeper comprehension of sin, and a higher conception of the ethical demands of God. But when the explanation came, it was an unfolding of the primitive conviction that there was a profound connexion between the death of Jesus and the removal of sin. On this point, as on others, investigation of the primitive consciousness entirely confirms, as it is confirmed by, St. Paul's statement of the gospel as it had been communicated to him, that 'Christ . . . died for our sins according to the scriptures' (1 Co 15^{3}).

(*δ*) The summary of the 'gospel' here given by St. Paul, while it is notably lacking in certain elements which are commonly supposed to be essential to Paulinism, corresponds very closely with the impression concerning the missionary preaching which is made by the later chapters of Acts. It is of course maintained by many scholars, and by some regarded as axiomatic, that the similarity between the speeches of St. Peter and those of St. Paul is due to the fact that they were all the work of one man, neither St. Peter nor St. Paul, but either an unknown writer in the second cent. or St. Luke working up old material at the end of the first. The alleged similarity calls for careful examination. The result will probably be the recognition that it arises from an inward harmony between the two apostles as to the essentials of their message, and especially as to their conception of Christ, combined with a diversity of tone and emphasis which is specially marked when the speeches of St. Paul are compared with one another, and extends to his speeches as a whole when compared with St. Peter's. And whatever explanation be given of the composition of the speeches of St. Paul, the primitive character of the Christology they present remains a fact, and one which is more easily accounted for if they reproduce the essentials of the Apostle's mission preaching, than if we have to suppose St. Luke, with the knowledge of St. Paul's later preaching which he must have possessed, deliberately excluding what was characteristically Pauline. The discrepancy between the Christology reflected in St. Paul's speeches in Acts and that of his Epistles may actually be reflective of the true facts of the case.

In regard to their Christology the speeches of St. Paul witness to practically the same elements as those of St. Peter, and to no other, or at most to one. Just as in the speech of Stephen, and (less conspicuously but not less really) in the speeches of St. Peter, so in the speech of St. Paul at Pisidian Antioch, Jesus of Nazareth is set forth as the goal of Israel's history and the crowning fulfilment of Jewish prophecy. The good news of the gospel which its messengers proclaim is the promise to the fathers now fulfilled (Ac 13^{32}; cf. 26^{6}, Ro 15^{8}). From Thessalonica we have a specimen of St. Paul's missionary preaching, according to which

for three Sabbath days or 'weeks' (RVm) he reasoned with the Jews 'from the scriptures,' to the effect that the Christ 'was bound to suffer,' and the same appeal to Scripture is repeated in Ac 26[22] 28[23]; cf. 13[27]. The object of the appeal is to show both that this is the Messiah, and that His death is part of the redemptive process. He refers to Christ in the same striking way as ὁ δίκαιος (22[14]; cf. 7[52]), and describes Him as the One appointed by God to judge the world (17[31]). St. Paul further presents Christ as an object of faith (22[19]; cf. 9[42] 11[17], and possibly 3[16]), and claims that the consistent burden of his preaching has been 'repentance toward God and faith toward our Lord Jesus Christ' (20[21]; cf. 26[20]). In 13[38] he declares 'through this man is proclaimed unto you remission of sins.' If in the following verse ('and from all the things from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses, by him is justified every one that believeth') St. Paul seems to cross the line into 'Paulinism,' he does not go very far. 'Justified' has the same significance here as it has in the Parable of the Pharisee and Publican (Lk 18[14]); and ἐν τούτῳ δικαιοῦται involves the same conception as the words of St. Peter in 15[11] διὰ τῆς χάριτος τοῦ Κυρίου Ἰησοῦ πιστεύομεν σωθῆναι, or in 4[12] οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἄλλῳ οὐδενὶ ἡ σωτηρία. There is one phrase, however, in which St. Paul, as reported in the Acts, states in dogmatic form a conviction to which we find no verbal parallel in the speeches of St. Peter. In 20[28] he refers to τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἣν περιεποιήσατο διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου. (The probability is strong that υἱοῦ has been accidentally omitted from the text at a very early stage; otherwise ἰδίου must be construed as a substantive = ἀγαπητοῦ.) Here we have undoubtedly a seed-thought of much that we recognize as specifically Pauline. But it is still in the form of a seed. Ps 74[2] in the LXX runs μνήσθητι τῆς συναγωγῆς σου ἧς ἐκτήσω ἀπ' ἀρχῆς | ἐλυτρώσω ῥάβδον τῆς κληρονομίας σου. St. Paul, echoing the thought rather than quoting the words, takes the two words ἐκτήσω and ἐλυτρώσω, combines them, then breaks up the compound into two new elements—purchase and price; and, guided further by such phrases as 'I have given Egypt for thy λύτρον' (Is 43[3]), 'He smote all the first-born of Egypt' (Ps 78[51]), he sets the fact that 'Christ died for our sins' in this pregnant form: that the new holy community like the old one has been redeemed at the cost of blood, the blood of God's own beloved Son.

2. Primitive conception of Christ.—(1) *Jesus as the Messiah.*—We have now examined the material available for answering the question with which we started—What significance did the primitive community attach to the Messiahship of Jesus, and what led them to recognize Him as Messiah and as a Messiah with this significance? It would not further our inquiry to enter on an examination of antecedent or contemporary Jewish conceptions of the Messiah and the functions He was to discharge. These conceptions were at once so various and so fluid, and the extent to which any one of them prevailed at any particular time is so difficult to estimate, that even when we know all there is to know on the subject, we have only a bewildering variety of possibilities. We must and can find what we want within the NT. We begin by marking the two extremes between which the conception of the Messiah moved. The one is presented quite clearly at the opening of Acts, before the experience of Pentecost. The disciples put the question to the Risen Christ: 'Lord, dost thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?' (1[6])—a question reflecting the same conception as the words of the disciples on the way to Emmaus (Lk 24[21]), viz. that of a Messiah whose function was primarily and mainly the political enfranchisement of the nation. The other extreme is found in such a saying as 'Christ also suffered for sins once . . . that he might bring us unto God' (1 P 3[18]), or in 2 Co 5[19] 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself.'

The way to test any conception of the Messiah is to observe from what He is expected to deliver—from the tyranny of the earthly oppressor or from the tyranny of moral and spiritual evil. Now, when we apply this test to the conception which lies behind the language of the primitive community, we find that, while it has very definitely moved away from the political, it has not yet reached a developed consciousness of the ethical deliverance. We find the reiterated and triumphant assertion that Jesus is the Messiah, but no trace subsequent to Pentecost of any idea that He is to restore the kingdom to Israel. On the other hand, the record of the early days furnishes no clear exposition of the character of the deliverance He brings. We learn that in no other than Christ is σωτηρία; but the nature of the σωτηρία remains undefined. This is true in spite of allusions to 'remission of sins' in connexion with this manifestation of His death. According to contemporary Jewish thought, 'remission' or 'blotting out' of sin was a condition antecedent to, not part of, the Messianic salvation. There is, therefore, something really new in the presentation of the Christian Messiah as instrumental in the remission of sins. It was to antedate His traditional activity. 'Unto you first,' says St. Peter (3[26]), 'God, having raised up his Servant, sent him to bless you, in turning away every one of you from your iniquities.' That had been a function of Jesus in the days of His flesh; and the saying indirectly testifies to one of the felt consequences of His fellowship. But now, says St. Peter, 'repent ye, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ unto the remission of your sins; and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost' (2[38]). So in 10[43] ('Through his name every one that believeth on him shall receive remission of sins') the declaration is followed, and so confirmed, by the bestowal of the Holy Ghost. This gift of the Holy Spirit is recognized as the first-fruits of the Messianic salvation and a pledge of its ultimate completion. The condition of receiving it is the remission of sins; and that follows on 'believing on him,' or, what is synonymous, 'repenting and being baptized in the name of Jesus Christ,' which again signifies the solemn confession of belief in Jesus as the Christ. Christ is not described as the One who bestows forgiveness (though the prayer of Stephen shows the near emergence of the idea) or as One for whose sake forgiveness is bestowed; but He is set in such relation to forgiveness that all is ready for the next step. When His disciples begin to have a deeper conception of sin, and to emphasize the idea of salvation as deliverance from it, a profounder explanation of the Messiah's relation to sin and its removal will be demanded. Meanwhile, the conception of His function is plainly transitional, cut loose from the Judaic but only approximating to the Pauline.

The burden of the testimony borne by the primitive community was to the effect that Jesus *is* the Christ; He is also to return as the Christ; had He been the Christ while yet on earth? No conclusion to the contrary can be drawn from Ac 2[36], seeing that there is no indication of the point of time at which the 'making' took place; and even though it appears most natural to connect it with the Resurrection (cf. Ro 1[4]), the 'making' probably implies the further recognition and promulgation of a status rather than the bestowal of it. On the other hand, there are not wanting indications which seem to carry back the Messianic status

into the earthly ministry. He had been 'raised up' by God (3^{26}; cf. 7^{37} 13^{33}) as it had been predicted by Moses that God would raise up 'a prophet' (3^{22}). He had been sent by God as one blessing His people, and by God 'anointed with the Holy Ghost and with power' (10^{38}). This last expression probably means 'appointed as Messiah,' the occasion referred to being the Baptism of Jesus. 'Since Is 11^{2} the conception of the Messiah in Jewish theology had been indissolubly linked with that of the Spirit. The Messiah is the bearer of the Spirit' (Brückner, in *RGG* ii. 1208), so that the anointing with the Spirit is equivalent to installation as Messiah.

(2) *The Resurrection and the Messiahship.*—To what was the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah due? It is sometimes easily assumed that it was produced by the Resurrection. But taken by itself the Resurrection was not sufficient to create belief that Jesus was the Messiah. It is not as if there had been any antecedent expectation that the Messiah would rise from the dead; such an expectation was indeed excluded by the absence of any idea that death was an element in the Messiah's experience. There is no reason to suppose that when St. Peter appealed to the verses in Ps 16, he was guided in the interpretation he gave of v.[10] by any tradition concerning the Messiah. Nor was there in the fact of resurrection itself any demonstration that such a rank belonged to the subject of it. It had been reported concerning John the Baptist that he was risen from the dead (Mk 6^{14}), but the only inference drawn was that 'therefore do these powers work in him.'

The Resurrection did not create faith in Jesus as Messiah; it revived it. He had died as One who claimed to be, and by some was believed to be, the Christ. 'We trusted that it had been he which should have redeemed Israel' (Lk 24^{21}); and the effect of the Resurrection was to vindicate this claim made by Jesus and for Him on behalf of His followers.

The form and contents of that belief began to undergo a rapid change, as we have seen; but beyond this, the disciples are found taking up a religious attitude to the Risen Master which is not accounted for by their belief that He was the Messiah. They behold Him as set by the right hand of God; and the vision is the ideal expression of the devotion, allegiance, and hope which move in their hearts towards Christ. To what again is this profoundly significant attitude due—for which there is no sufficient explanation in traditional ideas of the Messiah? The explanation may be sought in two directions.

(3) *The historic Jesus.*—The attitude is due, firstly, to the impression made on the disciples by the historic Jesus. He had never attempted to demonstrate the claim which He made. But they had tacitly admitted its validity. He had claimed to stand in a universal and at the same time unique relation to men; He had postulated that their attitude to Himself was the determining factor in life both present and future. He had demanded for Himself and for His cause an allegiance which outweighed the claims of any other relationship. And He made known to them in Himself such a character, such a personality, that these claims, stupendous as they were, seemed reasonable, and were, indeed, admitted and acted upon—'Lord, we have left all and followed thee.' And the very failure on the part of these same men to grasp the inmost significance of His message and His life enhances their witness to the moral pressure they experienced, leading them to submit even where they imperfectly understood. When St. Peter made what is called the great confession, 'Thou art the Christ,' he was doubtless seeking to crystallize the total impression into a categorical form. But the form itself was not adequate. To acknowledge Jesus as the Messiah was to assign to Him the highest rank and dignity within the intellectual range of the apostles. But the motives which led to the confession, the attitude and personal relation which lay behind it, found only incomplete expression in the recognition of Him as the Messiah. Jesus had done what no one had ever conceived of the Messiah doing. He had touched the inner springs of their life. He had deepened indefinitely their apprehension of essential things, the joy of life as lived by those who have a Father in God, the sorrow that springs from the fact of human alienation from that Father. According to the measure of their capacity He revealed to them the Father, and it was by leading them to know Himself. And so, for those who attached themselves to Him, Jesus became Messiah *and more*. And as the conviction that He was Messiah was revived by the Resurrection from the death-blow which it received through the Crucifixion, so the experience of 'the more' was also latent in the consciousness of the disciples, waiting to be quickened by a corresponding event, and developed by a future experience.

(4) *Pentecost.*—That event which corresponded to the Resurrection, and displays itself as the second moving cause of the attitude to Christ which we find taken up by the infant Church, was the experience of Pentecost, described as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. Fundamental as the Resurrection was, it did not stand alone as a basal fact on which the faith and life of the young Church were built; nor is it possible to explain what followed in the development of life or thought from the Resurrection by itself. That was succeeded after a short interval by Pentecost and the inducment with spiritual power of those who believed in Jesus as the glorified Messiah. To the fact of the Resurrection was added the experience of a Spirit-filled life; and quite apart from any questions as to the form in which this experience manifested itself, it is to this highly intensified and concentrated perception of God's activity in the lives and wills of those who submit themselves to Him in Jesus Christ, working on the complex of facts illuminated by the Resurrection, that the unfolding of systematic Christian thinking is due. As to the narrative of Pentecost itself, it was only natural, in view of the character of the phenomena, that tradition should seize on the externally marvellous and enhance it, to the obscuring of the really significant. And in particular the tradition as it reached St. Luke was so shaped either before him or by him that the central feature in the account (2^{6-11}), the declaration by men of many different nationalities, 'we do hear them speaking in our tongues the mighty works of God,' differs from every other item of evidence as to the meaning of the *glossolalia* or 'speaking with tongues.' That this phenomenon, the speaking with 'new' or strange tongues, was a familiar one in the first generation of Christians, we know from St. Paul's Epistles; that the first manifestation of it is what St. Luke is describing we may be sure; but inasmuch as a marked characteristic of *glossolalia* in all other contexts is incomprehensibility and the necessity for interpretation, we may take it that on the first occasion also the phenomenon was that of ecstatic speech, not comprehended by the hearers except in the sense that, being infected by the like enthusiasm, they felt themselves in mental communication with the speakers, though they did not understand their words. The essential thing is that something occurred of a public and striking description which not only called for explanation, but justified St. Peter in seeing in the experience

shared by him and so many others the fulfilment of Christ's words about 'the promise of the Father' (1^4; cf. Lk 24^{49}, Gal 3^{14}).

The fulfilment of this promise became the second moment in the development of a deeper and richer Christology. On the one hand, it involved, and so revealed, a relation between God and 'His Christ' of a different quality from what had hitherto been recognized. That relation had been conceived as something due to positive choice, as external, official; and the Spirit was bestowed on Jesus as part of His Messianic equipment. The Christian experience of Christ sets up a process at the end of which we find St. Paul boldly identifying Christ and the Spirit, and the writer of the Fourth Gospel interpreting the parting words of Jesus in terms of that identification. And the effect of this identification on the Christology is to provide an explanation of the attitude of believers to the Risen Lord in their recognizing Him as united to God in a relation which was not official but inherent, not mediated in time but eternal and unchangeable. And once more the stage in this process which we find reflected in the Acts is the intermediate one. The glorified Messiah is no longer the subject of the Spirit's influence (as in the Synoptic Gospels), nor is He as yet identified with it; but he is the instrument and channel of the Spirit's bestowal. That bestowal is conditioned by faith in Him (2^{38}), by obedience to Him (5^{32}). On the other hand, the bestowal of the Spirit, which was afterwards recognized and described as 'the Spirit of unity and brotherly love,' involved and revealed a new relationship between all those who received the gift from Christ. That is the real meaning of Pentecost so far as it has been identified with the birth of the Church. We are told of the 3000 souls that were added to the infant community that they were steadfastly adhering to the teaching of the apostles, and to the fellowship (*κοινωνία*), the breaking of bread, and the prayer (2^{42}). We have here a new word for a new thing, the new consciousness of sacred union connecting the believers, knitting them together in what St. Paul afterwards called the Body of Christ. Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, 1897, p. 44) understands by *κοινωνία* here 'conduct expressive of and resulting from the strong sense of fellowship with the other members of the brotherhood.' Pentecost had for its most striking result the creation of the sense of brotherhood within a body of men and women whose common bond was not only a common allegiance to Christ, but common participation in His Spirit. No doubt the extreme form which the principle at first assumed —community of goods—proved unworkable, and was of temporary duration; but underlying it we see a whole series of new ethical ideals in operation—mutual service, mutual self-sacrifice, the merging of the individual in the corporate whole, 'love of the brethren' as a governing motive of the new life.

And with the consciousness of a new binding fellowship created by Christ, there came a new conscience. The new relations involved new responsibilities, the possibility of new offences, new sins. The earliest case of sin which is recorded within the new community was in fact sin against the community itself and the principle of brotherhood; and it was recognized and dealt with as sin against the Holy Ghost.

These ethical consequences of the bestowal of the Spirit which was traced to the action of the Risen Christ had far-reaching results not only in the life but in the thought of the Church. Participation in the Spirit was the privilege, as it was the mark, of every true Christian. The act of believing on Jesus, the surrender to Him which found symbolic expression in baptism, was followed by a great religious experience, the effect of which was manifold. Incorporated in a community which had died to earthly ambition, whether personal or national, and which was permeated with a holy enthusiasm towards Him who was felt to be the source of its life, and with genuine love to 'all the brethren,' the individual became conscious of a new 'life,' ethical and religious; and he saw in Jesus the Christ, the Founder and Pioneer of that life. Conscious that it was as moved by the proclamation of that Messiah crucified but risen that he, repenting and turning to God, had found peace of conscience, deliverance from fear of the wrath, he hailed in Christ a *σωτήρ*, and connected Him with the great experience of *ἄφεσις τῶν ἁμαρτιῶν*. The connexions and implications of these experiences and convictions were still undeveloped. But the motive power and the material for the development were there. The influence of the Spirit realized from day to day alike in the individual and in the corporate life, and in the inter-action of the two, meant that not only were the disciples secure of salvation in the future; they had it now. The Kingdom was theirs in both senses. It belonged to them as an inheritance; it was already in their possession. They were on the way to St. Paul's great discovery, 'The kingdom of heaven consists in . . . righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost' (Ro 14^{17}). And to Him, to whom they traced the bestowal of the best they had ever been led to hope for from God, and also the revelation and bestowal of gifts such as 'had not entered into the heart of man to conceive,' they lifted their hearts as hitherto they had done only to God Himself.

II. *THE CHRISTOLOGY OF THE SUB-PRIMITIVE COMMUNITY.*—The records, scanty though they are, thus provide sufficient evidence to show that most, if not all, of the chief elements in later Christology were already present, at least in germ, within the consciousness of the primitive community. From the year A.D. 50 or thereabouts we are able to trace the development of these elements in Epistles from various hands. But the lines of development are not continuous. Although there are doubtless lines of cross-connexion, *e.g.* between St. Paul and St. Peter, between St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews, it is more in accordance with the historical situation to regard them as radiating from the common centre of primitive thought. Arranging these lines in the order of James, the Apocalypse, Peter, Paul, Hebrews, John, we find an increasing measure, not of divergence from the primitive type, but of originality and penetration in the analysis of the convictions which were common to them all. Some at least of these lines appear to be focused again in the Fourth Gospel, along with some which turn back independently to the original base.

A broad comparison between these various types of Christian thought which may be described as sub-primitive shows that the characteristic which distinguishes the Pauline from all the other types is not primarily a distinction in respect of doctrine in general or of Christology in particular. It is a distinction in the aspects of religious experience which are respectively emphasized. In neither case is the emphasis an exclusive one; that is to say, it must not be taken as excluding the aspect which is not emphasized. But, while for St. Paul the dominating interest in Christological reflexion lies in the explanation of, and preparation for, the ethical union between believers and their Lord, for St. Peter and the others Christological reflexion runs on more concrete lines, developing the thought of Christ as external to men, as Preacher of Righteousness, as Example, as Priest, as Authority. Ultimately the distinction depends

upon the place assigned by St. Paul to the πνεῦμα and to the category of πνευματικός. This subtle but indubitable difference of atmosphere has to be steadily borne in mind. To it may be due not a few apparent divergences of expression, while on the other hand apparent correspondences of language may represent real distinction of thought.

1. The Epistle of James.—It is hardly possible to speak of the Christology of an Epistle in which the word Χριστός occurs only twice (1¹ 2¹). But it is to be noted that in both places the writer gives the full title τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, that in 1¹ he presents himself as in the same sense δοῦλος of God and of Christ, and that in 2¹ he adds to the title the striking appellation τῆς δόξης (so Mayor, *ad loc.*, following Bengel). To this there may be a parallel in 2 P 1¹⁷ (cf. also Col 1²⁷, Ro 9⁴, Jn 1¹⁴); and in view of the prevailingly Judaic tone of the Epistle there may be an allusion to Christ as the Shekinah (cf. 1 S 4²², Ps 78⁶¹). In 2⁷ (βλασφημοῦσιν τὸ καλὸν ὄνομα τὸ ἐπικληθὲν ἐφ' ὑμᾶς) there is probably a reference to the name of Christ as used in baptism (cf. Ac 2³⁸), and in 5¹⁴, whether τοῦ κυρίου should stand in the text or not, a reference to the same name as the secret of prevailing prayer. If we add 5⁸, 'The Parousia of the Lord is at hand,' and couple with it the phrase in the following verse, 'Behold, the Judge is at the door,' we have probably exhausted the references to Christ. But the fact that the writer in the same context and frequently elsewhere puts Κύριος=Θεός must be allowed due weight, and similarly it is to be noted how in 5⁸ the 'Second Coming' is equated with the old object of expectation, the Kingdom of God.

The Christology which is suggested rather than defined in the Epistle is lacking in several of the details which appear even in that of the primitive community, most notably perhaps in all reference to the Holy Spirit; but it is wholly consistent with it, and the inadequacy of its expression is probably due rather to the character of the document than to any defect in the writer's views as compared with those, *e.g.*, of St. Peter.

2. The Apocalypse of John.—It is best to consider the Apocalypse of John at this point, because its Christology also represents the Christology of the primitive community, not developed by intellectual analysis, or even through the interpretation of Christian experience, but expanded through the emotional magnification of the heavenly Christ. In no book in the NT do devotion to, and adoration of, Christ, and recognition of His participation in the glory and authority of the Father, find such copious, such exalted, expression. Yet the forms in which this expression is cast are for the most part not original. On a much larger scale than by the primitive community, so far as our records show, the OT has been laid under contribution; so also has the literature of the Interval. Attributes and functions, descriptions and imagery which had played their part in setting forth the majesty and the Almighty power of God, are gathered from all available sources and attached to the Person of the heavenly Christ.

Characteristic of the whole book is the representation of Christ in the opening vision (1¹³ᶠᶠ.), where He appears as the 'one like unto a son of man' of the Danielic vision, but the details of His appearance are some of those which in that earlier scene are attributed to the 'Ancient of Days.' Divine titles are ascribed to Him, as 'Lord of lords, and King of kings' (17¹⁴ 19¹⁶), and Divine functions, in the searching of heart and reins (2²³; cf. Ps 7⁹), and a share both in the throne of God (22¹ 'the throne of God and of the Lamb') and in the worship paid to God, even the worship paid by angels (5¹¹). He holds the keys of Hades and of death (1¹⁸), which according to Jewish tradition was one of the prerogatives of the Almighty. It is before His wrath that men are to tremble in the Day of Judgment (6¹⁶· ¹⁷), and He is to come again in power and glory to judge the world and to save His people (1⁷ 14¹⁴ᶠᶠ. 22²⁰). The throne on which He has taken His place is His Father's throne (3²¹), and to Him He stands in a relation of unique sonship (1⁶), while at the same time it is from His Father that He receives His power (2²⁷), and He is made to speak of Him as 'my God' (3²· ¹²).

This antithetical emphasis upon the Divine honour and dignity assigned to Christ and the ideas of humility, submission, and suffering which are also connected with Him are vividly brought out by the fact that it is under the title of 'the Lamb' that many of the highest prerogatives are assigned to Him. This is indeed the most characteristic appellation in the book, and occurs some 28 times. He is 'the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world' (13⁸), and even now appears as one 'that has been slain' (5⁶· ¹²); but it is also as Lamb that He receives the worship of Heaven (5¹¹· ¹⁴), that He takes His place by the side of God, and opens the seals of the Book of Destiny. It is 'in the blood of the Lamb' that the saints have 'washed their robes and made them clean' (7¹⁴ 22¹⁴), or, by another figure, it is with His blood that He has purchased unto God (ἀγοράζειν; cf. Gal 3¹³) 'men of every tribe' and nation (5⁹; cf. 14³· ⁴). On the other hand, the name 'which no one knoweth but he himself,' 'Word of God' (ὁ λόγος τοῦ θεοῦ, 19¹²), is not further applied or expanded, and, though it may mark a line of connexion between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel, it cannot be said to throw any clear light on the Christology of this book.

There is a class of passages which appears to claim for Christ a life co-eternal with that of God. 'I am the first and the last and the living One'—ὁ ζῶν (1¹⁷· ¹⁸); 'I am the Alpha and Omega, the first and the last, the beginning and the end' (22¹³; cf. 21⁶); with which must be compared Is 44⁶, where Jahweh says, 'I am the first and the last, and beside me there is no God,' and Rev 1⁸, where the same majestic self-description is ascribed to the Almighty. Such language may well seem to imply the pre-existence of Christ; yet the predicate in that form is probably to be regarded rather as a necessary inference from the language of the writer, who carries the equating of Christ with God to the furthest point short of making Them eternally equal. Christ is still 'the beginning of the creation of God' (ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κτίσεως τοῦ θεοῦ, 3¹⁴), by which is probably to be understood (cf. Col 1¹⁸ ἀρχή, πρωτότοκος τῶν νεκρῶν; also Col 1¹⁵) that He Himself was part of the κτίσις.

The Apocalypse of John as a whole leaves the impression of a conception of Christ so exalted, so majestical in the history of mankind, that it could not be carried further without either impinging on the writer's monotheism or demanding the employment of metaphysical categories which were beyond his range of thought. It has been maintained by some (*e.g.* Bousset) that in the description of Christ as Alpha and Omega the writer goes beyond St. Paul, and actually represents the furthest point in the development of Christology within the NT. B. Weiss says that 'the fact that the Messiah is an originally divine Being (*göttliches Wesen*) is taken for granted' (*Bib. Theol. of NT*, Eng. tr., 1882–83, vol. ii. p. 172). But it may be doubted whether this outgoing of St. Paul by the Apocalypse is not more apparent than real. The impression is due partly to the continuous occupation of the author's mind with the same theme. Christ is the Hero of every scene in the drama of the end. There is none of that wide sweep of interest in things

both human and Divine which marks the letters of St. Paul. It is due also in part to the natural tendency of the modern reader to accept as evidence of a theory or conception of Christ's Person what for the author was only concrete imagery gathered from many sources to set forth and enhance the glory of his Lord. It may indeed be doubted whether he held any proposition regarding Christ which was not included in the convictions of the primitive community. All that he has to say was involved in the tacit assertion that Christ is an object of worship and a hearer of prayer. And with all the Divine honours and attributes which he lavishes on the Glorified Messiah he never loses sight of His identity with the man Jesus. After the title 'the Lamb' he uses with most frequency the simple name 'Jesus' (nine times). The phenomenon was so noticeable that in several passages inferior MSS have inserted the word 'Christ,' which copyists felt to be missing. It was 'for the testimony of Jesus' that John was in Patmos (1^9; cf. 12^{17} 19^{10}); it was with the blood of 'the martyrs (*or* witnesses) of Jesus' that Rome was intoxicated; and in 22^{16} the heavenly Christ speaks of Himself by this human name—'I Jesus have sent my messenger,' while the response to the message with which the book closes addresses the Risen Christ in the same form, reminiscent of 'the days of his flesh'—'Even so, come, Lord Jesus.' The Apocalypse, therefore, is no exception to the rule that, so far from being accompanied by a loosening of the tie between Christ and the historical Jesus, the increasing emphasis on His Divine significance for the world goes along with the same or even clearer assertion of the oneness of Jesus and the Christ. The Christ they worshipped was the Jesus whom they had known.

3. The Christology of St. Paul.—The material for Christology which was already present in the consciousness of the primitive community, or within its grasp, received its fullest and richest development at the hands of St. Paul. The task of the student is to do equal justice to what he received from, and shared with, those who were before him in Christ, and to those elements which were original with him. This will supply the right answer to a question which has become a living issue for modern Christology—Is the Pauline Christology a legitimate and necessary development of the relevant material provided by the contents of the Gospels and the experience of the Church, or does it represent a new departure, a conception of Christ so distinct from, and disparate to, what had gone before, that it must be held to rest not on the revelation of Jesus, but on the speculation of the Apostle? There has been for some time a tendency in one school of NT criticism to exaggerate beyond all reason the distinction between Christianity according to the Gospels and Christianity according to St. Paul, and to do so by minimizing or eliminating what is 'Pauline' in the Gospels and by overemphasizing the 'Pauline' elements in St. Paul. Whatever is distinctive in St. Paul—his 'calvinism,' his 'sacramentarianism,' his 'mysticism,' his 'eschatology'—is apt to be isolated and exaggerated, with the result, if not the intention, of differentiating him more emphatically from his Master. It needs to be borne in mind that we are working here in a highly charged electric field, where men of all schools of thought are in danger of being swayed even unconsciously by a general *præiudicium*.

In examining the evidence as to St. Paul's conception of Christ, certain general considerations have to be kept in view. It is now commonly agreed that it is a mistake to regard St. Paul as one who was constructing or had constructed a system of dogmatic theology. We are probably nearer the truth if we think of him as a man supremely interested in the practical conduct of life, whose mind was speculative in the sense that he was not content to register phenomena, but must seek for their relations and their causes, and that he constantly referred details to their correlative principles. That he was moved to this by the impulse of a practical demand rather than of an intellectual necessity is plainly suggested by what we can gather concerning his 'missionary preaching.' The Epistles to the Thessalonians furnish evidence as to its comparatively elementary character up till A.D. 52. And it is within the last ten years of his life that we are to place those Epistles in which his distinctive theological ideas are developed and exposed, within six of these last ten years that we place the great group of Epistles in which they find their classical and all but final expression. Everything points to the fact that the specifically Pauline combinations or inferences were due to the stimulus of specific situations or to the demands created by definite opposition. St. Paul's mind 'is logical enough when his spiritual experience demands it, but a large part of his affirmations regarding the religious life and destiny of men is thrown off, as occasion prompts, in vague hints, in outbursts of intense spiritual emotion, in pictures set within the framework of his inherited training, in arguments devised to meet the needs of a particular church or a particular group of converts' (H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, 1904, p. 22). It is impossible to separate the practical and ethical from the doctrinal, in the interests of the Apostle; and only imperfect success can attend any attempt to study Pauline conceptions by isolating their intellectual expression.

(1) SOURCES FOR PAULINISM.—For our information regarding the thought and teaching of the Apostle we are almost wholly dependent on his own letters. From the Acts we learn the details of his conversion, the course and method of his missionary activity, but concerning his teaching only what may be gathered with caution from his speeches reported there. The Letters are conveniently divided into four groups.

(*a*) The Epistles to the Thessalonians, written from Corinth some twenty years after his conversion, in which we have an echo and some record of that mission-preaching which had been the task of St. Paul's life since that event. (*b*) The Epistle to the Galatians may possibly be earlier still, though by most authorities it is grouped with those to the Romans and the Corinthians, written some five years later, in which we find the Apostle at the height of his intellectual energy, stimulated to the discovery and enunciation alike of the relations and of the foundations of those truths which had formed the centre of his gospel. (*c*) A third group, commonly known as the Epistles of the Imprisonment—those to the 'Ephesians,' the Colossians, and the Philippians—belongs probably to A.D. 62–63, and shows the Apostle responding to hostile stimulus of a different kind, and carrying yet further certain of the lines of thought laid down in earlier Epistles. (*d*) There is a fourth group of Epistles, that known as the 'Pastorals,' addressed to Timothy and Titus, written, if they were written by St. Paul, after he had been released from his imprisonment. The much-disputed question of their authenticity is hardly material to our present purpose, seeing that the Pastorals have little additional to contribute to Pauline Christology. When Christ is referred to as the 'one mediator between God and man, the man Christ Jesus' (1 Ti 2^5), He is presented under an aspect which does not appear in St. Paul, though it does in the Epistle to the Hebrews; but in general the Christology of the Pastorals is important rather as a criterion of

their authorship than as adding material for the Pauline Christology.

The convictions of St. Paul regarding Christ began at the same point as those of the primitive community. Through a like experience of Jesus as Living, Risen, and Glorified, he was seized by the conviction that He was the Messiah. In his case, however, the personal recollection of what Jesus had been and taught, of the Messianic claim made by Him and for Him, was replaced by the testimony of those disciples who had already believed on Him, and had sealed their belief by steadfastness under persecution. That doubtless gave the content of St. Paul's belief; what created it was the vision of Christ as risen: 'last of all he was seen of *me* also' (1 Co 15[8]). To St. Paul also, as to the earlier disciples, came the gift of the Spirit (Ac 9[17]). And 'straightway in the synagogues he proclaimed Jesus, that he is the Son of God' (9[20]), *i.e.* that He is the Messiah, the phrase having still its Messianic significance (cf. Jn 1[49]), and finding its equivalent in v.[22] 'proving that this is the Christ.' It was in the Scriptures of the OT that he too sought for the proof (Ac 18[28]), as also for proof of the further affirmation that it behoved the Christ to suffer (17[3]). Like Peter and like Stephen, but by a different series of steps, he traces the history of Israel down to the manifestation of Jesus (13[17ff.]). He preached to Jews and Greeks alike 'that they should repent and turn to God, doing works worthy of repentance' (26[20]); moreover, he also connected the promise of forgiveness with the revelation of Christ (13[38]), and recognized in Jesus One whom God had 'appointed to judge the world in righteousness' (17[31]). And to this Exalted Christ St. Paul also in the Acts gives the pregnant title Κύριος. This is specially significant in his speech to the Elders at Miletus, in which there is a note of personal attachment and devotion to the One he there describes (20[19. 21. 24. 32. 35]) which is not struck elsewhere in the Acts, common as the title itself is throughout. This prepares us for the evidence of the Thessalonian Epistles, and for the subsequent development of the implication of the name. There is thus scattered up and down the later chapters of Acts evidence as to the character of St. Paul's preaching, which suggests that it included the same elements as are found in that of the Jerusalem Church; and there is so far no reason to suppose that it contained any elements peculiar to himself, with the one important exception that he claimed for the Gentile as Gentile, and not as Gentile become Jew, the full privileges of Christian salvation. And again this corresponds with what may be gathered from the Thessalonian Epistles.

(2) CHRISTOLOGY OF EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.—These Epistles are too commonly studied almost exclusively for the light they throw on Pauline eschatology; but it is to be observed that the directly eschatological passage occupies only one-seventh of the First Letter, while before it is reached the letter has passed what looks like an intended close (1 Th 3[11-13]), and in the earlier portion the references to the Parousia are brief and wanting in elaboration. Nor are the proportion and emphasis very different in the Second Epistle.

The really striking feature of these Epistles is the equal emphasis on Christ the Lord and God the Father as severally and jointly the source of all Christian experience, and the ground of all Christian hope. In the opening verse of each Epistle, Christ and the Father are combined as the sphere in which the Church at Thessalonica has its being. In 1 Th 3[11] the words 'our God and Father and our Lord Jesus Christ' appear as the subject of a verb in the singular number, expressing a prayer that the Apostle may be guided on his way (cf. 2 Th 2[16]). It is from Christ no less than from God that the Apostle claims to have received his commission (1 Th 2[6]), and it is 'through the Lord Jesus' that he utters his precepts (1 Th 4[1] [cf. 5[27]], 2 Th 3[6. 12]). And though Christ is not in these Epistles directly referred to as Judge, it is implied that in the work of Judgment the Son will also have a part (1 Th 3[13] 4[6] 5[2], 2 Th 1[7] 2[8]).

It will be already plain that ὁ Κύριος is the constantly recurring description of Christ; but, more than that, it is used only of Him. For the phrase consecrated by OT usage, 'the Lord God,' St. Paul has in fact substituted 'God the Father and the Lord.' The usage of various names for Christ in these Epistles has been examined by G. Milligan (*St. Paul's Epp. to Thess.*, 1908, p. 135) with the following results. The human name 'Jesus' by itself is found only twice (1 Th 1[10] 4[14]). The name 'Christ' standing alone is also comparatively rare, occurring four times ('apostles of Christ,' 'gospel of Christ,' 'dead in Christ,' 'patience in Christ'). The combination 'Christ Jesus' denoting the Saviour alike in His official and in His personal character, the use of which in the NT is confined to St. Paul, occurs twice. On the other hand, Κύριος occurs twenty-two times in all, eight times with, and fourteen times without, the article. The fact that nearly two-thirds of these instances are anarthrous shows how completely the word was already accepted as a proper name, and appropriated to Christ.

It is consistent with the significance we have assigned to this use of Κύριος that the phrase ἡ ἡμερὰ τοῦ Κυρίου, which in the OT means 'the Day of Jahweh,' is employed here without hesitation and without explanation to describe the day of Christ's return in judgment (1 Th 5[2]; cf. 2 Th 2[2]). Of like significance are the parallel use and the interchange of 'God' and 'Lord,' *e.g.* 1 Th 5[23] 'the God of peace himself,' and 2 Th 3[16] 'the Lord of peace himself'; 1 Th 1[4] 'brethren beloved of God,' and 2 Th 2[13] 'brethren beloved of the Lord.' These phenomena are the more remarkable inasmuch as they occur in Epistles which otherwise are distinguished for an unusually persistent expression of what may be called 'God-consciousness.' It is not so much a doctrine concerning God that forces itself on the attention, as a habit of referring everything to 'God.' It is God who has called the Thessalonians (1 Th 2[12]), the gospel of God that they have received (2[2]), to God that they have turned from idols (1[9]), faith toward God that they show (1[8]). It is God whose love they experience (1[4]), whose rule is their supreme authority (4[8] 5[18]), who gives them the Holy Spirit (4[8]), who is to sanctify them wholly (5[23]), who is to bring again the dead (4[14]). All these references (and they are not exhaustive) are in the First Epistle; and further illustration of the same characteristic is furnished by the Second.

It is, therefore, in letters which at the same time testify so continuously and so emphatically to the unchallenged monotheism of the Apostle that we find equally striking evidence that even at this stage he assigned to Christ rank, dignity, authority, and sovereign importance for religion, such as are surpassed in none of his later writings. And yet it cannot be said that in any essential particular these Epistles carry us beyond the Christology of the pre-Pauline Church. The fact is that all, or nearly all, that St. Paul ever taught concerning the Person of Christ is involved in His 'Lordship.'

'The confession of Christ's Lordship is the confession of His Divinity. There is no doubt that to Paul and the mass of believers the Man Christ Jesus, Risen and Exalted, . . . was the object of worship. In Him they saw God manifested in a human form. In His influence upon them they perceived the influence of the Spirit of God. Of His Divine power they had the most convincing evidence in the consciousness of the new

life, with the moral strength it imparted, which He had quickened within them. . . . The ease and naturalness with which Paul passes from the thought of God to that of Christ shows that he knew of no other God save the God who was one with Christ and Christ with Him, that in turning in faith and prayer to Christ he was conscious he was drawing near to God in the truest way, and that in calling on God he was calling on Christ, in whom alone God was accessible to men' (D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, 1897, p. 145 and 144 n.).

This is possibly to anticipate the results of the examination of the other Epistles, but only in details. The central fact of Pauline Christology is already evident in the Epistles to the Thessalonians, viz. that while betraying no sign that his monotheism is in danger, or that his way of interpreting it is either singular or calling for defence, he gives to the Exalted Man, Christ Jesus, the value and many of the attributes of God.

A Messiah who is Messiah and more, One whose function it is to save from the wrath that is impending, but One to be in relation with whom is to have found already the basis of new life in an ethical sense, the condition of a new relation to God, and One who therefore draws to Himself faith, obedience, worship—that is in briefest form St. Paul's conception of Christ as set forth in these Epistles. In subsequent letters St. Paul analyzes the relation of Christ to God and of Christ to mankind, which this conception involves; but nothing can justify the suggestion that this central conception was built up, as it were, out of the elements into which it could subsequently be resolved. It was one which reached St. Paul whole and complete at the crisis of his conversion. That there was some preparation, psychological and even intellectual, for that transforming experience is quite possible, though St. Paul himself would probably have denied it. But that it can be accounted for merely as the result of any subjective process is a suggestion quite irreconcilable with the evidence. We have the concurrent testimony of St. Paul himself (Gal $1^{13ff.}$; cf. 2 Co 4^{6}) that at the moment of his conversion he was aflame with persecuting zeal against those who believed in Jesus as Messiah, and of Acts (8^{3} $9^{1ff.}$), that the martyrdom of Stephen was followed by an outburst of calculated fury against the Christian heretics. And the revelation of the Risen Christ resulted in something more than the mere reversal of Saul's opinion regarding Jesus, and the confession that He was indeed the Messiah; it resulted in a conversion of the whole man so complete that the change of opinion which was its intellectual expression was of secondary importance. There was an ethical change which demands for its explanation a religious as well as an intellectual revolution; and the explanation is that from the time of his conversion St. Paul found in Jesus not only Χριστός but Κύριος.

The proof of this ethical change lies in his subsequent life and in all his Epistles. It is seen alike in the ideals which he inculcates and in the degree in which he himself approximates to these ideals. And he asserts the closest causal connexion between the qualities of this new life, life of this quality, and Christ, so that the ethical experience of himself and his fellow-believers has contributed largely to his Christology. Already in 1 Thess. (1^{3}) we find the triad of Christian virtues—faith, love, and hope—recognized as being the natural fruit of being 'in Christ'; and Christ as the active source of 'increase' in that love wherewith they have been 'taught of God' to love one another (1 Th 3^{12} 4^{9}). In 1 Th 5 we have the picture of a Christian community wherein this 'love' was to be operative in curbing the unruly, in comforting those of little spirit, in supporting the weak, in showing longsuffering towards all; where men were to abstain from every form of evil, and to hold fast τὸ καλόν. These and other ethical ideals for the common life receive their sanction in the conviction that, as Christians, men belong 'not to the night' but 'to the day' ($5^{5.\ 8}$), *i.e.* in a certain sense they are already living in the light of the world to come. And within this series of precepts lies one which more than anything else reveals the power over human nature which St. Paul assigns to faith in Christ. 'At all times be joyful; pray without ceasing; in every circumstance give thanks. For this is what God makes known to you in Jesus Christ as his will.' A trust in God which would enable men to accept everything which came to them as part of a Father's will, and so enable them in every circumstance to be thankful, to be free from care—however this reached St. Paul as part of the new ideal, it testifies to an ethical harmony between him and Jesus. St. Paul's explanation of it would be, 'It pleased God to reveal His Son in me'; and again the ethical experience must be taken into account in the development of his Christology.

(3) THE DEVELOPED CHRISTOLOGY OF ST. PAUL.—This may conveniently be studied under three aspects, according as it bears upon the conception of Christ: (*a*) as He now is, in glory; (*b*) as He was upon earth; (*c*) as He had been before coming to earth.

A. The glorified Christ.—St. Paul's faith was in a living Christ, a Being who was continuously active in and on behalf of those who had been redeemed to God through Him, whether they were regarded as individuals or as a corporate whole. Accordingly, it is only natural that his thought dwells preponderatingly on various aspects and activities of Christ as He is now, in 'glory' and in the Church; but along with this there goes always the recollection, whether tacit or expressed, of what had preceded the glory, viz. the death, and the manifestation in earthly life.

The four Epistles of the second group (Gal. Rom., 1 and 2 Cor.) in the first place give greater definiteness to the 'Lordship' of Christ as the central fact to be grasped and acknowledged by men. The necessary but sufficient condition for being reckoned a Christian was the sincere acknowledgment of the religious relation to Christ involved in confessing Him as 'Lord.' 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved' had been St. Paul's word to the jailer of Philippi; and in Ro $10^{8ff.}$ the same principle is laid down and expanded. The 'word,' which in the mouth of Moses (Dt 30^{14}) stood for the Mosaic Law, is now represented by the gospel, the word of faith proclaimed by the apostles. And as accepted and openly acknowledged by those who believe that God raised Jesus from the dead, it takes this form, 'Jesus is Lord'; and this acknowledgment is the external condition of salvation. In the same context St. Paul shows why this is so all-important. He appeals to two passages of the OT, in each of which the original reference is to Jahweh ('whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed,' from Is 28^{16}, and 'whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved,' from Jl 2^{32}); but he predicates them of the Lord Jesus. Nothing could show more simply or more completely the place which the Risen Jesus had taken in the religious consciousness of the Church. The homage, the prayer, the dependence which were due to God were due to Him; and the protection, the security, the salvation which were to be looked for from God might be claimed at His hand. In like manner, according to 1 Co 12^{3} ('no one is able to say that Jesus is Lord but by the Holy Spirit'), this acknowledgment is traced to the Spirit's inspiration and is offered as a test whereby the inspiration of a speaker may be ascertained. And

in Ph 2[9-11] in all probability it is this name of 'Lord' which the Apostle describes as the 'name above every name,' the bestowal of which upon Jesus at His Exaltation involved His right to the homage of all created beings. St. Paul here expresses his consciousness of the wonder of what he believes to be the fact—that God has bestowed on Jesus His own glorious name, that whereby He had so long been known and addressed by the Jews, who shrank from pronouncing 'Jahweh' (cf. Ac 2[36]; and W. Lueken *ad loc.* in *Schriften des NT*, ii. [1908] 379).

(α) *Son of God.*—If St. Paul thus connects our Lord's entry on the title and dignity of Κύριος with His Resurrection and Exaltation, does he do the same in reference to His status as Son of God? The governing passage is in Ro 1[4] *τοῦ ὁρισθέντος υἱοῦ θεοῦ ἐν δυνάμει κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν*—'declared (*or* installed) Son of God with power according to the spirit of holiness in virtue of resurrection from the dead.' The emphasis is probably on the words 'with power.' As *γενόμενος ἐκ σπέρματος Δαβίδ*, Jesus had been *Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα* and *υἱὸς θεοῦ* in the Messianic sense, and was crucified *ἐξ ἀσθενείας* (2 Co 13[4]). But after and in consequence of the Resurrection, He has entered on the status of Son of God in an exalted form, set free from 'the likeness of (weak and) sinful flesh,' He has been promulgated as 'in power.' This open acknowledgment of His true character was 'in accordance with his spirit of holiness.'

'The Resurrection was to Paul the disclosure of the nature of Christ. It was not only the crowning stage in the development of the Life that had been lived on earth, its natural consummation, but as such it was also the revelation of the inner nature of Christ and of the forces of His personal life that were concealed, as well as hindered in their proper exercise on others, as long as He was in the flesh' (Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 17; see, further, below).

In three other passages St. Paul refers to Christ as 'the Son of God' (Gal 2[20], 2 Co 1[19], Eph 4[13]). In others again he speaks of Christ as 'the Son' (1 Co 15[28]) or 'his Son' (Ro 1[3, 9] 5[10], 1 Co 1[9], Gal 4[4]). Some of these passages may still refer to the Messianic Sonship; but others more probably belong to another class, of which Ro 8[3, 32] (*τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱὸν πέμψας—τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ οὐκ ἐφείσατο*) and Col 1[13] (*τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἀγάπης αὐτοῦ*) furnish the clearest examples. In these passages the conception of Christ's Sonship has passed over into a conception other and deeper than the official Messianic one; and it seems to involve a 'community of nature between the Father and the Son' (Sanday-Headlam, *ad loc.*), and a relationship independent of any historical experience. At this point, therefore, St. Paul does advance beyond any position which is attested for the primitive community. It is useless as well as needless to raise any question as to whether he conceived the relation metaphysically or otherwise. St. Paul is content to recognize it as intimate, personal, unique. 'It is clear that in the scale of being the son is the one who in origin and nature is nearest to God' (J. Weiss, *Christ*, p. 66).

This deeper conception of the Sonship is borne out by the frequent and spontaneous use of the name 'Father' for God. The full name for God in the Church of the NT is 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' (*e.g.* Ro 15[6], 2 Co 11[31], Eph 1[3] 3[14], Col 1[3], 1 P 1[3]). And as such He is described absolutely as *ὁ πατήρ*, and known experimentally by those who have in their hearts the Spirit 'whereby we cry Abba, Father' (Ro 8[15]). All this circle of ideas testifies to the recognition of a Sonship not only in the sense in which it was equivalent to Messiahship, but in the sense of a relationship which is intrinsic and unique.

It is quite unnecessary to go far afield to find the source from which St. Paul derived this conception of Christ's Sonship. It is attested by the Synoptic Gospels as an element in the self-consciousness of Jesus. There is nothing to suggest that it was a discovery or a conclusion due to St. Paul. As J. Weiss says:

'Paul shows no trace of uneasiness nor gives any hint of a tradition as to how the relation of sonship arose or what its actual significance was. When in Col 1[15] he speaks of Christ as the first-born of all creatures, we must not by any means conclude that Paul had in mind a begetting or birth, or any special creative act. But neither is there in a single syllable any suggestion of an emanation in the sense of the later Gnosticism, or an election. It is significant that Paul does not feel the least need to account for the existence of this Son of God by any story of creation or birth, *i.e.* by what the Science of Religion calls "Myth"' (*Christ*, p. 69 f.).

This means that neither intellectual construction nor speculation gave rise to the conception. It came from Jesus. And as the Resurrection put the seal of Divine authentication on His Messianic consciousness, so did it put the seal of Divine acknowledgment upon that filial consciousness which had been the deepest thing in His personality.

Conversely, of course, this prompt and spontaneous recognition of the filial relationship between Jesus and God provides confirmation of the gospel record so far as it reflects this element in His consciousness. On the broad foundation of the Lordship of Christ and the Sonship of Christ—the one a fact of religious experience, the other a factor in the consciousness of Jesus—St. Paul builds his specific Christology. And he postulates for Christ three different relationships: he sets Him in a relationship amounting to identity with the Spirit of God; he presents Him as Head of a new race of men, the second Adam; and he claims for Him a creative relation to the world of intelligent being.

(β) *The Lord the Spirit.*—The evidence for this identification is partly direct and partly indirect. In 2 Co 3[17] the Apostle makes the categorical statement, 'The Lord is the Spirit,' and the same idea is probably echoed in the following verse, 'even as from the Lord the Spirit' (the genitive *πνεύματος* being probably in apposition to Κυρίου—so Schmiedel, Lietzmann). But the same idea also underlies the Apostle's habit of using *πνεῦμα* [*Θεοῦ*], *πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ* and *Χριστός* as practically interchangeable. Christ is 'a life-giving Spirit' (1 Co 15[45]), but the Spirit also gives life (2 Co 3[6]; cf. Gal 5[25]). And in Ro 8[9, 10, 11] St. Paul passes indifferently from the one to the other, referring to the Divine Spirit in one verse the effect which in the next he refers to Christ. For him 'Christ' and 'the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus' are practically synonymous.

The basis for the identification which St. Paul asserts is not any idea of metaphysical unity, but an observed harmony of ethical and spiritual influence. St. Paul had no doctrine of the Trinity. The Spirit of God, or Holy Spirit, was for him (apart from the identification with the Risen Christ) the energy of the Divine nature, universal in its operation, influencing the will and the intelligence of men, the source of the sevenfold gifts described in Is 11[2], and specially the creator of 'life' in the new sense in which it was a prerogative of the Messianic age, and practically synonymous with 'salvation.' The identification of this Spirit with the Risen Christ followed on the combination of the experience of Easter with that of Pentecost. Together they formed the source and the basis of new life for the believers. This was for them the meaning of salvation, and the proof that they were being saved. The subjective certainty was given in new moral power to follow new ideals. Both the power and the ideals were traced to the Spirit (Gal 5[22]); but they came to each individual after and in consequence of his faith in Christ as Risen Lord. So this life-giving energy of God which by the primitive community had been explained as

'shed abroad' by the Exalted Christ, is by St. Paul identified with Him. What would further contribute to this conclusion would be the necessity of attributing to Christ existence in a superphysical or 'spiritual' form, and the further necessity of accounting for the universality of His presence, with each and with all of the believers everywhere.

There is a further indication here of the way in which the conception of salvation as the highest good belonging to the life to come was giving place to the conception of it as a present experience. With all its antecedent conditions—*e.g.* justification (=acquittal), cleansing, redemption from the dominion of evil—and with all its expected contents—peace with God, tranquil confidence, hope and joy—salvation was within men's grasp. Men who had received the Spirit had received it as ἀπαρχή or ἀρραβών, at once the first-fruits and the guarantee of eternal life; they knew that they had received the Spirit because the fruits of the Spirit were produced in them and among them (cf. 1 Jn 3^{14}); and that these were fruits of the Spirit of Christ, or the Spirit that was Christ, they knew, because they corresponded with what they knew of His character and teaching.

The recognition of this element in St. Paul's Christology has certain consequences.—(i.) It throws light on the use so freely made by the Apostle of the phrase ἐν Χριστῷ. (ii.) It leads to a change in the way of conceiving the Spirit which has recently been described as 'die Christificierung des Geistes.' The Spirit being recognized as entering into personal relations with man, of the same character as those of Christ with man, there is formed a conception of the Spirit which can only be described in terms of personality. (iii.) If as Κύριος Christ exercises the authority of God, and as πνεῦμα at once enspheres men (cf. Ac 17^{28}) and dwells in them, producing the fruits of the Spirit, the true grounds are provided for regarding Him as Divine.

'It is . . . because He works in us with an energy of love and holiness that is identified with the Spirit of God, and commands our obedience with an absoluteness that is identical with the authority of God, that we are to recognise Christ as truly Divine and to acknowledge the presence in Him of powers of Godhead that constitute Him the object of our faith and worship' (Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 112).

(γ) *The Second Adam.*—Another line of advance was opened for the Apostle partly through the universalism of his gospel, leading him to find in Adam, the head and founder of humanity which fell, a type of Christ as founder and head of the humanity which He had redeemed. Redeemed humanity was indeed a καινὴ κτίσις (2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}; cf. Col 3^{10}, where the parallel with the creation-narrative in Genesis is distinctly suggested). The new creature is a citizen of a new world (Ph 3^{20}), belongs no longer to the kingdom of darkness but to the kingdom of God's Son (Col 1^{13}), and lives under a new covenant, or basis of relationship, between God and man (2 Co 3^{6}). In all these particulars he is seen to be a member of a new race; and Adam, the founder of the original race, was τύπος τοῦ μέλλοντος (Ro 5^{14}): *i.e.* Christ as ὁ μέλλων bore the same relation to the new race as Adam to the old.

In two passages St. Paul makes use of this analogy, in both cases assuming its validity, not proving it. According to the first, Adam is typical of Christ in the way in which his fall involves consequences affecting the relation to God of his whole posterity. That is to say, in Christ, as Second Adam and Representative Man, humanity makes a new beginning; it recovers its pristine relation to God, the Divine likeness in which it was first created. And as Adam by his disobedience had entailed on all who followed the heritage of sin and death, so Christ by His perfect fulfilment of the Divine will had secured for 'all' participation in righteousness and life (Ro $5^{12\text{-}21}$).

In the second passage (1 Co $15^{45\text{-}47}$) St. Paul applies the same relation and contrast between Adam and Christ to support his statement that there is not only 'a natural (=psychical) body' but also a 'spiritual' (=pneumatic) one. It is quite in accordance with his method of using Scripture that the verse of Genesis which he quotes has no reference to σῶμα; and yet we can see its relevancy. Ἐγένετο ὁ [πρῶτος] ἄνθρωπος [Ἀδὰμ] εἰς ψυχὴν ζῶσαν, where the bracketed words are added to the text of the LXX and emphasize the direction of the Apostle's thought; Adam, the first man, was made a psychic person, or a 'natural man.' Then he proceeds (without indicating what is the case, viz. that he is no longer quoting): 'the last Adam (was made) a spirit, a life-giving soul.' He states, in fact, the same view of Christ as that just considered—'the Lord is the Spirit'—but leaves unexpressed the inference he would have men draw, viz. that as Adam and all who derive from him had a 'psychic body,' so Christ and all who owe 'life' to Him have a 'pneumatic body.'

It is only then (if at all) that St. Paul recalls the famous interpretation put by Philo upon the double narrative of the creation of man (Gn 1^{27} and 2^{7})—διττὰ ἀνθρώπων γένητ· ὁ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν οὐράνιος ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος. ὁ μὲν οὖν οὐράνιος ἅτε κατ' εἰκόνα Θεοῦ γεγονὼς φθαρτῆς καὶ συνόλως γεώδους οὐσίας ἀμέτοχος, ὁ δὲ γήϊνος ἐκ σποράδος ὕλης ἣν χοῦν κέκληκεν ἐπάγη (*Legum allegor.* [ed. Mangey, vol. i. p. 49]; cf. *de Opif. Mundi* [vol. i. p. 32]). Not a few modern writers are disposed to find the root of St. Paul's 'higher Christology' in this doctrine of Philo concerning 'the heavenly man.' But this is probably a mistaken view. Along with obviously close correspondence in phrasing the passage shows fundamental divergence from the Philonic conception. Pfleiderer and B. Weiss agree that the passage contains no reference to Philo's doctrine of the ideal man. J. Weiss (*Christ*, p. 74), after positing that there is 'no evidence of literary dependence, *i.e.* borrowing from any work of Philo's,' makes a careful comparison of the two conceptions, and concludes that Philo's doctrine shows no trace of what is most characteristic in St. Paul.

'The Alexandrine does not attribute the least eschatological significance to the heavenly man. He shows no trace of the belief that he who came into being in the image of God, at the end of all things shall appear as Messiah. But with Paul it is just this which is the essential thing. His doctrine of the heavenly and earthly man, or of the first and last Adam, or of Adam and Christ, is most pointedly apocalyptic in character' (*ib.* p. 77 *f.*).

If there is any allusion to Philo's view, it is referred to only to be contradicted: 'the pneumatic was not first, but the psychic; then came the pneumatic.' At this point (v.^{48}) the Apostle's mind reverts to his original subject—the constitution respectively of the psychic and of the pneumatic man. The first man was sprung from earth, earthy in his constitution; the second man was, is, or shall be from heaven, and is the heavenly man. And the same law whereby members of Adam's race reproduce his earthy, psychic constitution secures that those who derive their life from the heavenly man shall receive a pneumatic frame or constitution. But the frame or σῶμα is now described as εἰκών, the image or concrete expression of personality which produces an impression on the beholder. The 'image of the heavenly' in v.^{49} is the same as the 'image of his glory,' or 'his glorious likeness' of Ph 3^{21}, into which the Lord is to change the 'body of our humiliation.' And the 'image of his glory,' the 'image of the heavenly man' alike describe the pneumatic σῶμα, frame or form, which the Risen Christ had taken to Himself.

When we examine these verses, freed from the obligation of reading into them Philo's theory of creation, the OT figure which is suggested by *ὁ ἐπουράνιος* is not the supposed *Urmensch* of Gn 1, nor yet a Pauline complement of the earthly Adam of Gn 2, but the figure in Dn 7^{13}, *ἴδου μετὰ τῶν νεφέλων τοῦ οὐράνου ὡς υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου ἐρχόμενος*. It is true that there is not elsewhere in St. Paul's writings any certain allusion to the 'Son of Man'; but this may well be due to the incomprehensibility of the phrase in Gentile ears. And there is no reason to suppose that St. Paul was either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the Messianic significance of the Danielic figure. The view which these verses postulate is therefore this: that the Messiah, the heavenly man of Daniel, is at the same time the head of the new race, the second Adam, and is known to be such because He has been made a 'life-giving Spirit'; those who believe on Him are by Him made alive.

At what point did this take place, in the opinion of St. Paul? Was it at the 'creation,' or at His coming to earth, or at His Exaltation? Probably the first of these possibilities is the one which corresponds with the first impression the words make; the description is in both cases that of the original condition of the first and the second Adam respectively. And that is the interpretation insisted upon by those who find the source of St. Paul's Christology in the conception of a pre-existent ideal man. On the other hand, it is at least not necessary to look for the source of both parts of the statement in the Genesis-narrative. It is quite in accordance with St. Paul's manner of handling Scripture that he should add to a direct quotation a proposition which rests on quite other ground (cf. Ro 3^{20}, Gal 2^{16}). Nor, in the second place, is it necessary that the verb *ἐγένετο* (granting that it is to be supplied in the second clause of v.[45]) should refer in both cases to the same point of time, or to synonymous moments in the experience of the first and second Adam. All that is necessary is that in both cases the experience must be one capable of being described by the word *ἐγένετο*, and the illuminating parallel is that in Ac 2^{36}: 'God made him Lord and Christ.'

Once more, the whole passage must be viewed and interpreted in its bearing on the solution of the question, With what body do they come? What is really contrasted with the *σῶμα ψυχικόν* which clothed the *ψυχὴν ζῶσαν* of the first Adam is the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* through which the *πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν* of the Second Adam is manifested. And as the *σῶμα πνευματικόν* is the glorified body of the Risen Lord, so it was at His Resurrection that He 'was made a life-giving Spirit.' It would not follow that St. Paul did not regard Him as having been *πνεῦμα* or even *πνεῦμα ζωοποιοῦν* in some sense anterior to the Resurrection, any more than it is necessary to put a similar interpretation on Ac 2^{36}. As 'the first-born from the dead,' He was also 'the first-born among many brethren,' inasmuch as they were destined in advance to be conformed to His 'image,' *i.e.* to the form of His existence in glory (Ro 8^{29}; see Denney, *ad loc.*). He was the Second Adam because He was at once the Source, the Type, and the Head of the new race; and as surely as filiation from the first Adam had shown itself in the physico-psychic constitution, so surely would vital relation to Christ show itself in the bearing of a spiritual-heavenly body, the habitation not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

It appears, therefore, that in 1 Co 15^{45} St. Paul has nothing to tell about the pre-existent Christ; and the same is probably the case in regard to the other factors in St. Paul's description of Christ—the recognition of Him as *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* and the declaration that in Him dwells 'the whole fulness of the Godhead.' In both passages (2 Co 4^4 and Col 1^{15}) where he refers to Christ as 'the image of God,' the context suggests that the idea is more than that of simple likeness, reflexion, or even representation. Christ as *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* is and has all that Adam had in consequence of being made *ἐν εἰκόνι θεοῦ* without suffering any of the subsequent diminution or cancelling of powers or privileges which in Adam's case followed upon transgression. This phrase, therefore, like 'the Second Adam,' sets Him forth as the archetypal man. But the phrase has had a history since its origin in Hebrew literature, and St. Paul may have had that also in mind. It appears in a modified form in Wis. (7^{26}) in a description of the Divine Wisdom personified: *ἀπαύγασμα γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀϊδίου . . . καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ*. From an Egyptian inscription of 196 B.C. Wendland quotes the description of an apotheosized prince as *εἰκόνος ζώσης τοῦ θεοῦ* (*Hellen.-röm. Kultur*, 1907, p. 75). But there is no need to go beyond the passage in Wis., which indeed seems also to have influenced the language of 2 Co 4^4 and He 1^3, and possibly Col 1^{17}. The *εἰκών* evidently connotes light, glory, radiant effulgence; and when St. Paul applies the description to Christ, he means that the otherwise invisible God is manifested and revealed through Him (cf. Jn 14^{21} *ἐμφανίσω ἐμαυτόν*). Its true significance is in fact explained by 2 Co 4^6: 'Seeing it is God . . . who shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ.' St. Paul neither denies nor asserts that Christ had been 'the image of God' from the beginning; but what he does say on the subject is properly referred to Christ as Exalted.

(*δ*) *The fullness of the Godhead.*—It pleased God that 'in him the whole fulness of the Godhead should make its abode' (Col 1^{19}; cf. 2^9 *ἐν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖ πᾶν τὸ πλήρωμα τῆς θεότητος σωματικῶς, καὶ ἐστὲ ἐν αὐτῷ πεπληρωμένοι*). It has now been made clear that as the foregoing description has its roots in the Hebrew record of creation, so this one is not unrelated to contemporary theosophic speculation. St. Paul makes this assertion regarding Christ in response to a challenge, which had been delivered, tacitly at least, by the false teachers at Colossæ against the sole and sufficient supremacy of the Lord. On the lips of those whom he was controverting, as well as on his own, the phrase stood for the totality of the Divine powers or agencies. But for the false teachers the totality was distributed among a plurality, a countless host, of mediators—'thrones, dominions, principalities, powers,' *τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου*. St. Paul had found in Christ another view of the universe, according to which all this imagined hierarchy of intermediaries became irrelevant. Thus it is probable that in both sentences in which the phrase occurs a strong emphasis should be placed on the words *ἐν αὐτῷ*. Not in that cloud of unknown spiritual forces but in Christ resides that whole fullness of which they speak; and it resides *σωματικῶς*, *i.e.* not 'in bodily form,' but 'in completeness and abiding reality' (so Klöpper, Dibelius).

'The term, in its origin, or as used by the theosophists of Colossæ, may be metaphysical or not; in the mouth of the apostle it expresses a religious truth, a truth of reflection based on religious experience, the truth learnt in communion with the Risen Lord, that in Him there is a full endowment of life by the Spirit of God that answers to all the religious needs of human nature' (Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 158).

It is to be noted in connexion with each of these later aspects of Christ recognized by St. Paul, that it is held or revealed by Him in order to be imparted or conveyed to men. If He is *the* Son and the Image of the Invisible God, it is in order that men who believe on Him may become sons of the same Father and conformed to the same Image. If the fullness of God has taken up its abode in

Him, that has had for a result 'ye have been fulfilled in him,' and then we find the Apostle in Eph 3[19] praying that the brethren may by the indwelling of Christ be 'fulfilled' till they attain to the *pleroma* of God. At the same time, this participation of believers in the highest attributes of Christ is (i.) mediated through Him, is theirs only through their organic union with Him; and (ii.) only partial and fragmentary at any time in the individual believer. No individual believer, however closely he may resemble his Master, *can* ever reproduce all that Christ is. It is the body of believers, believers as a body, who are destined to attain 'to the perfect man, to the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph 4[13]). All the attributes of the heavenly Christ have reference to, and are applied to, the salvation of man; but they are conveyed by Him; apart from Him they are not within the reach of men.

B. The historical Jesus.—St. Paul traced the origin of his faith, and ascribed the life he now lived, to the Risen and Exalted Christ, Lord and Spirit. But it is not true to say that he was either ignorant of, or indifferent to, the manifestation of Jesus 'in the days of his flesh.' The references which he makes to the 'historical Jesus' may be few in number, but they are emphatic and essential to his total conception of Christ's Person and Work. In the first place, he admits and relies on the authority of Jesus as the rule of life. In Ac 20[35] he is heard definitely recalling 'the words of the Lord Jesus,' as in 1 Co 11[23ff.] he quotes as authoritative the terms in which Jesus instituted the Last Supper. The discussion on marriage and divorce in 1 Co 7 illustrates his attitude. On the one hand, in regard to the marriage of 'virgins,' he says frankly that he 'has no commandment of the Lord,' just as in reference to married life he has disclaimed any Divine authority (1 Co 7[6]); but in regard to divorce he takes a very different tone, because for that question he has the authority of the historical Jesus, whose deliverance on the subject he quotes. In like manner he claims to 'follow Christ,' meaning the historical Jesus, as the supreme example (1 Co 11[1]), and urges his converts to do the like (Ph 2[4ff.], 1 Th 2[14], Eph 5[1]).

It is on the human manifestation of Christ that St. Paul's whole gospel is based—'Christ died for our sins'; and it was as Jesus of Nazareth that He died; it was 'in the flesh' that He 'condemned sin,' 'in the body of the flesh' that God 'reconciled men to himself' (Col 1[22]). And the fact of His humanity is absolutely essential to the Apostle's theory of salvation. It provides the identification of the Redeemer with the race He would redeem, in all human experience save the consciousness of having sinned. It is wholly a mistake to represent the emphasis which St. Paul puts upon the Risen Christ as excluding interest in, or knowledge of, the historical Jesus; 'the heavenly man' had no meaning for him except for His being the same as 'the man Christ Jesus.'

And he leaves no room for doubt that the Christ of faith was one with the Jesus of the Gospels. He was 'born of a woman' (Gal 4[4]; cf. Job 14[1]). The phrase neither includes nor yet does it exclude a supernatural factor in the birth of Jesus; it asserts His true participation in our common humanity. He was 'born under law' (Gal 4[4]). Whether significance is to be attached to the absence of the article (Lightfoot) or not (Lietzmann), the context shows that it is His identification with the Jewish race that St. Paul is emphasizing. He is represented as a lineal descendant of David (Ro 1[3]), and an argument is founded upon His descent from Abraham (Gal 3[16]). This descent had special significance, inasmuch as by becoming 'a minister of circumcision' (or 'of the circumcision'; cf. 2 Co 3[6]) He confirmed the promises made to the forefathers of Israel (Ro 15[8]; cf. 2 Co 1[20]). So that it is one of the distinguishing privileges of Israel that the Messiah belongs to them 'as far as the flesh is concerned' (Ro 9[5]). In 2 Co 5[16], where St. Paul repudiates, for the period subsequent to his conversion, any knowledge of 'Christ after the flesh,' he postulates at least the hypothetical possibility of his having known Him so, and probably refers to a claim which others founded upon their personal acquaintance with the historical Jesus.

There remain two passages of special importance for the light they shed on the Apostle's view of the constitution of our Lord's human personality. The first is in Ro 8[3]—*ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Υἱὸν πέμψας ἐν ὁμοιώματι σαρκὸς ἁμαρτίας* κτλ. The allusion to a pre-existent state from which God 'sent His own Son' (see below) is followed by the carefully chosen phrase 'in the likeness of sin's flesh' (cf. Ph 2[7] 'was made in the likeness of men'). It is possible, but it would be mistaken, to read these words as though their purpose was to assert that Christ was 'like' but only 'like' to men. What the phrase does convey is that the likeness is true and complete as far as it can be, sin being excepted. By the introduction of *ὁμοίωμα* St. Paul 'wishes to indicate not that Christ was not really man, or that His flesh was not really what in us is *σὰρξ ἁμαρτίας*, but that what for ordinary men is their natural condition is for this Person only an assumed condition' (Denney, *ad loc.*). The rendering of AV (also RV) 'of sinful flesh' gives a wrong impression and creates unnecessary difficulty. 'Of sin's flesh' refers to the physical constitution of man not as originally or inherently sinful—which was never St. Paul's view—but as it had come to be, historically and experimentally, an appanage of sin. Christ entered into humanity as it was conditioned by sin, tyrannized and enslaved by it—sin being regarded as an almost personal conqueror and tyrant.

But He who, according to Ro 8[3], was thus made 'in the likeness of sin's flesh,' according to the second passage (Ro 1[4]) manifested, in contradistinction to all others who appeared in human form, 'a spirit of holiness'; and it was in harmony with that ethical uniqueness that a unique glory was assigned to Him, inasmuch as His death was followed by a Resurrection whereby He was declared (or installed) by God as 'Son of God with power.' Thenceforward His Messiahship was indubitable; it was demonstrated by the 'power' which was wielded by the Risen Lord. This passage, like the former one, starts with a possible allusion to the pre-existent Sonship (*τοῦ Υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ*), and at least suggests a state of humiliation as antecedent to the state of glory and power. There is at the same time no suggestion of a time at which Jesus became possessed of the 'spirit of holiness,' such as meets us in the Synoptic Gospels. Rather is the spirit referred to as 'the principle of personality in Jesus.' It is the 'spirit of holiness' which binds the earthly existence alike to what went before and to what came after (cf. Feine, *Theol. des NT*, 1910, p. 260). And the same thought may underlie the phrase in Ro 8[2]: 'the law (=principle) of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.' *ὁ νόμος* here means 'authority' (so Sanday-Headlam), or in modern speech, the 'governing principle.' Sin and death are contrasted as governing principles with the living (and life-giving) spirit that was in Christ Jesus—the same 'spirit of holiness.'

The passage in Philippians (2[5-11]) which is chiefly valued for the light it throws on St. Paul's view of the pre-existent Christ has importance also for

his view of the historical Jesus. He 'was found,' *σχήματι ὡς ἄνθρωπος, i.e.* in outward appearance, in all that presented itself to the senses, 'as a man'; and that because He was 'made in the likeness of men' (*ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων*). But the description of the human manifestation opens with the phrase *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*, by which the Apostle indicates something which, while going deeper than the *σχῆμα* or the *ὁμοίωμα*, yet does not touch the essential personality. Christ, that is to say, entered upon a real, but not a permanent, servitude. In what sense? It will not suffice to say, with Lightfoot (*ad loc.*), 'For *ἄνθρωπος* the stronger word *δοῦλος* is substituted. He who is Master of all becomes the slave of all.' For this gives insufficient distinctness to the two clauses, and inadequate force to the former one. It is more probable that the two clauses, *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών* and *ἐν ὁμοιώματι ἀνθρώπων γενόμενος* are parallel in reverse order to the two clauses in Gal 4[4], *γενόμενον ἐκ γυναικός* and *γενόμενον ὑπὸ νόμον*; and the power to which St. Paul declares that Jesus submitted Himself as *δοῦλος* is the Law and the whole dispensation of which it was the symbol. He voluntarily placed Himself under its yoke, made Himself 'a debtor to keep the whole law.' It was in virtue of this submission that He could undergo its curse, be 'made a curse for us,' and redeem us (Jews) from 'the curse of the law.' This subjection to the Law was thus a special case of Christ's submission to the disabilities of 'the flesh,' through which He could be 'made sin' for us (2 Co 5[21]). The *σάρξ* which He assumed was truly human flesh; it was, for such it had come to be historically, 'sin's flesh'—flesh that was in the grasp of sin. He 'knew no sin' (2 Co 5[21]), and yet in His case the *σάρξ* was the medium of sin's assault upon Him. It brought Him into relation, a relation always hostile, with the whole series of forces which were opposed to God, the forces which were in control of 'this present world,' the 'principalities and powers' (Col 2[15]), the 'world' rulers of this darkness (Eph 6[12]). And it was in, by means of, this *σάρξ* that He 'condemned sin,' that He 'triumphed' over the hostile powers, stripping them off from Himself along with the *σάρξ*, when on the Cross He died from under the control of 'the spiritual forces of the world' (Col 2[15. 20]).

Thus the historical man, Jesus of Nazareth, was a fact of cardinal importance for St. Paul, not only as an authority supreme in the realm of conduct, but as embodying the conditions by which alone redemption could be accomplished.

C. The pre-existent Christ.—The material for ascertaining St. Paul's conception of Christ is now nearly complete. By far the larger part of it refers to the 'post-existent' Christ, the Lord in glory. Another element, smaller in extent, but not for that reason unimportant, has to do with the historic Jesus. There remains a third element consisting of allusions to Christ as having been existent and active before He appeared on earth. That element is certainly present both in the mind and in the language of St. Paul. The difficult and delicate task is to weigh its importance, and to account for its presence in his thinking.

The evidence is unevenly distributed. In the four 'chief' Epistles we have a number of allusions; in each of two of the 'captivity' Epistles, Philippians and Colossians, we find an explicit statement. The allusions in the earlier Epistles are, if anything, more important than the statements in the later ones; for they suggest that St. Paul was dealing with a conception regarding Christ which was already familiar, which, so far from requiring to be proved, was widely accepted as a necessary inference from other facts. Further, the references are 'so incidental as to suggest the inference that, while intimately related to his own deepest convictions about Christ, this doctrine formed no part of his formal teaching, until, at least, the necessity for it arose in the special circumstances of the Church at Colosse' (Somerville, *op. cit.* p. 185; cf. Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 1895, ii. 78). The language of Gal 4[4] ('God sent forth his Son') and Ro 8[3] ('God, sending his Son in the likeness of sin's flesh') implies this previous existence for the Son, an existence under different conditions, with which subjection to the Law and participation of flesh are contrasted. Consistently with this suggestion the Apostle in 2 Co 8[9] alludes to the fact that 'he who was rich, for our sakes became poor,' a phrase which links up with the statement in Philippians, inasmuch as it traces the impoverishment to the action of Christ Himself. In 1 Co 8[6] there is a suggestion of the idea which is developed in Colossians, where St. Paul speaks of 'one Lord, Jesus Christ, by whom are all things and we by him'; and in 1 Co 15[47. 48], though it is in His Exaltation that He is recognized as the 'Second Adam,' yet as contrasted with the first Adam, who belongs to earth, He is represented as belonging to heaven, and being 'the heavenly one.' Indirectly, the language of 1 Co 10[4] involves the same idea ('They drank of that spiritual rock that followed them, and that rock was Christ'); but the immediate significance of the saying is that the Apostle puts 'Christ' where Jewish legend had put 'Jahweh.'

We come now to the two passages in which St. Paul appears to make detailed allusion to the pre-existent Christ. The first is in Ph 2[4-11]. The first point to notice is the context. Not only is the example of Christ appealed to as a ground and norm for Christian humility, and the duty of each one 'looking not on his own things but on the things of others,' but the conclusion also of the whole passage is relevant, inasmuch as it displays the Exaltation of Christ as a supreme illustration of God's recognition of this spirit of self-effacement: *διὸ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ὑπερύψωσεν*. To illustrate the true character of Christian humility St. Paul refers to the action of Christ, which took place before His appearance upon earth. And again the description is calculated to remind rather than to inform; it is penned for them who already know (Dibelius, *ad loc.*). Christ had been originally (*ὑπάρχων*) *ἐν μορφῇ θεοῦ*. What sense are we to attach to this phrase? Lightfoot (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 127 ff.), after an exhaustive examination of the use of the words *μορφή* and *σχῆμα* in philosophic literature, comes to the conclusion that *μορφή* 'must apply to the attributes of the Godhead,' that it implies not the external accidents but the essential attributes, so that the possession of *μορφή* involves participation in the *οὐσία* also.

'Thus in the passage under consideration the *μορφή* is contrasted with the *σχήμα*, as that which is intrinsic and essential with that which is accidental and outward. And the three clauses imply respectively the true divine nature of our Lord (*μορφὴ θεοῦ*), the true human nature (*μορφὴ δούλου*), and the externals of human nature (*σχήματι ὡς ἄνθρωπος*).'

With the interpretation of *μορφή* goes the explanation of *εἶναι ἴσα θεῷ*, 'equality with God,' as something which was already Christ's possession but which He refused to regard as a prize to be tenaciously held (*οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο*); but so far from this, He divested Himself (*ἐκένωσεν ἑαυτόν*) not of His Divine nature, for this was impossible, but of the glories, the prerogatives of Deity. This He did by taking upon Him the form of a servant.

This interpretation is open to several objections. —(i.) In effect it reads into St. Paul's language the conclusions of a later Christology, inasmuch as the meaning which it gives to *μορφή* (as involving essential participation in the *οὐσία* or substance)

must be carried through in both clauses, and we get consequently a personality which has taken the substance of humanity without laying aside that of Deity. (ii.) It gives a forced meaning to δοῦλον, and at the same time an inadequate one; for if the word means no more than 'man,' we have an inexplicable tautology—three, or at least two, clauses in succession which make no advance in the thought. (iii.) It gives an unsatisfactory rendering to ἁρπαγμός, which is rather 'a thing to be clutched at' than 'a thing to be held.'

For these and other reasons the other interpretation is to be preferred, according to which St. Paul is using the terms μορφή, σχῆμα, etc., in a popular sense rather than as philosophic terms, and μορφή means 'form,' which is separable from essence, though more truly characteristic than σχῆμα; in the case of Christ the μορφὴ θεοῦ stands for 'the glory which he had with the Father.' Having this glorious form as a Spirit-Being, the Image of God, He might have grasped at the yet higher prize to be 'equal unto God.' But (here comes in the parallel with what is expected of Christians) He refused to look on His own things, and for the sake of others (men) emptied Himself of the heavenly spiritual form, took the form of one who was subject to inferior powers, including possibly the Law, and humbled Himself to the last stage of humiliation, the death on the Cross. And *therefore* (here comes in the parallel with what the self-effacing Christian may expect) God has highly exalted Him, has conferred upon Him the very equality which He refused to grasp, bestowing upon Him the name that is above every name, that 'every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord.'

The Christological passage in Philippians assumes the pre-existence of Christ; the second passage, in Colossians (1[15-18]), states it (αὐτός ἐστιν πρὸ πάντων), and founds on it a doctrine of the relation between Christ and all created beings. He is 'the firstborn of every creature' (AV, not RV), antecedent to them all. It is not necessary to extend the scope of St. Paul's language here so as to include what we call 'Nature,' inanimate creation. The meaning of 'all things' is not wider than 'every creature,' and, so far as 'the unseen' among the 'all things' are concerned, they are here described as living intelligences—'thrones, principalities, powers, dominions,' *i.e.* angelic powers in 'the heavenlies.' It is only such living intelligences that are capable of being 'reconciled to him' (v.[20]). And it is of them that St. Paul says that they all, whether on earth or in heaven, whether seen or unseen, were created 'in' Christ, 'through' Christ, and 'unto' Christ, that 'in Him' they have still the basis of their existence (τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέστηκεν). They were created 'in Christ' (not 'by') as the sphere within which the Divine will operates for salvation; 'through Him' as the agent for the effecting of the same purpose; and 'unto Him' as the end or goal of their history, which provides the norm of their experience.

What we have here is in fact the half-defined working of the idea which found definite expression in the Logos-Christology of the Fourth Gospel. Here, if anywhere, St. Paul betrays the influence of speculations which are best known to us through the works of Philo. The words εἰκών, πρωτότοκος, συνέστηκεν, are all employed by Philo for the exposition of the relation of the Logos to the origin and maintenance of created things. How this conception and the nomenclature reached St. Paul, it is impossible to say. There was enough in the OT doctrine of Wisdom as cooperative with God in the work of creation to furnish a foundation for the conception. Details and the terms he employs may have reached him through the cosmological speculations of the false teachers. They interposed between God and His world, as agents of creation and intermediaries of Divine working, the hierarchy of unseen spirit-forces. St. Paul may have been dealing a blow to right and to left when he said in effect, to one school of thought, 'your Logos is our Christ,' to another, 'your spirit-forces were called into being by Him and have their very existence conditioned by Him.'

It remains to call attention to two general facts of a character apparently opposite to those we have been considering. (α) St. Paul never gives to Christ the name or description of 'God.' Two passages have been appealed to as proving that he does: (i.) 2 Th 1[12] κατὰ τὴν χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν καὶ κυρίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, 'according to the grace of our God and (the) Lord Jesus Christ.' It seems natural at first sight to take this phrase as describing one Person, Jesus Christ, as both God and Lord. But according to the practically unanimous opinion of modern commentators (B. Weiss, Dibelius, *ad loc.* in *Handbuch zum NT*, 1911), the phrase must be treated as a double one referring to God and Christ (so AV and RV). (ii.) Ro 9[5] ἐξ ὧν ὁ Χριστὸς τὸ κατὰ σάρκα, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. Both AV and RV render 'Christ . . . who is over all, God blessed for ever.' WH in the margin of their Gr. text put a colon after σάρκα, Hort remarking that this alone 'seems adequate to account for the whole of the language employed, more especially when it is considered in relation to the context.' Westcott adds that 'the juxtaposition of ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ σάρκα and ὁ ὢν κτλ. seems to make a change of subject improbable,' indicating his opinion that it is Christ who is described as 'God over all'; Sanday-Headlam also, after a full discussion of the passage, take the doxology as ascribed to Christ; so also B. Weiss, but in the sense that not Godhead but Divine Exaltation is postulated for Him.

Not so the later commentators, who for the most part find here a doxology addressed to God, 'God who is over all be blessed for evermore.' Evidence of a grammatical or linguistic character is evenly balanced in favour of the two renderings; but in favour of the latter there is the strong general reason that on the other interpretation we should have a phrase which would inevitably infringe St. Paul's monotheism and challenge the monotheism of his readers. And, reviewing the whole of his utterances regarding Christ, the total impression is that of a monotheistic conviction consistently resisting the impulse to do this very thing—to call Jesus God. On the other hand, nothing, not even the Cross, could have offered a greater stumbling-block to the people whom St. Paul was seeking to influence than the proclamation of a second God. And the entire absence from the NT of any indication of opposition to such teaching, or of necessity to explain teaching which would be so distasteful, points conclusively in the same direction.

(β) This conclusion is borne out by the second general consideration, viz. the frequent and emphatic references in St. Paul to the subordination of the Son. In 1 Co 3[22f.] we have the striking climax, 'All things are yours, for ye are Christ's, and Christ is God's'; cf. 1 Co 11[3] 'the head of every man is Christ; the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God.' The very name of 'Son' implies a measure of subordination, and even the supreme Exaltation of the Son when every tongue shall 'confess that Jesus Christ is Lord' (Ph 2[11]) is 'to the glory of God the Father.' The same idea underlies the representation of Christ as the organ of God's revelation, of creation, of reconciliation.

And it is brought out with almost startling force in 1 Co 15[28] 'When all things shall have been subjected unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all.'

Whether St. Paul was ever conscious of the problem which his Christology thus presents, it is impossible to say. He held with equal conviction and emphasis two propositions which seem contradictory: 'There is one God and Father of all, who is above all and through all, and in you all,' and 'Christ is God for me'; and perhaps they find their synthesis in that saying which is at once the simplest and the profoundest account of the whole matter: 'God was in Christ reconciling the world unto himself' (2 Co 5[19]).

4. The First Epistle of Peter.—This Epistle opens with a phrase ('the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' 1[3]; cf. 2 Co 1[3], Eph 1[3]) which puts its Christology on the same plane with what was central in the Christology of St. Paul, but at the same time common to the primitive community (see Hort's notes *ad loc.*). But its predominantly practical character does not offer the opportunity for developing the Christological conception in detail. There is no reference to Christ as Son of God (except indirectly in the phrase quoted above), as Son of Man, or as Spirit. The word 'Christ' is frequently used as a proper name, sometimes in combination with 'Jesus,' sometimes by itself. The starting-point of Christian 'hope' and of Christian experience is the Resurrection of Christ (1[3]); but that experience is described in terms of re-birth, recalling the language of the Fourth Gospel (cf. 1 P 1[3. 23] with Jn 3[3] 1[12. 13]). The goal of Christian hope is 'the revelation of Jesus Christ' (1 P 1[7. 13] 4[13]; cf. 1[5] 5[1]). In the interval the supreme religious duty of Christians is to 'sanctify in their hearts Christ as Lord' (3[15] RV). St. Peter is here quoting (and adapting) the language of Is 8[12. 13] in the LXX version, which concludes with Κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε. Whatever be the precise way in which his words should be rendered, the significant thing is that he substitutes the word Χριστόν for the αὐτόν by which the prophet meant Jahweh. He demands for Christ the same reverence, submission, and dependence as the prophet claimed for God, and he makes the rendering of these the central thing in religion. In 2[3] we find a similar application to Christ of the language of Ps 34[9].

Christ 'is at the right hand of God, having gone into heaven (cf. Ac 3[21]), angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him' (3[22]). For 'God has raised him from the dead, and given him glory' (1[21]; cf. Ac 3[13] ἐδόξασεν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ and Is 52[13] LXX ὁ παῖς μου δοξασθήσεται σφόδρα). This glorified Christ is the 'chief shepherd' (5[4]), the 'shepherd and overseer of your souls' (2[25]), by a figure which, though familiar in the OT (*e.g.* Ps 23, Zec 13[7], Is 40[11]) and also in the Gospels (*e.g.* Mt 9[36], Jn 10) and in the Epistle to the Hebrews (13[20]), is never applied to Christ by St. Paul. It is possible that St. Peter also represents Him as 'ready to judge the quick and the dead' (4[5]), though in 1[17] it is God who is the Judge.

The Epistle is distinguished from all other documents of the NT in that it appears to assign to Christ a redeeming activity in the interval between the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. 'Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the Spirit, in which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison' (3[18. 19]); cf. 4[6] 'the gospel was preached to the dead also.' The idea of our Lord's descent into Sheol and temporary abode there underlies the interpretation put by St. Peter upon Ps 16[10] in Ac 2[31] and is possibly reflected in Eph 4[9] (cf. Lk 23[43]). But the exposition which is given to it in the Epistle is probably due to the influence of speculation, traces of which are found in apocalyptic writings, concerning the ultimate fate of fallen spirits in the under world. The *Book of Enoch* in particular, acquaintance with which is traceable elsewhere in this Epistle (cf. 1[12] with *En.* 1[2]), deals with this subject in several passages (60[5. 25] 64 69[26], ed. Charles) and hints at an opportunity of repentance allowed to sinners of the antediluvian period between the first judgment of the Deluge and the final one. *En.* 69[26], referring apparently, after a long interpolation, to the fallen angels of ch. 64, says, 'There was great joy among them, and they blessed and glorified because the name of the Son of Man was revealed unto them.' The reference to Noah in both contexts makes it highly probable that the *Enoch* literature is the source of the special idea behind the passages in 1 Peter. Christ was understood to have preached 'to the Spirits in prison' in fulfilment of the expectation that the name of the Son of Man would be revealed to them.

Concerning the historic Christ the Epistle declares, quoting Is 53[9], that 'he did no sin, neither was guile found in his mouth' (2[22]); it refers to Him as 'a lamb without spot and blameless' (1[19]), as 'rejected of men' but 'chosen of God' (2[4]), as the 'righteous' who died 'for the unrighteous' (3[18]). Special emphasis is laid upon His patient endurance of suffering as an example to be followed by all Christians (2[21] 4[1. 13]); and of these sufferings the writer claims to be a 'witness,' possibly meaning an eye-witness (5[1] μάρτυς τῶν τοῦ Χριστοῦ παθημάτων). In fact, the Epistle testifies to the thorough working out of that analogy between the suffering servant in Isaiah and the crucified Messiah, the pregnant use of which has been noted in St. Peter's speeches in Acts.

'The Christological figure which belongs to the Petrine speeches of Acts and the First Epistle of Peter *distinctively*, being traceable elsewhere only in a few primitive liturgical passages, . . . is the Isaian figure of the suffering Servant of Yahweh' (B. W. Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God*, 1911, p. 100).

Those who find in this Epistle the doctrine of the pre-existent Christ rely on two passages—1[11] and 1[20]. In the first of these the prophets are said to have searched 'what time, or what manner of time, the Spirit of Christ which was in them (τὸ ἐν αὐτοῖς πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ) did signify'; and it is inferred that the writer ascribes their inspiration to the Spirit of the (pre-existent) Christ. But both in this clause and in the following one 'Christ' probably stands for 'Messiah'; and the meaning is, 'what time . . . the Messiah-spirit in them did signify when it testified beforehand the sufferings leading up to (*or* destined for) Messiah.' This is the view of Hort (*First Ep. of Peter*, 1898, p. 53), who adduces as parallels Is 61[1], Ps 105[15], 2 S 23[1] LXX, and remarks:

'It must be remembered that the sharp distinction which we are accustomed to make between the prophet on the one side and the Messiah of whom he speaks on the other does not exist in the OT itself. The prophet, the people to whom he belongs and to whom he speaks, and the dimly seen Head and King of the people, all pass insensibly one into the other in the language of prophecy; they all are partakers of the Divine anointing, and the Messiahship which is conferred by it.'

In the second passage (1[20]) Christ is described as 'foreknown before the foundation of the world, but manifested at the end of the times' (προεγνωσμένον μὲν πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου), from which it is argued that both the implication of the word 'manifested' and its correlation with 'foreknown' strongly favour the idea of personal pre-existence. But this argument probably lays an unjustifiable stress on the etymology of προεγνωσμένον, and overlooks the significance suggested by its usage. The meaning 'to have prescience of' does not well suit either this passage or Ro 8[29] (οὓς προέγνω καὶ προώρισεν) or Ro 11[2] (οὐκ ἀπώσατο ὁ θεὸς τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὃν προέγνω). So Hort points out (*ad loc.*), and adds: 'a comparison of these passages suggests that in them

προγιγνώσκω means virtually pre-recognition, designation to a function or position' (cf. Jer 1^5, Is 49^1). The idea of the designation of the Messiah in the counsel of God before all worlds is expressed more or less distinctly in other language in Eph $1^{9.10}$, Col 1^{26}, and does not necessarily imply pre-existence for the Messiah. The same idea is illustrated in this Epistle in 1^2, according to which the recipients of the letter are 'saints according to the foreknowledge of God' (κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ). It is probable therefore that the Epistle does not contain any reference to the pre-existent Christ.

As a whole it displays this perplexing combination—the presence of linguistic echoes of Pauline phraseology, and the absence of everything that is specifically Pauline in thought. We look in vain for any reference to justification or reconciliation, to the mystical participation in Christ's death and resurrection or the union between Christ and the believer, to Christ as the Son of God or as 'sent into the world from a pre-existent state.' There are lines of connexion with the Epistle to the Hebrews, *e.g.* the superiority of Christ to angels (3^{22}; cf. Bacon, *op. cit.* p. 91), the conception of faith approximating to hope, the reference to 'sprinkling' (1^2), and the description of Christ as 'Shepherd' (2^{25}). But the Epistle, especially in its Christology, stands distinctly nearer to the common primitive basis than to Paulinism in its present form.

'The writer is by no means a Paulinist. His attitude is rather that of the common practical consciousness pervading the churches—a consciousness which was prior to Paul, and in which Paulinism, for the most part, operated merely as a ferment. The proper appreciation of this central popular Christianity in the apostolic age is vital to the proper focus for viewing the early Christian literature' (Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911, p. 330 f.).

5. The Epistle to the Hebrews.—This Epistle contributes a very original development of the primitive conception of Christ in closest connexion with a special view of the character of His redeeming work. The address of the Epistle 'to Hebrews' is probably as misleading as its traditional ascription to St. Paul as its author was mistaken. And it is a great gain to NT theology that it is now examined apart from any of the former pre-suppositions as to either authorship or address. The phenomena of the Epistle 'converge on the conclusion that Paul had nothing to do with it; the style and religious characteristics put his direct authorship out of the question, and even the mediating hypotheses which associate Apollos or Philip or Luke with him are shattered upon the non-Pauline cast of speculation which determines the theology' (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 428). Compared with the letters of St. Paul it runs far more on the lines of a rhetorical address, and may have been intended in the first place for a quite small and homogeneous community of Christians, not specially distinguished by either Jewish or Gentile origin and proclivities. In its fundamental purpose it is 'a word of exhortation' (13^{22}), and its key-note is struck in 2^{1-4}, especially 2^3, 'how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation?' The Christian salvation is seen to be 'so great,' because after an exhaustive comparison between it and the salvation offered under the OT covenant, it is seen to be superior at every point, and this most conspicuously in the Person of Him through whom it has been mediated (9^{15}; cf. 7^{22} 12^{24}).

What is most characteristic in the Christology of Hebrews is that each of the two normative elements in the primitive conception of Christ—the reality of His human nature and experiences, and the glorious efficacy of His Divine Sonship—is reiterated and developed with a new emphasis and with new detail. This is specially true of the Divine Sonship, which, even more than the High-Priesthood, expresses for the writer the highest claim for Christ. This is the subject into which he bursts without any preface, in the opening sentences of his letter. God, the same who spoke to the fathers by the prophets, has spoken to us by 'the Son,' whom He has 'made the heir of all things,' 'by whom also he made the worlds.' The description which follows, of the Son as 'the effulgence of his glory, the expression of his essence,' makes clear at once that the Sonship is conceived in the absolute sense, and this is the case throughout (1^8 2^5 $5^{5.8}$ 7^{28}), probably even where the full phrase (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) is employed (4^{14} 6^6 7^3 10^{29}). As Son He is already κρείττων γενόμενος τῶν ἀγγέλων (1^4), and as Son, who through the Resurrection has become πρωτότοκος, *i.e.* Representative and Head of the whole family of God, He is to be again brought into the world (1^6), when His eternal glory and sovereignty will be yet more conspicuously displayed. It would not be safe to infer, however, that the author intended all the language of the OT passages which he proceeds to quote to apply literally and specifically to Christ; and in particular the quotation from Ps 45 ('Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,' 1^8 RV; see marg.) is of such uncertain interpretation, both in the LXX and here, that it cannot be claimed as proof that the writer addressed Christ as θεός (see Westcott, *ad loc.*). Nevertheless, the successive clauses of the opening paragraph point to One who belongs to the eternal order, and holds at once a unique and a universal relation to all created things. The timeless character of the Son's existence is indirectly brought out by the analogy of Melchizedek, who 'having neither beginning nor end of days,' is therein 'made like unto the Son of God' (7^3).

In all this there is both likeness and unlikeness to the Christology of St. Paul—likeness in the conception of Sonship as involving radiant revelation (cf. εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ) of Christ as connected with the creation and sustaining of all created being (1 Co 8^6, Col 1^{16}); unlikeness, if not in substance, yet in the greater sweep and definiteness of the conception and in the probable extension of meaning here given to τὰ πάντα. While in both cases the passage in Wis. ($7^{25ff.}$) has unmistakably left its mark on the language, in the case of Heb. we must probably allow also for the influence of Philo's elaboration of the same nexus of ideas.

But there is a deeper distinction in the use of the Sonship-conception as between St. Paul and Hebrews. There is nothing in the latter corresponding to the note of tenderness and intimate affection which St. Paul seems to have recognized in the relationship (*e.g.* Ro $8^{3.32}$, Col 1^{13}). The 'Sonship' in Hebrews shows not so much a change of quality from the official Messianic conception as an extension of it into a timeless past. And this is confirmed by the absence from the Epistle of any reference to God as the Father whether of Christ or of men in Christ. St. Paul's pregnant phrase, 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ,' makes no appearance; nor do we find 'our Lord Jesus Christ' at all, but in its stead the very rare ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν (7^{14} 13^{20}; otherwise only in 1 Ti 1^{14}, 2 Ti 1^8, 2 P 3^{15}).

This 'Son' has now entered into 'heaven itself' (9^{24}; cf. 4^{14} 12^{25}, 1 P 3^{22}, Ac 3^{21}, 1 Th 1^{10}), and taken His seat 'at the right hand of the majesty on high' (1^3; cf. 8^1 10^{12} 12^2). But He has entered not only as the glorified Messiah, the Lord, who exercises kingly rule, but also as the great High Priest, in whom the high priests (and priests) of the old dispensation, with the whole system of sacrifices and purifications which they represent, find their antitype and consummation.

(1) *The High-Priesthood.*—Just as in the Synoptic Gospels the Messiahship, so here the High-Priesthood, is a function of the Sonship. It is presented

in two aspects: first, as typified in the Levitical High-Priesthood; and second, as typified in the Priest-King Melchizedek. The title *ἱερεύς* (*ἀρχιερεύς*), which in this Epistle alone of the books of the NT is applied to Christ, appears quite abruptly at 2^{17} and again at 3^{1}, but its contents are developed from 4^{14} onwards. Christ corresponds with the type, the Levitical High-Priesthood, in that He too is able 'to bear gently with the ignorant and errant' (5^{2}; cf. 4^{15}), in that He too holds the office by Divine appointment ($5^{5,6}$), and in that He provides an effective offering and purification for sins (7^{21}; cf. 1^{3} 2^{17}). But to this Priesthood He is superior in that He requires not to make any offering for His own sins (7^{27}); and by a single offering, the offering of His body once for all (10^{10}), He 'has perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (10^{14}). But, argues the writer, it would be a mistake to stop short at the analogy of the Levitical priesthood, when there is another equally applicable, and itself belonging to a higher category. 'Leaving the story of the beginning of the Christ (the first stage), let us be borne on to His culmination (6^{1}); though it be a long story we have to tell, and one difficult of interpretation' (5^{11}). The culmination of the Priesthood of Christ followed on His Exaltation, when He became a 'priest for ever after the order of Melchizedek' (6^{20}; cf. $5^{9ff.}$ 7^{28}). That is to say, the writer agrees with St. Paul in ascribing a great accession of power and dignity to Christ consequent upon the [Resurrection and] Exaltation, but he applies to Christ as Priest the enhancement of significance which St. Paul applies to Him as 'Son of God' (Ro 1^{4}).

This Priesthood after a new 'order,' corresponding to the 'better covenant' of which Christ was the Mediator and the Pledge (7^{22} 9^{15} 12^{24}), transcended every other form of priesthood in that (*a*) it was 'after the power of an endless life' (7^{16}); (*b*) it was confirmed by an oath of God ($7^{22.28}$); (*c*) the type to which it conformed included kingly as well as priestly functions and prerogatives, and moreover could be shown by a historical illustration to be superior to the Levitical priesthood ($7^{1.10}$); and (*d*) it was unchallengeable, unique, absolute (7^{24} *ἀπαράβατος*; see Westcott *ad loc.*). Such a High Priest, 'holy, harmless, undefiled' in personal character, 'separated from sinners' and 'higher than the heavens' in regard to the conditions of His existence, is One who answers to human need (7^{26}). There 'he ever liveth to make intercession' (7^{25}; cf. 7^{27} 9^{24}); through Him men offer 'the sacrifice of praise to God' (13^{15}); and for them He secures access to 'the holy place' (4^{16}; cf. 10^{19-22}). These priestly functions He continues to exercise; but

'the modern conception of Christ pleading in heaven His Passion, "offering His blood," on behalf of men has no foundation in the Epistle. His glorified humanity is the eternal pledge of the absolute efficacy of His accomplished work. He pleads, as older writers truly expressed the thought, by His Presence on the Father's Throne' (Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1889, p. 230).

(2) *The historical Jesus.*—This conception of the eternal representation of humanity in the presence of God as an essential part of Christ's redeeming function is related to the emphasis on the reality of His human nature, which runs through the Epistle, concurrent with the emphasis on His Divine glory and dignity. The human name 'Jesus' appears with marked frequency and emphasis, nine times in all, and in nearly every case is placed emphatically at the end of a clause. Though there is no reference to the birth of Jesus, and only one to His Resurrection (13^{20}), stress is laid upon His death as a death of suffering ($2^{9.10}$), and the scene in Gethsemane as well as the locality of the Crucifixion are indicated with unexampled detail ($5^{7ff.}$ 12^{3}). In character He is described as 'holy, harmless, undefiled' (7^{26}), and 'faithful to him that appointed him' (3^{2}). He Himself was 'made for a season lower than the angels' (2^{9}), and is specifically described as a sharer in 'the blood and flesh of men' (2^{14}), seeing that 'it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren' (2^{17}). In particular, the likeness in experience extended to temptation, and the temptation was such as arose from His likeness to men, though there was no sin either as its cause or as its result (2^{18} 4^{15}). The writer does not shrink from ascribing to His human nature progress and also weakness and shrinking from death: 'in the days of his flesh . . . though he was Son yet learned he obedience through the things which he suffered'; 'he offered prayers and supplications to him that was able to save him from death with strong crying and tears' (5^{7-10}).

The author does not, however, even in this passage (*καὶ τελειωθείς*) teach that Christ was delivered from moral infirmity, and so made morally perfect. A study of the word *τελείωσις* and its cognates, as used in the Epistle, shows that it connotes 'complete development,' arriving at the destined end, consummation. 'To "make perfect" does not mean to endow with all excellent qualities, but to bring to the *end*, that is, the appropriate or appointed end, the end corresponding to the idea' (A. B. Davidson, *ad loc.*). Here the idea is adequacy to be the Author of Salvation (2^{10} 5^{9}), or Sanctifier (2^{11}), or High Priest (7^{28}; cf. 6^{1}). It is in this sense that Christ was 'made perfect,' and that 'through suffering'; and in this sense that He is the Author [*or* Pioneer] and Perfecter of faith (12^{2}).

6. The Johannine literature.—It is now commonly understood that the Fourth Gospel contains two elements, combined in proportions which are still uncertain—history and its religious interpretation. And these so interpenetrate one another that not only is it difficult to separate them, but the form given to the history is in a lesser or greater degree affected by the interpretation. What we are concerned with here is the conception of Christ which gave rise to the interpretation, and left its mark on the historical material. At least the first of the Johannine Epistles, proceeding from the same source, adds its witness to the same conception.

The Christology of the Johannine literature is remarkable, in the first place, for the combination and reproduction of practically all the elements which had emerged in the earlier documents of the NT. Christ is presented as Messiah (Son of God, Son of Man), Son, Priest, Judge, and Creator, and also as adequately replaced by the Spirit. The combination is the more remarkable when justice is done to the large measure of independence among the documents in which these aspects of Christ are severally emphasized. The various lines which radiate from the common centre of primitive conceptions are brought together again in the Johannine Christology. Only the title Κύριος practically disappears (except in 20^{28}) from the Gospel and the Epistles alike, a fact in which Bousset (*op. cit.* p. 187) sees the effect of the same deep mysticism which claims for the disciples the position of friends.

But though these elements are present in the same form, their connotation is modified in comparison with the earlier writings. Each of them has undergone a subtle change, partly in consequence of their being subsumed under one general conception, and partly because of the character of that over-ruling principle, which is commonly but inadequately described as the 'Logos-idea.' One general rule applies to, and partly explains, these subtle changes. The Johannine conception of Christ differs from those that had gone before in that it is static, not dynamic. All that Christ has since become to the Church or been discovered to

be, He must have been from the beginning. That eternal and intrinsic relation to God towards the expression of which other writers had been moving, has now become the central and governing idea, in the light of which all His other relations, all His functions, are beheld and set. And there is no need, because there is no room, for the recognition of crises in His experience, such as the Baptism and the Transfiguration, or 'being declared the Son of God with power,' or being 'made a priest for ever' at the Exaltation. The only change allowed for is a change of form, at the beginning from the Logos to the Logos made flesh, and again at the end from the human manifestation to the spiritual condition of being.

The writer distinctly states the purpose he had in view when composing his Gospel (20^{31}): 'these [signs] are written that ye may believe that Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name.' But the two titles have interchanged their relative importance. In the Synoptic Gospels Jesus is 'Son of God' because He is Messiah, in accordance with the interpretation of Ps 2^{7}. Here He is Messiah because He is Son of God. And the Sonship is uniformly conceived as a relation, intrinsic, unique, and eternal, involving and resting upon essential unity with the Father (1^{1} 10^{38} 14^{10} etc.).

'The idea of Sonship, which in Paul is carefully subordinated to a strict monotheism, is accepted in its full extent. In the generation succeeding Paul the name "Son of God" had gradually assumed the more definite meaning which the Greek language and forms of thought attached to it. The Fourth Evangelist employs it deliberately in the sense which it would convey to the ordinary Greek mind. Jesus as the Son was Himself of the same nature as the Father. All the divine powers and attributes devolved on Him in virtue of His inherent birthright as Son of God' (E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, 1906, p. 194).

As Son, Christ is now in heaven, whither He has ascended (3^{13}); He is 'in the bosom of the Father' (1^{18}). But He is also with and in the Church on earth. He has returned, in a very real sense, though not 'with the clouds of heaven.' And the story of His life on earth is written from the point of view of those who know Him to be, and to have been all along, the Son of God from heaven ($3^{17.\ 31}$ etc.). He has been recognized as Divine, and Divine in such a sense that even in His human manifestation He retained attributes of Godhead. Omniscience is not obscurely claimed for Him (1^{48} 2^{25} $4^{17.\ 39}$); and His miracles are not so much works of mercy as signs (*σημεῖα*) of supernatural power.

The miracles are specially represented as attesting His claim to be Messiah (10^{38}). And that claim is made for Him ($1^{41.\ 45}$) from the very outset of His Ministry, and by Himself (4^{26} 10^{37}), in the plainest terms; while belief that He is the Messiah is represented as the condition of salvation (8^{24}; cf. 10^{38}). From the beginning also He exercises His Messianic authority (*e.g.* in the cleansing of the Temple, 2^{13-17}), and 'reveals his [divine] glory' (2^{11}). The Baptist points to the descent of the Spirit 'as a dove from heaven' ($1^{32.\ 34}$) as the proof of His Messiahship, not as the occasion of its inauguration.

The title 'Son of Man' also reappears in the Fourth Gospel (12 times), and still as the self-designation of Jesus. It retains what is probably the most significant feature of its use in the Synoptic Gospels, viz. the suggestion of contrast; but whereas in the Synoptic Gospels the contrast may be either between the real glory of the Messiah and the lowliness of His appearance or between the real lowliness of Jesus and the glory of His future, here it is uniformly the latter (1^{51} 'Hereafter ye shall see heaven opened and the angels of God ascending and descending on the Son of man'; 12^{23} 13^{31} 'Now is the Son of man glorified'). This is still the case in the three instances which refer to the lifting up of Christ (3^{14} 8^{28} 12^{32}), where the 'lifting up' involves not the Crucifixion alone but the Crucifixion as the preliminary to power and glory. Viewed as one factor in the Johannine conception of Christ, the title lays stress on the weakness, humility, and obscurity of His earthly manifestation.

But the Messiahship itself is looked at through the experience of intervening years. The transmutation of eschatology has already been accomplished. The Kingdom of God is such that it can be seen, and entered, only by those who have been 'born again,' those who are 'spirit' ($3^{3.\ 5}$). It follows that the function of the Messiah in relation to that Kingdom is differently conceived. It is to declare the Father (1^{18}), to give that knowledge of God which itself 'is life eternal' (17^{3}).

To Christ is assigned here also the function of Judge; but it is no longer that of *iudex futurus*. His presence in the world acts already as a *κρίσις* (3^{17-19} 5^{22} 9^{39}); even when He waives the function, it is because the words He has spoken have judgment-force (12^{47}). It is to save the world that He has come, the Life, the Light, the Truth, or, in one chosen name, the Word of God.

This 'Logos-conception' is neither the dominating conception which has given shape to the contents of the Gospel, nor is it an after-thought. The Evangelist comes to that conception with his belief in Christ as the Divine Son of God already complete, with the various aspects of His nature and function already correlated and harmonized under that idea; and adopts as a means of relating his central conception to contemporary Hellenistic thought the description of Logos for the Son of God.

'The Johannine Logos shows nothing of the fluctuating ambiguity which forms the characteristic quality of the Philonic. He is Personality through and through, and (what for Philo is an impossible thought) has entered on the closest union with the *σάρξ*, the anti-Divine principle' (Bauer, 'ad Jn 1^{1},' in *Handbuch zum NT*, 1912, p. 7; cf. also Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 1913, p. 187 note).

It would be the direct converse of that method, to begin with the conception of the Logos as current in Hellenistic speculation, and, having analyzed its contents, proceed to fit into harmony with its several elements the records of the life of Jesus which were relevant to his purpose. He introduces the Logos as a term already familiar to his readers; he reminds them of the nature, the prerogatives, the activity of the Logos, His sharing in the nature of God, His timeless being, His part in the work of creation; and then says in effect, 'This Logos is our Christ; He became flesh; and we beheld His glory, glory as of the only begotten of the Father.' And throughout the subsequent relation of His acts and words, that glory is allowed to shine.

But not to the obliteration of His humanity, or to the obscuring of His dependence upon God. The glory was visible to those who believed on Him; but they were fully persuaded of the reality of His human nature too (1 Jn 1^{1-3}). To others He appeared as a man (4^{29} 5^{12} 7^{46} 9^{11} 10^{33}), with a human father and mother (6^{42}). They relied on the evidence of their senses when they accused Him of blasphemy, 'because thou being a man makest thyself God' (10^{33}). The Evangelist does not shrink from reporting the words of Philip when he described Him as 'Jesus the son of Joseph' (1^{45}), or those of the Baptist referring to Him as *ἄνθρωπος* (3^{27}); he even reports Jesus as referring to Himself in the same terms—*νῦν δὲ ζητεῖτέ με ἀποκτεῖναι ἄνθρωπον ὃς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὑμῖν λελάληκα* (8^{40}).

His humanity is emphasized with a detail unknown in the Synoptic Gospels—He could be wearied (4^{6}), thirsty (19^{28}), troubled in spirit (13^{21}). He Himself says, 'Now is my soul troubled' (12^{27}), and prays that He may be saved 'from this hour' (cf. He 5^{7}). He formed ties of intimate personal

friendship and affection (11[5]), and at the tomb of Lazarus He 'wept' (11[35]). The attempt to explain such instances of emphasis on the human nature of Jesus as due to the 'schematism' of the writer is an attempt to get rid of the problem left by the Johannine Christology by evading one of the factors, and it is wrecked on the simplicity and naturalness of each of the instances. A schematism which so successfully concealed the inner meaning of the language would defeat its own object.

Nor is it possible to explain away the repeated witness to the sense of dependence upon God acknowledged by Jesus, and the derivation of His power from Him. The Father who is 'greater than all things' (10[29]) is 'greater than' the Son (14[28]). From the Father the Son derives the things which He speaks to the world (8[26]; cf. 8[40] 12[49] 15[15]), and also the power to do His 'works.' He 'can do nothing of himself' (5[19]; cf. 5[30] 8[28]). He submits Himself continuously to the Father's commands (15[10]; cf. 8[29]), and finds His spiritual nourishment in obedience (4[34]). It is in this document where the human nature of the Son and His dependence on the Father are asserted with the strongest emphasis that His Divinity is for the first time expressly acknowledged (1[1] 20[28]). If John thus leaves an unsolved problem for posterity to attack it is better to recognize that it is so.

'How it was possible that this essential divine possession, the exclusive endowment of a heavenly, spiritual being, could be manifested in a being of flesh, is not a subject on which he seems to have pondered—it is to him simply a marvel for reverent contemplation! One thing only is clear, that with equal energy he defends both positions: truly become flesh, and yet in complete possession of those qualities which constitute the nature of the Deity' (J. Weiss, *op. cit.* p. 151).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited above, see W. Lock, 'Christology of the Earlier Chapters of the Acts,' in *Expositor*, 4th ser., iv. [1891] 178; W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, Oxford, 1910; G. H. Box, 'The Christian Messiah in the Light of Judaism,' in *JThSt* xiii. [1912] 321; B. W. Bacon, *Jesus the Son of God*, London, 1911; J. Granbery, *Outline of NT Christology*, Chicago, 1909; A. E. Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, London, 1911; A. Deissmann, *St. Paul*, Eng tr., London, 1912; M. Brückner, *Die Entstehung der paulinischen Christologie*, Strassburg, 1903; W. Olschewski, *Die Wurzeln der paulinischen Christologie*, Königsberg, 1909; S. Monteil, *La Christologie de Saint-Paul*, Paris, 1906; A. Jülicher, *Paulus und Jesus*, Tübingen, 1907; J. Weiss, *Jesus im Glauben des Urchristentums*, do. 1910, and 'Christologie des Urchristentums,' in *RGG* i. [1909] 1712 ff.; A. S. Peake, 'The Person of Christ in the Revelation of St. John,' in *Mansfield College Essays*, London, 1909, p. 89; F. Loofs, *What is the Truth about Jesus Christ?*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1913; H. R. Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, Edinburgh, 1912; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, 1913.

C. ANDERSON SCOTT.

CHRISTIAN (Χριστιανός).—We might expect that, in the case of so renowned a name as 'Christian,' the occasion and circumstances of its origin would have been recorded with all possible detail, but such is not the case. Its first appearance is noticed in the most simple, matter-of-fact way without further explanation. 'The disciples were called Christians first in Antioch' (Ac 11[26]). Then, as far as the NT is concerned, the name almost disappears; it is mentioned only twice again (Ac 26[28], 1 P 4[16]). In the former passage Agrippa says: 'Thou wouldest fain make me a Christian'; in the latter, Peter's words, 'If a man suffer as a Christian,' are spoken from a persecutor's standpoint. Even in Agrippa's day the designation was understood (*c.* A.D. 44), and, when 1 Peter was written (A.D. 64–67), it must have been in common use. In the other Epistles the name does not occur. There the terms used are such as 'disciples,' 'believers,' 'the faithful,' 'brethren,' 'saints.' The only two points definitely indicated in Ac 11[26] are the time and place, and both these are in every way appropriate.

The missionary work of the Church was about to begin from Antioch as its starting-point. There a considerable church had been formed by the united labours of Barnabas and Saul. Driven from Jerusalem by persecution, disciples had gone to Cyprus and preached to the Jews there. Thence some came over to Antioch and preached to 'Greeks also' (Ἕλληνας; another reading has Ἑλληνιστάς, 'Grecian Jews'), with the result that 'a great number believed.' Barnabas came from Jerusalem on an errand of inquiry, and under his ministry 'much people was added to the Lord.' Barnabas then fetched Saul from Tarsus; both laboured in Antioch 'a whole year' and taught 'much people' (ὄχλον ἱκανόν). Here was the first considerable church on Gentile soil; a common name was necessary and was forthcoming—providentially, we cannot doubt, but how is not so clear.

The city of Antioch (*q.v.*), the capital of Syria, a splendid centre of Greek life and culture, became after the Fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) a second home of the Church and the mother-church of Gentile Christianity. Although it does not figure prominently in the NT, in subsequent history it plays a great part as a rival of Alexandria, Rome, and Constantinople. Chrysostom, the prince of early Christian preachers, won his first fame there. This Antioch school of theology represented a type of interpretation more akin to modern thought than any other in those days. Ignatius, martyr and writer of the famous letters, was bishop of Antioch. Chrysostom writes: 'As Peter was the first among the apostles to preach the Christ, so was this city the first to be crowned with the name of Christian as a diadem of wondrous beauty.'

As to the mode in which the name 'Christian' originated, there is great difference of opinion. We seem compelled to accept one of three explanations. (1) All agree that the name did not originate with the Jews. On their lips it would have been a tacit acknowledgment of the Messiahship of Jesus. While the first disciples were Jews, the Jewish element soon became a diminishing quantity in the Church. Their name for believers in Christ was Nazarenes. Their attitude, as we see in the Acts, was increasingly one of estrangement and hostility.

(2) The suggestion has been made that the designation originated with Christians themselves. Eusebius (4th cent.), usually well-informed and trustworthy, supports this view. An argument in its favour is its eminent appropriateness. Nothing could better signalize the central position of Jesus in Christianity. St. Paul's attitude on this question represents the Church of all ages. Systems like Muhammadanism and Buddhism, once established, are independent of their founders. Not so Christianity: 'Christianity is Christ.' His person, life, and work are the key-stone of the arch, the alpha and omega of the gospel. Yet, if this opinion were correct, we should expect some intimation to this effect in Ac 11[26]. Still more, the name is not found in the NT outside the three passages mentioned, and, as far as records go, for some time afterwards. In writers of the 2nd cent. it is of common occurrence—in pagan writers, the Apologists, the author of the *Didache*, and so on. Speaking of the Neronian persecution, Tacitus (A.D. 116) says: 'They whom the populace (*vulgus*) called Christians (*Christianos*).' Suetonius (A.D. 120) and Pliny (A.D. 112) use the same designation. P. W. Schmiedel (*EBi s.v.*) says that Christian writers did not use it because they did not need it., 'Saints,' 'brethren,' etc., served their purpose. 'It follows that, notwithstanding its absence from their writings, the name of Christian may very well have originated at a comparatively early time.' As we have seen, Ac 26[28] and 1 P 4[16] imply that the term was in use. As to scanty references, many early Christian writings have perished.

(3) The opinion most in favour is that the term originated in Gentile circles outside the Church. The people of Antioch with their quick wit had a reputation for the invention of party names. A title so apt, almost obvious, once suggested, would persist with a vitality of its own. Coming from outside, it was not at once accepted by believers, but slowly grew in favour. This explanation on the whole presents the fewest difficulties and fits the circumstances of the case. We need not accept the view that the title was used at first derisively. There is nothing of this character in the title itself, although Conybeare-Howson and others think that it was so meant. A. Carr in an essay in his *Horæ Biblicæ* takes this view. He thinks that St. Paul's preaching of the Kingdom, carrying with it the idea of Christians as an army, would suggest comparison with the followers of great military leaders (Pompeians, Herodians), greatly to the discredit of Christ and Christians. This meaning is not expressed in the term itself, but, if it were a fact, would arise out of the memory of the Crucifixion. Antiochene ingenuity could certainly have discovered a better expression for such an idea. At a much later date the Emperor Julian saw nothing discreditable in the name, for he forbade its use and replaced it with Galilæan. (The incidental character of the origin of a great name is not without analogy. In v.[30] of the same chapter we have the first mention incidentally of 'presbyters'—the office out of which the countless forms of church polity have grown. So again with regard to deacons in Ac 6[3].)

It has been argued that the term Χριστιανός implies a Western and Latin origin. But the termination *-ανός* was in wide use among Greeks everywhere (*HDB* i. 384).

The use of this name was the first step in the differentiation of Christians from Jews in the public eye. Previously the two classes had been confounded; and the confusion was advantageous to Christians in many respects, as the Jews were a privileged nation before the Roman law. As the Church grew in numbers the confusion ceased, and the new name emphasized the distinction.

As the name Χριστός was often confused with *χρηστός* ('good,' 'useful'), so Χριστιανός was often misspelt Χρηστιανός. This was intelligible enough in pagan writers. Suetonius says that Claudius expelled the Jews from Rome because they were always raising tumult under the instigation of Chrestus. Christian writers are not disinclined to turn the mistake to account. Tertullian (*Apol.* 3) does this intentionally, saying to pagans: 'When you wrongly say Chrestians [Chrestianos] (for your knowledge of the name is limping), it is composed of suavity and benignity' [de suavitate et benignitate]. Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* ii. 4) also writes: 'They who believe in Christ both are and are called good (*χρηστοί*)'; Justin (*Apol.* i. 4): 'You ought rather to punish those who accuse (us) because of our name. For we are accused of being Christians; but it is unjust for that which is good (*τὸ χρηστὸν*) to be hated'; Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* iv. 7): 'Ignorant of our affairs, they call Christ *Chrest* (Christum *Chrestum*) and Christians *Chrestians* (Christianos *Chrestianos*).'

We can imagine nothing more fitting than that Christians should bear their Master's name (Christ) in their own (Christian). There was more than accident in such an origin. The name betokens the vital union between Christ and believers, of which the Epistles make so much ('they that are Christ's'). An early Liturgy says: 'We thank thee that the name of thy Christ is named upon us, and so we are made one with thee.' What a Christian is called he is. He has the mind of Christ. He thinks and feels, loves and acts, as Christ does. His name is an index to his heart. 'We are called children of God, and such we are.' 'A Christian is one who has Christ in his heart, mouth and work' (à Lapide). Passages like Mt 19[29] 24[9] found a literal fulfilment in the Church: see Mk 9[41], 'Because ye are Christ's,' and margin, the name standing for the person; Ac 4[12], 'Neither is there any other name under heaven, that is given among men, wherein we must be saved.' To believe on the name is to believe on Christ (Jn 1[12]).

LITERATURE.—Comm. of Meyer, Rackham, Alford, Wordsworth on Ac 11[26]; artt. in *HDB*, *EBi*, *DCG*, and Kitto's *Cyclopædia*, *s.v.*; Conybeare-Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[2], 1877, i. 146*f.*; A. Carr, *Horæ Biblicæ*, 1904; F. H. Chase, *The Credibility of the Book of Acts*, 1902.

J. S. BANKS.

CHRISTIAN LIFE.—The type of moral and religious life which was lived by the Christians of the Apostolic Age had already been so far fixed as to be described in the phrase *κατὰ χριστιανισμὸν ζῆν* by Ignatius (*Magn.* x. 1) towards the close of that period; and the *Didache* (xii. 4), possibly at an earlier date, used the title Χριστιανός, showing that the name which Antioch invented (Ac 11[26]; cf. 26[28] and 1 P 4[16]) was now accepted as specifying a person whose life was distinctive alike in ideal and practice. If we take the year A.D. 100 as marking the extreme limit of the Apostolic Age, our authorities for determining the characteristics of Christian practice and of the Christian life in its inner and outer aspects are but meagre, consisting of the NT writings, the *Didache*, 1 Clement, the *Epistle of Barnabas*, the *Epistles* of Ignatius, some fragments of Papias and Hegesippus preserved by Eusebius, and a few contemporary references in pagan writers like Tacitus and Suetonius. There is a difficulty in using and classifying the information of these authorities, inasmuch as the chronology of the NT writings is a subject of inquiry and even of controversy; while the traditional origin and authorship of writings like the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Pastoral Epistles, of the Johannine writings and several others, are disputed by competent critics (see art. DATES). Some scholars (*e.g.* Gwatkin) regard the *Didache* as one of the earliest works of Christian literature; while others, like von Dobschütz, place it beyond the limits of the Apostolic Age. Nevertheless, in spite of the various opinions on questions of chronology and authorship, it is possible to arrive at some definite conclusions on universally accepted premisses, and to form a clear, if in details an incomplete, conception of the practice of the Christian life exhibited by Christian communities from the death of Christ to the close of the 1st century.

One general principle may be laid down by way of preface. The earliest witnesses of Christianity are more concerned with Christ than with a system of Christian morals. It is not primarily a new code of ethics which they unfold; it is a new Personality. Not the teaching, but the Teacher is their theme. The *summum bonum* had been realized in the life of Jesus. The Sermon on the Mount, indeed, entered into the apostolic consciousness, as we see from the precepts of Ro 12; but the Law-giver, as on the occasion of its utterance, is more than His precepts (Mt 7[29]). The devotion to a living historical Person, the Son of God and Redeemer of the world, who was capable of communicating His Spirit to all mankind—this is the note of the earliest preaching of the gospel.* The apostles preach 'Christ and him crucified.' 'They seem to think that if they can only fill men

* Incidentally we may regard this feature as one of the reasons why Christianity in the Roman world vanquished all competitors—Isis or Attis or Mithra or the redeemer-god of Oriental mystery-religions. The Redeemer-God of Christianity was a historical personality.

with true thankfulness for the gift of life in Christ, morality will take care of itself' (Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.* i. 55). What results did such a presentation of truth produce on the age to which it was given? This question can be answered only by a study of moral conditions within the Christian Church. We must go for our enlightenment, not to any general studies of Christian ethics, but to the extant authorities of the age, which treat of the Christian life in: (1) the Jewish-Christian period; (2) the Pauline period; and (3) the post-Pauline period. In the evolution of the Christian communities, there is a direct connexion between ethical conditions and the official or institutional organization of the churches, which grew naturally out of these conditions; but it will be necessary to narrow our survey to religious and moral aspects, and to disregard in detail problems of a historical and institutional character, *e.g.* Baptism, Lord's Supper, ritual and worship in general, bishops and elders, the relation of St. Paul to the Jerusalem Council, and the like (see artt. CHURCH, BAPTISM, EUCHARIST, BISHOP, etc.).

1. Jewish Christianity.—The followers of Christ at the time of His death were distinguished from the majority of their fellow-Jews by their conviction that Jesus was the Messiah. They were thus to their contemporaries a Messianic sect within the pale of Judaism, conforming to the rites and moral code of their religion. Their Master, while condemning the defects of representative leaders of religion, like the Pharisees, had never rejected the observances of the Jewish religion—true to the spirit of His mission, which was rather to fulfil than to destroy. Weizsäcker seems to go too far when he suggests (*Apostol. Age*, ii. 341) that there is disharmony between the evidence of the Synoptics and the Acts, on the ground that the latter shows the primitive Church more bound up with Judaism than Jesus Himself was, and the Pharisees actual patrons of the apostolic community. The fact is that both Jesus and the early Church accepted the outward symbols of Judaism, *e.g.* the Temple and national festivals, while in spirit they had already advanced beyond the national faith (cf. Ac 2^{40}).

The primitive Christians of Jerusalem, while following the rules of the Jewish religion for everyday life (Ac 15), and for worship and devotional observances (3^{1}), come before us in the early chapters of the Acts as a distinctive community, given to prayer (1^{14}). Prayer was at once the source and seal of that unity or spirit of brotherhood which was to find further expression in a common social life characterized by *ἀγαλλίασις καὶ ἀφελότης καρδίας*, and in a community of goods (2^{44-46}). The latter feature represented merely the socialism of self-sacrifice, its real motive being not a desire for social innovation, but the support of the poor; and it may have been suggested by Essene models (see COMMUNITY OF GOODS). The Christians lived a happy family life; the members were 'brethren'; new converts were received into the fellowship by baptism (2^{41}); the practice of charity produced noble examples of generosity like that of Barnabas (4^{36}), and incidentally provoked unworthy ambition, of which the deceit of Ananias and Sapphira (ch. 5) was a dark and memorable result. Women such as Mary, the mother of John Mark, and Sapphira held an independent position in the community, and slowly the influence and aims of the brotherhood broadened out. They were known as 'disciples,' men 'of the Way' (Ac 9^{2} 24^{14}), and 'saints.' The appointment of the seven Hellenists (Ac 7) which quelled the internal differences between the Hebrews or pure Jews and the Hellenists, their Greek-speaking brethren of the Dispersion, indicates not only the large-hearted charity of the Christian apostles, but their gradual alienation from the narrowness of Judaic legalism. This spirit of alienation came to a head in the extreme views of St. Stephen, the leader of the Hellenists, who paid the penalty of his undisguised anti-Judaism in martyrdom. It is easy to see that the ideas of St. Stephen anticipated the essential principles of Pauline Christianity, and further, that they were in advance of minds like that of St. Peter, who still maintained a loyal observance of Jewish law and felt scruples about entering a Gentile house (Ac 10) and joining St. Paul, Barnabas, and other Gentile Christians (Gal 2^{11}). Thus, while the Hellenists were scattered abroad, being found in Samaria and as far north as Antioch, the Petrine section remained at Jerusalem to find a new head in St. James, who in A.D. 51 is associated with St. Peter and St. John and in 58 is sole leader of the Church. The Apostolic Decree (Ac 15), which was intended to solve the differences of Jewish and Gentile Christianity, was a compromise which shows at once the strength and the weakness of the Jewish-Christian position: its strength lay in its jealousy for pure morality—Gentile Christians are to abstain from meat offered to idols, blood, things strangled, and fornication; its weakness lay in its ceremonialism and in its distrust of the Gentile *per se*. The later factors of Jewish Christianity represented by the Johannine literature and such writings as the Epistle of James are treated below.

Palestinian Christianity, in spite of its reverence for Jewish law, did not escape persecution. The Christian Jews fled to Pella before A.D. 70, and refused to join the Bar Cochba rebellion, and finally became a sect beyond the Jordan, known as Ebionites or Nazarenes. The saint of Palestinian Christianity is undoubtedly James, the Lord's brother, already referred to (see the glowing account of him by Hegesippus, preserved in Euseb. *HE* ii. 23); he was 'the Just,' a Nazirite in practice, but consecrated to God, a typical priest of righteousness to the Jewish-Christian mind. The martyrdom of St. Stephen and that of St. James in their several ways indicate the undying influence of Christ's example and teaching. It is probable that in this community the oral teaching of our Lord had a wider vogue than in Pauline circles. His sayings were circulated and known in the sphere of His earthly ministry, and produced a new type of personality and conduct (see Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, 156 f.). We may sum up the features of Christian life in its earliest environment as a moral ideal, coloured and modified by loyalty to the tenets of Judaism; but issuing, under belief in the Messianic Jesus and by the power of His Spirit, in brotherliness, sympathy, love of enemies, heroic confession of faith, and purity of life.

2. Pauline Christianity.—The conversion of St. Paul was a new departure in the Christian witness, and opened a new epoch for Christianity. His own Christianity was not in essence so much a negation of or a revolt from Judaism as a fresh inspiration, the result of a moral crisis in his inner life. One of the results of the crisis, it is true, was to reveal to him what he calls *τὸ ἀδύνατον τοῦ νόμου* (Ro 8^{3}), and to bring about his rejection of the Jewish ideal of salvation; but his conception of Christianity was based on the positive conviction rooted in experience that newness of life consisted in a personal union with Christ. Faith in Christ transfigured a man's personality, and thereby gave him a new ethic, together with the power to carry it into practice. The Pauline morality is the offspring of the Apostle's doctrine of salvation by faith. 'He who was united to Christ could not help practising the Christian virtues' (Gardner, *Religious Experience of St. Paul*,

159). His insistence on ethics reveals his abhorrence of antinomianism, even when that abhorrence is not as expressly stated as it is in Ro 6[15] and Gal 5[18f.]. The difference between Pauline morality and the morality of the Judaizers who were found all over the Greek-speaking world, lay in the fact that Gentile Christianity formed an independent ethic, while the ethic of the Jewish Christian 'merely looked like an addition to the commandments, an ennobling and purifying of the rule of the pious, law-abiding Jew' (see Weizsäcker, ii. 346). This distinction arose naturally from the exalted view which St. Paul held as to the Person of Christ; wherever the Deity of our Lord is proclaimed, as in the Fourth Gospel and 1 John, 1 Peter, and the Ignatian Epistles, we find, as McGiffert notes (see art. 'Apostolic Age' in *ERE*), that the Pauline idea of moral transformation by the indwelling of the Divine becomes prominent. On the other hand, elsewhere in the NT and in Clement's *First Ep. to Corinthians*, where the Jewish type of theology prevails, salvation is placed in the future as the reward of the faithful. For the message of the Pauline Epistles and the ethical life and problems of the Christian communities as portrayed therein the reader is referred to artt. on the individual Epistles, but a general summary of the evidence of his writings may be added here.

We may often infer from St. Paul's warnings the general perils to which the Christians were liable. We see that the Christian standard is not attained at once (Ph 3[12]); there are express references to flagrant examples of moral failure necessitating a ban of excommunication; and the 'saints' are good men and women still in the making; hence the hortative form so largely adopted by this Apostle. True to his essential convictions, the Apostle assigns to the direct action of the Spirit the transforming of human character. He appeals not to Scripture or law, but to the Christian consciousness. Christ is the fulfilment and end of the Law (Ro 10[4]) and the founder of a new law of love (Gal 6[2], 1 Co 9[21]), in that His Spirit is a new vital power. With the truth of the Incarnation several of his greatest precepts are allied (2 Co 8[9], Ph 2[5], Gal 2[20], Col 3[13], Ro 15[7]), and there is often a direct connexion between his ethics and his theological and christological doctrine. His distinction between 'flesh' and 'spirit' colours all his thought regarding personal morality. His insistence on sexual chastity (in 1 Cor. he reveals his preference for celibacy, and his sympathy with the ascetic ideal, while he denounces its excesses), and his warnings against sins of the flesh are everywhere prominent. The body is a temple of the Holy Ghost (1 Co 6[19]). His memorable indictment of pagan vice in Ro 1[21ff.] is pointed by the actual life of Corinth, the city from which he wrote the Epistle, and there is hardly an Epistle in which reference is not made to sexual vice (cf. Col 3[5ff.]). The famous 'hymn of love' (1 Co 13) places love at the head of his ethical system, and is indirectly an indictment against all forms of self-seeking elsewhere specified: *e.g.* covetousness (Col 3[5]), the spirit of faction and the love of pre-eminence (Ph 1[15. 17]), and dishonesty (1 Th 4[6]). In Ro 12[1] we have the moral life set forth as a λογικὴ λατρεία, and its motive the fulfilment of God's will. The duty of prayerfulness* is frequently proclaimed (Ro 12[12], 1 Co 7[5], Ph 4[6], Col 4[2]). The spirit of revenge is condemned, the love of one's enemy (Ph 1[10]) and returning of good for evil are expressly inculcated. Ordinary conversation is to be wholesome and yet pleasing (Col 4[6]). The gentler virtues which found no place in pagan ethics, such as sincerity, humility, reasonableness (Ph 4[5]), patience, meekness, brotherly love, kindness (Gal 5[22]), are united with love and temperance or self-control; while joy, peace, and thankfulness (cf. Ph 4[6], εὐχαριστία) are the resultant graces of Christian conduct.

The domestic and social virtues are frequently urged on the Christian convert—love of husband for wife, of wife for husband, of children for parents, of slave for master, of master for slave (cf. Ro 3[18], Col 3[18-22]). In all social relations St. Paul is conscious of the need of Christian tactfulness and discretion (Col 3[21] and Ph 1[9]). 'To walk worthily of the gospel of Christ' (Ph 1[27]) is his comprehensive formula for Christian conduct. The Christian's relation to the heathen outsiders and to his less strict or 'weak' brother, and to heathen practices and use of heathen tribunals, is set forth in 1 Cor., which is a manual of social Christianity. He did not attack the slave-system or proclaim a social revolution: he sought to Christianize the relationship of master and slave by Christianizing both master and slave (see art. PHILEMON). In 1 Thess. he warns men against the moral perils of 'an overstrained Parousia-expectation'; in 2 Thess. he proclaims the dignity and duty of labour.

Finally, there is the duty of the 'strong' to help the weak (Gal 6[1]), the care for and liberality towards the poor (see 1 Co 16), and, above all, obedience to civic and Imperial authorities (Ro 13[1-10]). In dealing with social and civil responsibilities, the ethics of Pauline Christianity are opposed to revolt or agitation. The sanctification of the individual and the community is their aim and object. For his views with regard to the subordination of women (1 Co 7), St. Paul has frequently been criticized, but on the whole they made for domestic purity and the strengthening of the marriage tie, in an age when the matrimonial relationship was losing its binding and sacred sanctions. His doctrine of the solidarity of society—a sin against a brother is a sin against Christ (1 Co 8[12])—and of the equality of all men in Christ (Gal 3[28], Col 3[11]) prepared the way for the uplifting of the masses, and identified Christianity with the spirit of brotherhood, even though the references to love of the brethren are more frequent than to love of mankind as a whole (see art. FELLOWSHIP). In fact, Christianity, as we find it set forth by St. Paul and exemplified however imperfectly by the Pauline churches, already exhibits the new ethical passion and power which were eventually to win the Empire and the world.

3. Post-Pauline Christianity.—For this period our chief authorities are the later writings of the NT. These include, in addition to the Pastoral Epistles and the Epistle to the Ephesians (now widely regarded as sub-Pauline), the Epistle to the Hebrews, 1 Peter, the Johannine writings, Revelation, James, and Jude. We have also the Ignatian Epistles, 1 Clement, and the recently discovered *Odes of Solomon* (*q.v.*), to which Harnack assigns the date of *c.* A.D. 100. The interest of the *Odes* is doctrinal and ceremonial rather than ethical, although it appears that they were associated with the *teaching* of the catechumens. 1 Peter, Revelation, and Hebrews belong to the time of the persecution under Domitian, in which Christians and Jews alike suffered. The Pastorals apparently have reference to the earlier or Neronian persecution (A.D. 64), in which a large number of the Christians perished because they were convenient scapegoats (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44) for Nero's unreasoning anger. Both Ephesians and the Pastorals give us the Pauline type of morality, Ephesians being influenced by and modelled on Colossians. In fact, the influence of St. Paul is manifest not only in those Epistles traditionally assigned to him, but generally in the later literature, which is really the offspring of a Jewish-Christian type of thought, *e.g.* 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Johannine writings.

* See, for models of prayer in the Apostolic Age, *Didache*, 10, and 1 Clem. 59–61.

For the special characteristics of this post-Pauline literature, see artt. on the several books.

In 1 Peter, Hebrews, and the Epistle of the Roman Church to the Church of Corinth (1 Clem.) we find ourselves in touch with the Church at Rome. In Hebrews the Christians addressed had already passed through the Neronian persecution and become a 'gazing-stock' (10^{33}) to the world. The didactic purpose was to show the preparatory character of the Jewish religion; but throughout we find the hortatory element prominent: it was a λόγος παρακλήσεως (13^{22}). The peril was shrinking from confession of Christ, a failure of παῤῥησία (10^{19}), their lack of Christian knowledge (6^{1}); on the other hand, good works are praised (6^{10})—brotherly love, hospitality, care for the sick and imprisoned; the great need is πίστις, not intellectual belief, but the moral assurance of a future reward—'a better country.' 1 Peter similarly lays stress on the consolatory power of ἐλπίς—the 'living hope' of a future life—in the midst of sufferings. 1 Clem. shows that the Church at Rome had not lost its stability, nor forgotten the duty of intercession especially for captive fellow-members. On the other hand, at Corinth since the 40 years when St. Paul wrote, there is little change; there are the defects of licentiousness and rebellion against authority. Throughout the Epistle we are conscious of St. Paul's influence; ch. 49, *e.g.*, is an imitation of the 'hymn of love.' 1 Peter, while sent from Rome, is addressed to the Churches of Asia Minor.

Possibly Ephesians belongs to the same period. While emphasizing knowledge ($1^{9\text{-}17}$ 3^{3}), it gives the premier position to love, which surpasses knowledge and is its object (3^{19}). In 1 Peter the favourite word is ἀγαθοποιΐα. In Ephesians the old sins of paganism recur—uncleanness, lasciviousness, lusts; in 1 Peter malice, guile, hypocrisies, envies, and evil-speaking. The life of paganism is ἄγνοια, darkness, death: Christianity brings knowledge (Eph 4^{17}, 1 P 1^{14}), light (Eph 5^{8}, 1 P 2^{9}), and life (Eph $2^{1ff.}$) or effective power (1^{19} 3^{20}). Incidentally we note the emergence of new faults—drunkenness (Eph 5^{18}), the habit of the ἀλλοτριεπίσκοπος, or meddling in other people's concerns (1 P 4^{15}), and extravagance of ornamentation in women (3^{3}). Both 1 Peter and Ephesians show an advance on St. Paul in their appeal to the OT, which Jewish Christianity made the Bible of the Gentile world. The Pastoral Epistles exhibit the beginnings of Gnosticism (*q.v.*) and the influence of the false teaching prevalent in Asia Minor (cf. Jude, which warns especially against a far-reaching licentiousness), the discrediting of prophecy and the conception of εὐσέβεια. The Epistle of James, with which may perhaps be associated the *Didache* (although the date of the latter is uncertain), gives us the strong ethical ideal of Palestinian Christianity; its insistence on works does not imply retention of the Jewish code; the 'law of liberty' is a new law given by Christ, or 'the yoke of the Lord' (*Did.*). Revelation is also Jewish-Christian in its standpoint, and presents some valuable cameos of church life in Asia Minor in the letter to the Seven Churches (see art. APOCALYPSE). It treats the Christian life on the broad basis of history, and recognizes the heroism of both Jewish and Gentile Christians in the world-conflict; the proofs of Christianity are to be seen in 'the heroic virtues of martyrdom and virginity.' The Ignatian Epistles, which also glorify martyrdom, are remarkably silent regarding the gross sins of paganism. They deal with the contrast between Christian and non-Christian, the peril of nominal Christianity, and the duties of confession and Church unity; they reflect the growing Church-consciousness which anticipates the later Catholicism. The Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles clearly express the equal recognition of Jewish and Gentile Christians. The author, though a Jew, is 'denationalized' in his standpoint, which yet is to be distinguished from St. Paul's in its generally mystical and idealistic nature. The spirit of his ethic is 'contemplative and exclusive' (Weizsäcker, ii. 397). Faith in Jesus as the Son of God is the condition of 'eternal life' and the sonship of God; while the Person of Christ involved a universal redemption. The truth of the new birth is Pauline; while the view of sin as ἀνομία shows the Jewish veneration for the old Law; even 'the new commandment' is an old commandment (1 Jn 2^{7}) rightly viewed. The Christian life is characterized in a series of splendid generalizations—love, truth, light, with the antitheses of death and hatred, sin, the world, and darkness. The ideal is the overcoming of the world, the spirit of which is independence of God. The distinction between deadly and venial sins, the recognition of false forms of faith, the presence of official ambition which resents all ecclesiastical development (in Diotrephes [3 Jn]), are features which point to a later and more regulated stage of Christian life than we find in the Pauline letters, with their advocacy of the unfettered action of the Spirit.

To sum up, the Christian life, as exhibited in the literature of the Apostolic Age and viewed in the many phases and fluctuations which were due to its environment, the immaturity of its professors, the development of speculative thought, the errors of undue asceticism and moral laxity, presents on the whole a fixed and established type based on ethical and religious principles, which were destined to live and to transform the world because they owed their origin to faith in the historical Son of God, who had opened the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

LITERATURE.—A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, and art. 'Apostolic Age' in *ERE*; E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1904; C. von Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., ii. [do. 1895]; A. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*², Eng. tr., do. 1908; H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, do. 1909; J. Moffatt, *LNT*, Edinburgh, 1911; P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, London, 1911.

R. MARTIN POPE.

CHRONOLOGY.—See DATES.

CHRYSOLITE (χρυσόλιθος, Rev 21^{20}).—In modern usage the name 'chrysolite' is applied to a transparent variety of olivine, used as a gem-stone and often called 'peridot.' The ancients applied the word to various yellowish gems. The LXX gives it as the equivalent of פִּטְדָה, which Flinders Petrie (*HDB* iv. 620ᵇ) is inclined to identify with yellow jasper. The later Greeks gave the name chrysolite to the topaz, which was unknown in earlier times.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CHRYSOPRASE (χρυσόπρασος, from χρυσός, 'gold,' and πράσον, 'a leek').—This stone is the tenth foundation of the wall of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21^{20}). The name is now applied to an apple-green variety of chalcedony or hornstone, prized in jewellery and sometimes used for mural decorations. But this chalcedony was probably unknown to the ancients, and the χρυσόπρασος of the Greeks was 'not improbably our chrysoberyl' (*EBr*¹¹ vi. 321). The word is not found in either of the LXX lists of precious stones (Ex $28^{17\text{-}20}$, Ezk 28^{13}) with which the writer of Rev. was familiar.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CHURCH.—The history of the Church in the Apostolic Age may be treated under the following heads: (1) Sources, (2) Importance, (3) Name, (4) Origin, (5) Growth, (6) Conflict between Jewish

and Gentile elements, (7) Character, (8) Relation to the State and other systems.

1. Sources.—Our sources of information are not nearly so full as we might wish, but some of them are excellent; and, although we are obliged to leave several important questions open, yet criticism enables us to secure solid and sure results. Our earliest sources are the Epistles of St. Paul, and the large majority of those which bear his name are now firmly established as his. Doubts still exist with regard to the Pastoral Epistles, but it is generally admitted that they contain portions which are by the Apostle, and at any rate they are evidence as to a period closely connected with his age. Hebrews, whoever wrote it, is evidence respecting a similar period. With the possible exception of 2 Peter, all the other Epistles and the Apocalypse are sources. More full of information than the Pauline Epistles, though later in date, is the Book of Acts, now firmly established as the work of St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. Those who fully admit this differ considerably in their estimate of the value of Acts as a historical document, but the trend of criticism is in the direction of a high estimate rather than of a low one. Microscopic investigation and a number of recent discoveries show how accurate a writer St. Luke generally is. We have to lament tantalizing omissions much more often than to suspect serious inaccuracies. The Gospels give some help; for what they record explains many features in the Epistles and Acts.

Outside the NT, but within the 1st cent., we have the Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians and the Epistle of Barnabas, one representing Gentile and the other Jewish Christianity. Within the first three decades of the 2nd cent., we have the writings of three men whose lives overlapped those of some of the Apostles—Ignatius, Polycarp, and Papias; and to the same period probably belongs the *Didache* or *Teaching of the Twelve*. Something of considerable value may also be obtained from two writers near the middle of the 2nd cent.—Hermas and Justin Martyr; and even so late as the last quarter of the cent. we can find apostolic traditions of great value in the writings of Irenæus. From outside the Christian Church we have good material, especially respecting the great crisis of the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, from the Jewish writer, Josephus; and also some important statements from the heathen writers, Tacitus, Suetonius, and Pliny, who were contemporary with Clement, Ignatius, and Polycarp.

2. Importance.—The importance of the history of the Apostolic Church is very great, but it is sometimes misunderstood. The sources mentioned above tell us something about the beliefs, organization, and ritual of the first Christians; and they are all very simple. It is sometimes supposed that if we take these simple elements and close our eyes to later developments, we get the essence of Christianity, free from unessential forms, and that this constitutes the importance of the primitive Church. It is the model to which all Church reformers ought to look, with a view to restoring its simplicity. Two considerations show that this estimate is erroneous. Essence without form is unattainable. The Apostolic Church had forms which were the outcome of the conditions in which the Church existed. Some of those conditions changed very quickly, and the forms changed also. The restoration of the simplicity of the primitive forms will have little value or vitality unless we also restore the primitive conditions, and that is impossible. Secondly, the sources do not tell us the whole truth. On some important points we can obtain nothing better than degrees of probability because the evidence is so inadequate; on other points there is no evidence, and we have to fall back on pure conjecture. If it had been intended that all subsequent ages should take the Apostolic Church as a model, then we might reasonably expect that a complete description of it would have been preserved. A sketch which has to be gathered piecemeal from different sources, and which, when put together, is incomplete both in outline and in contents, cannot be made an authoritative example. 'Christianity is not an archæological puzzle' (J. H. Ropes, *Apostolic Age*, London, 1906, p. 20).

Nevertheless, the importance of this age is real and great. (*a*) The spiritual essence of Christianity may be said to consist in the inner relation of each soul to God, to His Christ, and to His Spirit, and in the inner and outer relations of all believers to one another. In the first age of the Church this essence existed in such simple vigour that it gave reality and life to forms which had not yet had time to become mistaken for essentials. About the simplicity of these beginnings there is no doubt; it is an established fact; but that does not prove that this primitive simplicity is a binding authority for all ages. (*b*) This age produced the NT—the group of writings which has had greater influence for good than any which the world has ever known: a group of writings which reflects the ideas and habits of that age and must be interpreted by a knowledge of those ideas and habits. (*c*) This age exhibits the first effects which the gospel produced upon Jew and Gentile—two very different soils, which might bear very different fruits. (*d*) It is the first stage in the complex development of the Church and the churches; and in order to understand that development, we must study its beginnings.

3. Name.—The name 'Church' is in itself strong evidence of the connexion between the Old Covenant and the New. In the OT, two different words are used to denote gatherings of the chosen people or their representatives—*ʿēdhāh* (RV 'congregation') and *qāhāl* (RV 'assembly'). In the LXX, *συναγωγή* is the usual translation of *ʿēdhāh*, while *qāhāl* is commonly rendered *ἐκκλησία*. Both *qāhāl* and *ἐκκλησία* by their derivation indicate calling or summoning to a place of meeting; but 'there is no foundation for the widely spread notion that *ἐκκλησία* means a people or a number of individual men *called out* of the world or mankind' (F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, London, 1897, p. 5). *Qāhāl* or *ἐκκλησία* is the more sacred term; it denotes the people in relation to Jahweh, especially in public worship. Perhaps for this very reason the less sacred term *συναγωγή* was more commonly used by the Jews in our Lord's time, and probably influenced the first believers in adopting *ἐκκλησία* for Christian use. *συναγωγή* quickly went out of use for a Christian assembly (Ja 2^2), except in sects which were more Jewish than Christian. Owing to the growing hostility of the Jews, it came to indicate opposition to the Church (Rev 2^9 3^9). *ἐκκλησία*, therefore, at once suggests the new people of God, the new Israel.

We do not know who so happily adopted the word for Christian use. It is not impossible that Christ Himself may have used it, for He sometimes spoke Greek. He used it or its equivalent in a Christian sense (Mt 16^{18}); but Mt 18^{17}, though capable of being transferred to Christians, must at the time when it was spoken have meant a Jewish assembly. St. Paul probably found the word already in use, and outside the Gospels it is very frequent in the NT. We find three uses of the term: the general body of believers (Ac 5^{11} 9^{31} 12^{1}); the believers in a certain place (1 Th 1^{1}, 2 Th 1^{1}); an assembly for public worship (1 Co 11^{18} $14^{19.\ 35}$).

It had already become a technical term with strongly religious associations, which were partly borrowed from a Jewish ideal, but had been so enriched and transfigured as to indicate a body that was entirely new. The Jewish idea of a chosen people in relation to God received a fuller meaning, and to this was added the idea of a chosen people in relation to the Incarnate and Risen Son of God and to the Spirit of God. ἐκκλησία is nowhere used of heathen *religious* assemblies.

4. Origin.—Whether or no the Christian community owes its name of 'Church' (ἐκκλησία) to Christ, beyond reasonable doubt it owes its origin to Him. It is a strange misreading of plain facts to elevate St. Paul into the founder of the Christian Church. The theory that in Christianity, as in some other religions, there was a gradual deification of the founder, continues to be advocated, but it will not bear serious investigation. If St. Paul originated Christianity, who originated St. Paul? What was it that turned Saul the persecutor of the Church into Paul the apostle of Jesus Christ? It was the indelible conviction that Jesus was the Messiah, and that He had risen from the dead and conversed with him on the road to Damascus, that converted and ever afterwards controlled St. Paul. The conviction that the Messiah had been crucified, and had risen, and was now the Lord in heaven, was reached very quickly and surely by large numbers, who had good opportunities of ascertaining the truth and staked everything on the result. This conviction was based upon the experiences of those who were quite certain that the Risen Christ had appeared to them and conversed with them. Those appearances were realities, however we may explain them; they are among those things which prove themselves by their otherwise inexplicable results; and the convictions which they produced remain undestroyed and indestructible. It was upon them that the Apostolic Church was built. From the Risen Christ it had received the amazing commission to go forth and conquer the world; about that there was no doubt among those who joyously undertook this stupendous work. The apostles must have known whether Christ intended them to form a Church; and their view of His intention is shown by the fact that, immediately after His withdrawal from their sight, they set to work to construct one. If the new religion was to conquer the world, it must be both individualistic and social; it must provide for communion between each soul and God, and also for communion between its adherents. In other words, there must be a Church. Christ showed how this was to be done. He was not content with being an itinerant teacher, preaching to casual audiences. He selected a few disciples and trained them to be His helpers and His successors. It is manifest that He intended them to found a society; for although He gave few rules for its organization, yet He instituted two rites, one for admission to it and one for its preservation (W. Hobhouse, *The Church and the World* [*Bampton Lectures*, London, 1910], p. 17 ff.). 'An isolated Christian' is a contradiction, for every Christian is a member of Christ's Body. In reference to the world Christians are 'saints' (ἅγιοι); in reference to one another they are 'brethren'; in reference to Christ they are 'members.' In the original constitution of the human body God placed differently endowed members, and He has done the same in the original constitution of the Church (1 Co 12[28]). Both are in origin Divine, the product of the creative action of Father, Son, and Spirit.

5. Growth.—The growth of the Apostolic Church was very rapid. The first missionary efforts of the original believers were confined to Jerusalem and its immediate neighbourhood, and the converts were Palestinian or Hellenistic Jews who were living or sojourning in or near the capital. At first the Hellenists were in a minority, but this soon ceased to be the case. Persecution caused flight from Jerusalem, and then missionary effort was extended to Jews of the Dispersion and to Gentiles. At Antioch in Syria the momentous change was made to a mixed congregation containing both Jews and Christians. Then what had seemed even to the Jews themselves to be a mere Jewish sect became a universal Church (Ac 11[19-26]). As soon as it was seen that Judaism, in spite of all its OT glories, would never become a universal religion, missions to the heathen became a necessity. The first missionaries to the Gentiles, the men who took this momentous step of bringing the gospel to pagans, are for the most part unknown to us. Who won the first Gentile converts at Antioch? Who first took Christianity to Rome? Whoever they were, there had been a long and complex preparation for their work, which goes a considerable way towards explaining its success. This indeed was to be hoped for in accordance with Christ's command (Mt 28[18], Lk 24[47]) and St. Peter's Pentecostal promise 'to all that are afar off' (Ac 2[39]); but we can see some of the details which helped fulfilment.

The only thing which adequately explains the great expansion of Christianity in the 1st cent. is the fact of its Divine origin; but there were a number of causes which favoured its spread and more than counteracted the active opposition and other difficulties with which it had to contend.

(*a*) The dispersion of the Jews in civilized countries secured a knowledge of monotheism and a sound moral code.

(*b*) Roman law had become almost co-extensive with the civilized world. Tribal and national ideas, often irrational and debasing, had given place to principles of natural right and justice. Roman law, like the Mosaic Law, was a παιδαγωγός to lead men to Christ.

(*c*) The splendid organization of the Roman Empire gave great facilities for travel and correspondence.

(*d*) The dissolution of nationalities by Roman conquests prepared men's minds for a religion which was not national but universal; and it is not impossible, in spite of the horror which the writer of the Apocalypse exhibits towards the worship of the Emperor, that that worship, which was nominally universal, sometimes prepared people for a worship of the Power to which they owed existence, and not merely fitful security and peace.

(*e*) The Macedonian conquest had made men familiar with a type of civilization which seemed to be adaptable to the whole world, and had supplied a language which was still more adaptable. Greek was everywhere spoken in large towns, and in them converts were most likely to be found. Through the LXX, Greek was a Jewish as well as a pagan instrument of thought, and had become very flexible and simple, capable of expressing new ideas, and yet easily intelligible to plain men. Greek was the language of culture and of commerce even in Rome. It was also the sacred language of the world-wide worship of Isis. Hardly at any other period has the civilized world had a nearer approach to a universal language. The retention of a Greek liturgy in the Church of Rome for two centuries was due partly to the fact that the first missionaries taught in Greek and that the Greek Bible was used; partly to the desire to preserve the unity of the Church throughout the Empire. Its abandonment by the Roman Church prepared the way for the estrangement between East and West.

(*f*) There was a wide-spread sense of moral corruption and spiritual need. 'A great religious

longing swept over the length and breadth of the empire. The scepticism of the age of enlightenment had become bankrupt' (E. v. Dobschütz, *Apostol. Age*, Eng. tr., London, 1909, p. 39). The prevalent religions and philosophies had stimulated longings which they could not satisfy. Speculations about conscience, sin, and judgment to come, about the efficacy of sacrifices, and the possibility of forgiveness and of life after death, had prepared men for what Christianity had to offer. Even if the gospel had not been given, some religious change would have come. The gospel often awakened spiritual aspirations; more often it found them awake and satisfied them. It satisfied them because it possessed the characteristics of a universal religion—incomparable sublimity of doctrine, inexhaustible adaptability, and an origin that was recognizable as Divine. The Jew might be won by the conviction that the law was transfigured in the gospel and that prophecy was fulfilled in Christ and His Church. St. Peter began his Pentecostal address to the assembled Jews by pointing out that the outpouring of the Spirit was a fulfilment of Jewish prophecy (Jl 2^{28-31}) and an inauguration of 'the last days,' which were to precede the coming of the Messiah in glory. But to the Gentile these considerations were not impressive. The great pagan world had to be won by the actual contents of Christianity, which were seen to be better than those of any religion that the world had thus far known. They were not only new, but 'with authority'; and they stood the test of experience by bearing the wear and tear of life. Christianity was at once a mirror and a 'mystery': it reflected life so clearly and it suggested something much higher. It was a marvel of simplicity and richness. It was so plain that it could be told in a few words which might change the whole life. It was so varied and subtle that it could tax all the intellectual powers and excite the strongest feelings.

When the proconsul Saturninus said to the Scillitan Martyrs, 'We also are religious people, and our religion is simple,' one of the Christians replied, 'If you will grant me a quiet hearing, I will tell you the mystery of simplicity' (*Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs* [*TS* i. 2, 1891, p. 112]; cf. 1 Co 2^{7}).

The number of Christians at the close of the 1st cent. is very uncertain. We read of a good many centres throughout the Empire; but we know little about the size of each of these local churches. In some the numbers were probably small. In Palestine they were numerous (Ac 21^{20}).

(*g*) The zeal and ability of the first missionaries were very great. We know the names of comparatively few of them, but we know some of the results of their work. The extension of the Church in the 2nd cent. is proof of the good work done in the 1st. In accordance with Christ's directions (Mk 6^{7}; cf. Lk 10^{1}), these missionaries commonly worked in pairs (H. Latham, *Pastor Pastorum*, Cambridge, 1890, p. 296 f.). St. Paul as a general rule had one companion, and probably seldom more; and his ability in planning missions is conspicuous. He selected Roman colonies, where, as a Roman citizen, he would have rights, and where he would be likely to find Jews, and men of other religions, trading under the protection of Rome. A synagogue was at first the usual starting-point for a Christian mission. But very soon the Jews became too hostile; so far from listening to the preachers, they stirred up the heathen against them (T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, London, 1909, ch. vi.).

It is impossible to say which of the forces which characterized Christianity contributed most to its success: its preaching of the life, death, and resurrection of Christ, its lofty monotheism, its hope of immortality, its doctrine of the forgiveness of sins, its practical benevolence, its inward cohesion and unity. Each of these told, and we may be sure that their combined effect was great.

6. Conflict between Jewish and Gentile elements.—It is remarkable how soon this conflict in the Apostolic Church began. Not long after Christianity was born, it was severed from the nation which gave it birth, and, since the final destruction of Jerusalem, it has only in rare cases found a secure hold on Jewish soil. But it is not a just statement of the case to say that the Gentile Church first stripped Judaism of everything, the Scriptures included, and then left it by the wayside half dead; or that the daughter first robbed her mother, and then repudiated her. That is an inversion of the truth; it was the mother who drove out the daughter and then persistently blackened her character. As to the Scriptures, there has been no robbery, for both have possessed them. But the daughter has put them to far better account and has increased their value tenfold. Christianity did not come forward at first as a new religion aiming at ousting the Jews. Its Founder was the Jewish Messiah, the fulfilment of OT prophecies. It was the Jews who forced the opposition. The relation of Judaism to Christianity was, almost from the first, a hostile one. And, as it was the energetic Jew of Tarsus who led the first persecution of the Christians, so it was the Apostle of the Gentiles who caused the final separation of the Church from the Synagogue. In the Fourth Gospel, 'the Jews' are the opponents of the Christ. In the Apocalypse, they are 'the synagogue of Satan' (2^{9} 3^{9}; cf. *Didache*, 8). Barnabas goes still further: the Jews have never been in covenant with God (iv. 6–9, xiv. 1); the Jews are the sinners (xii. 10). Judaism is obsolete: the Christian Church has taken its place and succeeded to all its privileges. Hence the lofty enthusiasm of the first Christians, whose language often assumes a rhythmic strain when the Church is spoken of (Eph 4^{4}, Col 1^{18}, 1 Ti 3^{15}, He 12^{22}, 1 P 2^{9}, Mt 16^{18}). It was through the Christian Church that God filled the world with His Spirit; to it belonged the glorious future and the final triumph; for by it the religion of an exclusive nation had been transformed into a religion for the whole world.

It was inevitable that the Jews should resent such claims on the part of Christians, and especially of Gentile Christians; and the resentment became furious hostility when they saw the rapidity with which Christians made converts as compared with their own slowness in making proselytes here and there. Until the Maccabæan princes used force, not many had been made. Since then, religious aspirations had combined with interested motives to bring adherents to Judaism, and it was from these more serious proselytes that the Christian missionaries obtained much help. Under their roof both Jews and Gentiles could meet to hear the word of God (Ac 18^{7}). Christianity could offer to a dissatisfied and earnest pagan all that Judaism could offer and a great deal more. Such inquirers after truth now ceased to seek admission to the Synagogue and joined the Church, and the downfall of Jerusalem accelerated this change. The Jewish war of A.D. 66–70 was regarded by the Christians as a judgment for the murder of the Messiah, and also for the more recent murder in 62 of the Messiah's brother, James the Just. That catastrophe destroyed both the centre of Jewish worship and also the Jews themselves as a nation. The loss of the Temple was to some extent mitigated by the system of synagogues, which had long been established. But that destruction, both in its immediate effect and in its far-reaching consequences, marks a crisis which has few parallels in history. Christianity felt both. The destruction

of Jerusalem left the Gentile Churches, and especially the Church of Rome, without a rival, for the Jewish Church of Jerusalem sank into obscurity, and never recovered; nor did any other community of Jewish Christians take its place. When a Christian community arose once more in the restored Jerusalem, it was a Gentile Church. Jewish Christianity was far on the road towards extinction. The Judaizing Christians persisted in regarding Judaism as the Divinely appointed universal religion, of which Christianity was only a special offshoot endowed with new powers. The Pauline view involved the hateful admission that the OT dispensation was relative and transitory. The Judaizers could not see that Christianity, although founded on the OT and realizing an OT ideal which had been seen but not reached by the prophets, was now independent of Judaism. Judaizing was a passing malady in the life of the Church, and had little influence on ecclesiastical development. The Judaizing Christians either gave up their Judaism or ceased to be Christian.

The Tübingen theory that the leading fact in the Apostolic Church was a struggle between St. Paul and the Twelve has been illuminating, but closer study of the evidence has shown that it is untenable. There were some differences, but there was no hostility, between St. Paul and the Twelve. The hostility was between St. Paul and the Judaizers, who claimed to represent the Twelve. It is possible that some of these Judaizing teachers had seen Christ during His ministry, and therefore said that they had a better right to the title of 'apostle' than he had. In the mis-called 'Apostolic Council' at Jerusalem, which was really a conference of apostles, elder brethren, and the whole Church of Jerusalem (Ac 15[6. 12. 22. 23]), there was no conflict between the Twelve and St. Paul. St. Paul's rebuke to St. Peter at Antioch (Gal 2[11-14]) is no evidence of a difference of principle between them. St. Peter is blamed, not for having erroneous convictions, but for being unfaithful to true ones. He and St. Paul were entirely agreed that there was no need to make Gentile converts conform to the Mosaic Law; but St. Peter had been willing to make unworthy concessions to the prejudices of Jewish converts who were fresh from headquarters, by ceasing to eat with Gentile converts. He had perhaps argued that, as it was impossible to please both parties, it was better, for the moment, to keep on good terms with people from Jerusalem. He temporized in order to please the Judaizers.

'But what it amounted to was that multitudes of baptized Gentile Christians, hitherto treated on terms of perfect equality, were now to be practically exhibited as unfit company for the circumcised Apostles of the Lord who died for them. . . . Such conduct, though in form it was not an expulsion of the Gentile converts, but only a self-withdrawal from their company, was in effect a summons to them to become Jews if they wished to remain in the fullest sense Christians. St. Paul does not tell us how the dispute ended: but he continued on excellent terms with the Jerusalem Apostles' (F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Cambridge, 1894, pp. 78, 79).

The leading facts in the history of the Apostolic Church are—the freedom won for Gentile converts, the consequent expansion of Christianity and Christendom, and the transfer of the Christian centre from Palestine to Europe. When the Apostolic Age began, the Church was overwhelmingly Jewish; before it ended, the Church was overwhelmingly Gentile. Owing mainly to the influence of St. Paul—'a Hebrew of Hebrews'—whose Jewish birth and training moulded his thoughts and language, but never induced him to sacrifice the freedom of the gospel to the bondage of the law, the break with Judaism became absolute, and, as Gentile converts increased, the restrictions of Judaism were almost forgotten. The Judaizing Christians, especially after the second destruction of Jerusalem under Hadrian, drew further and further away from the Church, and ceased to influence its development.

7. Character.—The character of the Apostolic Church is not one that can be sketched in a few strokes. Simple as it was in form, it had varied and delicate characteristics. By its foundation in Jerusalem, which even the heathen regarded as no mean city, Christianity became, what it continued to be in the main for some centuries, a city-religion, a religion nearly all the adherents of which lived in large centres of population. It was in such centres that the first missionaries worked. For eighteen years or more (Gal 1[18] 2[1]) Jerusalem continued to be the headquarters of at least some of the Twelve; but even before the conversion of St. Paul there were Christians at Samaria (Ac 8[14]), Damascus (9[19]), and Antioch (11[20]), which soon eclipsed Jerusalem as the Christian metropolis.

It has been pointed out already that the Church is necessarily social in character; and it resembles other societies, especially those which have a political or moral aim, in requiring self-denying loyalty from its members. But it differs from other societies in claiming to be universal. The morality which it inculcates is not for any one nation or class, but for the whole of mankind. In the very small amount of legislation which Christ promulgated, He made it quite clear that in the Kingdom social interests are to prevail rather than private interests; and also that all men have a right to enter the society and ought to be invited to join it. The Church, therefore, is a commonwealth open to all the world. Every human being may find a place in it; and all those who belong to it will find that they have entered a vast family, in which all the members are brethren and have the obligations of brethren to promote one another's well-being both of body and soul. This form of a free brotherhood was essential to a universal religion; and the proof of its superiority to other brotherhoods lay in its being suitable to all sorts and conditions of men. It prescribed conduct which can be recognized as binding on all; and, far more fully than any other system, it supplied to all what the soul of each individual craved. The name 'disciples' did not last long as a name for all Christians; the name 'brethren' took its place. St. Paul does not speak of Christians as 'disciples'; that word came to be restricted to those who had been the personal disciples of Christ. He speaks of them as 'brethren,' a term in harmony with the Christians' 'enthusiasm of humanity,' an enthusiasm which set no bounds to its affection, but gave to every individual, however degraded, full recognition. The mere fact of being a baptized believer gave an absolute claim to loving consideration from all the rest. This brotherhood of Christians was easily recognized by the heathen.

Lucian (*Death of Peregrinus Proteus*) says: 'It was imposed upon them by their original lawgiver that they are all brothers from the moment that they are converted. . . . An adroit, unscrupulous fellow, who has seen the world, has only to get among these simple souls, and his fortune is soon made.' By pretending to be a 'brother' he can get anything out of them.

There is a stronger bond than that of belonging to one and the same society, commonwealth, and brotherhood. Seeing that the brotherhood implies that the Father of the family is God, there would seem to be nothing stronger than that. And yet there is: Christians are members of one Body, the Body of Christ, which is inspired by one Spirit. Just as no one did so much as St. Paul to free the new society from its cramping and stifling connexion with Judaism, so no one did so much as he to develop the idea of a free Christian Church, and of the relation of the Spirit to it. The local ἐκκλησία of believers is a temple in which God dwells by His Spirit; it is Christ's Body, of which all become members by being baptized in one Spirit. No differ-

ences of rank or of spiritual endowments can destroy this fundamental unity, any more than the unity of a building or of the human body is destroyed by the complexity of its structure. In Ephesians, the Apostle looks forward to an ἐκκλησία, not local, but including all Christians that anywhere exist. The same Spirit dwells in each soul and makes the multitude of the faithful, irrespective of locality or condition, to be one (see Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, London, 1909, p. 308). From the ideal point of view, there is only one Church, which is imperfectly, but effectively, represented and realized in the numerous organizations in Christendom. Not that Christendom is the whole of which they are the constituent parts—that is a way of looking at it which is not found in the Apostolic Church, and it may easily be misleading. The more accurate view is to regard each member of a Christian organization as a member of the universal Church. The Church consists of duly qualified individuals; the intermediate groups may be convenient or inevitable, but they are not essential.

Separate organizations, or local churches, came into existence because bodies of Christians arose at different places and increased. These bodies were independent, no one local church being in subjection to another. The congregations at Ephesus, Thessalonica, Philippi, Corinth, etc., were independent of one another and of the earlier churches of Antioch and Jerusalem. Their chief bond of union was that of the gospel and of membership in Christ. Besides this, the churches just named had the tie of being the product of one and the same founder; and, as children of the same spiritual father, they were in a special sense 'brethren.' St. Paul appeals to this fact and to their relationship to other churches. But, although he teaches that a church in need has claims upon the liberality of other churches, he nowhere gives one church authority over others. Nevertheless, even in apostolic times, congregations in the same district appear to have been regarded as connected groups, and it is possible that the congregation in the provincial capital had some sort of initiative in virtue of the importance of the city where they dwelt. Thus, we have 'the churches of Galatia' (1 Co 16^{1}, Gal 1^{1}), 'the churches of Asia' (1 Co 16^{19}), 'the churches of Judæa' (Gal 1^{22}), 'the seven churches of Asia' (Rev 1^{4}). In this way there arose between the local city church and the universal Church an organization which may be called the provincial Church (A. Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1910, p. 160).

Besides these close ties of relationship and membership, the first Christians were held together by unity of creed. It is true that primitive Christianity was an enthusiasm rather than a creed; but there was a creed. It may be summed up in two strong convictions, one negative and the other positive. The negative one united the Christians with the Jews; the positive one was the chief cause of separation between the two. Both Jew and Christian declared with equal emphasis that the gods of the heathen were no-gods (Dt 32^{17}, 1 Co 10^{20}): they were *Shēdim*, nullities. But the Divine nature of the Incarnate, Crucified, and Risen Son of God was what the Christian affirmed as confidently and constantly as the Jew denied it. Here no compromise was possible. The Divinity of the Crucified, which is such a difficulty to modern thought, appears to have caused little difficulty to the first Christians. It has been suggested that familiarity with polytheistic ideas helped them to believe in the Divinity of the Son. Possibly; but, on the other hand, their rejection of polytheism was absolute, and they died rather than make concessions. Heathen philosophers, who saw that polytheism was irrational, had a colourless theism which could make compromises with popular misbeliefs. Thinkers like Plato, Aristotle, Cicero, Seneca, and Plutarch could talk indifferently of God and gods, of the Divine Being and the deities; but for the early Christians that was impossible. They were not theologians, and they had only the rudiments of a creed; but they were quite clear about the necessity of worshipping God and His Christ, and about the folly and wickedness of worshipping men or idols. Hence, with all their simplicity of doctrine they had deep convictions which formed a strong bond of union: The heathen mysteries had something of the same kind.

P. Gardner has pointed out three common characteristics, all of which bring them into line with Christianity: rites of purification, rites of communion with some deity, and means of securing happiness in the other world. He holds that the Christian mystery of which St. Paul speaks is 'the existence of a spiritual bond holding together a society in union with a spiritual lord with whom the society had communion, and from whom they received in the present life safety from sin and defilement, and in the world to come life everlasting' (*The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, London, 1911, p. 79).

8. Relation to the State and other systems.—The question of the relation of the Church to the State was only beginning to arise towards the end of the apostolic period. The Church was developing its organization for its own purposes, without thinking of producing a power which might rival and oppose the State. The State had not yet become aware of any Christian organization, and it dealt with Christians as eccentrics, who sometimes became a public nuisance. The Jews were tolerated, less because they were not offensive to the Roman Government than because it was inexpedient to persecute them; and so long as Christians were regarded as a Jewish sect, they shared the immunity of the Jews and were generally unmolested. When the difference between Jews and Christians became manifest—and the Jews often pointed it out—Christians were persecuted whenever the temper of the magistrates or of the mob made it expedient to persecute. The State was intolerant on principle; it allowed no other corporation either inside or outside itself. While it freely permitted a variety of cults, it insisted on every citizen taking part in the State religion, especially in the worship of the Emperor. It was here that the Church came into complete and deadly collision with the Roman Empire, as the Apocalypse again and again shows. Nero was not fond of being styled a god; it seemed to imply that he was about to be translated from earth by death, and he preferred popularity during this life to worship after it was over. Domitian had no such feeling. He was not popular, and could not make himself so; but he could make his subjects worship him; and in the provinces, especially in the province of Asia, where Emperors were not often seen, but where the benefits of good government were felt, subjects were very willing to render Divine honours to the power that blessed them. Domitian began the formal letters which his procurators had to issue for him with the words: 'Our Lord and God orders this to be done' (Suet. *Dom.* 13). Festivals for the worship of the Emperor were often held by the magistrates at places in which there were Christians, *e.g.* at Ephesus, Sardis, Smyrna, and Philadelphia; and to refuse to take part in them was rebellion against the Government and blasphemy against the Augustus. Some magistrates were friendly, like the Asiarchs towards St. Paul (Ac 19^{31}), but the possibilities of persecution for refusing to worship the Emperor or the local deities were so great that we may suspect that many attacks on Christians took place about which history records nothing (Swete, *Apocalypse*, London, 1907, Introd. ch. vii.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. i. vol. i. [1890] p. 104).

Even if this danger had not existed, the mere fact that the Church was a self-governing body, within the State—*imperium in imperio*—but not of it, was enough to bring it into collision with the Government. The attitude of the Church was as loyal as was possible. The apostles respected the civil power, even when represented by a Nero, as a Divinely appointed instrument for the preservation of order; but they could not allow it to interfere with their duty to Him who had ordained both the civil power and the Church. The Church was no leveller or democrat in the modern sense of those terms. Rulers are to be respected by subjects, masters by slaves, husbands by wives, and parents by children. St. Paul does not teach the fallacy that all men are equal; he teaches that in spiritual things all souls have equal value. As regards the things of this life, all men are brethren, and in this he went far beyond Stoicism; even now, perhaps, we have not yet grasped the full significance of his teaching. To both the Government and the governed the Christians were an enigma. They seemed to regard suffering as a dreadful thing, for they were always striving to relieve it; and yet to disregard it entirely, for they were always willing to endure it. In an age in which there were no charitable institutions, the whole congregation was a free institution for dispensing practical help; and yet, when their cult was in question, they scorned pain and misery. They fought against involuntary poverty as an evil, and yet declared that voluntary poverty was a blessing. And there was another paradox—Christianity was at once the most comprehensive and the most exclusive of all religions. All were invited to enter, because the yoke was so easy; and all were warned to count the cost, because the responsibilities were so great. Converts were told that they must begin by taking up the cross and that they must abjure the world. In practice, the severance between the Church and the world was not insisted upon (1 Co 6^{10}): it was a difference of thought and life rather than of social intercourse. Many Christians mixed freely with heathens, and many heathens came sometimes to Christian services, without any thought of seeking baptism. Some heathens thought that the Way was good, but that there were other ways which were equally good. The mixture of Church and world began very early.

Among rival religious systems, none was more dangerous to the success of Christianity than Mithra-worship. Except in the form of 'Mysteries,' the old Greek religion had not much power; its gods and goddesses were openly ridiculed. But Mithraism was full of life; it could excite not only powerful emotions but moral aspirations as well. It inculcated courage and purity, and it taught the doctrine of rewards and penalties here and hereafter. Mithra would come one day from heaven, and there would be a general resurrection, after which the wicked world would be destroyed by fire and the good would receive immortality. Some Church teachers regarded it as a gross caricature of Christianity. As a missionary religion, it had the advantage of being able to make terms with paganism; its adherents had no objection to idolatrous rites, and therefore never came into collision with the Government. It probably gained thousands who might otherwise have accepted the gospel. The elastic simplicity and freedom of primitive Christianity exposed the Apostolic Church to perils of another kind. The troubles of Gnosticism, Manichæism, and Montanism grew out of the contact of Christianity with Greek and Oriental systems of religion and philosophy, whose ideas found entrance into Christianity and were sometimes an enrichment and sometimes a corruption of it. The balance was on the side of gain. The gospel continued to supply the plain man with a simple rule of life, and it began to supply the philosopher with inexhaustible material for thought. This is a permanent cause of success.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the important works cited above, see W. W. Shirley, *The Church in the Apostolic Age*, Oxford, 1867; P. Schaff, *Apostolic Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1883, vol. ii.; A. Harnack, *Sources of the Apostolic Canons*, Eng. tr., London, 1895; C. v. Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age*[2], Eng. tr., do. 1899; A. C. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*[6], London, 1900, *St. Paul the Traveller*[6], do. 1902, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, do. 1904, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, do. 1910; C. Bigg, *The Origins of Christianity*, do. 1909; H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.*, do. 1909; L. Duchesne, *Early Hist. of the Christian Church*, Eng. tr., do. 1909–1912.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

CHURCH GOVERNMENT.—Christ left a small body of disciples under the direction of the apostles, with a charge to convert the world; but He gave nothing which can be called either a constitution or a code, and He explained the commandments as giving principles, not rules. About the development of a constitution we know little; but the Pastoral Epistles and 3 John, which must be placed early, whoever wrote them, show that the process began soon and continued rapidly, when it became clear that Christ's return might be long delayed. The process and its rapidity probably differed somewhat in different centres. At first the camps scattered about the eastern half of the Mediterranean had each its own tentative regulations. When the camps became a network of fortifications, spreading westward and inward and communicating with one another, the regulations became more settled and uniform. Thus the Christian organization developed until it became an object of suspicion and dread to the Roman Government, which at last it vanquished. Then the Christian organization did for the Empire what the Roman organization with all its statesmanship and military discipline had failed to do: it gave it cohesion and unity.

The first line of distinction is between the apostles and the other believers; and this line is continued as a distinction between rulers of any kind and those who are ruled—the Seven, elders, deacons, etc., on the one side, and the laity on the other. The great commission was given by the risen Christ to the whole Church and not to any select body in it. Yet this primary fact does not quite justify the phrase, 'the priesthood of the laity.' What the NT gives us is the priesthood of the whole Church without distinction between clergy and laity (1 P $2^{5.9}$, Rev 1^6 5^{10} 20^6), and no individual can exercise it without the authority of the Church. All Christians are priests alike; but, inasmuch as it is by the Spirit that the whole Church is consecrated to the priesthood, so the special ministers need a special consecration by the Spirit. The NT speaks clearly of special functions which are confined to a select minority and are not shared by the rest. It was by the Spirit that the 'charismatic' ministries worked. This is manifestly true of the apostles and the Christian prophets. It might or might not be true of those whom St. Paul or his deputy (Ac 14^{23}, Tit 1^5) chose for their capacity for governing. These derived their authority from the Spirit (Ac 20^{28}), but they did not necessarily possess the gift of prophecy or even of teaching. But officials chosen to do spiritual work in a spiritual community needed spiritual gifts of some kind; and what these men received in ordination was a spirit of power and love and discipline (2 Ti 1^7) (see Westcott, *Ephesians*, 1906, p. 169; Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, pp. 103, 317, 320).

We are accustomed to think of the first Christians as having no government, other than that of 'Peter with the Eleven' (Ac 2^{14}). Harnack (*Const.*

and Law of the Church, p. 20 f.) has pointed out that they had a number of authorities, to be loyal to all of which was sometimes perplexing. They had inherited from Judaism the ordinances of the Jewish Church. To administer these there was the Sanhedrin. There were the known commands of Christ, which included the authority of the whole community to forgive and to punish offenders. There were the occasional promptings of the Spirit (Ac $6^{3.10}$ 8^{29} 10^{19} $11^{12.28}$ 16^{7}). There were also the brethren of the Lord, who had some kind of authority. Perplexity might arise as to reconciling Jewish ordinances with the commands of Christ, and there might be differences between the Twelve and the Lord's brethren. We know that there was collision between the Divine commands and the decrees of the Sanhedrin, and that of course it was the latter that were disobeyed (4^{19} $5^{29.32}$). Nevertheless, none of these provided a constitution, and the common view that the germs of one are to be looked for in the Twelve is not far from the truth.

The Twelve left the selection of the Seven, which was a first step towards development, to the whole body of Christians, most of whom were Palestinian Jews. These showed their liberality by electing men, all of whom bear Greek names and were presumably, but not certainly, Greek-speaking Jews, who would be more acceptable to the murmuring Hellenists. One of the Seven was only a proselyte, and we have here a very early illustration of the expansive power of the Church. St. Luke's silence about elders in this connexion is the more remarkable, because distribution of the means of life was one of their functions (Ac 11^{30}). The common identification of the Seven with the deacons is questionable. Probably they were temporary officials, scattered by the persecution which was fatal to Stephen, and never re-established. See DEACON.

The apostles' plan of leaving the choice of the Seven to the community was perhaps followed by St. Paul in his earlier work. In Romans he mentions no body of commissioned clergy. We cannot be sure from this that the Church in Rome was not yet organized: possibly there was no need to mention officials. In 1 and 2 Cor. there is no trace of a sacerdotal class; and it is possible that there and elsewhere the Apostle was trying the experiment of a Christian democracy without any hierarchy. Corinth had its charismatic ministry, and this seems to have sufficed for a time. The charismatic ministry came to an end very quickly there and elsewhere. There is little trace of it later than the *Didache* (A.D. 100–150). While it lasted, it supplied teachers, not rulers. The infant Gentile churches seem to have governed themselves under the direction of the Apostle who founded them. The Apostle does not address his letters to any official at Thessalonica, Corinth, or Rome. He leaves it to the congregation to punish and pardon offenders, to manage the collection of money, and to decide who shall take charge of the fund. These Gentile churches have gifted persons who take the lead in public worship, 'apostles, prophets, and teachers' (1 Co 12^{28}, Eph 4^{11}; cf. Ro 12^{6-8}), but they form no part of the permanent organization of the local church. They do not govern, nor are they tied to one community; they may go from one local church to another. They are not classes of officials each with special duties; they are individual believers with special gifts, with which they edify congregations. They are ministers of the word, proclaiming and explaining the gospel, and their business is to convert and instruct rather than to rule. They are 'spiritual' men (πνευματικοί), endowed by the Spirit (πνεῦμα) with powers (χαρίσματα) which are not common to all Christians; and their authority depends not upon election or appointment by others, but upon these personal endowments, exercised with the consent of the congregation.

Yet it is scarcely credible that the infant Gentile churches remained very long without rulers of any kind. Congregations which consisted chiefly of Jewish Christians had 'elders' analogous to 'elders' among the Jews; and in the Gentile communities something similar would grow up, with or without the suggestion of the Apostle who founded the church. The converts who were senior, whether by standing or age, and persons of social position or secular experience, would naturally be looked upon as leaders; *e.g.* 'the elder brethren,' which is the true reading in Ac 15^{22}. There are similar leaders at Ephesus. St. Luke calls them 'the elders of the Church,' but he does not report that St. Paul in his address to them does so (Ac 20^{17-35}). Except in the Pastorals, St. Paul does not mention 'elders.' In the earliest of his letters (1 Th 5^{12}) he exhorts his Gentile converts 'to esteem exceeding highly them that labour among you and guide (προϊσταμένους) you in the Lord and admonish you.' F. J. A. Hort (*Christian Ecclesia*, 1897, p. 126) points out that although προϊσταμένους cannot be the technical title of an office, standing as it does between labouring and admonishing, yet the persons meant seem to be office-bearers in the Church. The words which follow, 'Admonish the disorderly, etc.,' appear to be addressed to these guardians. But here again these guides, like the 'apostles, prophets, and teachers,' seem to owe their appointment to personal qualities. The difference is that they guide and admonish rather than teach. But no strict line would be drawn between leading and teaching. The same man would often have a gift for both, and would be specially influential in consequence. When official appointments began to be made, persons with this double qualification would be chosen, and they became 'presbyters' or 'elders' in the technical sense.

There seems to be a transition stage between the purely charismatic and the official ministry in Ac 13^{1-3}, about A.D. 47. There is a fast and a solemn service conducted by prophets and teachers at Antioch. During the service, the Spirit (through one of the prophets) says: 'Since you desire to know (δή), separate for me Barnabas and Saul,' who were present. There is another fast and service, and then the two are separated by the laying on of the hands of the other prophets and teachers. This ordination was for mission work, but ordination for the work of ruling congregations was probably similar. In 1 Ti 4^{14} Timothy is reminded of the gift (χάρισμα) which was given him by prophecy, with the laying on of the hands of the presbytery. 'By prophecy' probably refers to utterances of prophets which marked him out for ordination (1^{18}) as a helper of St. Paul; and the presbyters of the local church joined with St. Paul in ordaining him. Here for the first time 'presbytery' is used of a body of Christian elders. In Lk 22^{66} and Ac 22^{5} it is used of the Sanhedrin. 'In none of these instances of the laying on of hands is there any trace of a belief in the magical virtue of the act. It is simply the familiar and expressive sign of benediction inherited by the Apostles from the Synagogue and adapted to the service of the Church' (Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, p. 384). The laying on of hands was used in *blessing*; and the person who blesses does not transmit any good gift which he possesses himself: he invokes what he has no power to bestow, but what he hopes that God will bestow. When this symbolical action was used by a minister in connexion with an appointment to the ministry, the idea of

transmission naturally arose. But the action is a symbol, not an instrument of consecration. The gift which Timothy received at his ordination was just such as was required for ruling infant churches: it was 'a spirit of power, and love, and discipline' (2 Ti 1[6, 7]). Cf. art. ORDINATION.

Permanent local officials were required in the first instance for the regulation of public worship. St. Paul gives the earliest directions respecting this, and what he lays down for the Corinthians is based on principles which can be applied everywhere. He gives no directions as to special ministers, but he recognizes them where they exist (Ph 1[1]). He and Barnabas appointed elders in every church (Ac 14[23]). It is here that the influence of the synagogue is so marked. 'Elders' are borrowed from it. The ritual which Jewish and Christian elders regulate is similar—praise, reading of Scripture, exposition, and prayer. The discipline exercised by both is similar; they deal with much the same kind of offences, and the chief penalty in both cases is excommunication. When Christians were told not to take their disputes into Roman civil courts (1 Co 6), that involved the growth of Christian civil law, which the permanent officials had to administer; and here the influence of Roman legislation came in to develop what was derived from Christ's teaching and that of the OT.

The development of Church organization and the complete separation of the clergy from the laity were the work of the post-apostolic age. The remark that 'no soldier on service entangleth himself in the affairs of this life' (2 Ti 2[4]) contributed to this separation, for it was interpreted to mean that the clergy must abjure secular occupations. Already in apostolic times the clergy had three distinct rights: honour and obedience (1 Th 5[12]); maintenance (1 Co 9[4-14]); and freedom from frivolous accusations (1 Ti 5[19]). Before the end of the 2nd cent. most of the elements of the later development were already found in the Church.

Certainty is not attainable, and there is nothing approaching to it in favour of the theory that Christ gave a scheme of Church government to the apostles, and that they delivered it to the Church. There is little evidence to support either of these propositions. The far more probable theory is that Church government was a gradual growth initiated and guided by the Spirit, to meet the growing needs of a rapidly increasing community. This theory is supported by a good deal of evidence, and it is in harmony with what we know of God's methods in other departments of human life.

LITERATURE.—See works mentioned under APOSTLE and BISHOP; C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*, London, 1888; R. C. Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, do. 1897; J. Wordsworth, *Serapion's Prayer-Book*, do. 1899, *The Ministry of Grace*, do. 1901; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*, do. 1902; A. W. F. Blunt, *Studies in Apostol. Christianity*, do. 1909; A. Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, Eng. tr., do. 1910; Robertson-Plummer, *1 Corinthians*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. xl-xlvi, 278-284; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, Oxford, 1912, Essays i. and ii.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

CILICIA (Κιλικία).—Cilicia was a country in the S.E. of Asia Minor, bounded on the west by Pamphylia, on the north by Lycaonia and Cappadocia, and on the east by the Amanus range. It was drained by four rivers, the Calycadnus, the Cydnus, the Serus, and the Pyramus, which descend from Taurus to the Cyprian Sea. It fell into two well-marked divisions. Cilicia Tracheia (Aspera), a rugged mountainous region with a narrow seaboard, was the immemorial haunt of brigands and pirates, whose subjugation was a difficult task for the Roman Republic and Empire; Cilicia Pedeia (Campestris), the wide and fertile plain lying between the Taurus and Amanus chains and the sea, was civilized and Hellenized. Its rulers in the Hellenistic period were partly the Egyptians, whose royal house gave its name to different townships, and partly the Seleucids, after whom the most considerable town of West Cilicia was named Seleucia on the Calycadnus.

In the NT 'Cilicia' invariably means Cilicia Pedeia. Though this country formed a part of the peninsula of Asia Minor, its political, social, and religious affinities were rather with Syria than with the lands to the north and west. The reason was geographical. It was comparatively easy to cross the Amanus range, either by the Syrian Gates (Beilan Pass) to Antioch and Syria, or by the Amanan Gates (Baghche Pass) to North Syria and the Euphrates. Hence it was natural that, at the redistribution of the provinces by Augustus in 27 B.C., Cilicia Pedeia, which had been Roman territory since 103 B.C., should be merged in the great Imperial province of Syria-Cilicia-Phœnice. It was equally natural that St. Paul, who boasted of being 'a Jew of Tarsus, a city in Cilicia' (Ac 21[39] 22[3]), should regard 'the regions of Syria and Cilicia' as forming a unity (Gal 1[21]). The writer of Acts does the same (15[23, 41]), and the author of 1 Peter, who enumerates in his superscription the Roman provinces of Asia Minor, omits Cilicia, which lay beyond the barrier of Taurus and belonged to a different order of things.

The presence of Jews in Cilicia probably dated from the time of the early Seleucids, who settled many Jewish families in their Hellenistic cities, giving them equal rights with Macedonians and Greeks. St. Paul enjoyed the citizenship of Tarsus not as an individual, but as a unit in a Jewish colony which had been incorporated in the State. Jews of Cilicia are mentioned by Philo in his *Leg. ad Gaium* (§ 36). Among the Jews of Jerusalem who rose against Stephen there was a synagogue of Cilicians (Ac 6[9]). After his conversion St. Paul spent seven years in his Cilician homeland, engaged in a preparatory missionary work of which there are no recorded details. Probably he was founding the churches to which allusion is made in Ac 15[23, 41]. He began his second missionary journey by passing through Cilicia to confirm these churches, after which he must have crossed the Cilician Gates to Lycaonia (16[1]); and probably he took the same road on his third journey (18[23]). Syria and Cilicia were the first centres of Gentile Christianity, from which the light radiated over Asia Minor into Europe.

LITERATURE.—C. Ritter, *Kleinasien*, 1859, ii. 56 ff.; J. R. S. Sterrett, *The Wolfe Expedition to Asia Minor*, 1888; W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, 1890, p. 361 ff.; Smith's *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.*, i. [1856] 617; see also art. 'Cilicia' in *HDB* and Literature there cited.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CINNAMON (κιννάμωμον from קִנָּמוֹן).—Cinnamon is mentioned in Rev 18[13] among the merchandise of 'Babylon,' *i.e.* of Imperial Rome. The name probably came with the thing from the remote east; Rödiger (Gesenius, *Thes. Add.*, 1829, p. 111) compares it with the Malay *kainamanis*. It was known to the Hebrews (Ex 30[23], Pr 7[17], Ca 4[14]); and Herodotus (iii. 111) speaks of 'those rolls of bark (ταῦτα τὰ κάρφεα) which we, learning from the Phœnicians, call cinnamon.' The finest cinnamon of commerce is now obtained from Ceylon; it is the fragrant and aromatic inner rind of the stem and boughs of a tree which grows to a height of 30 ft. Oil of cinnamon, which is used in the composition of incense, is got from the boiled fruit of the tree. But the cinnamon of the ancients was probably the *cassia lignea* of S. China.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CIRCUMCISION.—The origin of circumcision and its practice by the Jews and other peoples may be studied in *HDB* and *ERE*. This article is concerned with the difficulties caused in the

Apostolic Church by the desire of the Judaizing party to enforce the rite upon the Gentile Christians. The crisis thus brought about is described in Ac 15 and Gal 2[1-10].

As the work of the Church extended, the problem of the reception of Gentile converts presented itself for solution. Should such converts be compelled to be circumcised and keep the Mosaic Law or not? The answer to this question led to great difference of opinion and threatened to cause serious division in the Church. It must be remembered that the first Christians were Jews, born and brought up in the Law and taught to observe it. To them such rites as circumcision were almost second nature. To abrogate the Law of Moses was to them inconceivable. The idea of the passing away of the Law had not yet penetrated their understanding. The headquarters of those who held these opinions were at Jerusalem, where the Temple services and the whole atmosphere served to strengthen them in this belief. The very name of the party—'They that were of the circumcision' (Ac 11[2])—shows how closely they were attached to the observance of this rite. On the other hand, we can trace the gradual growth in the Church of the opposite view: the baptism of the Ethiopian eunuch (*q.v.*) by Philip; the admission of Cornelius and his friends by St. Peter; the mission of certain evangelists to the Gentiles at Antioch; and finally the work of St. Paul and St. Barnabas, who turned to the Gentiles and freely admitted them into the fellowship of the Church.

It was obvious that the question must be settled. The Judaizing party were quite definite in their teaching. 'Certain men which came down from Judæa taught the brethren and said, Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved' (Ac 15[1]). This was a position which it was impossible for St. Paul and St. Barnabas to admit. It was destructive of their work and of the catholicity of the Church. No wonder that 'there was no small dissension and disputation.' An appeal was made to the mother church at Jerusalem; and, among others, St. Paul and St. Barnabas went up. St. Paul's own statement is, 'I went up by revelation' (Gal 2[2]). He also tells us that Titus, an uncircumcised Gentile, accompanied him. They were well received by the church at Jerusalem, but certain of the Pharisees, who were believers, laid it down 'that it was necessary to circumcise them' (Ac 15[5]), and thus the issue was joined.

The question was so important that it could not be settled at once. There must be an interval for consideration. How this interval was spent we are told in Gal 2. The Judaizing party found that an uncircumcised Gentile—Titus—had been brought into their midst, and they immediately demanded his circumcision. With this demand St. Paul was not inclined to comply. The principle for which he was contending was at stake. On the other hand, circumcision to him was nothing, and there was the question whether he should yield as a matter of charity. The course which he took has always been a matter of undecided controversy, but the opinion of the majority of authorities is that Titus was not circumcised.*

After this episode St. Paul had an opportunity of discussing his gospel privately with those of repute, viz. James, Cephas, and John. They were evidently moved by the account of his work among the Gentiles, and recognized the hand of God in it, and they were influenced by the fervour and spirit of the Apostle. They gave to him and St. Barnabas 'the right hand of fellowship.' They recognized that their sphere was among the Gentiles, as that of the other apostles was among the Jews. The result of the conference was a compromise: Gentiles were not to be circumcised, but they were to abstain from certain practices which were offensive to their Jewish brethren.

The teaching of St. Paul on circumcision may be further illustrated from his Epistles. In Ro 2[25-29] he shows that circumcision was an outward sign of being one of the chosen people, but that it was of no value unless accompanied by obedience, of which it was the symbol. The uncircumcised keeper of the Law was better than the circumcised breaker of it. The true Jew is he who is circumcised in heart, *i.e.* he who keeps God's Law and walks in His ways. In ch. 4 he discusses the case of Abraham, and asks whether the Divine blessing was conferred upon him because he was the head of the chosen race and the first person of that race who was circumcised. He shows that the promise came before circumcision, and therefore not in consequence of it. Circumcision followed as the token or sign of the promise, so that he might be the father of all believers whether they were circumcised or uncircumcised.

In the Epistle to the Philippians, St. Paul utters grave warnings against those who insist on circumcision. He speaks of the rite, when thus insisted on, not as circumcision but as '**concision**' (*κατατομή*, Ph 3[2]).* The circumcision which the Judaizers wished to enforce was to Christians a mere mutilation such as was practised by the idolatrous heathen. The verb *κατατέμνειν* is used in the LXX of incisions forbidden by the Mosaic Law: *e.g.* *κατετέμνοντο κατὰ τὸν ἐθισμὸν αὐτῶν* (1 K 18[28]; cf. Lv 21[5]). In contrast to this, Christians have the true circumcision (Ph 3[3]), not of the flesh but of the heart, purified in Christ from all sin and wickedness. This contrast between circumcision of the flesh and of the spirit occurs in other passages of the Pauline Epistles, *e.g.* Col 2[11], Eph 2[11]. No doubt the Apostle had certain OT passages in mind which use circumcision as a metaphor for purity, *e.g.* Lv 26[41], Dt 10[16], Ezk 44[7].

LITERATURE.—Artt. on 'Circumcision' in *HDB*, *ERE*, *DCG*, and *JE*, with Literature there cited; the relevant Commentaries, esp. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902); also E. v. Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., 1904; K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911; E. B. Redlich, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913; H. Weinel, *St. Paul*, Eng. tr., 1906; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i.[2] [1897], ii. [1895].

MORLEY STEVENSON.

CITIZENSHIP (*πολιτεία*, *ciuitas*).—The conception of citizenship among the ancient Greeks and Romans was deeper than among ourselves. We can think of human existence and life apart from citizenship, but to the ancient member of a *πόλις* or *ciuitas* citizenship was life and life was citizenship. This explains why St. Paul could use *πολιτεύεσθαι* practically in the sense of 'to live' (Ac 23[1], Ph 1[27]; cf. 3[20] *πολίτευμα*). The life of a city is a development out of the more primitive life of the village-community (*κώμη*, *uicus*). A *πόλις* in fact consists of a number of *κῶμαι*, each of which consists of a number of families (*οἶκος*, *domus*). The unity was generally based on blood-relationship. The regular *πόλις* in the Greek world was on the model of the constitution of Athens. This constitution had a council (*βουλή*, *senatus*) or advisory body, and a popular assembly (*δῆμος*, *ἐκκλησία*, Ac 19[32. 39. 41]), for membership of both of which free citizens were eligible. For citizenship the requirement was free birth within the community, the father being a citizen. It could be conferred on foreigners by a decree of the people. Each com-

* For the contrary view see R. B. Rackham on Ac 15 (*Oxford Com.*, 1901); and on the vexed chronological and other questions cf. artt. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES and GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO.

* The paronomasia of *κατατομή* and *περιτομή* used by St. Paul here is one of several instances in which he employs that figure of speech: *e.g.* *μηδὲν ἐργαζομένους ἀλλὰ περιεργαζομένους* (2 Th 3[11]).

munity contained also those who were not full citizens, but had certain privileges, viz. resident aliens (*μέτοικοι*; cf. the scriptural *πάροικοι*, *παρεπίδημοι*, Eph 2^{19}, 1 P 2^{11}, etc.). There was also a third class, *ξένοι*, strangers with no privileges at all, and a fourth class, the slaves, who were mere chattels. In such a constitution each citizen had to be enrolled in a particular tribe (*φυλή*, *tribus*). St. Paul refers with pride to his citizenship of Tarsus in Cilicia, his native city (Ac 21^{39}). As a citizen of Tarsus he must have belonged to a particular tribe, and it has been plausibly conjectured by W. M. Ramsay that the 'kinsmen' of St. Paul referred to in Ro 16 were his fellow-tribesmen of Tarsus.

One kind of citizenship in the Apostolic Age swamped every other, and that was citizenship of Rome. This fact is well illustrated by a much earlier document—Cicero's speech, *pro Balbo* (56 B.C.). In it the principle is affirmed that 'no one could be a citizen of Rome and of other cities at the same time, while foreigners who were not Roman citizens could be on the burgess-rolls of any number of cities' (ed. J. S. Reid, 1878, p. 18). The spread of the Roman citizenship kept pace with the growth of the Empire. At first only inhabitants of Rome could be Roman citizens, but the citizenship was gradually extended as a result of Rome's conquests. It could be conferred both on communities and on individuals. Moreover, it was of two kinds or grades. In addition to the full citizenship, a limited citizenship existed till about 200 B.C.—*ciuitas sine suffragio*, implying that the persons who possessed it had all the privileges of a Roman citizen except the power to vote in the assemblies and to hold office. The constant conferment of this limited *ciuitas* added greatly to the Roman army and territory, and was not intended for the subjects' good. By the end of the 2nd cent. B.C. there were many country towns of Italy (*municipia*) which possessed citizen rights, and, as the result of the Social War and the *Lex Iulia* (90 B.C.), the *Lex Plautia Papiria* (89 B.C.), a senatorial edict of 86 B.C., and a law of Julius Cæsar (49 B.C.), all peoples in Italy south of the Alps obtained the Roman citizenship. Such communities were created also outside Italy by Julius Cæsar, Claudius, Vespasian, and others, until in A.D. 212, under Caracalla, every free inhabitant of the Roman Empire obtained the full Roman franchise.

The inhabitants of *coloniæ* required no grant of citizenship because they were of necessity Roman citizens from the first; a *colonia* was in origin simply a bit of Rome set down in a foreign country, to keep a subject people in check. It had complete self-government (see art. COLONY). The smaller *fora* and *conciliabula* had in Republican times incomplete self-government. The *municipia*, referred to above as incorporated bodily in the Roman State, had complete self-government, differing thus from the *præfecturæ*, which were also communities of Roman citizens but without complete self-government.

The partial citizenship known as *Latinitas* or *ius Latii* deserves mention. It conferred *commercium* (the right to trade with Rome, and to acquire property by Roman methods, etc.), but not *conubium* (the right of intermarriage with Romans). It was thus a kind of intermediate condition between citizenship and peregrinity, and such rights were not infrequently conferred on communities as a kind of step towards the full citizenship. The name is explained by the origin of the practice. It began in Rome's early days as the result of her relations with other towns in the Latin League, and in 172 B.C. was first extended beyond Latium. Magistrates in such towns became *ipso facto* full Roman citizens.

The conferment of citizenship on individuals has a special interest for students of the Apostolic Age. During the whole of the Republican period the extension of the body of burgesses was the right of the *comitia tributa*. This assembly conferred the citizenship from time to time on individual strangers (*peregrini*) as well as on communities. Commissioners for carrying out colonization or divisions of *ager publicus* could confer it on a very limited number of persons, and C. Marius received such a power. About the time of the civil wars, Roman commanders conferred the citizenship on individual foreigners who had aided the Roman military operations. This must often have been done without the authority of any statute, but no one was ever disfranchised in consequence. Pompey, however, obtained the right, by the *Lex Gellia Cornelia* of 72 B.C., to confer the citizenship on individuals after consulting with his body of advisers. It was probably either from him or from Julius Cæsar that the father or grandfather of St. Paul obtained the Roman citizenship. Tarsus as a community had not received the Roman franchise, nor was it a *colonia*. The possession of this honour (Ac 16^{37} $22^{25ff.}$) shows that his family was one of distinction and wealth. Members of such provincial communities who possessed the Roman citizenship constituted the aristocracy of these communities. During the Empire the burgesses could be added to by the Emperor only, and every citizen had the right to a trial at Rome. Of this right St. Paul took advantage (Ac 25^{10}).

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A. SOUTER.

CLAUDA.—See CAUDA.

CLAUDIA (Κλαυδία).—Claudia was a Christian lady of Rome who was on friendly terms with the Apostle Paul at the date of his second imprisonment, and who, along with Eubulus, Pudens, and Linus (*qq.v.*), sends a greeting to Timothy (2 Ti 4^{21}). This is all we know with any certainty regarding her. The name suggests that she belonged to the Imperial household, and various conjectures have been made as to her identity, though there is very little in the nature of certain data. Probably she was a slave, but it is not impossible that she was a member of the *gens Claudia*. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) she is regarded as the mother of Linus (Λίνος ὁ Κλαυδίας). An inscription found on the road between Rome and Ostia (*CIL* vi. 15066) to the memory of the infant child of Claudius Pudens and Claudia Quinctilla has given rise to the conjecture that this was the Claudia of St. Paul and that she was the wife of the Pudens of 2 Ti 4^{21}. Another ingenious but most improbable theory identifies Claudia with Claudia Rufina, the wife of Aulus Pudens, the friend of Martial (*Epigr.* iv. 13, xi. 34), and thus makes her a woman of British race. This Claudia of Martial has again been identified with an imaginary Claudia suggested by a fragmentary inscription found at Chichester in 1722 which seems to record the erection of a temple by a certain Pudens with the approval of Claudius Cogidubnus, who is supposed to be a British king mentioned in

Tacitus (*Agricola*, xiv.) and the father of the Claudia who had adopted the name (*cognomen*) Rufina from Pomponia the wife of Aulus Plautius, the Roman governor of Britain (A.D. 43–52). E. H. Plumptre in Ellicott's *NT Commentary* (ii. 186) confidently asserts the identity of the Claudia of St. Paul with the friend of Martial and the daughter of Cogidubnus. All such identification is, however, extremely precarious. The theory that Claudia is the daughter of the British prince Caractacus who had been brought to Rome with his wife and children is a product of the inventive imagination. Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*, I. i. 76–79) discusses the whole question of identification, and decides that, apart from the want of evidence, the position of the names of Pudens and Claudia in the text 2 Ti 4[21] disposes of the possibility of their being husband and wife—a difficulty which Plumptre evades by the supposition that they were married after the Epistle was written. The low moral character of Martial's friend Pudens can hardly be explained away sufficiently to make him a likely companion of St. Paul (cf. Merivale, *St. Paul at Rome*, 149).

LITERATURE.—E. H. Plumptre, in Ellicott's *NT Com.*, 1884, vol. ii. p. 185: 'Excursus on the later years of St. Paul's life'; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1890, I. i. 76–79; C. Merivale, *St. Paul at Rome*, 1877, p. 149; T. Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1875, ii. 397; artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*; Conybeare-Howson, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, new ed., 1877, ii. 582, 594.

W. F. BOYD.

CLAUDIUS.—Claudius, or, to give him his full Imperial style, Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Augustus Germanicus (to which the honorary titles *Britannicus* and *Sarmaticus* [see Papyr. Brit. Mus. 1178 =G. Milligan, *Selections from the Greek Papyri*, 1910, no. 40] are sometimes added), the son of Nero Claudius Drusus (38–9 B.C.), stepson of Augustus, and Antonia Minor (the younger daughter of the triumvir Mark Antony and Octavia, sister of Augustus), was born on 1 Aug. 10 B.C. at Lugudunum (Lyons). His father died the year after. The boy inherited both physical and mental weakness, and was in consequence neglected. There was no room in Roman life for weaklings; exposure of newly born children was frequent, and until Christianity came there was little care for the physically or mentally defective. Claudius was left to the society of his social inferiors, and coarse tastes were developed in him. The one bright side in his life was his devotion to scientific, especially historical, studies. Augustus saw some good in him, but kept him from the public gaze. At the succession of Tiberius in A.D. 14 he began to take some slight part in public life, but most of his time was spent on country estates. Gaius, grandnephew of Tiberius and nephew of Claudius, succeeded to the purple in A.D. 37, and raised his uncle to the consulship at once. Soon after, however, the feelings of the maddest of all the Emperors changed, and Claudius was once more in a position of disgrace. Claudius had married Plautia Urgulanilla (before A.D. 20), who bore him a son and a daughter, but was afterwards divorced for adultery. His marriage with Ælia Pætina, by whom he had a daughter, had the same end. The notorious Valeria Messalina was his third wife, and by her a daughter was born about the year 40, and a son called Britannicus in 41. It is said that Claudius, after the murder of his nephew, was dragged from a remote part of the palace, where he was cowering in terror, and made Emperor almost unawares (25 Jan. 41) by the army. He now changed his name from Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus Germanicus to that given above. His reign of thirteen years was very much more successful than might have been anticipated.

Some of the more important events of his reign may be enumerated in the order of their occurrence.

In A.D. 41 certain reforms were made in the regulation of the corn supply, etc., which had suffered in Gaius' reign. Many of these reforms were doubtless due to the Emperor's freedmen, Narcissus, the *ab epistulis*, M. Antonius Pallas, the *a rationibus*, etc., who exercised a tremendous influence during his reign and acquired colossal fortunes in his service. In this year successes were gained in Mauretania and also against the Catti and Chauci in Germany; the eagle of Varus, captured in A.D. 9, was now recovered. Privileges were granted to the Jews of Alexandria; Agrippa (*q.v.*) had his kingdom extended by the addition of Judæa and Samaria, and was thus ruler of all the territory that had once been Herod's (A.D. 42). To facilitate the supply of corn to Rome, the building of a harbour at Ostia, the mouth of the Tiber, was decided on. War in Mauretania continued, and the district was made into two provinces, Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Cæsariensis, which were each put under the command of an Imperial *procurator*. Pretenders to the Imperial throne were crushed (A. D. 42). Lycia, owing to disturbances, was made an Imperial province, under a *legatus pro prætore*. Britain was invaded for the first time since Julius Cæsar (55 B.C.). A. Plautius landed with a strong army and fought against the Trinouantes in the south of the island. Claudius followed in person, defeated the enemy on the Thames, captured their chief city Camulodunum (Colchester), and returned to the continent after a sixteen days' stay. The southern half of England was made into a province, and A. Plautius was appointed the first governor (43). King Agrippa of Judæa died, and his kingdom was again made a Roman province and put under a *procurator*. In this and next year (44–45) the pacification of Britain was continued. In A.D. 46 King Rhœmetalces II. of Thrace having been murdered, his territory was made into a Roman province and put under a *procurator*. This was also the year of the great famine in Palestine (Ac 11[28]; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, pp. 49, 68, *Expositor*, 6th ser. xii. [1905] 299). In 47 the censorship was revived after a long period of disuse, the Emperor taking the office, and endeavouring to improve public morality. The eight-hundredth anniversary of Rome was celebrated with great éclat. New aqueducts and roads were built, and three letters were added to the alphabet. These last were to represent sounds as yet imperfectly represented, but they did not survive Claudius' reign. A number of edicts were issued by the Emperor. A. Plautius was recalled from Britain, given an ovation, and succeeded by P. Ostorius Scapula, who had to repel an attack immediately on arrival. Cn. Domitius Corbulo gained victories in Germania Inferior. A census taken in the year 48 revealed a total of 5,984,072 Roman citizens (other reports vary, the largest number given being 6,941,000). Messalina was married according to legal form to C. Silius in October; immediately afterwards they and all their accomplices were put to death. Claudius married as his fourth wife his own niece, Agrippina, daughter of Germanicus. Her son, L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, the future Emperor Nero, had the way thus paved for his accession. On the death of Herod, king of Chalcis, or soon after, his kingdom was given to Agrippa II., son of Claudius' old friend. In the year 49, we see Agrippina at once occupying a position of authority in the State equal to if not greater than that of her husband. She betrothed her son to Octavia, Claudius' daughter, and put him under the tuition of the great philosopher L. Annæus Seneca. The Ituræan country and perhaps also Abilene were added to the Province Syria. Scapula was successful in Britain. In A.D. 50 the young Domitius was adopted by Claudius, as future colleague to his own son Britannicus. Other events are the war in Germany; the great success of Scapula—the wife, daughter, and brothers of Caratacus falling into the hands of the conqueror; Claudius' edict expelling the Jews from Rome (Ac 18[2]), on account of their dissensions. The result of this edict was that for the four years 50–54 the Church of Rome was bereft of its Jewish members. The year 51 saw the danger of famine and the Emperor's relief measures. In 52 astrologers were banished from Italy. Laws were passed as to children born of unions between free and slaves. Quarrels arose between Jews and Samaritans. Felix received the government of the whole of Judæa, Samaria, Galilee, and Perræa. Scapula warred against the Silures and died; he was succeeded by A. Didius Gallus, who drove the Silures out of Roman territory. In 53 Nero advanced, and Britannicus kept in the background. Agrippa II. received, in place of his district Chalcis, the former tetrarchy of Trachonitis, Batanæa, Gaulanitis, and Abilene as his kingdom. In 54 Claudius was poisoned at the instance of Agrippina on 13 October.

Claudius was deified after his death. A skit preserved among the works of Seneca, and called 'The Pumpkinification of Claudius,' is among the most amusing relics of Latin literature.

This bald enumeration will show that much was done during the reign of Claudius. It is true that at all times he was too much under the dominion of evil women, and that he never thoroughly cast off the brutish habits contracted in his youth, but yet his reign was the most important for the Roman Empire in the period between the reigns of Augustus and of Trajan. The Empire was extended in various directions; much social legislation was carried out; and great public works, such

as roads, aqueducts, harbours, were accomplished. The Emperor, like most of his class, was a hard worker, or countenanced the hard work of his freedmen. The position of importance occupied by these men is in fact a leading characteristic of the reign, and was most obnoxious to the old aristocracy, which may be said to have thus received its death-blow. The power of the Senate was greatly circumscribed. Claudius was, *inter alia*, something of an author. It was in fact the rule rather than the exception that Romans of high birth should, among their other accomplishments, be wielders of the pen. He began to write a history, but abandoned it unfinished. A second historical work was published, and some fragments of it have survived. He also wrote eight books of autobiography, and worked at Etrurian and Carthaginian history. The greater part of a speech he delivered in the Senate has been preserved on a bronze tablet at Lyons. His style is not without merits.

LITERATURE.—Much valuable material has been found in the article by Groag and Gaheis in Pauly-Wissowa, iii. cols. 2776–2839: cf. also A. v. Domaszewski, *Gesch. der röm. Kaiser*, ii. [Leipzig, 1909] pp. 21–46. On the chronology of events in the Claudian period referred to in the NT see W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, London, 1895, pp. 48 ff., 68 f., *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*, do. 1898, p. 223 f., *Expositor*, 6th series, xii. [1905] 299; the latest general treatment of Pauline chronology by the erudite French scholar, M. Goguel, in 'Essai sur la chronologie paulinienne' (*RHR* lxv. [1912] 285–339). A. SOUTER.

CLAUDIUS LYSIAS.—See LYSIAS.

CLAY.—See POTTER and PREDESTINATION.

CLEAN, UNCLEAN, COMMON.—'Common' (*κοινός, communis*) is an honourable word in classical Greek = 'shared by the people.' In Hellenistic Greek, it has sometimes this same meaning (Ac 2^{44} 4^{32}, Tit 1^4, Jude ^{3}), but sometimes a less honourable one (= Lat. *vulgaris*). This depreciation arose out of the transcendence of religion to the Eastern mind. What was 'shared by the people' had become profaned for the god (cf. the English word 'worldly,' meaning first secular, then unspiritual). We see the process with *κοινός* in He 10^{29}—'counted the blood of the covenant a common [*i.e.* secular] thing.' In Rev 21^{27} we go a step further, and 'anything common' means the worldly, the unspiritual (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XII. ii. 14, XIII. i. 1). Elsewhere 'common' corresponds to positive, active uncleanness (Ac $10^{14.28}$ 11^8, Ro 14^{14}, 1 Mac $1^{47.62}$, Jos. *Ant.* XI. viii. 7; the verb is found in Ac 21^{28}, He 9^{13}).

The distinction, 'clean' (*καθαρός*) and 'unclean' (*ἀκάθαρτος*), refers in the OT and primitive religions to definite departments of life, such as food, sanitation, contact with the dead, and marriage (Lv 11–15). In the OT it is mainly a common-sense distinction, made, however, from religious motives, and becoming part of the ritual of the Hebrews. It was thus a practical differentiation between them and surrounding peoples. It arose out of a good idea, but when separated from this idea grew into a proud national badge. Such national and religious customs, so long held, seem stronger than they are. One push of a new movement will often destroy, almost in a moment, the habits of centuries. We find this process to-day in the East. In the NT it may be seen in the case of Simon Peter; he combined Christian beliefs and Jewish distinctions without at first being willing to perceive their variance. His vision (Ac 10) woke him, and, though he relapsed for an instant (Gal 2^9), the work was done; and when that generation passed away, the *religious* nature of these distinctions had gone from Christianity; cleanliness, instead of being godliness, was next to godliness. These details of conduct were left to the reason and the conscience. The transition stage, where some cling to the old laws and others obey the new spirit, with its problems of faith and charity, is treated in Ro 14.

There is another ground for this ceremonial distinction of 'clean' and 'unclean,' *i.e.* contact with idolatry, which in the OT makes unclean (Dt 7^{25}). St. Paul allows (1 Co 8) that an idol is nothing and cannot affect meats offered to it. But idolatry is something—its atmosphere, its offerings, its gatherings into temples. It becomes the embodiment of demons (1 Co 10^{20}); there is a 'table' of demons, an agreement with hell, and no man can with impunity associate with even the outward forms which this agreement takes, or frequent the places where it is most generally made. The Apostle treats marriage (*q.v.*) in a similar way. He would place restrictions on the marriage of believers with unbelievers. It is as if a Christian were participating in idolatry (1 Co 10^{18-20}, 2 Co 6 $^{14-16}$), or trying to mingle the communion of God with the communion of devils. If, however, they are already married, the principle of faith triumphs over all forms. The believing partner sanctifies the unbelieving one, and their children are holy (1 Co 7^{14}). St. Paul recognizes the value of forms for the human spirit, but he subordinates them to the conscience. Many of the old tabus on food, marriage, travel, the Sabbath, were rooted in fact. They were based on laws of health, decency, human nature; but they were not deeper than that. They were not religious principles to be obeyed without thought and absolutely guaranteeing purity.

Men are always tending to revert to forms, and there was yet another movement in later NT times, which felt after this old distinction. It adopted that of matter and spirit, in which spirit is clean, matter unclean. It had ordinances like 'Touch not, taste not, handle not' (Col 2^{21}), it tried to refine in all manner of ways, it forbade men to eat meat and to marry (1 Ti 4^3). St. Paul answers in Tit 1^{15}: All the external refinements in the world will not avail to give purity; purity of heart, the will to be pure, alone secures it in body and spirit.

LITERATURE.—*HDB*, art. 'Unclean'; W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2}, 1894, Additional Note B; F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894, chs. 6, 7; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*^{8}, 1879, pp. 83 ff., 408–414; R. C. Trench, *NT Synonyms*^{8}, 1876, p. 308. SHERWIN SMITH.

CLEANTHES.—See QUOTATIONS.

CLEMENT.—Mention is made of Clement in Ph 4^3 as one of St. Paul's fellow-workers. If *μετὰ καὶ Κλήμεντος* is connected with *συλλαμβάνου*, Clement was urged to help in the work of reconciling Euodia and Syntyche. But it is better to connect the phrase with *συνήθλησαν*, so including Clement among those with whom these women and St. Paul 'laboured in the gospel'; *i.e.* he had been conspicuous in Christian work in Philippi. But the reference does not suggest that he was in Philippi when St. Paul wrote; it is too oblique for that. Would he not have been asked to use his good offices to effect a reconciliation? Two things are possible: (*a*) he may be dead, though his memory is fragrant (the reference to other 'fellow-workers whose names are in the book of life' is not inconsistent with this suggestion); (*b*) he may be with St. Paul, one of the band who gathered about him in his imprisonment and through whom the Apostle carried on his work. In that case Clement was in Rome, and one of the arguments against identifying him with Clement, bishop of Rome, who wrote the Letter to the Church of Corinth, would disappear. The difficulty of date is, however, serious, though not insuperable. If

Clement were a promising convert from Philippi, who after serving there with marked success became a pupil and companion of St. Paul, he could not very well have been less than 35 or 40 years of age when Phil. was written from Rome about A.D. 60. If this Clement is to be identified with Clemens Romanus, he must have lived to extreme old age. The identification, first made by Origen, cannot be proved; it is even precarious; but Kennedy goes too far when he calls it 'absurd' (*EGT*, 'Philippians,' *ad loc.*).

The name is a common one.

LITERATURE.—J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878 (esp. note on p. 168 ff.); H. A. A. Kennedy, *EGT*, 'Philippians,' 1903; art. on 'Clement' in *HDB*; E. B. Redlich, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913, p. 223. J. E. ROBERTS.

CLEMENT OF ROME, EPISTLE OF.—1. Occasion.—The Epistle of Clement itself supplies complete information as to the circumstances under which it was written. Dissension had arisen within the Christian community at Corinth, and the Church was torn asunder. The original ground of contention is not mentioned, but the course of the strife is clearly indicated. A small but powerful party of malcontents (i. 1, xlvii. 6) had used their influence to secure the deposition of certain presbyters, men duly appointed according to apostolic regulations, who were, moreover, of blameless reputation and unfailing zeal in the performance of their duties (xliv. 3). A fierce controversy was raging, and the Corinthian Church, hitherto renowned for its virtues, especially such as are the outcome of brotherly love (i. 2–ii.), had become a stumbling-block instead of an example to the world (xlvii. 7). Once before, the Church of Corinth had shown the same spirit of faction (1 Co $1^{10.12}$). History was now repeating itself, but the latter case was much worse than the former. Then, the contending parties had at least claimed to be following the lead of apostolic men, but now the main body of the Church was following 'one or two' contumacious persons in rebellion against their lawful rulers (xlvii.).

The news of this state of things was brought to Rome. How it came it is impossible to say. Ill news travels apace, and Rome is within easy reach of Corinth. It seems clear that no direct appeal was made to Rome by either contesting party. Yet in the ordinary course of things the Roman Church would soon hear of the Corinthian trouble, for communication seems to have been fairly frequent between the principal Christian communities in the early days (note the stress laid on the duty of hospitality, i. x. xi. xii. xxxv.). At any rate the Christians at Rome heard of the Corinthian dissension while it was still at its height (xlvi. 9). When the tidings first came, they themselves were suffering under the stress of external persecution (i. 1, vii. 1), but as soon as the storm had abated, a letter was written in the name of the Church at Rome to the Church at Corinth, expressing the sorrow which the Corinthian feud had caused to the Christians at Rome, and admonishing the Corinthians to remember the primary duty of φιλαδελφία and bring their strife to an end. That Epistle has survived to the present day. It is known as 'the First Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.'

2. Date and authorship.—(1) *Date.*—The *terminus a quo* for the dating of the Epistle is fixed by its reference to the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul (v. 4, 6), and its use of the Epistle to the Hebrews (xxxvi. xliii.). Even if we accept the earliest possible dates for the death of the apostles and for the Epistle to the Hebrews, the Epistle of Clement cannot have been written before A.D. 70. The *terminus ad quem* is also fixed by the fact that Clement's Epistle was indubitably used by Polycarp in his Epistle to the Philippians (Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* [*Apostol. Fathers*, pt. i., 1890] vol. i. p. 149 ff.). If Lightfoot be correct—as seems most probable—in dating Polycarp's letter c. A.D. 110 (*St. Ign. and St. Polyc.*[2] [*Apostol. Fathers*, pt. ii., 1889], vol. i. p. 428 ff.), the date of Clement's Epistle must fall between the years A.D. 70 and A.D. 110.

Fortunately it is possible to reduce these limits very considerably. The Epistle contains distinct allusions to two serious persecutions already suffered by the Church at Rome. During the former of these, we are told, 'women suffered cruel and unholy insults as Danaids and Dircæ,' and 'a vast multitude of the elect' endured 'many indignities and tortures' before 'they reached the goal in the race of faith and received a noble reward' (vi. 1, 2). When the Epistle was written this persecution was a matter of past history, but its victims are still spoken of as 'those champions who lived very near to our own time' and 'the noble examples which belong to our generation' (τοὺς ἐγγιστα γενομένους ἀθλητάς . . . τῆς γενεᾶς ἡμῶν τὰ γενναῖα ὑποδείγματα, v. 1). The second persecution was still in progress when the news of the Corinthian schism was brought to Rome. The Epistle opens with an apology for the delay in writing which has been caused by 'the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which have befallen us' (τὰς αἰφνιδίους καὶ ἐπαλλήλους γενομένας ἡμῖν συμφορὰς καὶ περιπτώσεις, i. 1). The writer's words suggest that the method of attack adopted in the later persecution was different from that of the earlier one. That the two are not to be identified is made plain in vii. 1, where a clear distinction is drawn between the martyrs of an earlier date and 'us' who 'are in the same lists,' whom 'the same contest awaits.'

Now it is a well-established fact that during the 1st cent. A.D. the Roman Church suffered two, and only two, serious persecutions. The first was that of Nero (*c.* A.D. 64), in the course of which, according to an ancient tradition, St. Paul lost his life. The second was that of Domitian. Nero's persecution was a savage onslaught on all Christians indiscriminately; that of Domitian took the form of sharp intermittent attacks aimed at individuals. In fact, the difference between the two was precisely the difference between the two persecutions mentioned in the Epistle of Clement. It seems, therefore, a safe conclusion that the references of the Epistle are to the persecutions of Nero and Domitian, and that the Epistle was written either just before or just after the termination of the latter of the two, *i.e.* *c.* A.D. 95–96. This date suits admirably the other indications of time contained in the Epistle, all of which point towards the close of the 1st cent. A.D. An earlier date is precluded by the following facts: (*a*) the Church of Corinth is already called ἀρχαία (xlvii. 6); (*b*) presbyters are mentioned who have succeeded successors of the apostles (xliv. 3); (*c*) the language used of the Roman envoys 'who have walked among us from youth unto old age unblameably' (lxiii. 3) seems to imply that a generation has almost passed since the Church of Rome was founded. On the other hand, the Epistle cannot have been written later than the end of the century, because (*a*) St. Peter and St. Paul are included amongst the 'examples of our own generation' (v. 1); (*b*) ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος are still regarded as interchangeable terms (xliv. 4, 5), whereas very early in the 2nd cent. they were used to denote distinct offices (Ign. *Epp.*, passim). Finally, external evidence of an early and reliable kind (*a*) connects the Epistle with the episcopate of Clement, third bishop of Rome, and (*b*) places his episcopate in the last decade of the 1st cent. A.D. (Hegesippus, *ap.* Eus. *HE* iv, 22; Dion. Cor. *ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 23; Iren. *adv. Hær.* III. iii. 3). In view of this accumulation of evidence, it is

impossible to doubt that the Epistle of Clement was written about A.D. 95–96.

(2) *Authorship.*—The Epistle itself claims to be the letter not of an individual but of a community. The author's name is nowhere mentioned. Nor indeed do we find in the statements of Hegesippus, Dionysius of Corinth, and Irenæus, the three earliest writers who connect the Epistle with the name of Clement, any definite assertion that Clement was the author. Eusebius, to whom we owe our knowledge of Hegesippus, does indeed declare that that writer 'makes some remarks concerning the Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians' (*HE* iv. 22), but the title here given to the letter is due to the historian and not to Hegesippus, whose own words have unfortunately not been preserved. Dionysius of Corinth, *c.* A.D. 170 (*ap.* Eus. *HE* iv. 23), speaks of *τὴν πρότεραν ἡμῖν διὰ Κλήμεντος γραφεῖσαν* (*sc.* *ἐπιστολήν*), but his statement is ambiguous. *διὰ Κλήμεντος* might mean that Clement was the author, the amanuensis, or even the bearer of the Epistle. Similarly the language of Irenæus (*c.* A.D. 180) is indefinite as to the actual authorship of the letter: *ἐπὶ τούτου οὖν τοῦ Κλήμεντος . . . ἐπέστειλεν ἡ ἐν Ῥώμῃ ἐκκλησία ἱκανωτάτην γραφὴν τοῖς Κορινθίοις* (*adv. Hær.* III. iii. 3). Yet it must be admitted that there is nothing in the language of any of these three writers to exclude the possibility of believing that they regarded Clement as the author of the Epistle. The absence of more explicit statement on the subject is probably due to the fact that they looked upon the letter as the utterance of the whole Roman Church rather than of one man. The Epistle is first definitely ascribed to Clement of Rome in the writings of his namesake of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 200), who, though his usage is not quite uniform, on at least four occasions speaks of Clement as the author (*Strom.* i. 7, iv. 17–19, v. 12, vi. 8). All later writers are unanimous in accepting this opinion (Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* vol. i. p. 160 ff.).

It is unreasonable to doubt that they are justified in doing so. That Clement was head of the Roman community at the time of the Corinthian schism is as well attested as any fact of early Church history, and as such he would be the natural mouthpiece of the Church of Rome in its communications with a sister community. At any rate, this function is attributed to him by the writer of 'Hermas' (*πέμψει οὖν Κλήμης εἰς τὰς ἔξω πόλεις, ἐκείνῳ γὰρ ἐπιτέτραπται*, *Vis.* II. iv. 3), and 'Hermas' may have been written as early as A. D. 110–125 (V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, pt. i. pp. 34–41). Again, however worthless as historical documents the Clementine *Recognitions* and *Homilies* may be, they at least bear witness to the fact that, by the middle of the 2nd cent. A. D., Clement was regarded as an author. It is difficult to understand what could have given rise to that opinion except the belief that he was the author of the Epistle to the Corinthians. Certainly at that date no other writings of importance were attributed to him. But the real value of the Epistle depends not so much on its authorship as on its date, which is sufficiently indicated by purely internal evidence.

3. **Contents.**—*Introductory.*—(*a*) Opening salutation from 'the Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth.' (*b*) Apology for apparent lack of interest in the Corinthian trouble. The Romans' previous silence due to the 'sudden and repeated calamities' which have befallen them.

(1) *The Corinthian trouble—its cause and the remedy.*—Now at last we have an opportunity of speaking our mind about 'the detestable and unholy sedition which a few headstrong and self-willed persons have kindled' till the once honoured name of the Church of Corinth is now greatly reviled (i. 1). For indeed the Church of Corinth has hitherto been a model of Christian virtues, especially of sobriety in all things, of self-sacrifice and moderation (i. 2–ii.). But, like Israel of old, you have been spoiled by your good progress. Excellence has given way to jealousy and envy (iii.). Envy and ill-will always result in suffering. So much we may learn from the stories of Cain, of Jacob, of Moses, Aaron and Miriam, of Dathan and Abiram, and of David (iv.). Or think of those who suffered martyrdom 'nearest our own time'—of Peter and Paul and the multitude of others (v. vi.). These examples ought to warn us who have to face the same expression of the world's envy to be free from envy ourselves. If we have not kept ourselves free from it, then let us use the 'grace of repentance' which Christ's death won for man (vii.), even as the men of old repented at the preaching of Noah and of Jonah (vii. 5 ff.).

The Holy Spirit Himself, through the prophets, calls men to repentance (viii.). Let us be obedient to His call, following the example of Enoch and Noah (ix.). Obedience to God brought blessings upon Abraham (x.); faith and care for others saved Lot from the fate of Sodom (xi.), and Rahab from the fate of Jericho (xii.). 'Arrogance and conceit and folly and anger' must be laid aside. The promises of the Scriptures and of the Lord Jesus are for the humble-minded (xiii. xiv.), who are genuinely so (xv.). What an example of humility was set by Christ Himself (xvi.) and by the saints of old—Elijah, Elisha, Ezekiel, Abraham, Job, Moses (xvii.), and David (xviii.)! Self-seeking and discord are contrary to the will of the Creator (xix.); the harmony of the natural world proves His own long-suffering and love of settled order (xx.). Let us therefore act as befits the servants of such a Master, for He reads the secrets of all hearts. Let us reverence rulers, honour elders, and train our families to do the same (xxi.); for Christ, through the Holy Spirit, and the Father both commend the single-hearted and condemn such as are double-minded (xxii. xxiii.). The Lord will come quickly (xxiii.).

(2) *The resurrection of the body. Faith and works the means by which the elect obtain this and the other blessings of God.*—Let us have no doubt about the resurrection of the dead. Life out of death is the very law of Nature. Day grows out of night, the plant from the death of the seed (xxiv.), the phœnix from its parent's ashes (xxv.). In the Scriptures God has promised a resurrection. His promise and His power are alike sufficient, for He is almighty and cannot lie. Therefore let our souls be bound to Him with this hope (xxvi.–xxviii.).

We must approach Him in holiness of soul, for we are His 'elect,' His 'special portion' (xxix.); as such we must put away all lust, strife, contention, and pride. 'Boldness and arrogance and daring are for them that are accursed of God; but forbearance and humility and gentleness are with them that are blessed of God' (xxx.). This, then, is how the blessing of God is obtained. We see it in the case of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob (xxxi.). They were blessed 'not through themselves, in their own works or righteous doing,' but because they accepted the will of God, *i.e.* through faith. So we are justified by faith (xxxii.).

Yet we must never be slack in works. Does not the Creator rejoice to work unceasingly? We must follow His example, for we are made in His image (xxxiii.). We must imitate the diligence of the angels, if we would win the promises of God (xxxiv.). How blessed and marvellous are the gifts which God prepares for them that patiently await Him! If we would enjoy them, we must first have done with all bitterness and strife, vainglory and inhospitality, which are hateful to Him (xxxv.). Jesus Christ, 'the Guardian and Helper of our weakness,' will aid us in our efforts, and He is mightier than any angel (xxxvi.).

(3) *Discipline is indispensable in a corporate society: provision made for this in the Mosaic Law and in the Divinely appointed ministry of the Church.*—We are Christ's soldiers (*στρατευσώμεθα*, xxxvii. 1): soldiers must be under discipline, each in his own rank. Look at the soldiers in the Roman army; think of the limbs in a human body; 'all the members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved' (xxxvii.). So the members of the Christian body must perform each his own function for the common weal (xxxviii.). Only 'senseless and stupid and foolish and ignorant men' seek power and exaltation, forgetting the utter nothingness of man, and the condemnation of the Scriptures for such as themselves (xxxix.).

Regard for order and decency is Divinely taught in the Mosaic Law, which expressly prescribes how, when, and by whom each of its rites shall be performed, every man having his own appointed place, whether high priest, priest, Levite, or layman (xl.). So we, who are under the Christian Law, must be content to perform the function which is appointed for us (xli.).

The Christian ministry is a Divinely appointed order. Jesus Christ was sent forth from God, and Himself sent forth the apostles. They, in turn, when they had preached in town and country, appointed such of their converts as were approved by the Spirit, to be 'bishops and deacons unto them that should believe' (xlii.). In this they followed the example of Moses, who appointed a succession of priests, and to prevent all future dispute, confirmed the appointment of Aaron's line by the miracle of the budding rod (xliii.). The apostles, too, were Divinely warned that strife would arise over the bishop's office. They therefore provided for a regular succession of the ministry from generation to generation (xliv. 1, 2).

(4) *The Corinthians have disobeyed not only a specific ordinance of God, but also the fundamental Christian law of love. May they speedily repent.*—You have sinned grievously in thrusting from their office men who were duly appointed according to the apostles' directions, and have faithfully discharged the duties of a bishop (xliv. 3–6). It is monstrous that God's officers should be persecuted by those who profess to be God's servants. Read your Bible, and you will learn that when God's servants have suffered persecution—*e.g.* Daniel and the righteous men have suffered at the hands of the three Holy Children—they have suffered at the hands of the

ungodly (xlv.). Surely you ought to be found on the side of the righteous rather than of the persecutors. We worship one God. We are one body in Christ, we have one spirit of grace. How can you bear such strife if you remember that we are members one of another? Remember what Jesus our Lord said concerning those who cause offence as you have done (xlvi.). St. Paul rebuked you for the same fault, but things are worse now. Then at least you professed to follow apostles or apostolic men, but now 'the steadfast and ancient Church of the Corinthians, for the sake of one or two persons, maketh sedition against its presbyters' (xlvii.). Let us have done with such feuds, and in penitence pray God to restore our former harmony (xlviii.).

Love is all-powerful: love, His own attribute, is acceptable to God: seek love, and you shall be saved (xlix. 1). Love is the only ground on which we can hope for God's forgiveness. Let us therefore—and especially those who have caused strife—confess our offences and not harden our hearts as Pharaoh did, lest like Pharaoh we perish (li.).

God asks nothing of man but contrition, prayer, and praise (lii.). Remember how Moses fasted and prayed forty days on the mountain, offering his life for the life of his people (liii.). Let those of you who are the occasion of strife, copy his self-effacement (liv.), and follow the examples of those noble heathens—rulers and citizens, even women—who over and over again in the course of history have been willing to give up all for the good of their nation (lv.).

Let us intercede for one another. Let us be ready to give and to receive admonition. In God's hands, chastisement is an instrument of mercy (lvi.). You especially, who first stirred up the strife, be first to repent—'submit yourselves unto the presbyters, and receive chastisement unto repentance.' The Scriptures contain many threats against the stubborn and impenitent (lvii.). Let us by obedience escape them, for they who obey God's will shall be saved (lviii.). 'But if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us . . . they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger; but we shall be guiltless of this sin' (lix.).

(5) *Prayer for all mankind: final admonition and benediction.*—We pray that God will keep His elect intact. We pray for inward light, for all who need, for the Gentiles' conversion, for pardon and cleansing, for peace and concord, for deliverance from those who hate us wrongfully, for the grace of obedience to temporal authority, for earthly rulers, that they may govern in accordance with God's will in peace and gentleness. We offer our praises to the Almighty Father 'through the High Priest and Guardian of our souls, Jesus Christ' (lix.–lxi.).

We have said enough about the Christian life; about faith, repentance, love, temperance, sobriety, patience, righteousness, truth, longsuffering. We have spoken gladly, knowing that we spoke to men who have studied the oracles of God (lxii.). Follow the example of the Fathers; submit yourselves to authority. You will give us great joy if you cease from strife. With the letter we have sent faithful and prudent men who shall be witnesses between us (lxiii.).

May God endue with all virtues those who call on His name through Jesus Christ our High Priest and Guardian (lxiv.). We commend Claudius Ephebus, and Valerius Bito, who, with Fortunatus also, are the bearers of this letter. Send them back speedily with good news.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you and all men.

4. Teaching.—The object of the Epistle was strictly practical. It is therefore unreasonable to expect to find in it precise definitions of Christian doctrine. Yet, in enforcing his practical lesson, the writer alludes to the main articles of the faith as he had learned it, and these incidental allusions are historically the more valuable, because they represent not the belief of one man but the tradition of a community.

The tradition, which lies behind the Epistle, is above all things catholic, in its recognition of the many-sidedness of Christian truth. It embraces *almost* every type of apostolic teaching which is expressed in the Epistles of the NT—the type of St. James no less than of St. Paul, of St. Peter as well as of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The one element which is lacking is the mysticism of St. John, probably because the Johannine writings were not yet in existence (Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* vol. i. p. 95 ff.).

At the same time it must be admitted that the Epistle betrays a certain failure to grasp the full meaning of the more profound doctrines of the NT. This is especially evident in its treatment of the Pauline idea of justification by faith. To St. Paul faith is the mainspring of the Christian life, the source of all Christian virtues. To the writer of the Epistle, faith is nothing more than one amongst many virtues. He is conscious of no incongruity in placing 'faith' and 'hospitality' side by side as equal conditions of salvation (xii. 1; cf. Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.* vol. i. p. 397).

(1) *Doctrine of God.*—The terms in which the Epistle speaks of God are unmistakably borrowed from the language of the OT and the Jewish synagogue. God is 'the Almighty,' 'the all-seeing Master' (lv. 6), 'the Creator and Master of the universe' (xxxiii. 2), 'the Father of the ages, the All-holy One' (xxxv. 3); 'the Father and Maker of the whole world' (xix. 2; cf. lx. and lxii.); 'the King of the ages' (lxi. 2); 'He that embraceth the whole universe' (xxviii. 4). His unceasing activity in the natural world displays both His beneficence and His love of harmony (xx. xxxii.). Amongst men He is made known as 'the Creator and Overseer . . . the Benefactor of all spirits and the God of all flesh' (lix. 3). To the elect He is revealed as a 'gentle and compassionate Father' (xxix. 1), 'the champion and protector of them that in a pure conscience serve His excellent Name' (xlv. 7).

So much might have been said by a conscientious Jew; but in two passages at least, the language of the Epistle passes beyond the mere monotheism of Judaism: 'Have we not one God and one Christ and one Spirit of grace that was shed upon us?' (xlvi. 6); 'as God liveth and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect . . .' (lviii. 2). The simple and natural way in which the Son and the Holy Spirit are here linked with the Father as equal objects of Christian faith and hope is quite inexplicable unless the writer was convinced of their essential Divinity and essential equality with the Father.

(2) *Christology.*—A clear allusion to the pre-existence of Christ is contained in the statement that He speaks through the Holy Spirit in the OT Scriptures (xxii. 1). A similar reference is probably to be found in the words 'Jesus Christ was sent forth from God' (xlii. 1). He is never actually called God,* but His Divinity is implied when He is described as 'the sceptre of the majesty of God' (xvi. 2), who showed us 'as in a mirror' the very 'face' of God (xxxvi. 2).

But most frequently the Epistle speaks of Christ in His relation to mankind. He came to earth 'to instruct, to sanctify, to honour us' (lix. 3), to be our pattern of lowliness (xvi.). Yet He was no mere example to men. He shed His blood for our salvation (vii. 4, xii. 7, xxi. 6), and 'gave His flesh for our flesh and His life for our lives' (xlix. 6). By His death He 'won for the whole world the grace of repentance' (vii. 3). God raised Him from the dead, and we shall one day share His resurrection (xxiv. 1). Meanwhile He is 'the High Priest of our offerings, the Guardian and Helper of our weakness' (xxxvi. 1; cf. lxi. 3, lxiv.). 'Through Him we taste the immortal knowledge' (xxxvi. 2), 'the full knowledge of the glory of God's Name' (lix. 2). Through Him we have our access to the Father (xx. 11, lxi. 3, lxiv.).

(3) *The Holy Spirit.*—In times past the Holy Spirit inspired the message of the prophets (viii. 1, xlv. 1). In the present He is a living power poured out upon the Church (xlvi. 6). His indwelling was the source of the manifold virtues which had formerly distinguished the Church of Corinth (ii. 3). The writer of the Epistle claims that his own words were written 'through the Holy Spirit' (*τοῖς ὑφ' ἡμῶν γεγραμμένοις διὰ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος*, lxiii. 2).

(4) *Justification by faith and works.*—Salvation

* The one possible exception is the passage ii. 1 which ends *καὶ τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ ἦν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ὑμῶν*. The question turns on a doubtful reading. As the antecedent of *αὐτοῦ* Cod. A reads *τοῦ θεοῦ*. If this be correct, the statement made above is not quite true. But the weight of MS authority (C and all three versions) is in favour of the reading *τοῦ Χριστοῦ*.

was won for man by the blood of Christ (vii. 4, xii. 7, etc.). On man's part the necessary condition of salvation is 'faith' (xxxii. 4). Faith must find expression in good works (xxxiii.), for 'we are justified by works and not by words' (xxx. 3). By 'faith *and* hospitality' Rahab was saved (xii. 1). Abraham was blessed 'because he wrought righteousness and truth through faith' (xxxi. 2). 'So we, having been called through His (*sc.* the Father's) will in Christ Jesus, are not justified through ourselves or through our own wisdom or understanding or piety or works . . . but through faith, whereby the Almighty God justified all men that have been from the beginning' (xxxii. 4). Yet we must 'hasten with instancy and zeal to accomplish every good work' (xxxiii. 1), even as the Creator maintains without ceasing His beneficent activity. In this way the writer of the Epistle co-ordinates the divergent language of St. Paul and St. James on the question of faith and works. Yet he certainly fails to rise to the full meaning of faith as it was understood by St. Paul.

(5) *The resurrection of the dead.*—The truth of the doctrine of the resurrection of the dead is dwelt upon at considerable length (xxiv.–xxvi.). In proof of it, analogies are quoted from the natural world. The sequence of night and day, the growth of the plant from the death of the seed, and the story of the phœnix are all pressed into service. But the final argument is the promise of God in the Scripture, and the precedent of the Resurrection of Christ who is 'the first-fruits' of the harvest of the dead. The passage dealing with the Resurrection interrupts the argument of the Epistle, and it is not quite evident why the subject is introduced at all. It does not seem to have had any connexion with the Corinthian disagreement. Possibly it may have been suggested to the writer by a recent perusal of 1 Co 15 (see xlvii. 1).

(6) *The Christian ministry.*—The Epistle gives a full account of the origin of the Christian ministry. 'The apostles received the gospel for us from the Lord Jesus Christ. . . . So then Christ is from God and the apostles are from Christ. Both therefore came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge . . . they went forth with the glad tidings that the kingdom of God should come. So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe' (xlii.). 'And our apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance,* that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration' (xliv.). Clearly the writer has no doubt concerning the Divine origin of the ministry or the necessity of preserving the apostolic succession. To thrust from their office men thus Divinely appointed is 'no light sin' (xliv. 4).

But the most striking feature in his statements concerning the ministry is that he uses ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος as interchangeable terms, denoting different aspects of the same office. Twice he speaks of 'bishops and deacons' as a summary description of the Christian ministry, where it is inconceivable that the 'presbyters' should not be mentioned if they were recognized as a separate order (xlii. 4, 5); and once at least he applies both of the terms ἐπίσκοπος and πρεσβύτερος to men of the same rank (xliv. 1, 4, 5). In this he follows the usage of the Apostolic Age (Ac 20^{17}, 1 P 5^{1-3}, 1 Ti 3^{1-7}, Tit 1^{5-7}), according to which the words indicate different functions of the same person (cf. Lightfoot, *Phil.*[4], 1878, p. 97 ff.; for a defence of the view that separate orders are meant cf. J. H. Bernard, *Pastoral Epistles* [*Camb. Gr. Test.*, 1899], p. lxii ff.).

5. Permanent value.—The history of the first beginnings of the Christian Church can easily be reconstructed from the data supplied by the NT writings. The stage of growth which it had reached towards the end of the 2nd cent. is amply illustrated by the writings of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. But for the intermediate period, the sub-apostolic age, the available sources of first-hand evidence are very slight. The primary value of the Epistle of Clement arises from the fact that it is one of them and the earliest. It helps us to characterize the sub-apostolic age, and hints at the reason why its literary remains are not more extensive. It suggests a period not of keen or original thought, but rather of scrupulous fidelity in preserving intact Christian doctrine and Christian practice as they had been handed down by the apostles, a time of combining and co-ordinating different types of apostolic teaching rather than of assimilating their deepest meaning. The evidence supplied by such an Epistle is quite sufficient to dispose of the idea that the Church of the 2nd cent. was the product of a compromise between a Jewish and a Pauline party, who in the 1st cent. were wholly antagonistic.

Secondly, the Epistle throws important light upon the position occupied in the early Church by the See of Rome. The whole tone of the letter makes it quite clear that as yet no Roman supremacy *de iure* was recognized, even by the Church of Rome. But already it is possible to see the beginning of the process by which Rome ultimately gained a not unmerited supremacy *de facto*. Apostolic institutions were being disregarded at Corinth and the peace of the Church was threatened. No appeal was made by the contending parties either to Rome or elsewhere. Yet, as a matter of principle, it was the business of any Christian community to step in and try to heal the breach, and as a matter of fact it was the Church of Rome which actually did so. Such an act was characteristic of the early Roman Church, and it was a succession of such acts, combined with its central position, its own undoubted orthodoxy, and the prestige of the Imperial city, which in the early Church gave the Roman See its position as 'primus inter pares.'

If the Epistle of Clement already displays something of the Imperial mind of the later Roman Church, it also foreshadows the bent of later western theology. For the writer's regard for theology is not for its own sake, but for its bearing on life and conduct. The questions which interest him most are practical and moral. Perhaps it is not merely fanciful to suggest that the writings of Clement and Ignatius mark the point of divergence of the two great streams of Christian thought, the eastern primarily philosophical and speculative, and the western mainly ethical and practical.

Thirdly, the Epistle is a valuable witness on certain biblical questions. It contains the earliest known reference to the Book of Judith (lv.). Its frequent quotations from the OT, which in the main are taken from the LXX, present some interesting problems to the student of the Greek versions of the OT.

'(*a*) Clement's text of the LXX inclines in places to that which appears in the NT, and yet presents sufficient evidence of independence; (*b*) as between the texts of the LXX represented

* The reading is doubtful. Cod. A has ἐπινομήν; C, ἐπιδομήν; Lat *lex*; Syr. ⟨syr⟩ ⟨syr⟩ *i.e.* ἐπὶ δοκιμῇ; the Coptic paraphrases. None of these provides tolerable sense, and most editors adopt the conjectural emendation ἐπιμονήν first suggested by Peter Turner in the 17th century.

by B and A, while often supporting A, it is less constantly opposed to B than is the NT; and (c) it displays an occasional tendency to agree with Theodotion and even with Aquila against the LXX' (Swete, *Introd. to the OT in Greek*[2], 1902, p. 410).

To the student of the growth of the NT Canon, Clement's Epistle has both a positive and a negative value. Negatively, it shows that as yet the NT writings were not definitely counted amongst the Scriptures. Sayings of our Lord are indeed quoted as of equal weight with the writings of the OT, and in a form which resembles passages in the Synoptic Gospels (xiii. 2, xlvi. 8), but their authority is that of the speaker, not of the written word. (On the form of Clement's quotations see Sanday, *Inspiration*[3], 1896, p. 299 ff.; Stanton, *op. cit.* pt. i. p. 5 ff.)

Positively, the Epistle provides clear evidence that by the end of the 1st cent. many of the apostolic writings were known and studied in the Church of Rome. For it contains an express reference to St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians (xlvii. 1 ff.), indubitable traces of the influence of Romans (xxxiii.–xxxvi. xlvii. 1.) and Hebrews (xxxvi. xliii.; cf. xvii. 1), and possible reminiscences of the phraseology of Acts (ii. 1), the Pastoral Epistles (ii. 7, lxi. 2), 1 Peter and James (xxx. 2, xlix. 5).

An apocryphal work is quoted in xxiii. 3 with the formula ἡ γραφὴ αὕτη. The same quotation occurs in an amplified form in the so-called Second Epistle of Clement (xi.). Possibly, as Lightfoot suggests (*Clem. Rom.* vol. ii. p. 80), it may have been taken from the lost pseudepigraphic book of *Eldad and Medad*, which was certainly known to the primitive Roman Church (see Hermas, *Vis.* ii. 3). Whatever the source may have been, it is the only book quoted by Clement which is outside the Canon of the Greek Bible.

Fourthly, the Epistle of Clement contains historical allusions which are of great interest. Not only does it provide contemporary evidence for the persecutions of Nero and Domitian, both of which occurred during the writer's lifetime, but it also adds fresh detail to our knowledge of the life-story of St. Paul. For the statement that the Apostle 'taught righteousness to the whole world' and 'reached the furthest bounds of the west' (ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθών, v. 7), occurring in an Epistle written from Rome, seems most naturally to mean that before his death St. Paul fulfilled his intention, expressed in Ro 15[24], of making a missionary journey to Spain. An allusion is made to the same journey by an anonymous writer two generations later (Muratorian Fragm. *ap.* Westcott, *Hist. of NT Canon*[5], 1881, p. 521 ff.).

Finally, the long prayer with which the Epistle concludes (lix.–lxiv.) is full of interest to the liturgiologist. Lightfoot has pointed out the strong Jewish colouring which it has in common with the rest of the Epistle, and especially its marked affinity with the 'eighteen benedictions' of the synagogue service (*Clem. Rom.* vol. i. p. 393 ff.). Furthermore, as the same writer observes, 'it is impossible not to be struck with the resemblances in this passage to portions of the earliest known liturgies. Not only is there a general coincidence in the objects of the several petitions, but it has also individual phrases, and in one instance [lix. 4] a whole cluster of petitions, in common with one or other of these' (*op. cit.* p. 384 f.). Yet it would be straining the evidence too far to conclude that Clement is quoting an actual form of prayer already in use in the Roman Church. The utmost that can be said is that the passage in question is 'an excellent example of the style of solemn prayer in which the ecclesiastical leaders of that time were accustomed to express themselves at meetings for worship' (Duchesne, *Christian Worship*, Eng. tr. from 3rd Fr. ed., 1903, p. 50).

6. MSS and versions.—Two early Greek MSS and three ancient versions of the Epistle are known.

(1) *MSS.*—(*a*) *Cod. A.*—The oldest Greek MS which contains the Epistle is the famous 5th cent. uncial, generally known as Codex Alexandrinus. Cod. A originally included the whole of the Old and New Testaments. The Epistle of Clement stands at the end of the NT, immediately after the close of the Apocalypse and before the spurious 'Second Epistle of Clement to the Corinthians.' One whole leaf of Clement's Epistle is missing (*i.e.* from lvii. 7 to the end of lxiii.), and the edges of the remaining leaves are considerably mutilated. Many editions of the Epistles of Clement based on the text of Cod. A have appeared since the 'editio princeps' of Patrick Young, published in 1633. It is still the chief authority for the text.

(*b*) *Cod. C.*—The second Greek MS, which, amongst other patristic writings, contains the Epistles of Clement, was made known to the world in 1875, when Bryennios, then Metropolitan of Serræ, published the first complete text of 1 and 2 Clement. This MS, which bears the date A.D. 1056, was found at Constantinople, in the library of the Patriarch of Jerusalem. Its chief value is that it enables us to fill in the gaps in Cod. A, but on the whole its text is distinctly inferior to that of the earlier MS.

(2) *Versions.*—(*a*) *Syriac.*—Almost simultaneously with the discovery of Bryennios, the first ancient version of Clement's Epistle came to light. A MS of the Harklean (Syriac) Version of the NT, then acquired by Cambridge University, was found to include Clement's Epistles, placed after the Catholic and before the Pauline Epistles. The date of the MS is A.D. 1170. As an authority for the text of Clement it is superior to Cod. C, but inferior to Cod. A. An edition of this Syriac text of 1 and 2 Clem. was published in 1899.

(*b*) *Latin.*—Much more remarkable, in view of the lack of any real acquaintance with Clement's Epistle on the part of the early Latin Church, was the discovery by G. Morin in 1894 of an ancient Latin version. The MS which contains it was written in the 11th cent., but the available evidence clearly shows that the translation is at least as old as the 4th cent., and perhaps as old as the 2nd. The Greek text which it represents is independent of that of all the other authorities, and probably ranks second only to that of Cod. A. The Latin text was published by Morin in 1894. (For an estimate of its value see R. Knopf, *TU* xx. 1 [1901]; also *CQR* xxxix. [1894] 190–195, and *JThSt* ii. [1900] 154).

(*c*) *Coptic.*—More recently still a Coptic version of Clement has been discovered in a papyrus book ascribed to the end of the 4th century. The text was published by Carl Schmidt in 1908 (*TU* xxxii. 1). The most interesting feature of this version is its omission of the name of Clement from the title, which runs 'Epistle of the Romans to the Corinthians.' Owing to the loss of five leaves from the middle of the book, the text is defective from xxxiv. 6 to xlii. 2. The underlying Greek text, though good, is inferior to that of Cod. A or of the Latin version (C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church Hist.* p. 257).

LITERATURE.—Editions of the Epistle of Clement: O. v. Gebhardt and A. Harnack (1875); F. X. Funk (1878–81); J. B. Lightfoot (*Apostol. Fathers*, pt. i., 1890); R. Knopf (1901). Artt. on Clement of Rome: 'Clemens Romanus,' by G. Salmon, in *DCB* i. [1877]; 'Clement I.,' by John Chapman, in *CE* iv. [1908]; 'Clemens von Rom,' by G. Uhlhorn, in *PRE*[3] iv. [1898] and 'Clement of Rome,' in Schaff-Herzog, iii. [1909]. General works: A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristl. Litt.* i. [1893], *Chronologie*, ii. [1891]; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, 1912; V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, pt. i. [1903]. Versions: Syriac, ed. Bensley (1899); Latin, ed. Morin (1894); Coptic, ed. Schmidt (1908).

F. S. MARSH.

CLOKE * (*φαιλόνης*, etc.).—The most important passage in which this word figures is 2 Ti 4[13], where the cloke, left behind at Troas with Carpus, is mentioned together with the books, especially the parchments. This grouping has led to the cloke being identified with a bag or case for books (since the time of Chrysostom). In *HDB* it is stated that the cloke 'may have been a light mantle like a cashmere dust-cloak, in which the books and parchments were wrapped.' In *DCG* it is taken as 'a heavy woollen garment, generally red or dark yellow in colour, worn as a protection against cold and rain, at first especially by travellers and by artisans and slaves. . . .' It appears to have been of one piece, circular or ellipsoid in shape, with a hole in the middle for the insertion of the head, and with no sleeves. According to Seyffert's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, *s.v.* 'Pænula,' it was buttoned or stitched up in front, in the direction of its length—a description which would lead to some modification of the idea of there being a simple opening for the head. An interesting addition to the last-named account is the mention of the *cucullus* or hood, to serve as a head-covering. Most accounts agree in describing it as a travelling-cloke, for rich and poor, and for both sexes. It belongs to the category of *vestimenta clausa*. It was worn in Rome (see Suet. *Nero*, 48), and was also in common use throughout the East, being well known to Greeks, Jews, and Syrians. The Jewish and Syriac forms of the word have caused it to be confused with the *pallium* (*ἱμάτιον*) or mantle.

The Latin *pœnula* (= *φαινόλης*, *φενόλης*) is interesting in view of the transposition of *ν* and *λ*, as found in *φαιλόνης*, *φελόνης* of the NT, which are said to be erroneous forms. There seems to be great diversity of opinion among lexicographers on the point. For the relation of the cloke to the chasuble and other matters connected with ecclesiastical vestments, see *DCG*, *s.v.* 'Cloke.' In this connexion R. Sinker, *Essays and Studies*, Cambridge, 1900, pp. 87–97, and W. Lowrie, *Christian Art and Archæology*, New York, 1901, p. 396 ff., should also be consulted.

The phrase 'before winter' (2 Ti 4[21]) is a fortuitous sequence, and is not to be brought into relation to v.[13]. As to this and further speculations regarding the history of St. Paul's cloke, see F. W. Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, London, 1897, p. 682, where a noteworthy parallel is cited. Cf. also A. Plummer, *The Pastoral Epistles* (*Expositor's Bible*), 1888, p. 411 ff.

The word 'cloke' appears in an extended meaning: (1) *ἐν προφάσει πλεονεξίας*, 'a cloke of covetousness' (1 Th 2[5]); and (2) *ἐπικάλυμμα τῆς κακίας*, 'a cloke of wickedness (or malice)' (1 P 2[16]). These passages call for no remark.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

CLOTHES. †—Many words of general meaning relating to clothing are used in the Acts, Epistles, and especially in the Apocalypse. In a number of instances these are metaphorical, particularly in the case of verbs, *e.g.* 'putting on,' 'putting off,' 'encircled,' etc. (2 Co 5[3. 4], Eph 4[24] 6[11], Col 3[9. 10]). The clothing of the angels and visionary figures is indeterminate, except as to aspect and colour, *e.g.* white, shining, pure, purple, scarlet, sprinkled (or dipped). Even with regard to luxury in dress, kingly or otherwise, there is little or no mention of particular garments (cf. Ac 12[21], 1 Ti 2[9], 1 P 3[3]). In a passage quoted from the OT (He 1[11. 12]) another indefinite term (*περιβόλαιον*; cf. 1 Co 11[15]) is employed. Little is said to indicate the condition of poverty (except Ja 2[3]); 'naked,' 'nakedness,' occur mostly in connexion with persecutions, which were also marked by the wearing of sheepskins and goatskins (He 11[37])—this, however, in pre-Christian times. The restricted meaning of 'naked' is probably found in Ac 19[16] (cf. 7[58]). The minimum in respect of clothes is hinted at in the *σκεπάσματα* of 1 Ti 6[8] (where some have found 'shelter' implied as well), and enjoined in the (*ἐν*) *καταστολῇ κοσμίῳ* of 1 Ti 2[9], where a contrast is made between modest apparel and the other extreme, which is also vividly pictured in one of the parties entering the synagogue, and having favour shown by the rulers (Ja 2[2. 3]). The moth-eaten garments (5[2]) of the rich also tell an evident story.

1. Under-garments.—The *χιτών*, or under-garment, is expressly mentioned in few places. We find that Dorcas made coats (*χιτῶνας*) and garments (*ἱμάτια*), the two chief categories of dress (Ac 9[39]). In Jude [23] the garment (*χιτών*) spotted by the flesh may be understood literally, the *χιτών* being brought into immediate contact with the body. But it would not warrant the conclusion that there was no other under-garment known or worn at this time. The *χιτών* may also be inferred from Ac 12[8], where the girdle is evidently implied (see GIRDLE). Sackcloth is mentioned only in the imagery of Rev. (6[12] 11[3]). See COAT.

2. Outer covering (or coverings).—*ἱμάτιον* (*ἱμάτια*, pl.), while no doubt generically employed, is also the specific word for the outer garment, equivalent to Heb. שִׂמְלָה and Latin *pallium* (see Mt 5[40], 'cloke'). *στολή*, 'robe,' appears only in Rev. (sing. and pl.), and the compound *καταστολή* in 1 Ti 2[9]. *ποδήρη* (accus. of *ποδήρης*), in Rev 1[13], a garment reaching to the feet, appears to combine the notions of dignity and priestly sanctity. The outer garment (mostly in pl.) figures in the Acts in connexion with certain activities, viz. the stoning of Stephen (7[58]); preparation for going forth (12[8]); rending, as a token of grief (14[14]); rending, as an act of violence (16[22]); shaking out, to indicate being done with (18[6]); throwing off, as a sign of rage (22[23]). For outer coverings see further CLOKE, MANTLE.

3. Head-dress.—No distinctive head-covering for men is mentioned, but in view of the treatment of the head by shearing and shaving some protection must have been worn (Ac 18[18] 21[24]), and may be deduced from 1 Co 11[4]. The difficult paragraph (vv.[4-16]) need be regarded here only in so far as it evidences a practice of veiling of women (not indeed of the face), indoors and out-of-doors, as a sign of authority (RV), which authority is either another's, and this is the usual interpretation, or her own (see W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, London, 1908, p. 175). St. Paul makes use of the face-veil (cf. Ex 34[33-35]) for spiritual purposes in 2 Co 3[12-18]. The crown (*στέφανος*), frequently mentioned in St. Paul's Epistles and in Rev., is either part of gala-attire (cf. *στέμματα*, Ac 14[13]), or distinctive of saints and allegorical figures seen in vision. Such word-pictures may, however, have had a basis of fact in the fillets, chaplets, and other head-gear of the Greeks and Romans. For the influence of Asia Minor on the dress of Rev. (*e.g.* 7[9ff.]) see A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1895, p. 285 ff. (Eng. tr., *Bible Studies*, Edinburgh, 1901, pp. 368–370).

4. Footwear.—See art. SHOE, SANDAL.

5. Handkerchief, Apron.—See separate articles under these titles.

6. Articles of **military wear** are treated under ARMOUR.

7. Clothes relating to marriage and burial.—Rev 21[2] contains the only mention of the 'bride adorned,' and details are equally lacking as to burial customs. Ac 5[6], referring to Ananias (*συνέ-*

* This spelling, instead of the modern 'cloak,' is retained by the RV.

† This art. includes such terms as 'dress,' 'garment,' 'robe,' 'vesture' (the last not in RV).

στειλαν αὐτόν, 'they wrapped him round'), does not convey much.

8. Ornaments.—The single reference to 'baggage' (Ac 21[15]) is significant of the absence of superfluous articles of wear in the equipment of St. Paul and his companions in travel. But many of those who remained at home were not so indifferent to luxury. To the indications already given may be added the mention of a mirror (1 Co 13[12], 2 Co 3[18], Ja 1[23]), in actual practice doubtless as much for ornament as for use. Plaiting the hair (1 Ti 2[9], 1 P 3[3]) is open to censure, and anointing likewise seems to have been carried to excess in these times (ointment, Rev 18[13]). The χρυσοδακτύλιος of Ja 2[2] paves the way for the wider domain of female ornamentation, as given in the gold, pearls, costly raiment of 1 Ti 2[9], and the jewels of gold and putting on of apparel of 1 P 3[3]. This culminates in the royal apparel of Ac 12[21] (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2), and the great pomp of Agrippa and Bernice (Ac 25[23]). The city-life of the age certainly afforded scope for the practice of the luxurious and extravagant in dress, as can be gathered from the indictment of Rev 18 (cf. 17[3. 4]), in which is to be found a storehouse of materials falling under this head. The purple (cf. Ac 16[14]) and scarlet, the fine linen and silk (or rather, mixture containing silk), are the last word in luxury of materials, and to them must be added embroidery (Rev 19[16] [?]) and inworking of gold and silver, precious stones and pearls. The λίνον or λίθον of Rev 15[6], and the fine linen, bright and pure (19[8]), white and pure (19[14]), etc., have transcendent value.

9. Washing of clothes.—(οὐκ) ἐμόλυναν (Rev 3[4]), ἔπλυναν (7[14]; cf. 22[14]), ἐλεύκαναν (7[14]), although used allegorically, are indicative of processes connected with the fulling and washing of clothes. The kindred process of dyeing underlies the imagery of 19[13] (if βεβαμμένον be read). See also 'purple and scarlet' above, § 8.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Dress' in *HDB* (G. M. Mackie), *SDB* (A. R. S. Kennedy), *EBi* (I. Abrahams and S. A. Cook), *DCG* (E. W. G. Masterman); art. 'Costume,' *JE* (W. Nowack); see further I. Benzinger, *Heb. Archäologie*[2], Tübingen, 1907, pp. 73-87, and especially S. Krauss, *Talmud. Archäologie*, vol. i. [Leipzig, 1910] pp. 127-207 (preceded by a very important list of dictionary articles and books); G. M. Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 1898. W. CRUICKSHANK.

CLOUD (νεφέλη, νέφος).—Ruskin says that we never make the clouds a subject of thought, otherwise we should witness 'scene after scene, picture after picture, glory after glory' (*Frondes Agrestes*, 1875, p. 36 f.). The Apostolic Church was not blind to the beauty of the 'brave, o'erhanging firmament,' which was far from seeming to her a mere 'congregation of vapours.' But in her the æsthetic sense was subordinated to the religious. Her thoughts were to a large extent shaped by those of the great Hebrew writers, who conceived of God as making the cloud His chariot (Ps 104[3]), spreading it for a covering (105[39] 19[1]), descending in it (Ex 34[5]), speaking out of it (Nu 11[25], Dt 5[22]), leading His people in it (Ex 13[21], Ps 78[14]). She brooded over Daniel's vision of the Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven. She heard that when the three disciples were on the Holy Mount a bright cloud overshadowed them, that they feared as they entered into the cloud, and that a voice spake out of the cloud (Mt 17[5], Mk 9[7], Lk 9[34. 35]). Thus for the early Church the cloud sometimes served a higher purpose than that of watering the thirsty earth—it was regarded as the vesture of Deity, of angels, or of saints.

1. When Christ had spoken His last words to His disciples, 'he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight' (Ac 1[9]). His body did not suddenly vanish, as in other post-Resurrection manifestations; nor was His Ascension accomplished in a blaze of glory. He was in human form when He parted from His Church and entered within the veil. The Church still thinks of Him, and prays to Him, as He was when the cloud enveloped Him.

2. St. Paul regards the cloud which indicated God's presence among the Israelites as having a sacramental virtue to them (1 Co 10[1. 2]). When they were under it, and when they passed through the sea, they were initiated into the service of Moses, as the Christian is initiated by baptism into the service of Christ. 'They were neither wet with the cloud nor with the sea, much less were they immersed in either . . . nor is the term baptism found in the writings of Moses. But Paul uses this term with great propriety, because (1) the cloud and the sea are in their own nature water, (2) the cloud and the sea took the fathers out of sight and restored them again to view, as the water does to those who are baptized. . . .The sacraments of the OT were more than two, if we take into account these extraordinary ones' (Bengel's *Gnomon, in loco*).

3. At one time St. Paul expected that he and other believers, still alive at the Parousia, would be caught up in clouds to meet the Lord in the air (1 Th 4[17]). The absence of the art. indicates that these are no common clouds, but 'eigne Vehikel' (Schmiedel, *Hand-Kom. in loc.*). Whether St. Paul thinks of Christ descending to meet the saints on their way to heaven, or simply of their ascending to join Him in the air—*i.e.* in heaven—is not made quite clear; but probably the former idea is what is meant. The essential fact is contained in the words which follow: 'So shall we ever be with the Lord.' At a later time St. Paul welcomed the thought of joining Christ in another way—'janua mortis, janua vitæ' (1 Co 15[51], 2 Co 5[1], Ph 1[21-23]).

4. In the Apocalypse a gigantic angel comes down out of heaven, arrayed with a cloud (Rev 10[1]). Christ Himself comes with clouds (1[7]), as in the Danielic vision. He is enthroned upon a white cloud (14[14. 15. 16]).

In He 12[1] the innumerable witnesses for Christ in past ages are compared to a cloud (νέφος) encircling believers who are now running their race. The example (perhaps not without the superadded thought of the real presence) of the multitude who have finished the course and won the prize is an inspiration to the present-day runner.

In Jude[12] hypocrites, uttering swelling words of vanity, are likened to mists and clouds which promise abundant showers for the thirsty earth but never give them. JAMES STRAHAN.

CNIDUS (Κνίδος).—Cnidus was a city of Caria, at the S.W. angle of Asia Minor, between the islands of Cos and Rhodes. It lay at the end of a long peninsula—Triopium—which juts into the Ægean Sea and forms the southern shore of the Sinus Ceramicus. Strabo (XIV. ii. 15) accurately describes it: 'Cnidus has two harbours, one of which is a close harbour, fit for receiving triremes, and a naval station for twenty ships. In front of the city is an island, seven stadia in circuit; it rises high, in the form of a theatre, and is joined by a mole to the mainland, making Cnidus in a manner two cities, for a great part of the inhabitants live on the island, which shelters both the harbours.' In the lapse of time the mole has become a sandy isthmus. The situation of the city in the highway of the seas gave it much commercial importance. It was a free city of the Roman Empire. Jews were settled there in the Maccabæan period (1 Mac 15[23]).

St. Paul's ship of Alexandria sailed from Myra 'slowly' and 'with difficulty,' probably on account of adverse winds rather than of calms, taking

'many days' to come 'over against Cnidus.' The distance between the two ports was 130 miles, which with a fair wind could have been run in one day. After passing the point which divides the southern from the western coast, the ship was in a worse position than before, having no longer the advantage of a weather shore, and being exposed to the full force of the N.W. winds—called Etesian—which prevail in the Ægean towards the end of summer. Instead of taking a straight course to the north of Crete—the wind not permitting this (*μὴ προσεῶντος ἡμᾶς τοῦ ἀνέμου*)—she had to run under the lee of the island. Some interpret St. Luke's words as meaning that the crew made a vain attempt to reach Cnidus, 'the wind not allowing' them; but there was apparently no reason why they should not have entered the southern harbour, which was well sheltered from N.W. winds.

LITERATURE.—C. T. Newton and R. P. Pullan, *Hist. of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus and Branchidæ*, 1863; T. Lewin, *St. Paul*, 1875, ii. 190; Conybeare-Howson, *St. Paul*, 1856, ii. 390ff.; W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.* i. [1856] 638 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

COALS (*ἄνθρακες, prunæ*).—The coal of the Bible is charcoal. The knowledge of the process of preparing charcoal from timber dates from a remote period. True coal is not found in Syria except in one part of Lebanon, where it was mined for a short time about 1834 (C. R. Conder, *Tent Work in Pal.*, London, 1878, ii. 326). Pieces of charcoal in process of combustion were called 'coals of fire' (*ἄνθρακες πυρός* = גַּחֲלֵי אֵשׁ), and glowing coals heaped upon the head became a figure for the burning sense of shame which an enemy feels when he receives a return of good for the evil he has done (Ro 12[20] ‖ Pr 25[21. 22]). Another view (held by Chrysostom, Theodoret, Grotius, etc.), that the 'coals of fire' are Divine judgments which will fall on the sinner's head if he hardens his heart against persevering love, is impossible. Benevolence tainted by such a thought is scarcely better than malevolence. Jerome says rightly: '"Carbones ignis congregabis super caput eius," non in maledictum et condemnationem, ut plerique existimant, sed in correctionem et poenitudinem' (*contra Pelagianos*, i. 30; cf. Meyer, *Romans*, ii. [1874] 272).

JAMES STRAHAN.

COAT (*χιτών*, Lat. *tunica*, both words probably related to the Eastern כֻּתֹּנֶת; Assyr. *Kitinnê*, 'linen'), or '**tunic**' (Jn 19[23] RVm).—The word was used to designate the under-garment of all classes and both sexes, over which the cloak (*πῆχυν, ἱμάτιον, pallium*) was worn. On entering the upper-room in Joppa where the body of Dorcas lay, Peter was surrounded by widows showing the *χιτῶνας καὶ ἱμάτια* which her hands had made (Ac 9[39]). Tunics naturally varied in material and shape according to the position, means, and taste of the wearer. Wool and flax were the native products of Syria; fine linen (*byssus*) was largely imported from Egypt; the silk of the East was unknown till the beginning of our era, and its use was deemed an evidence of extreme luxury (Rev 18[12]; 'silk' in Ezk 16[10] is probably a mistake). The Jewish prisoners in Sennacherib's marble reliefs, who are evidently carved from life, have tunics fitting fairly close to the body and reaching nearly to the ankles. This was the garment worn by free townsmen; that of peasants and slaves was no doubt shorter and looser. The coat of white linen with long skirts and sleeves (Gn 37[3]) was a mark of honour, wealth, and leisure. In later times even the poorer classes adopted a somewhat more elaborate toilet. Josephus mentions a slave in the time of Herod the Great who was found to have an incriminating letter of his master's concealed in his inner tunic, or true shirt (*Ant.* XVII. v. 7). The *χιτών* was made of two pieces of cloth sewn together at the sides, or of one piece which required a single seam; or it was entirely seamless (*ἄῤῥαφος*, unsewed), being 'woven from the top throughout' (Jn 19[23]), a process for which a special loom was needed.

The *χιτών* of the Greeks was of two sorts. The Ionian was a linen tunic with sleeves, reaching to the feet (*ποδήρης* [*Od.* xix. 242]); the Dorian was a square woollen tunic with short sleeves or mere armholes. Among the Romans a tunic with long sleeves was thought very effeminate; 'et tunicae manicas habent' are words uttered in scorn (Virg. *Æn.* ix. 616). The proverb 'Tunica proprior pallio est' was like the English 'Near is my shirt, but nearer is my skin.' Cf. also art. CLOTHES.

JAMES STRAHAN.

COHORT.—See ARMY.

COLLECTION.— At a very early stage in the history of the Christian Church the consciousness of its members expressed itself in voluntary efforts to ameliorate the condition of the poor and destitute (Ac 4[32] 6[1]). That this somewhat naïve attempt proved a failure was, perhaps, inevitable. Its apparently early abandonment leads to the conclusion that its promoters soon realized that a permanent settlement of social evils could never be arrived at by practical communism. Indeed, it is conceivable that, instead of curing the ills of poverty, widespread and deep-seated as it was in Jerusalem, it aggravated and perpetuated them. As we shall see, other and more powerful causes were at work; but, even if we minimize the historical value of the early chapters of Acts, enough remains to prove that this earliest and most self-sacrificing attempt of Christian men to realize their obligation to their poor brethren contributed to, rather than allayed, the evil it sought to destroy. See art. COMMUNITY OF GOODS.

The next instance of a systematic collection of money for the purpose of relieving distress in Judæa and Jerusalem is found in the history of the Church of Antioch (Ac 11[27ff.]). A threatened famine roused the sympathy of the Antiochene Christians, whose activity in the matter reveals their knowledge that the conditions of life amongst many of their Jewish brethren were those of chronic poverty and distress. The agents (*διὰ χειρός*) employed on this occasion for bringing relief (*εἰς διακονίαν*) were Barnabas and Saul. It was probably the example thus set that gave St. Paul the idea of his great and prolonged effort. Other causes were doubtless at work in the mind of the Apostle. As time went on, and misunderstandings grew up between Jewish and Gentile Christians, some attempt to bring them together was necessary if permanent disruption was to be avoided. In his letter to the Galatian Church he mentions an injunction laid on him and Barnabas by the 'pillar' apostles, 'that we should remember the poor' (Gal 2[10]). It is also of interest to note that public subventions from the Imperial exchequer to cities or provinces in distress formed part of a settled policy of the Emperors, while private benefactions by wealthy citizens in cases of real or fancied need were almost universal (see S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904, bk. ii. ch. ii.). The Jews of the Dispersion, moreover, recognized their obligation to their poor brethren of Jerusalem by organized help from time to time (cf. Robertson-Plummer, *1 Corinthians* [*ICC*, 1911] 382); and doubtless as Christian teaching spread and was accepted by the people, and converts became gradually separated from the rest of the community, they would lose their share of these gifts. Another cause for a poverty so acute and wide-spread may well have

been the general belief in the nearness of the Parousia which threatened the ordinary daily business of Christian men (2 Th 3^{10}; cf. 1 Th 4^{11}).

In his references to the carefully planned collection from the different churches St. Paul uses seven different words. All these occur in his letters to the Corinthians and Romans, and are as follows: λογία (1 Co 16^{1}), χάρις (16^{3}, 2 Co 8^{4}), κοινωνία (Ro 15^{26}, 2 Co 8^{4}, etc.), ἁδροτής (8^{20}), εὐλογία (9^{5}), λειτουργία (9^{12}), διακονία (8^{4} $9^{1.\ 12}$f.; cf. Ac 11^{29}). In the report of his defence before Felix two other words occur in the same connexion (ἐλεημοσύναι and προσφοραί [Ac 24^{17}]). The word λογία occurs nowhere else in the NT, and is of obscure origin. By some it is supposed to be used here for the first time in Greek literature, and probably to have been coined by St. Paul for his purpose (T. C. Edwards, *Com. on 1 Cor.*², 1885, p. 462). A variation (λογεία), however, is found in the papyrus documents from the 3rd cent. onwards and in the compound words ἀνδρολογία, παραλογεία (A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, pp. 142 f., 219 f.). It is also found associated with the Pauline word λειτουργία (F. G. Kenyon, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, 1893, i. 46), and is frequently employed 'in papyri, ostraca, and inscriptions from Egypt and elsewhere,' when the writer is speaking of 'religious collections for a god, a temple, etc.' (see Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*, Eng. tr.², 1911, p. 104 ff.). The Codex Vaticanus (B) has the form λογεία, but as this MS shows a tendency to orthographical changes in this direction its evidence must be discounted (see Westcott, *Introd. to NT in Greek*, 1882, p. 306). It also appears in a compound form in Jewish literature (κατ' ἀνδρολογεῖον, 2 Mac 12^{42}) where the question of the collection of money-supplies is alluded to.

That St. Paul attached very great importance to the success of his collection for the poor Christians of Judæa is evident from the care with which he organized the scheme, and the perseverance he displayed in carrying it out. From the tone of his reference to this work which he began in Galatia (1 Co 16^{1}) we are able to infer not only that he exercised his apostolic authority but that he gave detailed directions to the churches there in accordance with arrangements (διάταξα) personally thought out by himself. The instructions sent by letter to the Corinthians are no doubt a brief epitome of those delivered to the Galatian Christians (οὕτως καὶ ὑμεῖς ποιήσατε), and include details as to the careful and systematic ear-marking by each Christian believer of his personal subscription 'on every first day of the week' (κατὰ μίαν σαββάτου). They were to appoint and approve by letters of credit (cf., however, Robertson-Plummer's interpretation of the passage, making the Apostle the writer of the commendatory letters [δι' ἐπιστολῶν τούτους πέμψω, κτλ. 16^{3}]) delegates who should carry their gift to Jerusalem (τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν). The laborious nature of the undertaking may be realized from St. Paul's own references to the centres of activity. Galatia, Asia, Achaia, and Macedonia constituted the fields of his labours, and it is not improbable that his definite allusion to the collection in his Epistle to the Romans was intended as a hint to them to join with the other churches in 'ministering to the saints' (διακονῶν τοῖς ἁγίοις, Ro 15^{25}; see Bengel, *Gnomon of NT*⁷, 1873, on Ro 15^{27}; cf. 12^{13}).

It is not too much to say that the Apostle did not regard his work in these four great provinces as completed until the fruit of his prolonged labours had been reaped (cf. σφραγισάμενος, Ro 15^{28}). So long as this zealously undertaken (ἐσπούδασα, Gal 2^{10}) task remained unfinished he felt himself hindered from extending his missionary operations (τοῦτο οὖν ἐπιτελέσας). For a long time he was eagerly determined to visit Rome (see Ro 1^{13} 15^{22}f.), but at the time of writing to that church he explains that he is prevented from doing so by an obligation to visit Jerusalem. On this journey he was accompanied by envoys or messengers (ἀπόστολοι, 2 Co 8^{23}) from the churches contributing (Ac 20^{4}), and so keen was his desire to bring the undertaking to a successful issue that no consideration of the dangers involved could turn him from his purpose (see Ac $20^{3.\ 22}$f.). The result of this visit shows that the risks foreseen and spoken of beforehand (see Ac 21^{10}ff. 24^{17}ff., etc.) were neither imaginary nor exaggerated.

In order to appreciate rightly the necessity for this work of good-will (εὐδόκησαν, Ro 15^{26}f.), it will be useful to recall the wretched condition of the poor in Jerusalem at this time (all the Jewish Christians were not amongst the poor [see εἰς τοὺς πτωχοὺς τῶν ἁγίων, Ro 15^{26}]). The plundering and bloodshed accompanying the successive administrations of the procurators Ventidius Cumanus and Felix brought about a state of anarchy, chronic rebellion, and famine (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 5, etc., *BJ* II. xii. 1, II. xiii. 2, etc., Tacitus, *Ann.* xii. 54; cf. Ja 2^{2-6}; W. Fairweather, *The Background of the Gospels*, 1908, p. 199 f.; Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. [1890] p. 172 f.). The Zealots, whose fanatical policy kept the country seething with the wildest revolution, were replaced by the Sicarii or Assassins (cf. Ac 21^{38}). Murderous bands infested the provinces, and the streets of Jerusalem witnessed innumerable deeds of cruelty and bloodshed. Those suspected of the least friendliness with the Romans were unhesitatingly robbed and assassinated; and although Felix endeavoured to stem the wild religious and political torrent by wholesale crucifixion, the disorders increased. The procurators Festus, Albinus, and Florus, who succeeded Felix, were not less unfortunate in their experience (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. ix. xi.), and the internecine struggles of the Jewish factions ended in the advent of Titus and the final destruction of Jerusalem. Famine, bitter and chronic, was the inevitable outcome of these conditions, and none suffered so severely as the humble disciples of the despised Nazarene.

The relief-fund, the earliest attempt to organize and perpetuate Christian fellowship, was not only a failure in itself, but must soon have disappeared in these social upheavals. An appeal to outside sources became necessary, and one result of the compromise effected at his meeting with the 'pillar' apostles in Jerusalem was the initiation by St. Paul of his scheme of systematic collection (see Gal 2^{10}). There can scarcely be a doubt that the halting decision of the apostles of the circumcision, while it left the cardinal point of difference much where it had been, quickened St. Paul's anxiety to adopt a plan which should emphasize the spirit of toleration and good-will then established (Gal 2^{9}). Having returned to Antioch, he was compelled to renew in a more pronounced form the controversy which had been partially settled at the Jerusalem Conference. After some little time (μετὰ δέ τινας ἡμέρας, Ac 15^{36}) he proceeded in company with Silas to revisit by the shortest route—'the Cilician Gate'—the older churches of Galatia. The purpose of this visit was not only to strengthen and establish (ἐπιστηρίζων, Ac 15^{41}) spiritually these communities, but also to set on foot the collection for the poor among the Christians of Jerusalem (cf. Gal 6^{10}). In spite of the discouraging defection of the Galatian Christians, the Apostle feels himself justified in keeping this purpose before them, recalling its origin, and reminding them of its spiritual value (cf. Gal 6^{6}ff.). It was probably early in A.D. 57 that he visited the Galatian churches for this purpose, and from this time until he presents the fruit of his toil during the feast of Pentecost in A.D. 58 he never loses sight of the importance and justice of the collection, not alone

as it affected those who were to receive it, but also as it affected the givers (see Ro 15^{27} 2 Co 9^{6} $8^{8ff.\ 12}$). It is instructive, too, to note how he stimulates each community by mentioning the others in terms of generous praise (cf. 2 Co 8^{1-5} 9^{1-5}, Ro $15^{26f.}$). It is a good example of the Apostle's method, and recalls the accusation of wiliness (*πανοῦργος δόλῳ*, 2 Co 12^{16}) brought against him by the Corinthian Christians.

The character of the dispute which raged so long and so fiercely between St. Paul and the church in Corinth was to a large extent developed and moulded by the niggardliness (*ἐὰν δὲ ἄξιον ᾖ τοῦ κἀμὲ πορεύεσθαι* [1 Co 16^{4}; cf. $9^{11f.}$, 2 Co $11^{8f.}$ 12^{13}]) and suspicious meanness of its members. Their response to the appeal of Titus, who was the original deputed organizer of the Corinthian collection, was prompt and willing (*τὸ θέλειν*); and yet, in spite of the fact that they had so early (*προενήρξασθε ἀπὸ πέρυσι*, 2 Co 8^{10}) given their assent to his wishes, they seem to have repented soon of their promised support and to have accused St. Paul of having hurried them deceitfully into an unwelcome undertaking (*ἐγὼ οὐ κατεβάρησα*, 2 Co 12^{16}). The disingenuous nature of their charges appears again and again in his vigorous self-defence (see his words, *ἠδικήσαμεν, ἐφθείραμεν, ἐπλεονεκτήσαμεν*, 2 Co 7^{2}). Of one fact he constantly reminds them—he never accepted the smallest help towards his own support during his two visits to Corinth (cf. Ac 18^{3}, 1 Co $9^{12.\ 15.\ 18}$, 2 Co $11^{7ff.}$); and if, as seems very probable, his Second Epistle to the Corinthians is represented by the last four chapters of our Canonical Second Epistle (see J. H. Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians*, 1900), we find that the Apostle's indignation was so keen that he expressly determined, before he wrote the more conciliatory Third Epistle (2 Co 1–9), never to accept monetary aid at their hands (2 Co $11^{9.\ 12}$ 12^{14}). It is satisfactory to note that this intense and proud independence was met by a complete reconciliation; and the success of his mission was such that he was moved to exclamations of thankfulness and praise (2 Co 9^{15}). Perhaps an even more significant proof of his feeling in this respect is to be discovered in the tone of friendliness with which he mentions his Corinthian friends in the document written immediately afterwards (Ro $16^{1ff.\ 23}$). At the time of writing the Epistle to the Romans he was the guest of Gaius in Corinth, and the unpleasant character of his relations with the Corinthian Church had undergone a complete change.

What measure of success attended the Apostle's prolonged and anxious efforts it is difficult to estimate. If we are to judge by his silence and the solemn warning in his Epistle to the Galatians (6^{7}), the scheme would appear to have been only a partial success or even to have fallen through. Again, if we are allowed to draw an inference from the list of delegates who accompanied him (Ac 20^{4}), it would seem that the amount of the Corinthian collection was so small that there was little or no need for a representative. As early as the latter part of A.D. 57 the Macedonian churches had appointed their delegates (2 Co 8^{19}; see *HDB* iii. 712[a]). On the other hand, as the Apostle intended to spend the winter months in Corinth, the selection would naturally await his arrival; and more especially would this delay occur as the bitter quarrel had only just been amicably settled. From the scanty evidence available it would not be safe to dogmatize. It may be that his reference to the example of the Galatian collection (see the emphatic *ὑμεῖς*, 1 Co 16^{1}) points to a work already successful. Again, as the time of his journey to Jerusalem drew near, confidence in a not unworthy response by the Corinthian Church seems to have been restored (see his *παρρησία, καύχησις*, 2 Co 7^{4}; *περισσεύετε*, 8^{7}; *προθυμία*, 8^{11}; *τὴν οὖν ἔνδειξιν τῆς ἀγάπης ὑμῶν*, 8^{24}; cf. $9^{2.\ 7.\ 13.\ 15}$). It is not improbable that the triumphant joyousness (*ἡ καρδία ἡμῶν πεπλάτυνται*, 2 Co 6^{11}) of his late appeal to them was due to their having chosen himself as their ambassador or representative to convey their 'gracious' gift (*ἀπενεγκεῖν τὴν χάριν ὑμῶν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ*, 1 Co 16^{3}) to its destination. His satisfaction that all discontent and suspicion were at an end is expressed by his sending before him to Corinth along with Titus two well-known and tried brethren (*οὗ ὁ ἔπαινος ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ, ὃν ἐδοκιμάσαμεν ἐν πολλοῖς*, 2 Co $8^{18.\ 22}$), to complete the collection and to have everything in readiness against his arrival in company probably with some Macedonian representatives (2 Co 9^{4}; cf. Ac 20^{4}). It is pleasant to learn that the unsavoury bickerings in Corinth were forgotten when, during that winter's sojourn there, St. Paul penned his stately and calm Epistle to Rome. In that document he refers only to the good-will and the pleasure with which the Corinthians adopted and carried out the purpose of his pacificatory labours (*τὸν καρπὸν τοῦτον*, Ro 15^{28}). The depth of the Apostle's sympathy for the sufferings of his fellow-countrymen may be gauged by the reasons on which he bases his claims on their behalf. The spiritual debt which the Gentiles owed to the Jews (*ὀφειλέται εἰσὶν αὐτῶν*, Ro 15^{27}; cf. Gal 6^{6}, 1 Co 9^{11}) demanded an answering service (*λειτουργῆσαι*) in ministering to their temporal needs (see the contrast involved in the words *πνευματικοῖς . . . σαρκικοῖς*, Ro 15^{27}). Another reason which he adduces arises out of the duty which wealth universally owes to poverty (mark again the contrast, *περίσευμα . . . ὑστέρημα*, 2 Co 8^{14}), in order that, as equal opportunities in things spiritual is the norm of Christian life, there may also be equality (*ὅπως γένηται ἰσότης*, 2 Co 8^{14}) in the satisfaction of worldly necessities. The repeated use of the word *κοινωνία* in this connexion by St. Paul justifies us in assuming that he deliberately set himself the task of conciliating the jealousy of the Jewish Christians by establishing a bond of fellowship and communion between them and the Gentile converts (2 Co 8^{4} 9^{13}; cf. Ro 12^{13}).

All this is the more remarkable as at this period the sinister machinations of the Jews in both Corinth and Jerusalem were active and unremitting (Ac 20^{3}; cf. Ro 15^{31}). Instead of sailing direct, he made the return journey through Macedonia, where he celebrated the Passover (Ac 20^{6}), and only arrived in Jerusalem in time for the feast of Pentecost, when he finally discharged the task he had set himself to carry out (cf. Ac 24^{17}).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works mentioned throughout the art., see Conybeare-Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, new ed., 1886; G. G. Findlay, art. 'Paul the Apostle' in *HDB* iii. 696 ff.; A. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr.[2], 1908; A. Hausrath, *A Hist. of NT Times: The Time of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., 1895, vols. iii. and iv.; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, also art. 'Corinth' in *HDB* i. 479 ff.; F. Rendall, 'The Pauline Collection for the Saints' in *Expositor*, 4th ser. viii. [1893] 321 ff.; J. Armitage Robinson, art. 'Communion' in *HDB* i. 460 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902); C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., i.[2] [1897], ii. [1895].

J. R. WILLIS.

COLONY.—The careful reader of Ac 16^{12}, the only place in the NT where the term 'colony' (*κολωνία*, a mere transliteration of the Latin original) occurs, sees at once that a Roman colony must have been very different from what we understand by the word 'colony.' *Colonia* (from *colonus*, 'settler,' 'husbandman,' from *colere*, 'to cultivate') was a word applied by the Romans to a body (usually 300) of their citizen-soldiers (in earlier days the two terms were convertible), transferred

from the city of Rome itself to some outlying part of Italy or (later) to some other land. These men remained Roman citizens after transference, and were collectively, in fact, a portion of Rome itself planted amidst a community not itself possessed of Roman citizenship. The object of the earliest colonies was the holding in subjection to Rome of the particular country in which they were planted. It was not usually a fresh city that was thus founded. The rule was that a community was already resident there, and the body of Roman soldiers was stationed there, thus making the place into a garrison city. The *coloniæ* were connected by military roads, beginning at Rome, and troops could be marched along those roads to relieve the *coloniæ* in the shortest possible time, supposing a rising (*tumultus*) should occur, too powerful to be quelled by the local garrison. (A good example is the case of the Lombardy Plain and the campaigns of Marius.) A Roman colony, then, means a garrison city, and implies the presence of Roman soldier-citizens.

This was the Roman *colonia* in origin and purpose. We find, however, that, after danger from the enemy had ceased, *coloniæ* continued to be planted during the Empire in peaceful districts. This new style of *colonia* continued to mean a body of Roman citizens, but the military aspect was lost sight of. It was an honour for a provincial city to be made into a *colonia*, because this was a proof that it was of special importance, specially dear to the Emperor, and worthy to be the residence of Roman citizens, who were the aristocracy of the provincial towns in which they lived.* (It was not till A.D. 212, the time of Caracalla, that all the subjects of the Roman Empire received the Roman citizenship.)

A number of towns mentioned in the NT were *coloniæ* at the time the events narrated there took place: Corinth (since 44–43 B.C.), Puteoli (since 194 B.C.), Philippi (42 B.C.), Pisidian Antioch (before 27 B.C.), Syracuse (21 B.C.), Troas (between 27 and 12 B.C.), Lystra (after 12 B.C.),† Ptolemais (before A.D. 47). All these places are mentioned by the writer of Acts, and yet to one only does he attach the epithet 'colony,' namely Philippi. The whole manner in which he refers to this place shows personal pride in it, and it is hard to refrain from believing that he had a special connexion with it.

The comparatively large proportion of places holding the dignity of colony, which were visited by St. Paul, illustrates very forcibly the plan of his evangelization. He aimed at planting the gospel in the leading centres, knowing that it would spread best from these.

LITERATURE.—Kornemann, art. 'Coloniæ' in Pauly-Wissowa. (Kornemann's statement that there is no up-to-date comprehensive work on *coloniæ* outside Italy appears to be still true.) On Philippi as *colonia* see W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, London, 1895, p. 206 ff.; Iconium not a *colonia* till Hadrian, see W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, do. 1899, pp. 123, 218 f., and later works.

A. SOUTER.

COLOSSÆ (Κολοσσαί in the opening of the Epistle, 1[2]; in the title, which is not original, there is about equal authority for Κολοσσαεῖς and Κολασσαεῖς; in the subscription the authority for Κολασσαεῖς predominates).—The name was given to an ancient Phrygian city on the S. bank of the Lycus (*Churuk Su*), an affluent of the Mæander. It was situated at the lower end of a narrow glen about 10 miles long. Herodotus says that at Colossæ 'the river Lycus, falling into a chasm of the earth, disappears; then, reappearing at a distance of about five stadia, it discharges itself into the Mæander' (vii. 30). No such chasm, however, exists at Colossæ, and the historian has apparently misreported what he heard of the underground passage of the river at its source, as accurately described by Strabo (XII. viii. 16).

Colossæ was one of three sister cities which received the gospel about the same time (Col 4[13]), Laodicea lying about 10 miles farther down the Lycus valley, and facing Hierapolis, which was picturesquely seated on a plateau 6 miles to the north. Behind Colossæ and Laodicea rose the mighty snow-capped range of Cadmus (*Baba Dagh*, 'Father of mountains'), over 8000 ft. above sea-level. Commanding the approaches to a pass in this range, and traversed by the great trade-route between Ephesus and the Euphrates, Colossæ was at one time a place of much importance. Herodotus (*op. cit.*) calls it 'a great city of Phrygia,' and Xenophon describes it as πόλιν οἰκουμένην εὐδαίμονα καὶ μεγάλην (*Anab.* I. ii. 6). But as Laodicea and Hierapolis grew in importance, Colossæ waned, and in the beginning of the first century Strabo reckons it as no more than a πόλισμα (XII. viii. 13). Pliny, indeed, names it among the *oppida celeberrima* of Phrygia (*HN* v. 41), but he is merely alluding to its illustrious past. It was visited, however, by streams of travellers passing east and west, who made it conversant with the freshest thought of the time. Its permanent population consisted mostly of Phrygian natives and Greek colonists. Jews had also been attracted to the busy trade-centres of the Lycus valley, a fact which accounts for the Jewish complexion of some of the errors refuted in the Colossian Epistle. Antiochus the Great (223–187 B.C.) transplanted 2000 Jewish families from Babylonia and Mesopotamia to Lydia and Phrygia (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4). The freedom and prosperity which they enjoyed probably induced many others to follow them, and there is a bitter saying in the Babylonian Talmud that the wine and baths of Phrygia separated the ten tribes from their brethren (*Shab.* 147[b], quoted by A. Neubauer, *Géogr. du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, p. 315). Cicero (*pro Flacc.* 28) speaks of the *multitudo Judæorum* who inhabited the district in his time.

The Church of Colossæ was not directly founded by St. Paul. There is no indication that he ever preached in any of the cities of the Lycus valley. In his second journey he was debarred from speaking in Asia (Ac 16[6]), the province to which Colossæ politically belonged, and in his third tour 'he went through the Galatic region and Phrygia [*or* Galatic and Phrygian region] in order, confirming the disciples,' and 'having passed through the upper country (τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη) he came to Ephesus' (Ac 18[23] 19[1]). It is not impossible that—as Renan suggests (*Saint Paul*, Paris, 1869, pp. 331 f., 356 f.)—he followed the usual route of commerce down the Lycus valley, going straight to his destination without pausing to do any work by the way. But it is more in harmony with St. Luke's carefully chosen words, as well as with the language of Col., to suppose that he took the shorter hill-road by Seiblia and the Cayster valley, a road practicable for foot passengers but not for wheeled traffic (W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Rom. Emp.* p. 94). During his three years' residence in Ephesus, 'all they that dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks' (Ac 19[10]; cf. 19[26]), and it was probably at this time that the churches of the Lycus were founded. The truth proclaimed in the virtual capital of the province—the primacy of Sardis was now only nominal—was soon carried to the remotest towns and villages. Epaphras and Philemon, citizens of Colossæ, were probably converted in Ephesus, and the former was speedily sent, as St. Paul's delegate or representative (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν, instead of ὑμῶν, is the true reading in Col 1[7]),

* The British *coloniæ* were Colchester, Gloucester, York, and Lincoln.

† Not Iconium till the time of Hadrian.

to evangelize his native valley. Five or six years afterwards, St. Paul, a prisoner in Rome, wrote to the Colossian Christians, of whose faith and love he had heard (Col $1^{4.9}$) from Epaphras and perhaps from Onesimus, but who had never seen his face (2^{1}). He felt as great a solicitude for them as if they had been his own spiritual children. Indirectly they were indebted to him for their knowledge of the gospel (cf. following article).

One of the non-Christian beliefs and practices which quickly threatened to submerge the Colossian Church was the cult of angels, or elemental spirits, who were supposed to intervene between a pure, absolute, unapproachable God and a world of evil. This idea proved almost ineradicable. One of the canons (the 35th) of the Council of Laodicea (held probably about A.D. 363) ran thus: 'It is not right for Christians to abandon the Church of God and go away and invoke angels (*ἀγγέλους ὀνομάζειν*). . . . If, therefore, any one is found devoting himself to this secret idolatry, let him be anathema.' About a century later, Theodoret, commenting on Col 2^{18}, says: 'This disease (*τοῦτο τὸ πάθος*) remained long in Phrygia and Pisidia . . . and even to the present time oratories (*εὐκτήρια*) of the holy Michael may be seen among them and their neighbours.' The Byzantine historian Nicetas Choniates—Chonæ, on a spur of Cadmus, took the place of decaying Colossæ—mentions *τὸν ἀρχαγγελικὸν ναόν* as standing, *μεγέθει μέγιστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον*, in or near the ancient city; and the fantastic legend of 'the Miracle of Chonæ' (Ramsay, *The Church in the Rom. Emp.* p. 465 f.) reflects a popular belief in the mediation of Michael to save the inhabitants from an inundation.

LITERATURE.—**W. M. Ramsay**, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, London, 1895-97, vol. i., *The Church in the Roman Empire*, do. 1893, ch. xix. JAMES STRAHAN.

COLOSSIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Introduction.—St. Paul himself had never preached in the Lycus valley. On his third missionary journey he took another route (Ac 19^{1}), and that he did not visit that district during his two years' stay at Ephesus is sufficiently proved by the allusions in his letter to the Church at Colossæ (Col $1^{4.7.9}$ 2^{1}). Colossæ was at this time a small town of declining importance, overshadowed by its great neighbours, Laodicea and Hierapolis, some 10 miles downstream. In all three towns churches had been founded by the labours of Epaphras (1^{7} $4^{12.13}$), himself a native of Colossæ (4^{12}), who had met St. Paul, probably at Ephesus, and had become a disciple. The date of the foundation of these churches may be assigned with some confidence to about the years A.D. 55 and 56 (adopting C. H. Turner's dating; cf. art. 'Chronology' in *HDB*), and Epaphras may well have been acting as the direct agent of St. Paul (cf. the better reading 'on our behalf' in 1^{7}). This would account in some degree for the authoritative attitude which St. Paul takes in his letter.

Though Colossæ itself was but a small town, its Church may well have been the most important of those in the Lycus valley. It was evidently closely connected with the Church at Laodicea (2^{1} 4^{16}), and it is even possible that the work in the latter place was in charge of Archippus, the son of Philemon of Colossæ (4^{17}, Philem ^{2}). In each place the work seems to have centred in the house of one of its most prominent members; cf. the house of Aquila and Priscilla at Rome, Ro 16^{5} (if, indeed, Ro 16 was not addressed to Ephesus), that of Philemon (Philem ^{2}) in Colossæ, that of Nymphas, or Nympha, in Laodicea (Col 4^{15}). A well-attested reading suggests that the latter, a woman's name, may be correct in spite of the improbability of this Doric form being used. If this is so, Nympha, like Priscilla, takes her place with the women who played an honoured part in the life of the early Church.

Colossæ lay in Phrygian territory, and its population was doubtless largely Phrygian, with a veneer of Greek civilization. Philemon's wife, Apphia (Philem ^{2}), bore a Phrygian name. The Jewish trader had doubtless reached Colossæ, but there is no sign of any permanent settlement of Jews there such as was made by the Seleucid kings at Laodicea or Tarsus. That the Church there was entirely or at least predominantly Gentile is shown clearly enough by the Epistle ($1^{21.27}$ 2^{13}; cf. St. Paul's anxiety in 4^{11} to show how few among his helpers are of Jewish race—'who alone of the circumcision are my fellow-workers . . .'). And the Jews of Laodicea, together with any who may have dwelt at Colossæ, were doubtless, like most of the Jews of the Diaspora, largely affected both by local tendencies of thought and by the wider influences which centred in Alexandria.

The Church of Colossæ had been in existence only a few years when Epaphras rejoined St. Paul, then in prison for the faith (1^{24} $4^{10.18}$). He brought with him good news of the infant Church (1^{3} 2^{5}). But yet there were grave reasons for anxiety. Both at Colossæ and at Laodicea (4^{16}) a new and dangerous form of teaching was abroad. Who the teachers were we do not know. The heresy may even have been due to some one influential leader (cf. Zahn's comment on $2^{18ff.}$, where the participles are in the singular [*Introd. to NT*, i. 479]). But whether the teachers were one or more, it is at least clear that it was not with a recurrence of the Galatian trouble that St. Paul had now to deal. The stress of this new 'philosophy' lay not so much upon the Law as upon theosophical tenets and ascetic practices, which were supposed to constitute a higher Christianity ($2^{2.3.8}$).

For the present this teaching had not made much headway in the Church at Colossæ. But St. Paul saw the need of striking while there was yet time. And he had other reasons for sending one of his agents to Asia at this time. There was Onesimus, the converted slave of Philemon, ready at St. Paul's bidding to return to his master. There was also the desirability of sending a pastoral letter to the Churches of Asia. Tychicus was at hand, ready to convey both the circular letter, now known as the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the short note to Philemon about Onesimus. By his hand, therefore, St. Paul writes to the brethren at Colossæ.

There has been much discussion whether a fourth letter, to Laodicea, accompanied the other three, based on the command to the Colossians that they should read the Epistle 'from Laodicea.' The old hypothesis of Theodore of Mopsuestia and Calvin that this was a letter written from the Laodicean Church to St. Paul is rendered impossible by the context. It remains therefore to decide whether this is some lost letter by the Apostle or whether it can be identified with any of his existing letters. The suggestions of John of Damascus, who identifies it with 1 Tim., and of Schneckenburger, who identifies it with Heb., can safely be passed over. In 1844 Wieseler suggested that Philemon really lived at Laodicea, and that the lost letter is our Epistle to Philemon. This would certainly make it easier to account for the apparent connexion of Archippus with Laodicea, but otherwise the theory has little point and has not met with any acceptance. A more probable hypothesis is to be found in the identification of this letter with Ephesians. If this was a circular letter, intended for all the Asiatic churches, it would naturally come to Colossæ as a letter brought by Tychicus from Laodicea (see art. EPHESIANS). If this identification is rejected the letter to the Laodiceans is lost

beyond recall. It is interesting that more than one attempt was made to supply this gap in the Pauline Canon during the early days of the Church. In several MSS the words 'written from Laodicea' were added at the end of 1 Timothy. More curious still, an Epistle was made up out of a collection of Pauline phrases, possibly as early as the 2nd cent. (so Zahn) but probably later, and was given the title *ad Laodicenses*. Jerome (*Vir. Illustr.* v.) mentions this work, 'legunt quidam et ad Laodicenses, sed ab omnibus exploditur,' and, despite his condemnation, it was widely read throughout the Middle Ages. Traces of this Epistle have been found only in the West, and it has commonly been regarded as a Western forgery. Lightfoot, however, argues that it shows traces of being from a Greek original, despite the fact that all known MSS are in Latin. The early date of the document also points in the same direction. (This *Ep. ad Laod.* is discussed at length by Lightfoot in an appendix to his *Colossians*, p. 274 ff.; cf. also Westcott, *Canon of NT*[5], 1881, Appendix E; A. Souter, *Text and Canon of NT*, 1913, p. 193.)

2. **Contents.**—St. Paul, associating Timothy with himself in his opening greeting ($1^{1.2}$), passes on in his customary manner to a thanksgiving for the good news which he has heard from Epaphras. In this thanksgiving he alludes especially to the true gospel which had been preached to his readers by Epaphras, and reminds them that it is this gospel and no other that has borne fruit in all the world (1^{3-8}). This is followed by a prayer which widens out, as in Eph., into a statement of doctrine with regard to the Person of Christ (1^{9-23}). This doctrinal section is expanded with a special view to the heresies which it is St. Paul's purpose to combat. In opposition to the 'philosophy' which was being preached, he prays that the Colossians may be filled with 'all spiritual wisdom and understanding' (1^{9}). In opposition to the theosophy which recognized and trembled before 'the principalities and the powers,' he thanks God that they have been delivered from 'the power of darkness' and made members of 'the kingdom of the Son of His love' (1^{13}). In opposition to the position accorded to angelic beings, he breaks into a pæan in honour of the Son (*a*) as sole Redeemer (1^{14}); (*b*) as the visible Representative of the invisible God (1^{15}); (*c*) as prior to and supreme over all creation, including these very angelic powers; as the present stay, and ultimate consummation, of creation (1^{15-17}); (*d*) as the supreme Head of the Church in virtue of His Resurrection (1^{18}); (*e*) as One in whom abide completely all the perfections of the Godhead (1^{19}); (*f*) as One whose death has made atonement not only for human sin but also for all the disorder that exists in heavenly places, so that not only are the angels unable to 'make peace,' but they themselves need the mediation of the Son (1^{20-23}). St. Paul then passes on to emphasize his own position as a minister of this, the one true gospel, a gospel which does not merely save a few elect, but which is valid for every man who will receive it (1^{24-29}).

Ch. 2 is devoted to warnings against the false teaching which had been reported by Epaphras. It opens with a renewal of the prayer of 1^{9}. St. Paul again reiterates that in Christ alone, and not in any human plausibility, can the hidden treasures of knowledge and wisdom be found (2^{1-5}). He warns his readers against esoteric cults which have dealings with the angel world, instead of with Christ, the supreme Head of all (2^{6-10}). He reminds them that as Christians they need no special and mysterious ceremonies, but only faith in Christ, who has cancelled all ceremonial obligations through the power of the Cross, thereby depriving hostile spiritual powers of their weapon against mankind (2^{11-15}). The Colossians are therefore not to be misled into thinking that there is some higher way of leading the Christian life, consisting in special ordinances or a higher asceticism, even if commended by a show of esoteric knowledge (2^{16-23}).

In ch. 3, St. Paul passes, by way of contrast, to the practical implications of life in Christ. For Christians there is indeed a true asceticism, but it consists in a putting to death of the 'old man,' and a putting on of the 'new man,' not merely in a mortifying of the flesh, for that, for the Christian, is already accomplished in the renewal of the spirit 'after the image of him that created him' (3^{1-11}). The rule for the Christian must therefore be not the rule of ascetic ordinances but the warm and living rule of love, of Christ dwelling in the heart (3^{12-17}).

A short passage follows in which brief words of counsel are addressed to wives, husbands, children, fathers, servants, masters ($3^{18-4^{1}}$), and one or two general exhortations lead up to the salutations with which the letter closes (4^{2-18}).

3. **Date and place of composition.**—It has been customary to regard the four 'Epistles of the Captivity' as all written from Rome during the two years (A.D. 59–61) alluded to in Ac 28^{30}. There is no good reason for giving up this view in the case of Colossians. Phil. at least must be from Rome. If, with Bleek and Lightfoot (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 30), we place Col. later than Phil., on the ground of the closer affinity of the latter with Rom. both in style and doctrine, the Roman origin of Col. would be unquestionable. It is not possible, however, in a writer like St. Paul, to postulate so orderly an advance in these respects. His doctrine at least must have been thought out long before he wrote Romans. And, on the other hand, the allusions in Ph $1^{7.\ 12.\ 13.\ 20-25}$ 2^{23} point to a date near the very close of the Roman imprisonment. We must thus date Col. earlier (Ph 1^{12-14} seems to reflect Col $4^{3.\ 4}$). But this leaves open the possibility that it was written not from Rome but during the two years spent at Cæsarea. This view has been held by quite a number of scholars, *e.g.* Meyer, Sabatier, Weiss, and Haupt. So also recently E. L. Hicks, *Interpreter*, 1910. But the arguments on the other side, as set out *e.g.* by Peake ('Col.' in *EGT*, p. 491), seem conclusive. Haupt's argument that a considerable interval of time must lie between the statements of doctrine found in Phil. and Col. has no weight. Weiss points out that St. Paul gives a different account of his plans in Phil., where he is hoping to visit Macedonia, from that in Philem., where Colossæ is his goal. But the two statements are not incompatible in letters both written from Rome. The one plan might easily involve the other. And, further, there are serious objections to the Cæsarea hypothesis. It is impossible to think that St. Paul at Cæsarea was already planning a visit to Colossæ. It was upon Rome that his eyes were fixed, and at least towards the end of his days at Cæsarea he knew that he would be sent thither. But most decisive of all is the little companion note to Philemon. It must have been at Rome, the natural refuge of the runaway slave, that St. Paul came across Onesimus, and from Rome that he sent him back to his master with Tychicus. Finally, it would be most remarkable, in a letter written from Cæsarea, that there should be no salutation from Philip.

In view of the fact that Col. and Philem. were probably sent together, it has caused comment that there is some variation in the salutations. Not only is the order of the names different—a point of little significance—but in Col. Aristarchus, in Philem. Epaphras, is given the place of honour as 'my fellow-prisoner.' The reason for this is obscure. Fritzsche's suggestion that St. Paul's friends took turns in sharing his captivity is only a suggestion. As Peake points out, the divergence is a proof of the authenticity of both Epistles, since no imitator would have made so unnecessary and self-condemnatory an alteration.

4. **External evidence for authenticity.**—This is quite as strong as could reasonably be expected. At the end of the 2nd cent. Col. was known to Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria. It is mentioned by name in the Muratorian Canon. Its acceptance by Marcion carries the knowledge of it at Rome to before 150. This renders the description by Justin of Christ as 'first-born of all creation' (*Dial.* 84, 85, 100) an almost certain echo of 1^{15}, especially as the parallel phrase in Philo is not *πρωτότοκος* but *πρωτόγονος*. Earlier references are all rather uncertain, especially in Barnabas and Clement of Rome. It is, however, probable that Ignatius quotes Col 2^{14} in *Smyrn.* i. 2, and 1^{16} in *Trall.* v. 2. Lightfoot also points out Ignatius' use of *σύνδουλος* as a term for deacons; cf. 1^{7} 4^{7}. This evidence is insufficient in itself to prove authenticity, and throws us back upon a discussion of the many problems which the Epistle itself presents.

5. **The Colossian heresy.**—The teaching attacked by St. Paul is described in $2^{8.\ 16-23}$, verses which in addition to their brevity present many problems

both of translation and of text. Theories as to its character have been varied and numerous. The principal facts that can be gleaned are as follows:

(1) The teaching was Christian; cf. 2^{19}, which, however, suggests that it did not give Christ His due position.

(2) It was, at least in part, Judaistic. This would not necessarily be proved by the reference to 'the bond written in ordinances' in 2^{14}, though it is on the whole probable that the Mosaic Law is intended. But the specific allusions in 2^{16}, 'in meat or in drink or in respect of a feast day, or a new moon, or a sabbath day,' are obviously Jewish. It is true that the Law says nothing about 'drink,' but the later Rabbinism certainly included such regulations, as is shown by He 9^{10}. And this very Rabbinism is clearly alluded to in 2^{8}, 'the tradition of men.' The references to circumcision (2^{11} 3^{11}) show that the false teachers assigned some value to it. Yet this Judaism cannot have been very like that attacked in Gal., as the whole tone of the letter shows. It was less definite, and mingled with other elements of a peculiar type.

(3) It claimed to be a 'philosophy' (2^{8}), which St. Paul calls a 'vain deceit.' It seems to have been regarded as the revelation of a secret 'wisdom and knowledge' ($2^{2.3}$). Here, just as much as in 1 Co 1, we are certainly moving in Greek, or at least Hellenistic, regions of thought. Philo could speak of a 'Jewish philosophy.' And the Judaism of Colossæ, like that of Alexandria, was at least given a Hellenic colour. As Hort has shown (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 119 ff.), the term 'philosophy' might easily have been used of esoteric lore about angels, or even, though this usage is a later one, of an ascetic ethical cult, features which both appear at Colossæ.

(4) Some sort of worship of angels seems to have been practised, and possibly, if the reading is correct, emphasis was laid upon visions communicated by them (2^{18}). St. Paul charges the teachers with reliance upon the spirits that control the elements of the universe rather than upon Christ (2^{8}). That this is the true meaning of *στοιχεῖα* in this passage, as well as in Gal $4^{3.9}$, is shown by the exegesis, which implies in each case personal agents. And the emphasis laid by St. Paul upon the superiority of Christ to 'thrones or dominions or principalities or powers' (1^{16}; cf. 1^{20} 2^{15}) confirms this view. That there was angelolatry of some sort is certain, though the language in which it is described cannot be pressed too closely, since St. Paul may be using the language of his own angelology to describe the view of his opponents. In the 4th cent. the Council of Laodicea found it necessary to condemn angel-worship. In the 5th cent. Theodoret says that the archangel Michael was worshipped in the district, and this worship continued for several centuries (see Zahn, *op. cit.* p. 476 f.; cf. Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 68).

(5) Whatever 2^{23} precisely means, it shows that stress was laid upon asceticism, for which special rules were given ($2^{16.20.21}$). This was the natural outcome of a 'philosophy' in which the spirits that ruled material things were the objects of fear and reverence. The angels who were the objects of the Colossian cult were powers who if not propitiated might be hostile to man, who must therefore guard himself by mortifying his material body. This is the point of St. Paul's counter-statement of the true Christian asceticism ($3^{5ff.}$).

It has been made clear by the work of recent scholars that there is nothing in all this which need point to a date later than A.D. 60. The Tübingen school, from Baur to Hilgenfeld, thought that Col. reflected the great Gnostic systems of the 2nd century. The powers, etc., were the Valentinian æons, forming the Pleroma, to which they saw an allusion in 1^{19}. Asceticism, again, was a typical Gnostic feature, as was the emphasis on a secret wisdom or Gnosis (cf. 2^{3}) confined to an inner circle of initiates or *τέλειοι* (cf. 1^{28}, where St. Paul declares that every man is to be made *τέλειος* by the gospel). The Judaistic references were explained on this theory to be due to some sort of Gnostic Ebionism, on the lines of the pseudo-Clementines. That there were Gnostic tendencies at Colossæ need not be denied. The emphasis on knowledge is enough to prove that. But there is no hall-mark of any particular 2nd-cent. system. The word *πλήρωμα* in 1^{19} loses most of its point if it is used in the later technical sense (on the word see Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 323; J. A. Robinson, *Eph.*, 1903, p. 255; Peake on Col 1^{19}). It is far more probable that the later Gnostics derived their usage from that of St. Paul.

More recently the theory has been held in a modified form, recognizing a genuine Pauline Epistle, directed against a Jewish-Christian theosophy, but regarding it as having been expanded by a 2nd-cent. writer (so Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, Eng. tr., 1906–11, who saw allusions to Gnostic Ebionism though he did not attempt to reconstruct the original Epistle; Holtzmann and Soltau, who depend, however, rather on literary criticism; see below). The arguments for this also fail if the known tendencies of the 1st cent. are sufficient to cover the facts. And there is no hint in the Epistle of any such division in the object of St. Paul's attack.

More plausible is the attempt to find in Col. an attack on the 1st cent. Gnosticism of Cerinthus (so, *e.g.*, R. Scott). Here we find both the emphasis on Judaism, though the Jewish angels have taken the position later occupied by the Gnostic æons, and the reduced Christology in which the Christ is supposed to have descended upon the man Jesus at His baptism. This has clear affinities with the Colossian heresy; but, as Lightfoot has shown (*Col.* p. 108 ff.), it is difficult to think that the teaching at Colossæ had as yet taken so definite a form. St. Paul would surely have made a more definite and incisive reply. And, further, the angelic powers could still be regarded as objects of worship. They are not yet either ignorant of or hostile to the Supreme God. And the emphasis on the identity of Jesus with the Christ (2^{6}), while it would have point against Cerinthus, is hardly an attack upon him. It is thus more natural to see in this heresy that tendency of thought which led up to Cerinthus than the direct outcome of his teaching.

It has been suggested, especially by Lightfoot and Klöpper, that there was some connexion with the Jewish ascetic sect known as Essenes. But (*a*) before A.D. 70 there is no trace of Essenism except on the shores of the Dead Sea. The somewhat similar Therapeutæ, in Egypt, are only known from Philo, *de Vit. contempl.*, a much-disputed treatise. Lightfoot tries to find parallels in Acts for the use of magic (cf. Ac 19^{13} with Jos. *BJ* II. 8. 6 *ad fin.*) and in the fourth book of the *Sibylline Oracles*, probably written in Asia *c.* A.D. 80. Neither parallel amounts to much. (*b*) The Essenes jealously guarded the names of the angels (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 7). This is a poor parallel for the Colossian cult, which more probably arose through a syncretistic admixture with Phrygian ideas. (*c*) The evidence that the Essenes forbade flesh and wine is disputable (see Zahn, *op. cit.* p. 376), though they certainly had extremely rigid ceremonial rules as to food. Of the specific Essene prohibition of marriage there is no trace at Colossæ. (*d*) There is no sign in Col. of the alleged Essene sun-worship, of their communal life, their ablutions, their very severe probation and initiation. (*e*) The allusions

to 'sabbaths' and circumcision in Col. are merely Judaistic. There is no hint of the very strict sabbatarian rules of the Essenes. It is true that Lightfoot and Klöpper, especially the latter, argue merely for Essenistic tendencies at Colossæ. But even this can hardly be said to be proved. The real value of the suggestion is that it shows that within Judaism itself it was possible for strange esoteric cults to appear. (For the Essenes see esp. Jos. *BJ* II. viii.; Lightfoot, *Col.* pp. 82 ff., 115 ff.; Zahn, *op. cit.* p. 376 f.)

We are thus driven to the conclusion that the Colossian heresy found its stimulus in contemporary Judaism, doubtless with syncretistic Phrygian features. Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, 116 ff.) has shown that there is nothing in the language which need imply any other source. The one surprising point is the worship of angels. But even if this is not derived from some local Phrygian cult, it was quite a natural application of contemporary Judaism. In the later Jewish view all God's activity in Nature was mediated by angels, and, though angel-worship among the Jews is not known at this date, it certainly sprang up within a short time, being alluded to in the *Evangelium Petri*, by Celsus, and several times in the Talmud. No objection to the authenticity of the Epistle need therefore be maintained upon this ground.

6. The theology of the Epistle.—It has been objected to Col. that it is un-Pauline in its Christology. It is true that there is a speculative advance with regard to the Person of Christ. St. Paul is now opposing a speculative 'philosophy,' and, as has been shown in dealing with the contents of the letter, he is forced to draw out the speculative implications of his own position. And in the advance made there is nothing to cause surprise. That Christ is prior to, and the principle of, all creation (1^{15-17}) is the thought implicit in 1 Co 8^{6} and in the whole doctrine of the Man from Heaven (15^{47}) regarded as pre-existent. That Christ is regarded also as the goal of creation (Col 1^{16}) is only in form an advance upon 1 Co 15^{28}, for it is only when the consummation in Christ is reached that He is to surrender all things to the Father; and even so, in virtue of His unity with the Father, they remain His own (cf. Ph $2^{9.\ 10}$). In Col. St. Paul is especially emphasizing the indwelling in Christ of the whole Godhead (1^{20} 2^{9}). And, indeed, in 1^{20} the most natural rendering implies exactly the doctrine of 1 Co 15^{28}, Ro 11^{36}. In any case, even if there is a real advance here, it is one that St. Paul might easily have made, and which was the natural answer to teachers who were assigning cosmic significance to angelic beings.

This raises the question of St. Paul's angelology. Here again objection has been taken to Colossians. There is certainly little direct reference to angels in the other Pauline Epistles. But yet such references do occur, and, so far as they go, they tend to confirm the view that St. Paul might naturally have taken up the position adopted here. Further, the Rabbinism of the period was full of speculations about the angels, and there is no reason why St. Paul should have abandoned such speculations upon his conversion. They must have been taken up into his Christianity, even though, in preaching to Gentiles, it was seldom necessary to dwell upon them. The principal features found in Col. are these:

(1) The universe is animated by elemental spirits (2^{8}). This conception appears also in Gal. $4^{3.\ 9}$, and is in line with that of Ps 104^{4}, a passage which has been taken over in He 1^{7}, though with a change of thought characteristic of later Judaism. Both the *Book of Jubilees* and *Enoch* speak of the spirits of such things as fire, mist, hail, the sea (cf. Rev 14^{18} 16^{5}).

(2) There are different ranks of angels (1^{16} $2^{10.\ 15}$; cf. Ro 8^{38}, 1 Co 15^{24}, where substantially the same language is used). This conception perhaps starts from Dt 4^{19}, where the nations are allotted to 'the host of heaven.' In Daniel each nation, including Israel, has its angelic 'prince.' It was a natural development that led to the conception of orders of angelic powers in heaven itself (cf. *En.* lxi. 10). In the later Rabbinism ten orders were enumerated (cf. also the angels of the churches in Rev.).

(3) In $2^{14.\ 15}$ there is perhaps an allusion to the ministry of angels in the giving of the Law. This characteristic idea of the Rabbis was derived from Dt 33^{2} (LXX). It is alluded to in Ac 7^{53}, He 2^{2}, Jos. *Ant.* XV. v. 3.

(4) The angels, even the angel or angels of the Law, may be morally imperfect, and need reconciliation through the Cross (1^{20} 2^{15}). This is typically Pauline (cf. Ro 8^{38}, 1 Co 2^{6-8} 6^{2} 11^{10} 15^{24}, Gal 1^{8}). It does not seem to be a very early Jewish conception, unless it appears in Gn 6^{1-4}. Such ministers of evil as the destroying angel of Ex 12 are nonmoral. But in the later writings angels are frequently charged with weakness of different kinds; cf. Ps $82^{1.\ 2}$, Job 4^{18} 15^{15}. It was only at a late date that the distinction between absolutely good and absolutely bad angels arose. It was not the characteristic view of St. Paul's day, and there is no reason why we should expect to find it in his writings. There thus seems to be nothing particularly un-Pauline in the angelology of Colossians. (On this subject see esp. O. Everling, *Die paulinische Angelologie und Dämonologie*, 1888; A. S. Peake, Introd. to 'Col.' in *EGT*; M. Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909.)

7. Relation to Ephesians.—It is at once obvious that there is a close literary connexion between Colossians and Ephesians. The structure of the two Epistles is largely the same, though naturally the special warnings of Col. find no parallel in Eph., and a second thanksgiving and prayer in Eph $2\text{–}3^{1}$ 3^{14-19} has no parallel in Colossians. The exhortations at the end show close agreement in detail. And, most significant of all, there is a remarkable series of verbal parallels, running through verse after verse of the two Epistles. Only two alternatives are possible. Either both letters are by one writer, or one has been deliberately modelled on the other.

It has commonly been asserted that Eph. is based on Col., and in that case no presumption against Col. arises. Holtzmann, however, showed that the literary criticism did not work out so simply. Sometimes one Epistle, sometimes the other, seems to be prior. Accordingly, he regarded Eph. as based upon a shorter Col., which was subsequently expanded from Eph. in view of Gnosticism. But the tests by which he proposed to recover the original Col. do not work out well. The division of the heresy into two parts is not at all easy. And the literary criteria are altogether too minute. A similar and even more elaborate theory has been worked out by Soltau. Von Soden, however, in examining Holtzmann's view, only admitted 1^{15-20} $2^{10.\ 15.\ 18b}$ as later insertions, and has subsequently reduced even this amount, rejecting only the Christological passage in ch. 1. The majority of scholars now accept the whole Epistle as Pauline.

As to the relations with Eph., it seems to the present writer that sufficient stress has not been laid upon the curious interweaving of the phraseology of the two Epistles. Even Holtzmann's hypothesis does not do justice to the way in which phrase after phrase is used in connexion with different trains of thought. The author of Eph. did not copy Col. at all as the two later Synoptists copied St. Mark. He simply used its language, and to a most extraordinary extent. He is writing for

a different purpose, and applies to that purpose phraseology used with quite different implications in Colossians. Thus Eph 2^{11-17} is full of the language of Col 2^{11-15}, and yet the points of the passages are quite different. Is it possible that such a phenomenon could have arisen at all except in the work of a single writer writing a second letter while the language of the first was still fresh in his mind?

8. Style and language.—It has been objected that these are un-Pauline, but this holds only if the four great Epistles are taken as the final norm as to what St. Paul might have written. Of the 46 words not used elsewhere by St. Paul the majority are connected either with the heresy or with its refutation. Further, 11 Pauline words occur which are used by no other NT writer. It should be noted that St. Paul was now at Rome, in the midst of new associations, which would naturally affect his vocabulary. The suggestion has been made that Timothy, who is associated with St. Paul in the salutation, may have had a large share in the actual composition of the letter.

This suggestion might also help to account for the change in style from the earlier Epistles. The movement of thought is less abrupt, and the sentences are often longer and more involved. Particles, even those of which St. Paul is most fond, such as ἄρα, διό, διότι, are replaced to a great extent by participial constructions. This, however, may well be due to the lack of urgency. The danger was not so great as it had been in Galatia or in Corinth.

In the second chapter the difficulty of translating is very great, and it is possible that in some cases the text has suffered from corruption lying further back than all our existing MSS; 2^{18} and 2^{23} are the most notable examples (in 2^{18} C. Taylor's ἀέρα κενεμβατεύων has been favoured by Westcott and Hort and Zahn, and is commonly accepted). The translation of 2^{15} presents almost as many difficulties.

LITERATURE.—EDITIONS.—Col. has been edited by H. J. Holtzmann (1872), A. Klöpper (1882), H. von Soden (1891), and Haupt (in Meyer's *Com.*[8], 1899). J. B. Lightfoot's *Colossians* (1st ed., 1875) is the standard Eng. work. Of recent Eng. Commentaries the most valuable are those by A. S. Peake (*EGT*, 1903), T. K. Abbott (*ICC*, 1897), and G. G. Findlay (*Pulpit Commentary*, 1886). GENERAL.—F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894; W. Sanday, art. in Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*[2], 1893; T. Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*, 1897 (Eng. tr., *Introd. to NT*, 1909); H. von Soden, artt. in *JPTh*, 1885–87; J. Moffatt, *LNT*[2], 1912.

L. W. GRENSTED.

COLOURS.—Among the writers of the NT the sense of colour is strongest in the author of the Revelation, who partly reproduces the colour-symbolism of earlier authors, priestly, prophetic, and apocalyptic, and partly is original. Colour distinctions were perhaps not so fine in ancient as in modern times; at any rate the colour vocabulary was more limited. The associations of colour vary greatly in different ages and peoples.

1. White (λευκός, connected with *lux*; λαμπρός, 'bright' in RV, fr. λάμπω 'to shine'), the colour of light, is the symbol of purity, innocence, holiness; it is the primary liturgical colour. The head and hair of the Son of Man are white as wool or snow (Rev 1^{14}). Angels are arrayed in white (15^{6}; cf. Ac 1^{10}). The elders (Rev 4^{4}), the martyrs (6^{11}), the great multitude (7^{9}) are clothed in white raiment: but their robes were not always white; they have washed them and made them white (ἐλεύκαναν) in the blood of the Lamb (7^{14}). Such raiment one of the Seven Churches is counselled to buy (3^{18}). A hypocrite has not the white robe; he is only like a whitewashed wall (τοῖχε κεκονιαμένε, Ac 23^{3}; cf. Mt 23^{27}). White is the colour of victory; the first rider on a white horse (Rev 6^{2}) represents a conquering secular power, probably Parthia; the second is the Faithful and True (19^{11}), whose triumphant followers are clad in white uniform (19^{14}). The Son of Man is seen enthroned on a white cloud (14^{14}); and the great throne of God—unlike the sapphire throne in Ezk 1^{26}—is white.

2. Red, the first of the three primary colours of science, is in Greek πυρρός, from πῦρ, 'fire.' 'Light and fire, when regarded ethically in Holy Scripture, are contrasts: light, the image of beneficent love; and fire, of destroying anger' (Delitzsch, *Iris*, Eng. tr., 1889, p. 73). The swordsman upon the red horse (Rev 6^{3}) represents war and bloodshed; the great red dragon (12^{3}) the same, probably with the added idea of fire.

3. Black (μέλας) indicates the absence of light: a white object is one which reflects nearly all the light of all colours; a black object absorbs nearly all. Ethically considered, the withdrawal of light is weird and appalling. The revelation at Sinai was made in 'blackness (γνόφος, gloom) and mist and tempest' (He 12^{18}). Black is the colour of famine; the third of the four riders in the Apocalypse, who brings dearth, goes forth on a black horse (Rev 6^{5}). A great earthquake makes the sun black as sackcloth of hair (6^{12}; cf. Jl $2^{30.31}$; *Ass. Mos.* x. 4 f.; Virg. *Georg.* i. 463 f.). For men whose lives belie their profession there is reserved the blackness of darkness (ὁ ζόφος τοῦ σκότους, 2 P 2^{17} || Jude[13]; cf. Homer, *Il.* xxi. 56).

4. Purple (πορφύρα, *purpura*) now denotes a shade varying between crimson and violet, but to the ancients it was a red-purple dye, which might even be mistaken for scarlet (cf. Jn 19^{2} with Mt 27^{28}). It was obtained from a shellfish (*purpura*, *murex*) found near Tyre and on the shores of Tarentum and Laconia. The throat of each mollusc yielded one drop of the precious fluid. The manufacture and sale of the dye was the monopoly of the Phœnicians. Pliny says of Tyre that, while she once 'thirsted so eagerly for the conquest of the whole earth . . . all her fame is now confined to the production of the murex and the purple' (*HN* v. 17). Cloth of purple was the emblem of royalty and nobility—purpura regum (Virg. *Georg.* ii. 495). The soldiers arrayed Christ with it in derision (Mt $15^{17.20}$). It was among the costly merchandise of Imperial Rome (Rev 18^{12}). The Maccabees noted that the sober-minded Romans of the Republic did not wear it (1 Mac 8^{14}), but Pliny remarks on 'the frantic passion for purple' in his time (*HN* ix. 60). The prophet of the Revelation knows that the great city is arrayed in it (Rev 18^{16}). The apocalyptic harlot clothes herself with it (17^{4}). The finest kind of purple was 'the Tyrian dibapha (double-dyed), which could not be bought for even 1000 denarii per pound' (Pliny, ix. 63). Lydia (Ac $16^{14.15.40}$) was a seller of purple (πορφυρόπωλις), but it is now generally believed that the Thyatiran dye, which she was engaged in selling, was the modern turkey red, which is extracted from the madder root (*rubia*).

5. Scarlet (κόκκινος) was obtained from the female of the *kermes* insect (Arab. *kirmiz*, whence the synonymous 'crimson'), which, when impregnated, attaches itself to the holm-oak, and was long supposed to be a red berry or seed—a mistake found in Pliny (*HN* xvi. 8). The insect (*Coccus ilicis*) is of the same family as the cochineal of Mexico, which yields a finer dye that has superseded the ancient scarlet. Wool dyed scarlet was used in the Jewish ritual of sacrifice (He 9^{19}). Scarlet fabrics were among the merchandise of Rome (Rev 18^{12})—'rubro cocco tincta vestis' (Hor. *Sat.* II. vi. 102 f.). The glaring colour was the symbol of luxury and splendour. The great city was attired in it (Rev 18^{16}). The woman arrayed in purple and scarlet, and sitting on a scarlet-coloured beast, is an image of flaunting licentiousness (17^{3-5}).

6. Pale is one of the translations of χλωρός, an indefinite hue, applied as an epithet to objects so different as fresh green grass (Mk 6[39]) and yellow sand (Soph. *Aj.* 1064). Both meanings were common from Homer downwards. The pale horse in Rev 6[8] has the livid hue of death.

7. Hyacinthine (ὑακίνθινος) is one of the three colours of the breastplates of the fiendish horsemen in Rev 9[17]. ὑάκινθος is the LXX tr. of תְּכֵלֶת, a dye obtained from another shellfish on the Tyrian coast. It was blue-purple as distinguished from red-purple; the *Oxf. Heb. Lex.* gives 'violet.' The cuirasses were also red like fire (πυρίνους) and yellow as brimstone (θειώδεις).

The brilliant hues of the foundations, walls, gates, and streets of the New Jerusalem, and those of the robes of the inhabitants, suggest that 'the beauty of colour . . . will contribute its part to the blessedness of vision in the future world' (Delitzsch, *Iris*, 61). JAMES STRAHAN.

COMFORT.—The word παράκλησις is generally translated in RV 'comfort'; 'exhortation' is used in Ac 13[15], Ro 12[8], 2 Co 8[17], 1 Th 2[3], 1 Ti 4[13], He 12[5] 13[22]; 'encouragement,' He 6[18]; 'consolation' *or* 'exhortation,' Ac 4[36] 15[31]. These translations indicate that the NT use of παράκλησις is more nearly equivalent to the root meaning of 'comfort' (L. Lat. *confortare*, 'to strengthen') than to the narrowed present sense of '**consolation.**' (The use of παράκλησις as 'request' occurs in 2 Co 8[17]; παραμύθια is rendered 'consolation' in 1 Co 14[3]; παραμύθιον, translated 'consolation,' rather indicates persuasive address in Ph 2[1]; the verb is used in 1 Th 2[11]; παρηγορία = 'comfort' in Col 4[11].)

It is one of the great functions of religion to transform the human pain, sorrow, and discouragement of life. The man of faith cannot escape the inevitable sorrows of the common human lot, but he can modify their values by his religious faith and hope. When faith does not remove mountains, it can give strength to climb them. The 'thorn in the flesh' may remain, but the Divine grace proves 'sufficient' (2 Co 12[8. 9]). God is recognized as the real source of all comfort (2 Co 1[3]; cf. Ro 15[5], 2 Co 7[6], 2 Th 2[16]). He operates through the 'comfort of the Scriptures' (Ro 15[4], He 12[5]; cf. the name 'consolation' [*neḥem*ᵉ*tā*] given by the Jews to the Prophetic literature), through the faithfulness, love, and prosperity of the churches (2 Co 7[6. 7] etc.), and the sustaining comradeship of friends (Col 4[11], Philem 7). Ac 9[31] supplies the phrase 'the comfort of the Holy Ghost,' although the translation is uncertain (see R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 244); but the idea is present in Jn 14–17, the section which commences with the note of comfort given in view not only of the coming bereavement, but of the difficulties of Christian life and work.

The term 'comforter' in these chapters appears to be an inaccurate and inadequate translation of παράκλητος. παρεκαλέω has a double sense: (1) 'call in as a helper,' (2) 'comfort.' The passive form requires the former meaning—the Paraclete is the one called in to help, advise, defend. 'Comforter' would be παρακλήτωρ as in Job 16[2] (see *HDB*, art. 'Paraclete'). But the fact of having a Paraclete is itself a comfort and encouragement. The recognition and experience of the Divine in human souls inspires and sustains. The description of the Paraclete in these chapters of St. John's Gospel, as possessing mainly an intellectual function, makes the narrow identification with the ecstatic Pentecostal spirit of Acts improbable. The term rather indicates the growing inward Logos, developed by the demands put upon the disciples after the death of Jesus ('If I go not away the Paraclete will not come unto you,' Jn 16[7]; cf. the thought in Emerson's essay on 'Compensation'—'The angels go out that the archangels may come in').

(*a*) One of the most obvious needs of the Church in NT times was that of comfort under circumstances of persecution for Christ's sake (1 Th 3[3] etc.). The grounds of such comfort might be found in the thought that Jesus, the Captain and Perfecter of their faith, had similarly suffered (He 12[3], 1 Th 2[15]), and that they who shared His sufferings would share His glory (2 Co 4[10], Ph 3[10]); in the recognition that in their case it was nobility of spirit which provoked the world's persecution (1 P 4[12ff.], 2 Ti 3[12], Ac 5[40]; cf. Jn 15[19ff.]); that afflictions were the signs of God's sonship (He 12[5-9]); and that the worthy bearing of them resulted in ripened character (v.[11]), demonstrated the strength of God in human weakness (2 Co 12[10]), qualified one to minister to others (2 Co 1[4]), and worked an eternal weight of glory in comparison with which the passing affliction was light (2 Co 4[17]; cf. Rev 7[13-17] etc.). The 'promise' which sustained the ancient heroes of faith amid much affliction was still an inspiration (He 11). (*b*) The Christian worker might be discouraged by his own limitations and the disappointing results of his labour; his comfort must be that, despite diversity of ministration, 'all service ranks the same with God' (1 Co 12), and that his service in the Lord would not be in vain (Gal 6[9], 1 Co 15[58]; cf. Rev 14[13]). (*c*) The common burden of life was lightened for the Christian believer in the consciousness of the Divine love. Apart from what Jesus had actually done to comfort and encourage mankind, His very Coming was a symbol of the eternal goodness, love, and care of God. Would not the Father, who had not spared His own Son, with Him freely give His children all things? (Ro 8[32]). Again, the present 'age' with its pain and sorrow was not destined to continue for ever. The whole creation was moving towards a Divine event; to those in sympathy with goodness, all things were working together for good (Ro 8). The world was God's ('there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things' [1 Co 8[6]]), who finally would again be all in all (1 Co 15[24-28]). (*d*) Bereavement and the fear of death were relieved by the strong Christian faith in the Resurrection (1 Co 15, etc.). The First Thessalonian Epistle sought to give comfort to those whose friends had 'fallen asleep' by the fact and manner of the Parousia (1 Th 4[13-18]). A deeper element of faith was realized in the consciousness that behind the world, visible and temporal, was a world, unseen and eternal, and if the earthly house of our tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God eternal in the heavens (2 Co 4[15] 5[1]). Whether the Christians lived or died, they belonged to the Lord (Ro 14[8]). Uncertain as to what the future state would be (1 Jn 3[2]), they could nevertheless be sure of the Divine Fatherhood and care. 'Neither life nor death, things present nor things to come,' could separate the children of God from His love (Ro 8[38]; cf. the closing verses of Whittier's *The Eternal Goodness*). The fourth voice from heaven (Rev 14[13]) proclaims the blessedness of those who die in the Lord.

The duty of mutual comfort is enjoined in 1 Th 4[18] ('Wherefore comfort one another with these words'; cf. 5[11]). Among a list of Christian duties in 5[14] is that of 'comforting the faint-hearted' (παραμυθεῖσθε τοὺς ὀλιγοψύχους). παράκλησις is described as part of a Christian minister's equipment (1 Ti 4[13], Tit 1[9], 1 Th 3[2]), and that the term is not confined to mere exhortation is suggested by 2 Co 1[4]. The detailed results of 'prophesying' are given in 1 Co 14[3] as 'edification and comfort and consolation' (RV). The penitent offender in the Corinthian Church must not only be forgiven, but comforted, lest by any means such a one should be swallowed up by his overmuch sorrow (2 Co 2[7]; cf. 1 Jn 2[1. 2]).

LITERATURE.—Artt. 'Comfort' in *HDB*; 'Comfort,' 'Consolation,' and 'Care' in *DCG*; the relevant Commentaries, esp. J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 107, and G. Milligan, *Thessalonians*, 1908, p. 17; A. Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood*, 1913, p. 432; H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, pp. 96 f., 228 f., 372 f.; H. Black, *Christ's Service of Love*, 1907, p. 52; S. A. Tipple, *Days of Old*, 1911, p. 107; W. P. DuBose, *The Reason of Life*, 1911, p. 183. H. BULCOCK.

COMING.—See PAROUSIA.

COMMANDMENT.—In so far as primitive Christianity, in contrast to the OT, appeals to the conscience as the supreme tribunal of moral judgment (1 Co $8^{7ff.}$, Ro $14^{5.\ 14-23}$; cf. 2^{15}), and calls upon Christians themselves to determine what is the will of God (Ro 12^{2}, Eph $5^{10.\ 17}$, 1 Jn 2^{20}; cf. Jer 31^{34}), it may be said to proclaim the ethical autonomy of the individual Christian. This, of course, involves the assumption that the Christian apprehends the character of God as revealed in Jesus Christ; and accordingly the ethical maxim of primitive Christianity is that the believer should have the mind of Christ (Ph $2^{5ff.}$) and should follow Him (1 Co 11^{1}, 1 P $2^{21ff.}$, 1 Jn 2^{6} etc.).

But, on the other hand, the apostles, including St. Paul, make reference to a tradition of *authoritative Divine commandments*, and indeed they themselves lay down a number of precepts designed to serve as guides for the moral judgment of Christians (*ἐντολαί, δόγματα, παραγγελίαι, παραδόσεις*, etc.). We note the following categories.

1. Commandments of the Mosaic Law.—We have in the first place those commandments of the Mosaic Law, or of the OT, which are regarded as of Divine authority not only by the Jewish-Christian apostles, but also by St. Paul; cf. Ja 2^{8-11}, Ro 7^{8-13} 13^{9}, Gal 5^{14}, Eph 6^{2}. Of the laws of Moses, the Decalogue, as we might expect, is assigned a position of peculiar importance; it forms the fundamental law of the Old Dispensation (2 Co 3^{3}: 'tables of stone'), and is therefore always cited when the leading commandments are under consideration (Ro 13^{9}, Ja 2^{11}). It is worthy of remark, however, that here both St. Paul and St. James take into account only the commandments of the second table, asserting that the whole Law is summed up in the command to love one's neighbour (Gal 5^{14}, Ro $13^{8f.}$), 'the royal law' (Ja 2^{8}), though it is true that in Eph 6^{2} St. Paul quotes a commandment from the first table ('Honour thy father,' etc.).* The sequence of the laws quoted in Ro 13^{9} and Ja 2^{11} agrees with that of the LXX version of Ex 20^{13} in putting adultery before murder. So far as the Decalogue shares the statutory character of the Law as a whole, it also, according to St. Paul, is involved in the abrogation of 'the law of commandments' (Eph 2^{15}), as is evident from what is said regarding the law of the Sabbath, the obligatory character of which, according to Ro 14^{5}, Gal $4^{9f.}$, Col 2^{16}, is in principle surrendered. Hence Luther's interpretation of this commandment is the right one; though, in view of 1 Co 7^{17}, St. Paul probably maintained that it should remain binding upon Jewish Christians (see art. LAW).

Further, St. Paul (as also the other apostles) cites not only the Decalogue, but the rest of the Torah as well, in support of his own ethical precepts (1 Co 9^{9} 14^{34}, 1 Ti 5^{18}; cf. Ja 2^{11}; in all these passages, however, the reference is to commandments which justify themselves to the Christian consciousness). He avails himself of the principle laid down in 1 Co 10^{11}, Ro 15^{4}, Col 2^{17}, *i.e.* he applies the OT commandments to the Messianic era in an allegorical or typological sense; thus 1 Co 9^{9} (maintenance of Christian teachers) = Dt 25^{4}, 1 Co 9^{13} = Nu 18^{8}, 1 Co $5^{7f.}$ = Ex $12^{8ff.}$ (the putting away of leaven). He likewise reinforces his own admonitions by sayings from the Psalms and the Prophets, as, *e.g.*, 2 Co 9^{9} = Ps 112^{9}, 1 Co 1^{31} = Jer 9^{23}, Ro 12^{19} = Dt 32^{35}; cf. Ja 4^{6} = Pr 3^{34}, He 3^{7-11} = Ps 95^{7-11}. Finally, St. Paul and the rest frequently give their precepts in the form of OT exhortations; cf., *e.g.*, Ro 12^{20} = Pr $25^{21f.}$, 1 P 2^{17} = Pr 24^{21}, 1 P $3^{10ff.}$ = Ps $34^{13ff.}$, He $12^{5f.}$ = Pr $3^{11f.}$.

2. Commandments of God and Jesus.—(1) The *commandments of God* frequently referred to in the Epistles of John and in Rev. (1 Jn 3^{22} 4^{21} $5^{2f.}$, 2 Jn ^{6}, Rev 12^{17} 14^{12}; cf. the Pauline usage, 1 Co 7^{19}) should doubtless be regarded as the OT commandments in the NT acceptation (*i.e.* as applied by Jesus); cf. 1 Jn $2^{7f.}$, where the commandment to love one's brother is spoken of as at once old and new, and 1 Jn 4^{21}, where brotherly love in Christ's sense is combined with love to God (cf. Mt $22^{37ff.}$ and parallels).

(2) Apart from this the apostolic Epistles refer but seldom to the *commandments of Jesus*. In James, 1 Peter, Hebrews, and Revelation we meet with no utterance of the earthly Jesus, while 1 and 2 John allude to His commandments only in general terms (1 Jn $2^{3f.}$ 3^{23} [brotherly love]; cf. 2 Jn ^{9}). Nor will it surprise us to find that the Pauline Epistles likewise contain but few references to the commandments of the Lord. Apart from Ac 20^{35} (which, it is true, implies a more extensive use of the Lord's words in the oral teaching of St. Paul; cf. the pl. *λόγων*), we find such references only in 1 Co 7^{10} 9^{14} (11^{23-25}), Gal 6^{2}, 1 Ti 6^{3}. The first of these passages refers to the prohibition of divorce; the second to the apostles' right to live by preaching the gospel (cf. 1 Ti 5^{18}); Gal 6^{2} to 'the law of Christ,' *i.e.* mutual service; and 1 Ti 6^{3} to the words of Jesus in general (cf. 4^{6}). But the explicit distinction which St. Paul draws between what the Lord did and did not command shows that he had an accurate knowledge of the Lord's words—just as he also distinguishes between his own precepts and the Lord's commandments. To trace this distinction to the difference between a greater and a less degree of certainty in the inward revelation (Baur) is the sheerest caprice; cf. the historic tense in 1 Co 9^{14}. That St. Paul in general based his moral teachings on the authority of Jesus Himself appears from 1 Th 4^{2}, where he reminds his readers of the charges he delivered to them 'through the Lord Jesus'; cf. 1 Co 4^{17}, where, as the context shows, his 'ways which are in Christ' are the ethical precepts for which Christ was his authority. In using here the somewhat vague expression 'in Christ,' he simply indicates that his precepts are not mere repetitions of the words of Jesus, but that they are 'Christian' in the wider sense—like, let us say, the 'Teachings of the Lord through the Twelve Apostles' in the *Didache*. The commandments of Jesus are frequently cited also by the Apostolic Fathers; cf. 1 Clem. xiii. 3; 2 Clem. iii. 4, iv. 5 ff., xvii. 3. 6; Ign. *Eph.* ix. 2; cf. *Magn.* xiii. 1 (*δόγματα τοῦ Κυρίου καὶ τῶν ἀποστόλων*); *Did.* xi. 3 (*δόγμα τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*).

3. Commandments of the apostles.—From the commandments of Jesus appealed to by the apostles it is an easy transition to those of the apostles themselves (cf. 2 P 3^{2}); it should be noted, however, that the term *ἐντολαί* is restricted to the commandments of God and Jesus, while the apostolic 'commandments' are denoted by other terms: *δόγματα* (Ac 16^{4}), *παραγγελίαι* (1 Th 4^{2}; cf. 2 Th 3^{10}), *παραδόσεις* (1 Co 11^{2}, 2 Th 2^{15} 3^{6}), and the like. But although St. Paul, in 1 Co 7, distinguishes between his own 'judgment' (v.^{25} *γνώμη*) and the commandment of the Lord, he nevertheless demands obedience to the former, inasmuch as he is possessed of the Spirit of God (1 Co 7^{40}; cf. Ac 15^{28}), and, accordingly, he can even assert that what he writes is 'the commandment of the Lord' (1 Co 14^{37}). It is true that he sometimes appeals, as in 1 Co 10^{15}, to the personal judgment of his readers, but it is clear, from 11^{16} and $14^{37f.}$, that he attached no decisive importance to such judgment. In any case,

* Just as, *e.g.*, in Mt 19^{19} and is this commandment is appended to those of the second table (nos. 6, 7, and 8). It is impossible to decide whether the Jewish, the Eastern and Reformed, or the Roman Catholic and Lutheran arrangement of the commandments is followed here.

all opposition must give way before the consensus of apostolic usage (11[16] 14[36]), and St. Paul always assumes that such a consensus really exists; cf. Ro 6[17] *τύπος διδαχῆς* ('fixed form of moral teaching'), 16[17] (where 'the teaching'=moral teaching).

This common ethical tradition would include, above all, the so-called Apostolic Decree (Ac 15[28f.] 16[4]). It must certainly have comprised the injunctions regarding things sacrificed to idols, and fornication, an echo of which is still heard in Rev 2[20. 24] (cf. v.[24] the phrase 'cast upon you none other burden' with Ac 15[28]), and which the Apostle, not only according to Ac 16[4], but also in 1 Co 6[12-20] and 10[14-33], expressly urges upon Gentile Christians. Cf. further artt. LAW and MOSES.

We must also take account of the lists of vices and virtues given in various forms by the apostles: Gal 5[19-21], 1 Co 5[10] 6[9f.], 2 Co 12[20f.], Ro 1[29-31] 13[13], Col 3[5-8], Eph 4[31] 5[3f.], 1 Ti 1[9f.], 2 Ti 3[2-5], Rev 21[8] 22[15] (vices); Gal 5[22], Col 3[12-15], Eph 4[2f. 32]-5[2], 2 P 1[5-8] (virtues). Similar lists are found in *Did.* ii. 1–v. 2, Barn. 18–20, Polycarp, ii. 2-iv. 3. Though such tables were in their origin dependent upon Jewish and Greek models (*e.g.* Wis 12[23f.] 14[22ff.]; cf. Mt 15[19]; Diog. Laert. vii. 110–114)—as St. Paul indeed indirectly recognizes in Ro 1[32], Ph 4[8] (cf. the Stoic phrase *τὰ μὴ καθήκοντα*, Ro 1[28])—they nevertheless reveal, especially as regards the virtues, their distinctively Christian character.

Along with the lists of vices and virtues should be mentioned also the so-called 'house-tables,' *i.e.* the groups of precepts for the various domestic relationships—husbands and wives, parents and children, masters and slaves (*e.g.* Eph 5[22]-6[9], Col 3[18]-4[1], 1 P 2[18]-3[7]). These, as will be seen, make their first appearance in the later Epistles, but they may well have attained an oral form at an earlier date. Finally, the Pastoral Epistles, in addition to the family precepts, give several series of directions for the various orders of Christians—bishops, deacons, widows, etc., thus furnishing in fact a kind of Church organization, the social duties of the various relationships being made more or less subordinate to the ecclesiastical point of view (cf. 1 Ti 2[1]-6[2], Tit 1[5]-3[2]).

The reduction of Christian morality to concrete details was a matter of historic necessity. Just as the spirit of Christianity was not, even at the outset, possessed by all believers in the same degree, but was found pre-eminently in the apostles and prophets, so it was not present so fully in the later period as in the earlier. Hence, when the apostles were nearing their end, they felt it necessary, for the sake of the succeeding generation, to commit to writing the more detailed ethical teaching which no doubt they had to some extent already brought into an oral form. Cf. further art. LAW.

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OLAF MOE.

COMMENDATION (from Lat. *com-* and *mando*, 'commit to').—'Commend' is used in AV and RV as a translation of (*a*) *παρατίθημι*, in the sense of *entrusting* (cf. 'Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit,' Lk 23[46]) in Ac 14[23] and 20[32], in reference to the solemn committing of the heads of the churches to God. The same verb is translated 'commit' (to God) in 1 P 4[19] ('Let them that suffer . . . commit their souls . . . to a faithful creator'); cf. Lk 12[48], 1 Ti 1[18] 6[20], 2 Ti 1[12. 14] 2[2].

(*b*) *παρίστημι* is translated 'commend' in 1 Co 8[8] ('Meat commendeth us not to God') in the sense of *presenting to God*; 'non exhibebit nos Deo' (Meyer); 'will not bring us into God's presence' (Weymouth).

(*c*) 'Commend' is used to translate *συνίστημι* (1) in Ro 3[5], in the sense of demonstration, *setting in clearer light* ('but if our unrighteousness commendeth the righteousness of God, what shall we say?'); (2) in Ro 5[8], in the sense of *making proof of* ('God commendeth his own love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us'); (3) in the sense of *introduction* in Ro 16[1] ('I commend unto you Phœbe our sister'). '*συνίστημι* is the technical word for this kind of recommendation, which was equivalent to a certificate of church membership' (Denney, *EGT*, 'Romans,' 1900, p. 717). Greek teachers used to give *ἐπιστολαὶ συστατικαί* (Diog. Laert. viii. 87). The Ephesian Christians wrote such a letter for Apollos to the Church at Corinth (Ac 18[27]). St. Paul in 2 Co 8[16-24] gives an introduction for Titus and his companions to the Corinthian Church. In 2 Co 3[1] St. Paul finely points out that no such introduction is necessary in his own case, either for or from his readers. They themselves are a letter of commendation in a double sense—they are ever written in his heart; no need for others to commend them to his interest and care; again, as his converts, they are *his* letter of credential to themselves and to all the world. (4) The verb, reflexively used to convey the idea of *self-praise*, occurs in 2 Co 3[1] 5[12] 10[12. 18] (where the pronoun coming before the verb occupies the prominent position); (5) but in 4[2] 6[4] 7[11] (where the pronoun follows the verb) the reference is to *legitimate demonstration of one's faith and work*; *e.g.* zeal for purity is such a commendation (7[11]). An apostle's true credentials are unwearied labour, self-sacrifice, character, and loftiness of spirit (6[4]).

H. BULCOCK.

COMMERCE.—See TRADE.

COMMON.—See CLEAN.

COMMUNION.—The Greek word *κοινωνία* has a wider scope (see FELLOWSHIP) than the English word 'communion,' which the EV uses particularly in regard to the Lord's Supper (1 Co 10[16]). St. Paul's expression is somewhat ambiguous. In what way may the cup and the bread be said to be a communion? They may either be a symbol for communion or may constitute a communion by sacramental influence. What does the blood of Christ mean? Is it the blood which was shed at His death, or does it signify the death itself or its effects? Or does St. Paul perhaps think of the blood as some transfigured heavenly substance? And what does the body of Christ mean? Is it the material body, which Jesus wore on earth, and which hung on the cross, or the immaterial body of the heavenly Lord? Or, again, is it the spiritual body, whose head is Christ, *i.e.* the Church? And lastly, what does communion of the blood and of the body mean? Is it communion with, *i.e.* partaking of, the blood and the body, or is it a communion whose symbol and medium are the blood and the body? In former times all attempts at interpretation distinguished sharply between those various meanings; nowadays there is a tendency towards accepting the different views as being present at the same time in the author's mind and in the mind of his first readers, not as entirely separate ideas, but all together in fluctuating transition. Grammar and vocabulary are not decisive in such a case. We have to start from the general view of communion which early Christianity held. In this the particular meaning of communion in regard to the Lord's Supper will be included.

There can be no doubt but that early Christianity had a double conception of fellowship; all mem-

bers of the Church were in close fellowship one with the other, and at the same time each and all of them were in fellowship with the heavenly Lord. The former conception was the more prominent; but the latter no doubt was the basis of faith. Now in the Lord's Supper we find both these ideas present. St. Paul complains of the divisions at Corinth (1 Co 11^{18}): the members of the Church do not share their meal in a brotherly way, nor do they wait for one another (*i.e.* probably for the slaves who could not be present early). Here we have the purely social and moral idea. But St. Paul, in speaking of 'the Lord's Supper' (11^{20}), indicates another point of view, which may be called the religious and sacramental conception: the Lord's Supper is not only a supper held at the Lord's command, or a supper held in honour of the Lord (cf. 11^{23-26}), but it is also a supper in communion with the Lord, where the Lord is present, participating as the Host. In this way the Lord's Supper is not only the expression of an existing communion with Him, but it realizes this communion every time it is held. Now the question is: Is it the common supper which constitutes the communion, or are we to think of the particular elements, bread and wine, as producing the communion? We shall try to find an answer by noting some analogies from the comparative history of religions.

W. Robertson Smith started the theory that the origin of all sacrifice lies in the idea of a sacramental communion between the members of a tribe and the tribal deity, which is realized by the common eating of the flesh of the sacrifice and the drinking of its blood. The theory as a complete explanation is inadequate, but we may admit sacramental communion in this sense as one of the different views underlying the practice of sacrifice. In ancient Israel the so-called peace-offering may be taken as illustrating this view. In later Judaism, however, this rite held but a small place, and Rabbinical transcendentalism would not allow any thought of sacramental communion with God the Most High. To adduce analogies taken from primitive culture is of no value. According to Dieterich, primitive man had the idea that, by partaking of the flesh of any sacrificial animal offered to a god, he was partaking of the god himself, and thus entering into sacramental communion with him. This theory has not been proved, and in any case it is beside the point here. We find better analogies in the Hellenism of the Apostolic Age, where we may distinguish two sets of parallels. (*a*) In the Mysteries certain sacred foods and drinks were used to bring man into communion with the god; (*b*) on the other hand, many clubs held an annual or monthly supper, which generally took place in a temple, and was at any rate accompanied by religious ceremonies which were to constitute a communion between the members and the god or hero (very often the founder of the club) in whose honour the supper was given. So we have two conceptions of communion: one mystical, individual, magical; the other moral, social, spiritual. In the former, particular food is supposed to bring the partaker into communion with the god physically (or rather hyper-physically), to transfer the essence and virtues of the god into the man and so to make him god (deify him); in the latter, it is the community of the meal which unites all partakers to one another and to the hero in the same sense as marriage or friendship unites distinct personalities.

The evidence of these parallels brings the early Christian conception of the Lord's Supper into close affinity with the communion of the club suppers, which had their analogy in suppers held in the Jewish synagogues of the Hellenistic Dispersion. The Mysteries did not influence Christian thought before the 2nd century. St. Paul, it is true, starts the idea of an *unio mystica* between the individual Christian and Christ (Gal 2^{20}); this idea is prevalent in his doctrine of baptism (Ro 6^{4}, Col 2^{12}); but his predominant line of thought is the other view, which regards the two personalities as apart from each other, and may be described as the idea of 'fellowship.' The same may be said about St. John's view, in spite of all mystical appearances.

Now, when we turn to 1 Co 10^{16} again, we see clearly that it is not the bread and the wine that constitute sacramental communion by themselves; nor is communion the partaking of Christ's material body and blood. Bread and wine in relation to body and blood were given by tradition, but, as far as performing a sacramental communion is concerned, they represent only the common meal, which brings men into communion with the Lord, who through His death entered upon a heavenly existence. From this conception of the transfigured body it is easy to pass to the other one of a spiritual body whose members are the partakers (v.[17]).

This interpretation is further supported by the comparison, made by St. Paul himself, of Jewish and Gentile sacrifices. When he says that the Jews by eating the sacrifices have communion with the altar, he means spiritual communion with God whose representative is the altar (note that the phrase 'communion with God' is avoided—a true mark of Rabbinism); and when he says that to partake of a supper connected with a heathen sacrifice brings men into communion with demons, he does not accept the popular idea that the food itself was quasi-infected by demonic influence (he declares formally that to eat such flesh unconsciously does not harm a Christian); but he says: 'ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of devils: ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and of the table of devils,' because partaking of the table constitutes a spiritual and moral communion which is exclusive in its effect. See EUCHARIST.

LITERATURE.—W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, new ed., 1903, *RS*[2], 1894; A. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie*, 1903; E. Reuterskiöld, *Die Entstehung der Speisesacramente* (*Religionswissenschaftliche Bibliothek*, 1912); L. R. Farnell, 'Religious and Social Aspects of the Cult of Ancestors and Heroes,' in *HJ* vii. [1909] 415–485. For memorial suppers, see inscriptions collected by H. Lietzmann, *Handbuch zum NT*, iii. [1907] 160 ff.; E. Lucius, *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults*, 1904. For Jewish suppers in synagogues, see E. Schürer, *GJV*[4] iii. [1909] 143; O. Schmitz, *Die Opferanschauung des späteren Judentums*, 1910; W. Heitmüller, *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*, 1903; E. v. Dobschütz, 'Sacrament und Symbol im Urchristentum,' in *SK*, 1905, pp. 1–40; F. Dibelius, *Das Abendmahl*, 1911. Cf. the Commentaries on 1 Cor. by L. I. Rückert (1836), C. F. G. Heinrici (1880), T. C. Edwards ([2]1885), P. W. Schmiedel (1891), H. Lietzmann (1907), P. Bachmann (1905, [2]1910), J. Weiss (in Meyer[9], 1910).

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

COMMUNITY OF GOODS.—There are two passages in the Acts of the Apostles which seem to suggest that there was established in the Church in Jerusalem a system of community of goods. 'And all that believed were together and had all things common; and they sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all, according as any man had need' (Ac $2^{44f.}$). 'And the multitude of them that believed were of one heart and soul: and not one of them said that aught of the things which he possessed was his own, but they had all things common. . . . For neither was there among them any that lacked: for as many as were possessors of lands or houses sold them, and brought the prices of the things that were sold, and laid them at the apostles' feet: and distribution was made unto each, according as any one had need' ($4^{32.34.35}$). The *Didache* (iv. 8) contains a phrase which must be put beside this: 'Thou shalt not turn away from him that is in need, but shalt share all things with

thy brother, and shalt not say that they are thine own; for if ye are sharers in that which is immortal, how much more in those things which are mortal.' The so-called *Epistle of Barnabas* contains almost exactly the same phrase (xix. 8), and it is most probable that in these works it came from some common source. We confine ourselves in this art. to the 1st cent., but a statement of Justin Martyr must be cited. He says in the *First Apology* that the Christians brought what they possessed into a common stock, and shared with every one in need (xiv.).

At first sight it would seem as if the passages in Acts indicated the existence in the Christian community of a definite system of communism, and there are some things in the Gospels which might seem to point in the same direction. The blessedness of poverty, the subtle dangers of riches, are taught in many passages. The rich young man is told to sell all that he has and give to the poor, and our Lord observes upon the incident that it is hard for them that have riches to enter into the Kingdom of God (Mk 10^{17-23} ||). In Lk $6^{20.\ 24}$ our Lord is reported as saying, 'Blessed are ye poor, for yours is the kingdom of God. . . . But woe unto you that are rich, for ye have received your consolation.' It is possible that we must allow for the influence of different tendencies in the Gospel narratives; for instance, in St. Matthew's Gospel, this benediction upon the poor is given a strictly spiritual turn (Mt 5^{3}). Again the Epistle of St. James seems to indicate that the Christian communities are composed of poor people, while the rich are their enemies. 'Hearken, my beloved brethren; did not God choose them that are poor as to the world to be rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him? . . . Do not the rich oppress you, and themselves drag you before the judgment-seats?' (Ja $2^{5f.}$).

When, however, we examine the passages in the Acts more carefully, it seems to be clear that the evidence does not warrant us in concluding that there was any definite system of community of goods, even in the Church in Jerusalem. It is plain from the story of Ananias and Sapphira that there was no compulsion about the sale of goods and lands for the common fund. St. Peter is reported as saying to Ananias: 'Whiles it remained, did it not remain thine own? and after it was sold, was it not in thy power?' (Ac 5^{4}). When we turn from the Acts to the Pauline Epistles we find no trace of any system of community of goods. St. Paul constantly exhorts his converts to liberality to the poor, especially to those in Jerusalem (1 Co $16^{1f.}$, 2 Co 8. 9, Ro 15^{26}, 1 Ti 6^{18}), and the nature of his exhortation seems to imply that the individual Christian retained his own possessions. The same thing is implied in the Epistle to the Hebrews (13^{16}), and seems to be the most natural interpretation of the phrase in 1 John (3^{17}).

It cannot be said that the references in the NT justify us in asserting that a system of community of goods was part of the normal constitution of the primitive Christian communities; but it is not impossible that the conception that this was the most perfect form of the religious life may have come into Christianity from such contemporary forms of Judaism as that of the Essenes, among whom the community of goods was apparently practised. But on the whole it would seem that the NT passages are sufficiently explained by the very high sense of the claim of brotherhood among Christian people. The discussion of the full significance of this would take us into the later history of the Church, and would therefore be out of place here. But so much may be said, that the NT principles are wholly inconsistent with the view that the Christian man has any absolute right of property as against his fellow-man. There can be no doubt that a great Father like St. Gregory the Great rightly interprets the spirit of the NT when he says that when we give what they need to those who are in want, we give them that which is their own; we are not giving away what is ours, we are rather discharging an obligation of justice than performing a work of mercy (*Lib. Reg. Pastor.* pt. iii. ch. xxi.).

LITERATURE.—E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen*, 1912; R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Mediæval Political Theory in the West*, vol. i. ('The 2nd cent. to the 9th,' by A. J. Carlyle), 1903; E. B. Redlich, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913, p. 7; O. Cone, *Rich and Poor in the NT*, 1902, p. 143 ff.; E. Schürer, *GJV*^{3} ii. [1898] 564 ff.

A. J. CARLYLE.

COMPASSION.—See PITY.

CONCISION.—See CIRCUMCISION.

CONCUPISCENCE.—See LUST.

CONDEMNATION.—Not only from the Gospels, but from the rest of the RV as well, the word 'damnation' disappears, 'condemnation' taking its place in Ro 3^{8} and 1 Ti 5^{12}, 'destruction' in 2 P 2^{3}, and 'judgment' in Ro 13^{2} and 1 Co 11^{29}. The reason is that the process of degeneration, which had begun before the translation of the AV, linked up the term with conceptions of finality and eternity, originally alien to it, and thus made it no longer representative of apostolical thought. With the exception of 2 P 2^{3}, the same Greek root occurs in all instances, and the context in the various passages is mainly responsible for the different shades of meaning. In the case of the verb, an exception must also be made of Gal 2^{11}, where the idea is that the act of Peter needed no verdict from outside, but carried its own condemnation, as in Ro 2^{1} 14^{23} and Tit 3^{11}.

Little difficulty attaches to the use of the term in the sense of 'destruction' in the case of Sodom (2 P 2^{6}), to the reference to the ark as a visible sign of the destruction about to come upon the unbelieving (He 11^{7}), or to the denunciation by James (5^{6}) of men who unjustly ascribe blame to others and exact penalty for the imagined fault. The wanton are rightly condemned for the rejection of the faith whose value they had learnt by experience (1 Ti 5^{12}). Sound speech, on the other hand, cannot be condemned (Tit 2^{8}). The man who fails to judge and discipline himself is reminded of his duty by Divine chastening; and if that fail, he shares in the final judgment with the lost (1 Co $11^{31f.}$; cf. Mk $9^{47ff.}$). In Ro $5^{16.\ 18}$ condemnation is the consequence of an original act of evil, and suggests the antithesis of a single act of righteousness, the effects of which overflow to the potential justification of all men; and the freedom from condemnation continues beyond the initial stage of forgiveness and ripens into all the assured experiences of union with Christ (Ro 8^{1}).

In several passages the term is involved in a context which to some extent obscures the meaning. The justification of evil as a means to good is indignantly dealt with in Ro 3^{8}; with the authors of the slander that he shared that view the apostle refuses to argue, but he leaves them with the just condemnation of God impending. That God 'condemned sin in the flesh' (Ro 8^{3}) has been taken to mean that the sinlessness of Christ was by contrast a condemnation of the sin of man, or that the incarnation is a token that human nature is essentially sinless; but the previous phrases connect the thought with the death rather than with the birth of Christ. For Him as man death meant the crown of sinlessness, the closure of the last avenue through which temptation could approach Him; and in virtue of union with Christ, the believer who is dead with Him is free from

sin, though not immune from temptation. In 2 Co 3[9] 'condemnation' is antithetical to 'righteousness,' and synonymous with 'death' in v.[7]. The argument appears to be that sin is so horrible that the law which reveals it is glorious; *a fortiori* the covenant that sweeps it out exceeds in glory. 'This condemnation' of Jude[4] ought grammatically to be retrospective, but NT usage allows a prospective use with an explanatory phrase in apposition. The meaning is that ungodliness of the kind described is self-condemned, as has been set forth in various ways in Scripture (cf. Jn 3[19], 2 P 2[1-3]) as well as in *Enoch*, i. 9 (cf. Jude[14-16]). 'The condemnation of the devil' (1 Ti 3[6]) is a comparison of his fall with that of any vainglorious member of the hierarchy. Both being God's ministers to the people, the similarity is one of circumstance, not necessarily of degree.

R. W. Moss.

CONFESSION.—1. Confession of Christ.—The duty of confessing Christ before men was very plainly taught by the Lord. He promised (Mt 10[32]) that He would Himself acknowledge a faithful disciple before His Father and the holy angels. He had challenged by a leading question the confession of St. Peter: 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God' (Mt 16[16]), which He commended. In the Acts we find the same root ideas carried into practice. St. Peter and the other apostles openly confessed Jesus as the Christ (Ac 2[31f.]). The references to baptism into the name of the Lord most probably refer to the confession of faith in Him which was made by all candidates for baptism. Probably the little creed put into the mouth of the Ethiopian eunuch (Ac 8[37] 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God') is an interpolation, and represents the creed of some Church in Asia Minor, since it was known to Irenæus.

The Epistles bear the same witness: 'No one can say that Jesus is the Lord, save in the Holy Ghost' (1 Co 12[3]). 'If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved' (Ro 10[9]). St. Paul here implies that the Lord Jesus is one with the Lord Jahweh on whom the prophet Joel bade men call when he predicted 'this word of faith.' Our difficulties begin when we try to piece together any sort of longer confession which might be regarded as the archetype of the later creeds. It is so difficult to keep an open mind and refrain from reading too much into the evidence.

The Epistle to the Hebrews confirms the testimony of the earlier Pauline Epistles. He 3[1] reads, 'consider the Apostle and High Priest of our confession, *even* Jesus.' In Westcott's words (*Ep. to Hebrews*, 1889, *ad loc.*): 'In Christ our "confession," the faith which we hold and openly acknowledge, finds its authoritative promulgation and its priestly application.' In 4[14] the idea is expressed of clinging to faith in one who is truly human and truly Divine. In 10[23] this confidence is described as the confession of our hope, by which it is shaped. There is an interesting parallel in Clement, *ad Cor.*, ch. 36, who calls Christ 'the High Priest of our offerings.'

The Johannine Epistles correspond to the Pauline. In 1 Jn 2[23] confession is contrasted with denial as entailing the privilege of having the Father. The true inspiration of the Spirit is shown in confession of 'Jesus Christ come in the flesh' (4[2f.]) uniting the Divine and the human in one person. 'The recognition of the revelation of God is the sign of the presence of God' (Westcott, *Epp. of St. John*, 1883, p. 146): 'Whosoever shall confess that Jesus is the Son of God, God abideth in him and he in God' (4[15]).

There is an interesting parallel with Johannine teaching in Polycarp's *Epistle*, ch. 7, where he urges confession of Jesus Christ come in the flesh, echoing 1 Jn 4[2]. Polycarp's teacher, Ignatius of Antioch, has much more to say on the lines of the developed teaching about the person of Christ in opposition to Docetic heresy. Thus he writes to the Ephesians (ch. 7): 'There is one only physician, of flesh and of spirit, generate and ingenerate, God in man, true Life in death, Son of Mary and Son of God, first passible and then impassible, Jesus Christ our Lord.' This is a good illustration of the way in which the simple primitive creed was analyzed to meet new phases of thought which were felt to impoverish its full meaning. But there is great risk in the attempts which have been made to extract a full parallel with a later baptismal creed, such as the Old Roman, from passages like the following. Ignatius writes to the Trallians (ch. 9): 'Be ye deaf therefore, when any man speaketh to you apart from Jesus Christ, who was of the race of David, who was the Son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died in the sight of those in heaven, and those on earth, and those under the earth; who moreover was truly raised from the dead, His Father having raised Him, who in the like fashion will so raise us also who believe on Him—His Father, I say, will raise us—in Christ Jesus, apart from whom we have not true life.' It is reasonable to argue from this and similar passages (*ad Eph.* 18, *ad Smyrn.* 1) that for purposes of catechetical instruction Christian teachers would soon prepare a precise statement of the great facts of the Lord's life and death and resurrection. But there is no evidence that it had as yet been fitted into the setting of the Trinitarian baptismal formula. Ignatius expresses his faith in the Trinity—'in the Son, and in the Father, and in the Spirit' (*ad Magn.* 13; cf. 2 Co 13[14])—clearly enough. But he does not bring it into connexion with his confession of Christ.

From a study of Ignatius we may work backwards to the problem of the confession of faith in the Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul. We are not concerned here to defend their authenticity, but only to ask whether it is possible to extract from them, as Zahn attempts to do, an Apostolic Creed of Antioch. St. Paul reminds Timothy of the confession which he made before many witnesses, we may suppose at his baptism (1 Ti 6[12]). He calls it the beautiful confession to which Christ Jesus has borne witness before Pontius Pilate, and charges Timothy 'before God, who quickeneth all things, to keep the commandment undefiled, irreproachable, until the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The reference is to the Lord's avowal that He was a King (Jn 18[36]). The word 'confession' seems to draw attention to the fact that He confessed rather than to any form of words. In the *Martyrdom of Ignatius*, ch. 1, it is referred to the martyrdom of one who witnesses by bloodshedding—that is to say, in deed, not in word.

'A form of sound words' was indeed needed by Timothy as a teacher, and he is exhorted to teach as he had been taught (2 Ti 1[13]), 'in faith and love which is in Christ Jesus.' 'Remember Jesus Christ, risen from the dead, of the seed of David, according to my gospel' (2[8]). We can safely say that that gospel included teaching about God who quickeneth all things, reference to Pontius Pilate, to the resurrection, and to the return to judgment; but the inference is most precarious by which Zahn puts them all into the creed with confession of the Holy Spirit, who is named in 2 Ti 1[14], but not with emphatic correlation of His Person to the Persons of the Father and the Son (cf. 1 Ti 6[13]). The thought is rather that of 1 Co 12[3], quoted

above, where St. Paul teaches that it is under the influence of the Spirit that any man confesses Jesus as the Lord.

It is very unsafe in the face of these reflexions to restore an Apostolic Creed of the NT as several writers have attempted to do. A. Seeberg of Dorpat (*Der Katechismus der Urchristenheit*, 1903) suggests the following as a reconstruction of St. Paul's creed: 'The living God who created all things sent his Son, Jesus Christ, born of the seed of David, who died for our sins according to the Scriptures, and was buried, who was raised the third day according to the Scriptures and appeared to Cephas and the Twelve, who sat at the right hand of God in the heavens, all rules and authorities and powers being made subject unto him, and is coming on the clouds of heaven with power and great glory.' This is much less like the earliest forms of developed creed both in East and West than Harnack's more famous reconstruction of 'our oldest creed,' which he was careful to explain 'is not a creed that was ever used or ever likely to be used': 'I believe in (one) God Almighty, in Christ Jesus, His Son, our Lord, who was born of a Virgin, under Pontius Pilate suffered (crucified), and rose again (from the dead), sat on the right hand of God, whence He is coming (in glory) to judge living and dead, and in the Holy Ghost.'*

It is important, however, to remember that the fact of confession is of greater importance than any form in which it is made. Of that there is no doubt. It comes out incidentally in a passage about idol meats, where St. Paul implies that it is not the eating of flesh in itself, but with the open confession, 'I am a Christian,' that makes the difference (Ro 14^{14}). Again, it is not generally understood that one form of the interfering with other men's matters spoken of by St. Peter (1 P $4^{15f.}$) might be the pressing forward with open confession of Christianity during another man's trial. Such unwholesome fanaticism under the cloak of zeal began early. On the other hand, the definite teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews takes a sad tone when the writer thinks of recent acts of apostasy. If, as von Dobschütz thinks, the Epistles to Timothy represent the transition to Catholicism, the exhortations to fearless confession may be explained by opposition to a Gnosticism that fought shy of confession (2 Ti 1^{8} 2^{3}). In this case, the apostle who was not ashamed of his bonds might certainly appear to his successors a pattern putting them to shame (1^{12} $2^{9ff.}$ $4^{6ff.}$). But we need not wait for 2nd cent. Gnosticism to suggest motives for cowardice. The temptation is rife in every generation. In Revelation the condition of the churches varies widely, but it is only the Church of Philadelphia which sets the pattern of joyous confession coupled with active missionary zeal ($3^{7ff.}$). Such joy is also expressed in Clem. *ad Cor.* 5, 6, some words of which may fitly conclude this part of our subject:

'Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. There was Peter, who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one nor two but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul by his example pointed out the prize of patient endurance. . . . Unto these men of holy lives was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who through many indignities and tortures, being the victims of jealousy, set a brave example among ourselves.'

LITERATURE.—A. Harnack, *Hist. of Dogma*, Eng. tr., 1894–99; F. Kattenbusch, *Das apostol. Symbol*, Leipzig, 1894–1900; H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, 1894; C. H. Turner, *Hist. and Use of Creeds*, 1906; A. E. Burn, *An Introd. to the Creeds*, 1899.

2. Confession of sin.—In the Apostolic Age this had its root in ancient Jewish practice. The ceremonial of the Day of Atonement, the confessions in the Books of Ezra and Daniel, the Penitential Psalms must be remembered when we reflect on the confessions made publicly by disciples of John the Baptist. The language of penitence lay in the OT ready for use when John's fervent appeal stirred the consciences of men into self-accusation. Among these men were reckoned some of the chief apostles of Christ.

(1) *Confession to God.*—The repentance demanded from all candidates for Christian baptism (Ac 2^{38}) must have included confession of sins as a necessary element, in private if not in public. The teaching of 1 Jn 1^{9} expressly makes it a condition of forgiveness. St. Paul's teaching on repentance leaves no doubt that he also regarded it as a primary duty. For him conscience was supreme arbiter. No troubled conscience can find relief save in full acknowledgment of fault.

(2) *Confession before men.*—This brings us to a more difficult problem. In 1 Jn 1^{9} confession of sins is connected with the Divine blessing, and the word implies open acknowledgment in the face of men. But nothing is said as to the mode, though it is implied that it will be definite and specific, not in mere general terms. St. Paul is represented as receiving many confessions publicly at Ephesus (Ac 19^{18}), when many 'came, confessing, and declaring their deeds,' and there was a bonfire of books of magic. The case of discipline at Corinth, when St. Paul was constrained to condemn a brother so sternly for incest, led to public confession not only by him but also by those who had been implicated in shielding him (2 Co 7^{11}). St. James records, it would seem, the practice of the Church in Jerusalem in relation to visits of the elders of the Church to sick persons whom they anointed with prayer: 'Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed' (Ja 5^{16}). The word ἁμαρτίας refers to sins against God, though it may include sins against neighbours. Much has been made of Cardinal Cajetan's opinion that this does not relate to sacramental confession (*Epp. S. Pauli*, Paris, 1532, f. ccxii). But however limited be the meaning put on the words, *e.g.* by Mayor (*Epistle of James*[3], 1910, p. 175), who supposes reference 'merely to such mutual confidences as would give a right direction to the prayers offered,' the practice in the sickroom corresponds to the common practice of the Church in the next generation.

Both Clement and Hermas witness to the custom of public confession. Clement writes to the Corinthians (57): 'Ye therefore that laid the foundation of the sedition, submit yourselves unto the presbyters and receive chastisement unto repentance, bending the knees of your heart.' We must interpret these words in the light of others, *e.g.* ch. 51: 'For it is good for a man to make confession of his trespasses rather than to harden his heart' (cf. ch. 54). Hermas, the prophet, tells us bluntly in the *Shepherd* of the confessions of untruthfulness and dishonesty which he was constrained to make publicly (*Mand.* iii. 3). He was constrained also to confess neglect of his home, double-mindedness, and doubts. It is no ideal picture which he draws of his own conduct or of the life of his fellow-Christians. But, as von Dobschütz says, these confessions reveal 'the magnificent moral earnestness of the man, and not of him only, but of the Christianity of his time' (*Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, p. 315). The *Epistle of Barnabas* is evidence for the preciseness with which the Church in Alexandria at the end of the 1st cent. interpreted the Moral Law. The writer teaches definitely: 'Thou shalt confess thy sins' (ch. 19), and also speaks of the spiritual counsel which one is to give to another: 'Be good lawgivers one to another; continue faithful counsellors to yourselves; take away from you all hypocrisy' (ch. 21).

* A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole*[3], Breslau, 1897, p. 390.

Ignatius of Antioch, writing to the Philadelphians (ch. 8), regards the bishop with his council as in charge of the discipline of the Church: 'Now the Lord forgiveth all men when they repent, if repenting they return to the unity of God and to the council of the bishop.'

These hints about the public penitential system of the primitive Church do not carry us very far, but they certainly prepare us for the famous description given by Tertullian, which applies no doubt to the practice at the beginning, as at the end, of the 2nd century.

'This confession is a disciplinary act of great humiliation and prostration of the man; it regulates the dress, the food; it enjoins sackcloth and ashes; it defiles the body with dust, and subdues the spirit with anguish; it bids a man alter his life, and sorrow for past sin; it restricts meat and drink to the greatest simplicity possible; it nourishes prayer by fasting; it inculcates groans and tears and invocations of the Lord God day and night, and teaches the penitent to cast himself at the feet of the presbyters, and to fall on his knees before the beloved of God, and to beg of all the brethren to intercede on his behalf' (*de Pœn.* ch. 9).

LITERATURE.—E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*. Eng. tr., 1904; N. Marshall, *The Penitential Discipline of the Primitive Church*, new ed., 1844.

A. E. BURN.

CONFIDENCE.—The term 'confidence' ('confident,' 'confidently') is in the RV of the NT almost wholly confined to the Pauline Epistles, the only exception being He 3[14]. In AV it renders *παρρησία* of 1 Jn 2[28] and 5[14], but is replaced in RV by 'boldness' (*q.v.*). The verb *θαρρεῖν* of 2 Co 5[6f.] in AV is rendered by 'to be confident'; in RV 'to be of good courage' is substituted. In RV of 1 Ti 1[7] and Tit 3[8] *διαβεβαιοῦσθαι* is now rendered 'confidently affirm.' In both AV and RV 'confidence' is three times employed to render the difficult and many-sided word *ὑπόστασις* (2 Co 9[4] 11[17] He 3[14]).

The words, however, that most concern us here are *πεποιθέναι*, 'to be confident,' and *πεποίθησις*, 'confidence,' the latter being in the NT an exclusively Pauline word and found only once in the LXX (2 K 18[19]). They both belong to the language of deep personal feeling, and it is not surprising that they appear more frequently in 2 Cor. and Phil. than in all the other Epistles put together. The confidence cherished by St. Paul is a state of mind springing out of faith and rising to the firm persuasion that God's purposes with himself, with his converts, and with all that pertains to the kingdom of Christ are right and cannot fail of accomplishment. In this 'confidence' he enjoys his boldness in Christ and access through Christ to God (Eph 3[12]). He is 'confident of this very thing, that he which began a good work in you will perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1[6]). His 'confidence' as regards himself (Ph 2[24], AV and RV 'trust'), and as regards his converts and their compliance with his counsels, is in God (Gal 5[10], 2 Th 3[4], Philem[21]). It comes from union with Christ, and has God for its ultimate goal (2 Co 3[4]). Clement in *1 Corinthians* (xxvi. 1) speaks of those who have served God religiously 'in the confidence of an honest faith.' He mentions, too, many wonderful gifts of God—'life in immortality, splendour in righteousness, truth in boldness, faith in confidence, and temperance in sanctification' (xxxv. 2).

Whilst there is such a confidence, there is also a confidence which is misplaced—confidence in ourselves (Ro 2[19], 2 Co 1[9]), in the flesh (Ph 3[3f.]), the confidence of which Hermas says (*Sim.* ix. 22. 3) that 'vain confidence is a great demon.'

T. NICOL.

CONFIRMATION.—(*a*) The word 'confirm' in the NT sometimes represents *στηρίζω* or *ἐπιστηρίζω*, used of the strengthening of Christians, of love, faith, etc., in Ac 14[22] 15[32. 41]; cf. 18[23] (RV 'stablish,' AV 'strengthen'). *στηρίζω* is usually (about 12 times) translated 'stablish' or 'establish' (in Lk 16[26] it is used of the 'fixing' of a gulf).—(*b*) 'Confirm' and 'confirmation' are used to translate *βεβαιόω* and *βεβαίωσις* in Ro 15[8], 1 Co 1[6. 8], He 2[3] 6[16], Ph 1[7], 'Mk' 16[20], with the same meaning. The same Gr. verb is rendered 'stablish' or 'establish' in 2 Co 1[21], Col 2[7], He 13[9].—(*c*) 'Confirm' is the word used for *κυρόω* or *προκυρόω* in connexion with a covenant or will (Gal 3[15. 17], which may refer to what we should call 'registration'; see W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Com. on Galatians*, 1899, p. 354); in 2 Co 2[8] it is used of love.—(*d*) In Tit 3[8] *διαβεβαιόω* is translated 'affirm.' In He 6[17] *μεσιτεύω* is rendered in AV 'confirm,' in RV and AVm 'interpose,' in RVm 'mediate.'

For the rite of confirmation, see BAPTISM, §§ 6, 8.

A. J. MACLEAN.

CONGREGATION.—In Tindale's Version (1534) and in Cranmer's (1539) 'congregation' was used instead of 'church' to translate both *ἐκκλησία* and *συναγωγή*. But Wyclif had used 'church,' and the Geneva Version, followed by AV, reverted to it. RV, with one exception, has 'church' exclusively in the text, though in several places 'congregation' appears in the margin. The exception is He 2[12], where in the quotation from Ps 22[25] 'congregation' is in the text and 'church' in the margin. F. J. A. Hort (*The Christian Ecclesia*, London, 1897) chose 'Ecclesia' as a word free from the disturbing associations of 'church' and 'congregation,' though the latter has not only historical standing (as above) but also the advantage of suggesting some of these elements of meaning which are least forcibly brought out by the word 'church' according to our present use (cf. *ExpT* viii. [1896-97] 386). So far, however, as there is any substantive difference between the two words as found in the English Bible, the 'congregation' of RVm points to an actual church assembled in one place.

In the NT *ἐκκλησία* naturally designates the *Christian* Church. The associations of *συναγωγή* were against its Christian use, though it is retained in Ja 2[2] to describe an assembly of Jewish-Christians; but this is explained by the destination of the letter—'to the twelve tribes which are of the Dispersion.'

In St. Paul's address to the elders of Miletus (Ac 20[17]) we see the old Jewish *συναγωγή* in the process of passing into the more distinctively Christian *ἐκκλησία*. He quotes Ps 74[2] 'Remember thy congregation which thou didst purchase of old'; but for the LXX *συναγωγή* he puts *ἐκκλησία*. Thus in the Apostle's hands this passage becomes 'one of the channels through which the word "ecclesia" came to denote God's people of the future' (*ExpT* viii. 387). Cf. also art. ASSEMBLY; and, for the Heb. and Gr. terms in the OT, art. 'Congregation' in *HDB*.

W. M. GRANT.

CONSCIENCE (*συνείδησις*).—**1. The word and its history.**—Both the Lat. *conscientia*, from which 'conscience' is derived, and the Gr. *συνείδησις*, of which it is the invariable rendering in the NT, have originally the more general meaning of 'consciousness'—the knowledge of any mental state. Down to the 17th cent., as the AV itself bears witness, 'conscience' too was sometimes used in this wider sense. In 1 Co 8[7] 'conscience of the idol,' and in He 10[2] 'conscience of sins,' would now be better rendered 'consciousness.' Some exegetes would prefer 'consciousness' to 'conscience' in 1 P 2[19] 'conscience toward (*or* of) God.' With these exceptions, 'conscience' in the NT denotes not consciousness generally, but the moral faculty in particular—that power by which we apprehend moral truth and recognize it as having the authority of moral law. The history of the words 'conscience,' *con-*

scientia, *συνειδησις*, shows that it is entirely fanciful to suppose on etymological grounds that the prefixes *con* and *συν* point to the subject's joint knowledge along with God Himself. The joint knowledge denoted is knowledge with oneself, a self-knowledge or self-consciousness in which the inner 'I' comes forward as a witness. This does not, of course, exclude the further view that, as man is made in the image of God, and as his individual personality is rooted in that of the absolute moral Ruler, the testimony of conscience actually is the voice of God bearing witness in the soul to the reality and authority of moral truth.

It is a significant fact that the word 'conscience' is nowhere found in the OT text, though in Ec 10^{20} both AV and RV give it in the margin as an alternative for 'thought,' to represent the Heb. יָדַע, which LXX here renders by *συνειδησις*. In ancient Israel it was an external law, not an inward lawgiver, that held the seat of authority; and though the prophets addressed their appeals to the moral sense of their hearers (cf. Mic 6^{8}), they furnished no doctrine of conscience. Nor does the word occur either in the Synoptics or the Fourth Gospel; for the clause of Jn 8^{9} where it is found does not belong to the correct text (see RV). Jesus in His teaching constantly addresses Himself to the conscience, and clearly refers to it when He speaks of 'the light that is in thee' (Mt 6^{23}, Lk 11^{35}), but His mission was to illumine and quicken the moral faculty by the revelation He brought, not to analyze it, or define it, or lay down a doctrine on the subject. In the Acts and Epistles, however, the effects of the revelation in Christ become apparent. We have the word 'conscience' 31 times in AV and 30 times in RV—the latter reading *συνηθεία* for *συνειδήσει* in 1 Co 8^{7}. Heb. has it 5 times and 1 Pet. thrice; with these exceptions it is a Pauline word. There are anticipations of the NT use of it in the Apocrypha (Wis 17^{11}, Sir 14^{2}, 2 Mac 6^{11}), and suggestions for St. Paul's treatment of it in contemporary Greek teaching, and especially in the moral philosophy of the Stoics. But it was Christian faith that raised it out of the region of ethical abstraction and set it on a throne of living power.

2. The NT doctrine.—(1) *The nature of conscience.*—According to its etymology, conscience is a strictly cognitive power—the power of apprehending moral truth; and writers of the intuitional school frequently restrict the use of the term to this one meaning (cf. Calderwood, *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, p. 78). Popularly, however, conscience has a much wider connotation, including moral judgments and moral feelings as well as immediate intuitions of right and wrong; and it is evident that in the NT the word is employed in this larger sense so as to include the whole of the moral nature. When conscience is said to 'bear witness' (Ro 2^{15} 9^{1}) or to give 'testimony' (2 Co 1^{12}), it is the clear and direct shining of the inner light that is referred to. When it is described as 'weak' or over-scrupulous (1 Co $8^{7.\ 10.\ 12}$), and is contrasted by implication with a conscience that is strong and walks at liberty, the reference is to those diversities of opinion on moral subjects which are due to variations of judgment in the application of mutually acknowledged first principles. When it is spoken of on the one hand as 'good' (1 Ti $1^{5.\ 19}$, He 13^{18}, 1 P $3^{16.\ 21}$) or 'void of offence toward God and men' (Ac 24^{16}), and on the other as 'defiled' (1 Co 8^{7}), 'wounded' (v.^{12}), 'evil' (He 10^{22}), 'seared (*or* branded) with a hot iron' (1 Ti 4^{2}), the writers are thinking of those pleasant or painful moral feelings which follow upon obedience or disobedience to moral law, or of that deadness to all feeling which falls upon those who have persistently shut their ears to the inward voice and turned the light that is in them into darkness.

The fundamental passage for the Pauline doctrine is Ro $2^{14.\ 15}$. The Apostle here seems to lay down as unquestionable, (*a*) that there is a Divine law written by Nature on the heart of every man, whether Jew or Gentile; (*b*) that conscience is the moral faculty which bears witness to that law; (*c*) that in the light of that witness there is an exercise of the thoughts or reasonings (*λογισμοί*), in other words, of the moral judgment; (*d*) that, as the result of this judgment before the inward bar, men are subject to the feelings of moral self-approval or self-reproach. Covering in this passage the whole ground of the moral nature of man, St. Paul appears to distinguish conscience as the witness-bearing faculty from the moral judgments and moral feelings that accompany its testimony. But elsewhere, as has been already shown, he frequently speaks of conscience in that larger sense which makes it correspond not only with the immediate apprehension of moral truth, but with the judgments based upon the truth thus revealed, and the sentiments of satisfaction or dissatisfaction to which these judgments give rise.

(2) *The authority of conscience.*—However men differ in their theories as to the nature and origin of the moral faculty, there is general agreement as to the authority of the moral law which it enjoins. Few will be found to challenge Butler's famous assertion of the supremacy of conscience: 'Had it strength as it has right, had it power as it has manifest authority, it would absolutely govern the world' (*Serm.* ii.). And while adherents of the sensational school of ethics may dispute Kant's right to describe the imperative of morality as 'categorical' in its nature (*Metaphysic of Ethics*, p. 31), even they will not seek to qualify his apostrophe to duty (p. 120) or the exalted language in which he describes the solemn majesty of the Moral Law (p. 108). For the NT authors conscience is supreme, and it is supreme because in its very nature it is an organ through which God speaks to reveal His will. In the case of the natural man it testifies to a Divine law which is written on the heart (Ro 2^{15}); in the case of the Christian man this law of Nature is reinforced by a vital union with Jesus Christ (Gal 2^{20}) and by the assenting witness of the Holy Spirit (Ro 9^{1}). The claim of right which Butler makes on behalf of conscience is transformed for St. Paul into a law of power. The pure and loyal Christian conscience *has* might as it has right; it not only legislates but governs. What the law could not do in that it was weak through the flesh, is actually fulfilled in those who take Christ to be the companion of their conscience and who walk not after the flesh but after the spirit.

In Acts we have many examples of the way in which conscience, in Butler's words, 'magisterially exerts itself' in the case alike of bad men and of good. The suicide of Judas (1^{18}; cf. Mt $27^{3ff.}$), the heart-pricks of the men of Jerusalem under St. Peter's preaching (2^{37}), the claim of St. Peter and St. John that they must obey God rather than men (4^{19} 5^{29}), Saul's experience that it was hard to kick against the pricks (9^{5}), Felix trembling as St. Paul reasoned of righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come (24^{25})—all these are examples of the authority of conscience. And what in Acts we see practically exemplified is laid down in the Epistles as a matter of rule and doctrine. St. Paul enjoins submission to the civil authority (Ro $13^{1ff.}$), but vindicates its right to govern on the ground of the higher authority of conscience (v.^{5}). The writer of Heb. represents the sin-convicting conscience as a sovereign power which impelled men to lay their gifts and sacrifices on the altar, but was never satisfied until Jesus Christ 'through the eternal Spirit offered himself without blemish

unto God' (He $9^{9.14}$ $10^{2.22}$). St. Peter teaches that, in a matter of conscience before God, men must be willing to 'endure griefs, suffering wrongfully' (1 P 2^{19}). Nor is it only the personal conscience whose dignity and supremacy must be acknowledged; a like reverence is to be shown for the conscience of others. St. Paul sought to commend himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God (2 Co 4^{2}; cf. 5^{11}). He taught that the exercise of Christian liberty must be limited by regard for another's conscience (1 Co 10^{29}), and that even when that conscience is weak, it must not be wounded or bewildered or defiled ($8^{7.10.12}$) lest the other's sense of moral responsibility should thereby be impaired.

The *source* of this magisterial authority of conscience is represented by the NT writers as lying altogether in the Divine will, of which conscience is the instrument. For St. Paul conscience is not an individualized reflexion of social opinion, nor a subtle compound of feelings evolved in the course of the long struggle for existence, nor yet a mysterious faculty that claims to regulate the life of man by virtue of some right inherent in its own nature. Its authority is that of a judge, who sits on the bench as the representative of a law that is higher than himself. Its function is to bear witness to the law of God (Ro 2^{15} 9^{1}, 2 Co 1^{12}); its commendation is a commendation in His sight (2 Co 4^{2}); its accusation is an anticipation of the day when He shall judge the secrets of men (Ro $2^{15.16}$). Similarly for St. Peter a matter of conscience is a question of 'conscience toward God' (1 P 2^{19}). Some commentators would render *συνείδησις θεοῦ* in this verse by 'consciousness of God'; and the very ambiguity of the expression may suggest that in the Apostle's view conscience is really a God-consciousness in the sphere of morality, as faith is a God-consciousness in the sphere of religion.

(3) *Varieties of conscience.*—What has just been said as to the absolute and universal authority of conscience may seem difficult to reconcile with the distinctions made by the NT writers between consciences of very varied types. There are consciences that are weak and timid, and others that are strong and free (1 Co $8^{7ff.}$). A conscience may be 'void of offence' (Ac 24^{16}), or it may be defiled and wounded (1 Co $8^{7.12}$, Tit 1^{15}). It may be good (1 Ti $1^{5.19}$, He 13^{18}, 1 P $3^{16.21}$), or it may be evil (He 10^{22}). It may be pure (1 Ti 3^{9}, 2 Ti 1^{3}), or in need of cleansing (He 9^{14}). It may possess that clear moral sense which discerns intuitively both good and evil (He 5^{14}), or it may be 'seared with a hot iron' (1 Ti 4^{2}) and condemned to that judicial blindness to which nothing is pure (Tit 1^{15}). The explanation of the difficulties raised by such language lies in the fact already noted that 'conscience' in the NT is used to denote not the power of moral vision only, but the moral judgment and the moral feelings. As the organ which discerns the Moral Law, conscience has the authority of that law itself; its voice is the voice of God. It leaves us in no doubt as to the reality of moral distinctions; it assures us that right is right and wrong is wrong, and that 'to him that knoweth to do good and doeth it not, to him it is sin' (Ja 4^{17}). But for the application to particular cases of the general law of duty thus revealed, men must depend upon their moral judgments; and moral judgments are liable to error just as other judgments are. It was a want of 'knowledge' that led some in the Corinthian Church to shrink from eating meat that had been offered to an idol (1 Co 8^{7}), and a consequent mistake of judgment when they came to the conclusion that such eating was wrong. Their consciences were weak because their moral judgments were weak. And as the result of their weakness in the decision of moral questions, their moral feelings were misdirected, and so their consciences were stained and wounded by acts in which a man of more enlightened conscience saw no harm. Similarly, when a conscience is said to be 'good' or 'pure' or 'void of offence,' the reference is to the sense of peace and moral harmony with God and man which comes to one who has loyally obeyed the dictates of the Moral Law; while an uncleansed or evil conscience is one on which there rests the burden and pain of sin that is unatoned for and unforgiven. A 'seared' or 'branded' conscience, again, may point to the case of those in whom abuse of the moral nature has led to a perversion of the moral judgment and a deadening of the moral sentiments. Compare what St. Paul says of those whose understanding is darkened, whose hearts are hardened, and who are now 'past feeling' (Eph 4^{18}).

(4) *The education of conscience.*—Some intuitionalists have held that conscience, being an infallible oracle, is incapable of education; and Kant's famous utterance, 'An erring conscience is a chimera' (*op. cit.* p. 206), has often been quoted in this connexion. But it is only in a theoretical and ideal sense that the truth of the saying can be admitted—only when the word of conscience is taken to be nothing less and nothing more than the voice of God, and its light to be in very reality His 'revealing and appealing look' (J. Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion*[3], London, 1891, p. 71). In the NT, however, as in general usage, 'conscience' is not restricted to the intuitive discernment of the difference between right and wrong, but is applied to the whole moral nature of man; and when understood in this way there can be no question that it shares in the general weakness of human nature, and that it is both capable of education and constantly in need of an educative discipline. The distinction made by the NT writers between a good and an evil conscience implies the need of education; their moral precepts imply its possibility. St. Paul says that he 'exercised himself' to have a conscience void of offence toward God and men (Ac 24^{16}); the author of Heb. speaks of those who 'by reason of use have their senses exercised to discern both good and evil' (5^{14}).

In various aspects the necessity for this exercise or training of the moral faculty comes before us. Even as a power of intuition or vision by which the Moral Law is discerned, conscience is capable of improvement. Ignorance darkens it (Eph 4^{18}), sin defiles it (Tit 1^{15}); and only an eye that is purged and enlightened can see clearly. 'My conscience is nott so,' said Queen Mary to Knox. 'Conscience, Madam,' he replied, 'requyres knowledge; and I fear that rycht knowledge ye have none' (Knox, *Works*, ed. Laing, Edinburgh, 1864, ii. 283). But conscience is also a faculty of moral judgment, and in moral matters, as in other matters, human judgments go astray. The 'weak' conscience is the natural accompaniment of the weak and narrow mind (1 Co 8^{7}); a selfish and impure heart usually compounds with its conscience for the sins to which it is inclined, and a conscience that accepts hush-money is apt to grow dumb until contact with another conscience stronger and purer than itself makes it vocal once more (Ac 24^{25}). Moral sentiments, again, gather around a false judgment as readily as around a true. Christ's apostles were killed by men who thought that they were thereby doing God service (Jn 16^{2}), and St. Paul himself once believed it to be his duty 'to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth' (Ac 26^{9}). In such cases persecution to the death carried no self-reproach with it, but a sense of moral complacency.

Granting, then, that conscience needs to be educated, how, according to the NT, is the work to

be done? Three ways are especially suggested—the ways of knowledge, obedience, and love; in other words, the way of the mind, the way of the will, and the way of the heart. (*a*) Knox said to Queen Mary that conscience requires *knowledge*; and that is what St. Paul also taught (1 Co 8^{7}). Before the man of God can be 'furnished completely unto every good work' he has need of 'instruction in righteousness' (2 Ti $3^{16.17}$). Education of this kind can be obtained from many masters, but the best teachers of all are Scriptures inspired of God (*ib.*). St. Paul's own Epistles are full of instruction as regards both the broad principles of Christian ethics and their application under varying circumstances to all the details of personal, family, and social life. And in the teaching of Christ Himself, above all in that Sermon on the Mount whose echoes are heard so frequently in the Epistle of James, enlightenment comes to the human conscience through the revelation of the fundamental laws of the Divine Kingdom.

(*b*) Conscience is educated, in the next place, by *obedience* to the Divine law when that law is recognized. It is the use of knowledge already possessed that exercises the senses to keener moral discernment (He 5^{14}); it is the man who is willing to do God's will who comes to know the Divine voice whenever he hears it (Jn 7^{17}). The ethics of the NT are not the ingenious elaboration of a beautiful but abstract moral scheme; they are practical through and through. Christians are called upon to acknowledge not the right of conscience only, but its might; they are commanded everywhere to bring their dispositions, desires, passions, and habits into captivity to its obedience. To follow Christ is to have the light of life (Jn 8^{12}); while to hate one's brother is to walk in darkness with blinded eyes, and so to lose the knowledge of the way (1 Jn 2^{11}; cf. Jn 12^{35}). Obedience, in short, is the organ of spiritual knowledge (cf. F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, 2nd ser., new ed., London, 1875, no. viii.). A good conscience goes with a pure heart (1 Ti 1^{5}). But sin so perverts and blinds the inward eye that the very light that is in us is darkness (Mt 6^{23}).

(*c*) But something more is required before the education of conscience is complete. Knowledge is much, and the will to obedience is more, but what if the power of *love* be wanting? In that case the conscience will not be void of offence toward God and men. According to the NT writers the conscience must be set free by being delivered from the sense of guilt through the atoning power of Christ's sacrifice (He 9^{14} 10^{22}); it must learn its close dependence upon the mystery of faith (1 Ti 3^{9}; cf. 1^{19}); it must be taught that love out of a pure heart and a good conscience and faith unfeigned are 'the end of the charge' and the fulfilling of the law (1^{5}). To be perfectly educated, in short, a conscience must experience the constraining and transforming power of the love of Christ, in whom men are new creatures, so that old things are passed away and all things are become new (2 Co $5^{14.17}$). Thus, in the view of the NT writers, ethics passes into religion, and the Christian conscience is the conscience of one who lives the life of faith and love, and who can say with St. Paul, 'I live, and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me' (Gal 2^{20}).

LITERATURE.—J. Butler, *Analogy and Sermons*, London, 1852, Sermons ii. iii.; I. Kant, *Metaphysic of Ethics*, Eng. tr., 1869, p. 245 ff.; T. H. Green, *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Oxford, 1883, p. 342 ff.; H. Calderwood, *Handbook of Moral Philosophy*, London, 1872, pt. i.; H. Martensen, *Christian Ethics*, Edinburgh, 1881–82, i. 356 ff.; Newman Smyth, *Christian Ethics*, do. 1892, index *s.v.*; *HDB*, art. 'Conscience'; *PRE*^{3}, art. 'Gewissen'; B. Weiss, *NT Theol.*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1882–83, i 476, ii. 40, 211.

J. C. LAMBERT.

CONSECRATE, CONSECRATION.—The word 'consecrate' occurs twice in the AV of Hebrews (7^{28} 10^{20}). In the first passage it is the translation of *τετελειωμένον*; in the second of *ἐνεκαίνισεν*. In neither case is the translation quite suitable.

1. He 7^{28}: *υἱὸν εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τετελειωμένον.* Full consideration of *τελειόω* would encroach on the art. PERFECT (*q.v.*); but there are certain special points connected with this passage that may usefully be noted. *τελειοῦν τὰς χεῖρας* is frequently used in the LXX, but only in the Pentateuch (Ex $29^{9.29.33.35}$ [Lv 4^{5}] 8^{33} 16^{32}, Nu 3^{3}), to translate the obscure Hebrew phrase *millē' yādh*='fill the hand,' *i.e.* 'consecrate' (a priest). Elsewhere in the Pentateuch and Historical Books (once in Ezekiel [43^{26}]) parts of *πληρόω, ἐμπίπλημι, πίμπλημι* are employed. *τελείωσις* is used alone (Ex $29^{22.26.27.31.34}$, Lv 7^{37} $8^{22.28.29.31.33}$ 9^{33}) for the Heb. *millû'îm* (='consecration' [RV]). In Lv 21^{10} *τετελειωμένος* is used without the rest of the phrase='consecrated,' although many MSS supply *τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ*. These last uses would at least point to the conclusion that *τελειόω* and *τελείωσις* tended to become semi-technical terms for the consecration of the priest, having originally been used to translate the verb in the Heb. phrase, which is quite obscure. Most probably its original sense is suggested in the corresponding Assyr. *kâtû mullû*='hand over to one (or make one responsible for) a person or thing or office' (cf. F. Delitzsch, *Assyr. Handwörterbuch*, 1896, p. 409^{b}: 'Rammanirari, whom Asur has *endowed* with a dominion incomparable'; and *HDB* iv. 71^{a}).

It follows, then, that He 7^{28} and the other passages where *τελειόω* occurs (see art. PERFECT) indicate that the writer is making use of a technical expression and, in harmony with his system of thought, hellenizing it (cf. Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911, p. 427). There can be little doubt that in Hebrews *τελειόω* is used in the Aristotelian sense of bringing to the *τέλος* or final end. Jesus, as High Priest, is 'perfected' for evermore, as distinct from the *τελείωσις* of the Aaronic priesthood. There can be no idea of a moral development in character. Jesus is 'perfected [and there is also the further idea of exaltation to office] for evermore' in the sense that He is endowed with an experience of human suffering in life and in death (He 4^{15}); so A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews* (*Handbooks for Bible Classes*), pp. 145 f., 207 f.; von Soden, *Hebräerbrief*^{3} (*Handkommentar zum NT*, Tübingen, 1899), p. 28 n.; but cf. A. B. Bruce, *Hebrews*, 1899, p. 283 ff.; M. Dods, *EGT*, 'Hebrews,' 1910, pp. 265, 319, who argue for the sense of moral perfecting.

2. He 10^{20}: *τὴν εἴσοδον . . . ἣν ἐνεκαίνισεν ἡμῖν ὁδὸν πρόσφατον καὶ ζῶσαν διὰ τοῦ καταπετάσματος.* *ἐγκαινίζω* is used also in He 9^{18}. In AV of 10^{20} the word is 'consecrated,' and in 9^{18} 'dedicated.' In RV in both cases 'dedicated' is used. In the LXX *ἐγκαινίζω* is used to translate two Heb. words, *ḥānakh* ('initiate,' 'consecrate,' Dt 20^{5}, 1 K 8^{63}) and *ḥiddēsh* ('renew,' 'make anew,' 1 S 11^{14}, 2 Ch 15^{8}, Ps 50^{12}). *ἐγκαινίζω* in He 10^{20} might seem to combine both meanings, implying that some kind of way existed before (cf. Sir 33 [36]^{6}). In He 9^{18}, also, the word means simply 'inaugurate,' unless the pre-existence of a covenant is supposed (cf. $9^{20.23}$) before the ceremony of vv.$^{19-21}$. That the sense of 'renewal,' however, is strongly emphasized is seen also in the use of *πρόσφατον* ('fresh,' 'hitherto untrodden'). *ζῶσαν* implies 'a way that really leads and carries all who enter it into the heavenly rest,' as opposed to 'a lifeless pavement trodden by the high priest, and by him alone' (Delitzsch, *Hebrews*, Eng. tr., ii. [1870] 171). It also implies a way that would never become old, worn, or obsolete. *ἣν* must be taken as referring to *εἴσοδος*. Jesus has, by bursting the veil of His flesh in death, 'inaugurated' a new entrance into the Presence of God (cf. Mk 15^{38}). The flesh of Jesus is regarded as symbolic

of the 'veil' or 'curtain' which was removed as the sacrificial blood was carried into the Holy of Holies. *ἐγκαινίζω* 'includes the motive of leading into life' (von Soden, *Hebräerbrief*[3], p. 64). Probably the literal idea of *εἴσοδος* (='entrance to a house') is also symbolically present (cf. Neh 3[1] [LXX]). The 'house' in this case is the Church, the new Temple (cf. *παῤῥησίαν*) in 10[19], and its use in 3[6] and 4[16] is opposed to the attitude of the *θεράπων* (3[5]). The feast of *ἐγκαίνια* (Jn 10[22]) was instituted by Judas Maccabæus (164 B.C.) in memory of the cleansing of the Temple from the pollution of Antiochus Epiphanes (1 Mac 4[59]).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the references in the course of the article, see R. W. Dale, *The Jewish Temple and the Christian Church*, 1902, pp. 144 ff., 231 ff.; F. Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*, 1903, p. 191 ff.; J. B. Mozley, *University Sermons*, 1900, p. 244 ff.; artt. *s.v.* in *DCG* (Tasker), *HDB* (Hastings), and *ERE* (Feltoe). R. H. STRACHAN.

CONSOLATION.—See COMFORT.

CONSPIRACY, PLOT.—The Gr. word translated 'conspiracy' (*συνωμοσία*) occurs only once in the NT (Ac 23[13]), but the thing for which it stands is much more frequent. In the OT the corresponding word (קֶשֶׁר) is fairly common, as also is the cognate verb קָשַׁר 'to make a conspiracy,' lit. 'to bind.' *συνωμοσία* means, literally, the mutual taking of an oath, and its etymological equivalent in Latin is *coniuratio*. Of this we have no strict equivalent in English, for 'conjure' means something quite different; 'conspiracy' is the working equivalent.

(1) The *συνωμοσία* of Ac 23[13] was entered into by 'more than forty' Jews with the object of killing St. Paul. To this end they tried to induce the 'chief captain' to bring him once more before the Sanhedrin—which had already entered upon his trial—that they might 'judge of his case more exactly.' Along the route the conspirators were to be lying in wait, and St. Paul would not reach the council-chamber alive. The scheme was frustrated by the vigilance and the intervention of 'Paul's sister's son' (v.[16f.]). The 'chief captain' at once decided to send his prisoner to Cæsarea under guard, and by night. This narrative is of special importance here for two reasons: (*a*) v.[30] states that the conspiracy was the sole reason why St. Paul was sent to the governor Felix at Cæsarea; and the consequences of that step extend to the end of the Acts. With this turning-point in the life of St. Paul, however, two other crises should be compared: (*α*) the earlier one described in Ac 22[21-22] (cf. Eph 3[1]; from Ac 22[22] onwards there might be said to be one chain of events leading to the prison house at Rome); (*β*) the later one described in Ac 25[10-12] 26[32] (the appeal to Cæsar). (*b*) In 23[30] the 'conspiracy' is spoken of as a '**plot**' (*i.e.* *συνωμοσία* is practically identified with *ἐπιβουλή*), and thus the NT passages which speak of an *ἐπιβουλή* (all referring to St. Paul) are brought within the scope of this article.

(2) The most important of these passages is Ac 20[19], where the Apostle speaks of the trials and temptations (*πειρασμοί*) which befell him by the plots (*ἐπιβουλαί*) of the Jews at Ephesus. They seem to have been many and grievous (cf. the 'tears,' v.[19]); notorious ('Ye yourselves know,' v.[18]); and probably additional to the opposition mentioned in Ac 19[9] ('speaking evil of the Way before the multitude'), and the troublesome competition of the 'strolling Jews, exorcists,' in 19[13f.]; certainly additional to the stirring up of disturbance by the 'combine' of Gentile idol-makers (19[24ff.]). If so, the fact that these many and grievous plots are not mentioned in ch. 19 shows how many there may have been elsewhere, which are likewise unmentioned. Others do find mention in 9[24] 20[3], where the Gr. is again *ἐπιβουλή*. Another instance occurs in 25[3], where 'lay wait' (RV)=*ἐνέδραν ποιεῖν*, with which compare *ἐνέδρα* (ambush) in 23[16] and *ἐνεδρεύειν* in 23[21].

(3) It is still necessary to mention at least three other conspiracies: (*a*) the trial of Stephen (Ac 6-7) turns on a plot which reveals numerous and close resemblances to the case of Jesus. In fair debate his opponents are silenced (6[10]); then false witnesses are 'suborned' (vv.[11-13]); the people also are 'stirred up' (v.[12]); and one of the accusations relates to threats directed against the 'holy place' (vv.[13-14]; cf. Mk 14[58]). This plot is the more important because Saul is declared to have been present at Stephen's martyrdom, to have agreed with it, and to have kept the clothes of those who threw the stones (Ac 7[58] 8[1] 22[20]); and he was very likely one of the worshippers at the Cilician synagogue in Jerusalem, mentioned in 6[9]. This martyrdom was probably one of the chief factors in impressing Saul, against his will, with some vague, and for a time unrecognized, feeling for the possible Divinity of the Church and faith of Jesus (note 6[10. 15] 7[55-56. 59-60]).

(*b*) In Gal 2[4] St. Paul speaks of an important conspiracy, but the grammatical constructions in the immediate context are very uncertain, and these difficulties are increased by the variant reading in 2[5], where some excellent scholars, including Zahn, J. Weiss, and K. Lake, omit the words of negation (*οἷς οὐδέ*), thus arriving at the statement 'we yielded for an hour on account of the pseudo-brethren.' Those who accept this are divided as to the nature of the concession referred to. Weiss (with Spitta) believes that St. Paul 'yielded' by circumcising Titus; Zahn, that he yielded by going up to Jerusalem for consultation at all, but did not circumcise Titus. If the invasion of the pseudo-brethren be connected with 'we did *not* yield,' it will simply have defeated itself by stiffening St. Paul's resolution in the contrary direction; but with whatever it be connected, while the negative in v.[5] is retained, it cannot be supposed to have accomplished much.

The scene of this uninvited visit was probably Antioch (see Ac 15[1]), possibly Galatia (see Gal 2[5] 'continue with *you*'); almost certainly not the Council at Jerusalem, to which the 'spying out' is not appropriate. It is quite possible that St. Paul speaks somewhat too severely, for he writes the Epistle to the Galatians at a time of acute 'dissension' (cf. Ac 15[2]). But, if the plot was as reprehensible as he says, it would account for much of the bitterness of the Epistle, for in this he is fighting much the same battle over again, and has to deal with a similar, and almost equally perilous, invasion of his churches.

(*c*) In Gal 2[11ff.] St. Paul refers to a conspiracy against the 'truth of the gospel' at Antioch, in which Peter, the 'rest of the Jews' there, and 'even Barnabas,' are all implicated. Its object, according to St. Paul, was to rebut the claim of the Gentiles to equality by refusing to eat with them. The vigour of his language is noteworthy: 'to the face,' 'condemned' (v.[11]); so also 'fearing' (v.[12]); 'dissembled,' 'dissimulation' (v.[13]); 'not uprightly,' '(not) according to truth,' 'before them all' (v.[14]). The Apostle appears to draw a conscious and pointed contrast between his own conduct and that of his opponents at Antioch, especially St. Peter; and certainly his portrayal of the scene forms in effect a telling reply to—almost a turning of the tables on—any insinuations current in Galatia as to his own weakness and dissimulation (see, *e.g.*, 1[10] and, more generally, Ro 3[8], 2 Co 4[2] 11[12-15] 12[16], 1 Th 2[3]).

LITERATURE.—The relevant Commentaries, esp. Zahn, Ramsay, Lightfoot, etc., on Galatians; F. Spitta, *Die Apostel-*

geschichte, Halle, 1891; J. Weiss, *SK*, 1893, p. 480 ff., and 1895, p. 252 ff.; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i.[2] [1897] 175–216, 252–275; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, 1909, i. 152–202; Douglass Round, *The Date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians*, 1906; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895. C. H. WATKINS.

CONSTRAINT.—Neglecting παραβιάζομαι, used in Ac 28[19] (cf. Lk 24[29]) simply of the pressure of hospitable invitation, we have two terms in the NT expressing the notion of 'constraint'—ἀναγκάζειν and συνέχειν.

1. ἀναγκάζειν is to constrain to some course of conduct as a matter of necessity (ἀνάγκη). In Gal 6[12] the Judaizers appear as an example of the sinister exercise of constraint, rushing the bewildered Galatian converts into circumcision *exemplo suo et importunitate* (Bengel, *ad loc.*). Again, St. Paul himself speaks of his experience of constraint arising from a solemn sense of duty (1 Co 9[16]). In neither case is the ἀνάγκη an arbitrary, irresistible fate that drives men to act thus and thus. Otherwise the Galatians could not have been blamed by St. Paul for listening to his opponents, nor could he have said of himself, 'Woe is me if I preach not the gospel.'

In 1 P 5[2] pastors are exhorted to do their duty 'not of constraint' (μὴ ἀναγκαστῶς); but this is not in conflict with St. Paul's position in 1 Co 9[16]. Service can only be satisfactory when along with the fundamental sense of duty there is a willing response to its demand.

In Jude[3] the kindred phrase ἀνάγκην ἔσχον = our simple 'I could not help' (*sc.* writing).

2. συνέχειν appears in 2 Co 5[14], and being predicated of 'the love of Christ,' cannot have here any suggestion of irksome pressure as in some other instances of its use. 'The love of Christ *grips* us,' says the Apostle, adding explicitly that his overmastering sense of that love arose from his view of the Lord's death. J. S. CLEMENS.

CONTENTMENT.—The idea of 'contentment' is more prominent in Scripture than appears on the surface. The word, indeed, is seldom used, St. Paul being the only NT writer who treats the subject explicitly. But whether the word is there or not, the thing is there. Seeing that the virtue is one of the constituent elements of earthly life and happiness, it would be strange if it were absent from the ethics of Scripture. No amount of worldly fortune or success, without a contented mind, brings happiness, while contentment makes straitened means enough. We are not surprised that the subject enters into all ethical schemes and has been a favourite text of essayists in all lands and ages.

1. The Stoic idea.—Contentment, reaching even to the point of self-denial, was a distinctive feature in the Stoic system of ethics, which prevailed so widely among the educated classes of the Roman Empire in the first Christian centuries. There were many points both of resemblance and of difference between its teaching and the teaching of Christianity on this subject. Seneca, one of Nero's ministers, a Stoic of Stoics, was a contemporary of St. Paul; and they have so much in common that some writers think that one borrowed from the other, or that both were indebted to a common source. Lightfoot discusses the point in his essay 'St. Paul and Seneca' (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 270 ff.), and comes to a negative conclusion. Still more famous Stoics are Epictetus, a Greek slave of Rome, and the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, the saint of ancient paganism.* 'The sentences of Seneca are stimulating to the intellect; the sentences of Epictetus are fortifying to the character; the sentences of M. Aurelius find their way to the soul' (Arnold). Myers remarks that in these three writers the system grows more practical. 'We hear less of its logic, its cosmogony, its portrait of the ideal Sage. It insists on what may be termed the catholic verities of all philosophers, on the sole importance of virtue, the spiritual oneness of the universe, the brotherhood of men.' The weakness of Stoicism and of Stoic ethics was that its religion was a minus quantity, just as the strength of Christianity is in the religious spirit of its ethics. Without arguing that ethics is impossible without religion, we may say that it is immeasurably richer and nobler with religion. The Stoic writers indeed often speak of God; but whether they mean more by the name than the order of Nature or universal law and reason is open to debate. They have no explicit doctrine of God. To imitate or obey God and to follow Nature seem to be the same thing. Lightfoot speaks of the system both as 'material pantheism' and 'pantheistic materialism.' W. L. Davidson in his *Stoic Creed* (1907) holds that the creed makes Fate superior to God; in other words, Fate is the supreme law of the universe. With these abatements the great Stoics plead for virtue most impressively. Their picture of the good man battling with the forces of evil is very noble. Scarcely anything has been said by later moralists respecting virtue and righteousness generally, and contentment in particular, which is not in substance anticipated by the Stoics. Joseph Butler's powerful arguments for virtue from its natural effects and tendencies, from man's self-interest in the highest sense, from the instincts of human nature rightly understood, are quite in the Stoic, and indeed in the Christian, vein. The Stoic idea of contentment with life as it comes or is fixed for us by unchangeable law is often pushed to the extreme of apathy, insensibility, impassiveness (ἀπάθεια). This is not to endure pain, but to deaden the sense of pain. Here Stoicism betrays its Eastern origin, and joins hands with Hindu and Buddhist asceticism.

Christian moralists have rightly appealed to Stoic teaching as a preparation for Christian ethics. Two notable English writers on contentment are Sanderson in two sermons, and Barrow in five sermons, on Ph 4[11], the former sententious and pointed, the latter manly and copious in thought and expression. Both are greatly strengthened by abundant quotation from the three great Stoics, as well as from Horace, Cicero, Chrysostom, and others. Still, their main source of material and proof is Scripture. In this mode of treatment they are examples of the Anglican and Puritan literature of their age. While Scripture is the supreme court of appeal, the abundant references to ancient writers show the harmony of Christian thought with general belief, and seem to imply some kind of Divine revelation or guidance in the pre-Christian world.

2. St. Paul's teaching. — In two passages St. Paul expressly teaches the lesson of contentment, both by word and by his own example: 'I have learned, in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content. I know how to be abased, and I know how to abound; in everything and in all things I have learned the secret both to be filled and to be hungry, both to abound and to be in want' (Ph 4[11ff.]); 'Godliness with contentment is great gain' (1 Ti 6[6] and context). In the second passage St. Paul, in opposition to those who turn godliness into material gain, emphasizes the true gain of godly contentment in guarding against the moral dangers of avarice (vv.[9. 10]). His Stoic contemporaries would have joined in his counsels: 'For we brought nothing into the world, for neither can we carry anything out; but having food and covering we shall be therewith content'—food and covering, a modest sufficiency. 'The love of money is

* We have ample means of knowing these writers in various essays and translations: the essays of Matthew Arnold, F. W. H. Myers, F. W. Farrar; translations by George Long, G. H. Rendall, A. Stewart, Elizabeth Carter, and G. Stanhope.

a root of all kinds of evil'—of lying, dishonesty, overreaching, oppression. In the first passage he is guarding himself against the suspicion of a mercenary spirit. He has never sought for himself the contributions which he has received from the churches, thus making gain of godliness. 'I have learned' (ἔμαθον): contentment, like all other virtues, is not a growth of nature, but a plant of grace's planting and nurture. Seneca said 'Nature does not give virtue; to become good is an art.' Contentment is a lesson learnt in the school of experience at the feet of a Divine teacher. St. Paul has learned to reduce his desires to his means, 'in whatever state I am (ἐν οἷς εἰμι), be it high or low, rich or poor, base or honourable, easy or painful, prosperous or troublous; all that God sends is welcome.' 'To be content'—αὐτάρκης, 'sufficient in oneself,' 'independent'; αὐτάρκεια, 'sufficiency in oneself,' 1 Ti 6^{6}; see Lk 3^{14}, 2 Co 12^{9}, He 13^{5}. 'I have learned the secret'—a striking phrase representing a single word in the text, μεμύημαι (μυέω), 'I have been initiated,' a reference to the ancient religious mysteries. 'I have learned the secret of contentment in all circumstances'—is there not here a playful turn in comparing the art of submission to all that happens to us with instruction in esoteric mysteries?* Of course the self-sufficiency or independence spoken of is not original or absolute, but derived and conditioned. 'I can do all things in him that strengtheneth me' (Ph 4^{13})—'True contentedness of mind is a point of high and holy learning, whereunto no man can attain unless it be taught him from above' (Sanderson). 'I have learned'—learning is gradual, advancing from the alphabet to perfect knowledge. Moral progress is not by leaps and bounds, but step by step, invisible to subject and spectator as the growth of tree and flower. It is 'forgetting the things which are behind and stretching forward to the things which are before,' from the great to the greater, from the high to the higher.

3. Difference between OT and NT doctrine.—The reason of the whole difference between the Christian bearing in the problems of life and that of the Stoic and natural moralist lies in the Christian conception of God, more especially in God's providential reign over and care for the world and the individual. Faith in that truth determines the Christian attitude, especially in times of adversity and suffering. As to the doctrine, the difference between OT and NT is one only of degree—a great difference we admit—but even the early revelation of this truth is glorious. After making every allowance for development in the OT records, we must admit that their presentation of God's relation to the world and to man—personal, living, intimate, loving, like that of human father and son—was quite unique at the time. The lives of patriarchs, leaders, prophets, as well as the national history, show us Providence at work. We have there, as in the NT, righteousness as the rule of Divine dealing and final destiny. We see righteousness also as the supreme endeavour of human life. What infinite pathos of Divine love, compassion, tenderness, patience, faithfulness, slowness to anger, readiness to forgive, speaks in Psalm and Prophecy (Ps 23. 32. 36. 63. 73. 103, Is 40. 43. 53. 54. 55. 60. 61, Jer 31, Ezk 34. 36. 37, etc.). The Book of Job casts a flood of light on the Divine mission of affliction. The meaning of the providential discipline of life emphasized in He $12^{5ff.}$ is taken from the OT. The contrast between the OT portrayal of God as a moral Ruler and of His government as administering Moral Law and the glorification of might in contemporary kingdoms and even in later Rome, is striking in the highest degree. The confirmation of all this in the facts of experience in Butler's treatise (pt. i. ch. 3) is unanswerable. The case of the good suffering misfortune and the evil prospering is, in the final issue of the whole, exceptional (see Job, Ps 73).

The NT fulfilment is the crown of a great preparation. It is all summed up in the idea of God as Father of the individual, which pervades the entire NT teaching from first to last. 'Your Father, my Father,' are words ever on the lips of the supreme Teacher and Revealer. 'When ye pray, say, Our Father.' 'How much more shall your Father which is in heaven give good things to them that ask him?' 'Your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need' of food and clothes. The Divine Fatherhood is the strongest foundation of prayer. We know how much St. Paul and St. John make of the correlative relation of believers as children of God, St. Paul speaking of them as both 'sons' and 'children,' St. John using only the title 'children' (Ro $8^{14.\ 16}$, 1 Jn 3^{1}). For the children nothing is too good for God to promise and give. 'It is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom' (Lk 12^{32}). The whole section Mt 6^{19-34} is a perfect antidote to anxiety and fear. 'To them that love God all things work together for good' (Ro 8^{28}) corresponds to OT sayings like Ps 34^{10} 103^{13}. Human faith, called forth and justified by such promises, never rose so high in the sphere of natural reason as in Ro 8^{35-39}. It is in passages like Jn 13–17 that the tenderness of God's love for His earthly children finds the highest expression. These selections from a wide field may suffice to set forth the grounds of Christian submission to all that God sends or permits, gives or withholds, of earthly good.

Contentment seems a weak word to describe the Christian attitude to the Divine appeal. It has all the Divine character and revelation in word and act behind it. Even the adverse and painful is seen to have Divine purpose in it. We 'rejoice in tribulation' and 'manifold trials' (Ro 5^{3}, Ja 1^{2}), not for their own sake but for the fruit they bear. Trials and difficulties nurse strength and courage. The greatest sufferers have been the greatest heroes. Patient endurance is the highest evidence of strength. The strongest souls are often found in sick chambers. 'God's peace stands sentry, keeps guard over them' (Ph 4^{7})—an echo again of an OT benediction, 'Thou wilt keep him in perfect peace, whose mind is stayed on thee, because he trusteth in thee' (Is 26^{3}). This age-long, world-wide extent of personal experience guarantees the truth and reality of what lies behind Christian resignation and trust. We may repeat the vow of Epictetus to God, with deeper meaning:

'For the rest use me to what thou pleasest. I do consent unto thee and am indifferent. I refuse nothing which seemeth good to thee. Lead me whither thou wilt; put on me what garment thou pleasest. Wilt thou have me to be a governor or a private man, to stay at home or to be banished away, to be poor or to be rich? I will, in respect to all these things, apologise for thee with men' (quoted in Barrow, *Works*, iii. 36).

LITERATURE.—Sermons on Ph 4^{11} will be found in I. Barrow, *Works*, iii. [1831] 1–106; R. Sanderson, *Works*, i. [1854] 112–172; R. Sibbes, *Works*, v. [1863] 177–193; Commentaries on Philippians, esp. C. J. Ellicott (^{3}1865), M. R. Vincent (*ICC*, 1897), H. A. A. Kennedy (*EGT*, 1903); see also J. Guthrie, *Divine Discontent*, 1913; H. W. Smith, *The Life Worth Living*, 1912, p. 7; Lord Avebury, *Peace and Happiness*, 1909, p. 99 ff.; J. I. Vance, *Royal Manhood*, 1899, p. 165 ff.; D. Watson, *In Life's School*, 1902, p. 145 ff. J. S. BANKS.

CONTINENCE.—See ABSTINENCE.

CONTRIBUTION.—The significance of the word κοινωνία, twice translated 'contribution' in the RV, is understood best from its employment and the employment of its cognates in various connexions in the NT. The root-idea is that of personal relationship. The fellowship or communion which it

* There are similar turns in Ro 12^{11} 'in diligence not slothful'; 1 Th 4^{11} 'be ambitious to be quiet.'

denotes, while it is essentially inward and spiritual, is at the same time a living and active union based on mutual co-operation between persons or personified subjects (cf. 1 Jn 1[3. 6f.], Ac 2[42], 2 Co 6[14] 13[14], 1 Co 1[9], etc.; for *συγκοινωνεῖν* and *συγκοινωνός* see Ph 4[14], Eph 5[11], Rev 18[4]). From this it came to express the acts by which this vital fellowship is manifested through the agency of the Holy Spirit, or by acts of brotherly kindness between members of the scattered Christian communities (cf. Ph 2[1], He 13[16]; see B. Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the NT*[3], 1893, i. 188). In the *Didache* we find the same conception of brotherly love emphasized as the visible expression of a personal spiritual communion (*συγκοινωνήσεις δὲ πάντα τῷ ἀδελφῷ σου . . . εἰ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἀθανάτῳ κοινωνοί ἐστε, πόσῳ μᾶλλον ἐν τοῖς θνητοῖς*, iv. 8). Here the meaning has not yet reached the degenerate stage at which it arrived in patristic Greek theology, where it is almost equivalent to *ἐλεημοσύνη* (see Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lexicon of NT Greek*, Eng. tr.[4], 1895, p. 363). We are thus able to apprehend the supreme importance which St. Paul attached to the contributions of the Gentile Churches to the poor among the Christians of Judæa (Ro 15[26], 2 Co 9[13], etc.; see also art. COLLECTION). His conception of the undertaking is not merely that Gentile and Jew should be participators in the common blessings of plenty, to a share in which each Christian has a claim. If that were all, we should look for the word *μερέχειν* (cf. 1 Co 10[17], He 2[14], etc.), which has both a narrower and a more external connotation than *κοινωνεῖν* (see Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*[3], 1903, pp. 74, 336; Robertson-Plummer, *1 Corinthians* [*ICC*, 1911], pp. 212, 215, 217; cf., however, Ellicott's *Commentary*, 1887, on 1 Co 10[16]).

The giver and the receiver are both involved in *κοινωνία*, and in the acts of giving and receiving they throw into objective reality their complete personal union in the Body of Christ. To achieve this end no sacrifice was too great (*λειτουργῆσαι*, Ro 15[27]), for a debt inestimable was resting on those who, from outside, had been received into the spiritual fellowship of Jesus Christ (*ὀφείλεται*). By discharging their obligation in this respect, the Gentiles not only witnessed to the profound spiritual principle of communion in the Christian society, but also used an instrument whereby the union, thus expressed, would be realized on the other side. Arising out of the movement initiated by St. Paul we find that contributing to the needs of the saints (*κοινωνοῦντες*, Ro 12[13]) is enjoined as a general duty of Christians (cf. *κοινωνικούς*, 1 Ti 6[18], where the thought involves the formation of the habit and character of generosity with a view to 'the life which really is life' [see the translation in Moffat's *Historical New Testament*[2], 1901, p. 575]).

J. R. WILLIS.

CONVERSATION.—This is the AV rendering of the Gr. *ἀναστροφή* in Gal 1[13], Eph 4[22], 1 Ti 4[12], Ja 3[13], 1 P 1[15-18] 2[12] 3[1. 2. 16], 2 P 2[7] 3[11]; of *πολίτευμα* in Ph 3[20] (*πολιτεύεσθε*, Ph 1[27]), and of *τρόπος* in He 13[5]. The English word is founded on the Vulg. *conversatio* (*conversor*) and signifies 'manner of life' (= RV rendering; for examples of this use of 'conversation,' see Murray's *OED s.v.*). *πολίτευμα* and *πολιτεύεσθαι* definitely associate the conception of life with relationship to a *πόλις*. They are characteristically Greek expressions; for 'conduct to a Greek was mainly a question of relation to the State' (J. A. Robinson on Eph 2[2]). On the other hand, *ἀναστρέφεσθαι* (with its noun *ἀναστροφή*) is in the NT practically synonymous with words expressing a manner or 'walk' of life, such as *περιπατεῖν* (a favourite Pauline and Johannine word) and *πορεύεσθαι* (which is found in Luke and Acts and elsewhere in the NT, but not in Pauline and Johannine writings); cf. also *στοιχεῖν*, Gal 5[25] 6[16], Ph 3[16] (see *HDB*, art. 'Conversation,' for discussion of the distinction between *περιπατεῖν* and *ἀναστρέφεσθαι* as drawn by E. Hatch in his *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, p. 9). 'Conversation,' therefore, is an excellent rendering of *ἀναστροφή* if it be understood in the general sense of 'conduct' or regulation of life, the signification which it bore in English before being limited by common usage to intercourse in *speech*.

We find *ἀναστρέφεσθαι* used in this ethical sense not only in the NT writings, but in the Apostolic Fathers (Ign. *Magn.* ix. 1; Hermas, *Mand.* xi. 12; 1 Clem. xxi. 8; *Ep. of Barn.* xix. 6, and also in the *Didache* iii. 9 repeating *Ep. of Barn.* xix. 6, *μετὰ δικαίων . . . ἀναστραφήσῃ*). Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 88 (cf. *Light from the Ancient East*, Eng. tr.[2], 1911, pp. 107, 315), points out that 'the moral signification *se gerere* which *ἀναστρέφεσθαι* bears in 2 Co 1[12], Eph 2[3], 1 P 1[17], 2 P 2[18], He 10[33] 13[18], 1 Ti 3[15], is illustrated by Grimm, needlessly, on the analogy of the Hebrew הלך,' and shows that it is not to be explained as a Hebraism (cf. *ib.* p. 194), by quoting the 'Inscription of Pergamus No. 224 A (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), where it is said of some high official of the king *ἐν πᾶσιν κα[ιροῖς ἀμέμπτως καὶ ἀδ]εῶς ἀναστρεφόμενος*' (cf. also Moulton, *Grammar of NT Greek*, 1908, p. 11, and T. Nägeli, *Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus*, 1905, pp. 34, 38).

The ethical use of *ἀναστροφή* and *ἀναστρέφεσθαι* is thus quite frequent in Hellenistic Greek; and neither noun nor verb is Hebraic, nor peculiar to the language of the NT, but common, as Deissmann states, to the ancient world as a whole. The etymology conveys the idea of movement within certain limits or a given sphere. Such activity, however, is more expressly defined by the words denoting 'walking' or 'going' mentioned above. All such expressions may be illustrated by the term 'the Way' used in the Acts (see 9[2] 19[9. 23] 22[4. 22]) of the path of the Christians (see art. CHRISTIAN LIFE), which is marked out by Divine revelation, as opposed to *αἵρεσις* (Ac 24[14]), the way a man chooses for himself.

R. MARTIN POPE.

CONVERSION.—1. Terminology.—The conception of conversion, as of so much else in the NT, rests on what had become familiar in the OT. But we find nothing like a definite doctrine of conversion in either; much less a theology or a psychology. The most common word in the OT is 'turn' (שׁוּב), which is quite general in meaning; it may be accomplished by the sinner himself (Ezk 18[21]) or, more rarely, by God (Jer 31[18]). In the NT, as far as the Acts and Epistles are concerned, the noun occurs only once (Ac 15[3]), but the verb is comparatively frequent: *e.g.* Ac 3[19] 9[35] 26[18], 1 Th 1[9], 2 Co 3[16], 1 P 2[25]. It is significant that it occurs 12 times intransitively, 4 times transitively; and the tense (aorist) used most commonly implies that the action is regarded as momentary more often than continuous (there is implied continuity in Ac 14[15] 15[19], Gal 4[9], as against Ac 3[19] 26[18], 2 Co 3[16], Ja 5[19]). It may be added that in all cases, except 4 (Ac 3[19] 28[27], Ja 5[19. 20]), RV translates by 'turn.' The verb is only twice used literally (Rev 1[12], 2 P 2[22]), and it is used once in Galatians (4[9]) and twice in a single passage, 2 P 2[21. 22], quoting from the OT (Pr 26[11]), of perversion.

2. Suggestions from the context.—What are the causes and accompaniments of conversion? It appears as the result of preaching (Ac 14[15]), or of 'signs' (9[35] 11[21]). It is connected with repentance (3[19] 26[20]) and followed by bond-service and endurance (1 Th 1[9]); and in the story of Cornelius and his friends, as St. Peter is preaching, at the moment when he describes remission of sins as given to

those who believe on Christ, the Holy Spirit falls on them, and they speak with tongues and 'magnify God' (Ac $10^{44.\ 46}$). They are then baptized. The same thing happens to the 12 disciples of Apollos at Ephesus (Ac $19^{1ff.}$) *after* they have been baptized and St. Paul has laid his hands upon them. (In 1 Co 12^{10} and 14 *passim* nothing is said to connect the gift of 'tongues' with conversion.) This *glossolalia* is the only outward sign of conversion mentioned in the NT; it is true that the men in Stephen's unrepentant audience were 'cut to the heart' (Ac 7^{54}); but abnormalities such as those which accompanied the early stages of the Methodist movement, the American camp-meetings, or the Welsh revival, are altogether absent from the history of apostolic preaching and its results.

3. Parallel expressions.—Although the actual descriptions of conversion are few (see below, § 7), references to the great transition are numerous. The converts are reminded that they were reconciled (2 Co 5^{20}), that they died with Christ (Col 2^{20}), that they were made alive together with Christ (Eph 2^{5}), that they were baptized into Christ (Gal 3^{27}), that they obtained mercy (Ro 11^{30}). The word of the truth of the gospel is increasing in the Colossians, since the day that they heard and knew the grace of God in truth (Col 1^{6}; cf. He $10^{26.\ 32}$). They have renounced the hidden things of darkness; they have believed, they are washed, they are sanctified (1 Co 6^{11}). The general term 'salvation' is used in 1 Co 1^{21}, Ro 10^{13}, Tit 3^{5}; St. Peter writes to those who are elect, begotten again (1 P $1^{1.\ 3}$; cf. 2 P 1^{10}). In all these phrases, stress is laid sometimes on the action of God, sometimes on the response of man; nor is it always easy to see whether the writers are referring to the actual moment of conversion or not; they would seem to think more frequently of the new life, introduced by a definite experience (cf. St. Paul's use of the perfect tense, ἡλικόϵτϵς, 1 Co 15^{19}, πϵπίστϵυκα, 2 Ti 1^{12}), than of the exact moment of transition. The language of St. John, as might have been expected, makes but little reference to the change as an event happening in time; his thought is rather of belief or knowledge as an abiding attitude of mind (1 Jn 2^{12} 4^{16}); but we may compare the striking phrase in 1 Jn 3^{14} 'have passed from death unto life,' with that of St. Paul (2 Co 5^{17}), 'if any man is in Christ, it is a new creating.'

References in the Apostolic Fathers to the conversion of unbelievers are surprisingly few. These writers are rather concerned to hold a high ethical standard before their readers. Clement of Rome speaks of those who have been called through His will in Christ Jesus as being justified through faith (xxxii.), and constantly emphasizes the need of repentance. The *Didache* makes no reference to the conversion of outsiders as such, though one would think that the members of the Church must have regarded the exhortations of the 'Two Ways' as more applicable to outsiders than to themselves. Barnabas, who, like the *Didache*, quotes the 'Two Ways,' speaks of the apostles as 'those who preached unto us the forgiveness of sins' (viii.); refers to the time before belief on God, 'when the abode of our heart was corrupt and weak, a temple truly built with hands' (xvi.); and adds the significant passage: 'He that desireth to be saved looketh not to the man, but to Him that dwelleth and speaketh in him, being amazed at this that he has never at any time heard these words from the mouth of the speaker, nor himself ever desired to hear them' (*ib.*).

4. Conversion is from heathenism.—This is the great difference in the use of the term in the NT from that in the OT and in much of our modern religious phraseology. All the NT converts had definitely broken with their old surroundings. The language of the NT is the language of the first stage in the history of a missionary church. In the OT even sinners are for the most part members of the chosen nation; the prophets call the people back to a holiness which they are regarded as having previously lost. Even Ezekiel, who alone seems to regard the history of Israel as one of disobedience from the beginning, feels that the nation has somehow been in touch with Jahweh all along. In our own times, the majority of converts have been brought up in a more or less Christian atmosphere; there has been a lengthened period of suggestion followed at last by a decision. Even where conversion seems most sudden, much teaching has often preceded. NT preaching was very different. To the Jews, it occasioned an intellectual shock, for the most part at first highly resented (Ac $7^{54ff.}$). With Gentiles this was even more definitely the case. The shock was moral and social as well. To the Jews, a great deal of the morality of the apostolic preaching would be familiar, especially the emphasis upon personal purity in speech and conduct; and the Jews, in the Gentile world, were already a distinct community (cf. the Rabbinic treatise, *Aboda Zara*) like the Christians in India. For the Gentiles, that preaching demanded a complete renunciation of their existing habits, friendships, moral ideas, and often of their business (cf. 1 Co $10^{23ff.}$; and Tert. *de Idol.* —equally true a century before he wrote). Stanley's well-known description of baptism, as symbolizing the definite rupture with one society and the identification with another, is far more true of the 1st cent. than of any other (*Christian Institutions*[4], London, 1884, ch. i.).

5. Conversion and baptism.—The new convert was not, indeed, regarded as being perfect from his conversion onwards. His morals might be very deficient (Eph 4^{28}, ὁ κλέπτων), and there was much need of teaching (cf. the emphasis laid on this point in the Pastorals). There must have been a large number of 'babes in Christ.' But the practice of modern missionaries in delaying baptism was unknown in early times. Baptism followed the profession of belief (Ac 2^{41}), and, as soon as belief and repentance were professed, the convert was felt to have broken with the old life (2^{42} and $8^{16.\ 38}$). Often both belief and repentance are only implied in the actual narratives (2^{38} 16^{15}).

6. Conversion, repentance, belief.—Baptism (*q.v.*) is then the seal (σφρᾶγις) of repentance and conversion, the sign of admission to the new society which is the Body of Christ. Yet this never takes place without a change of heart; so much so that in the NT baptism of children is apparently never referred to (the meaning of 'household,' 1 Co 1^{16}, is dubious). Here again it must be remembered that the NT nowhere deals with a long-established church, or with the questions which would naturally arise in one. But where baptism has not been preceded by a real conversion, the writers speak in no uncertain tone (cf. the case of Simon Magus, Ac 8^{9}). What then is the relation of conversion to repentance? They are twice mentioned together (Ac 3^{19} and 26^{20}); repentance comes first in both cases: repentance (μϵτάνοια, change of mental attitude), it has been suggested, expresses the ethical aspect of the process, conversion the spiritual; or they may be called the negative and positive aspects. But they cannot be separated. If there is a turning from (repentance), there must be a turning to (conversion). Sometimes the initial impulse will be dislike for the old (cf. Starbuck and Hadley, *ut infra*), or the goodness of God will be felt as leading to repentance (Ro 2^{4}; cf. Ezk 36^{31}). But the two are parts of one process. The same thing must be said of belief. For belief is nothing

but a turning or giving oneself to a person whose support is expected with confidence and whose will is accepted as a command to be obeyed. And since these commands cannot be obeyed without ceasing to do what is inconsistent with them, belief really includes what we have called both the negative and the positive.

7. Individual instances.—Less can be learnt from these, as referred to in the NT, than might have been expected. Of the conversions of Barnabas, Silas, Timothy, and the rest of St. Paul's great co-adjutors, we know nothing. The Ethiopian eunuch has already been referred to. Cornelius (Ac $10^{1ff.}$), as a proselyte, has already broken with his heathen manner of life, and his passing over to belief in Christ is secured by his vision; St. Peter's discourse simply completes the process: to adopt Seeberg's suggestive phrase, *Belehrung* is ended by *Bekehrung*. Lydia also, who is apparently a proselyte, believes while St. Paul is preaching (Ac 16^{14}), and at once shows the change wrought in her by offering to entertain the Apostle. The Philippian jailer, blurting out in his terror a cry almost of despair (Ac 16^{30}), receives an answer which must have seemed quite meaningless to him at first; and then, as the result of a discourse which is unfortunately not preserved for us, believes and is baptized. Whether any conversions took place at Malta as the result of St. Paul's stay there is unknown. The above instances are all of Gentiles. The appeal which led to the conversion of Jews would seem to be that which St. Paul used to Agrippa: 'the redeeming work of the Messiah is foretold or implied by the prophets; you believe the prophets; therefore you must believe in the Messiah, Jesus whom we preach' (Ac 18^5 $26^{22f. 27}$; Lk 24^{27}). In the case of St. Paul we have two accounts purporting to come from his own lips (Ac 22. 26), and for the third (Ac 9) he must have been the authority. Certainly, he did not turn from any outward works of darkness (Ro 13^{12}); he may have been prepared previously, like Cornelius, though unconsciously; but when the change came, in a blinding flash of celestial light, it meant an instant and entire transference of his loyalty and a complete destruction of his old self-esteem. The culmination of his conversion, leading to baptism, was brought about, as in the case of Cornelius, through two mutually dependent visions, and actual instruction from a disciple. For St. Paul, it was a turning from darkness to light, a revealing of the Son of God in him (Gal 1^{16}); but the only works of the flesh whose renunciation was involved were anger, pride and hatred, and these he, like his friends, would probably have considered, up to the crisis, as positive virtues. Was this perhaps the reason why anger, hatred, malice and strife find such a prominent place in his later catalogues of evil deeds?

8. To turn: transitive or intransitive?—We have left to the last the difficult question whether man turns to God or God turns man to Himself. The language of the NT gives little assistance (see § 1). Where the verb is not intransitive, the subject is a man (Ja $5^{19. 20}$, and perhaps Ac 26^{18}), and elsewhere we have simply the passive voice (1 P 2^{25}), with no reference to the agent. But it is impossible to deny the share of God in the process (Eph 2^5, Col 2^{13}, Tit 3^5, He 10^{32}, 1 P 1^3, Ro 11^{30}) or the connexion between conversion and salvation (1 Co 1^{21}, Ro 10^{13}). But the question of the relative importance of the action of God and of man in conversion never occurred to the NT writers; and a closer examination of the whole subject will show that it is not a case of 'either . . . or.' According to our point of view, we may see the act as wholly God's or wholly man's. Exhorting the sinner, the preacher will say, 'Turn to God'; looking back on the act, the sinner will say, 'God turned me to Himself'; or else we may use language which admirably and daringly combines the two, employing the imperative of the passive voice, 'Be ye reconciled to God' (2 Co 5^{20}). Conversion itself rests on the Atonement; man must be made 'at one' with God, and yet this cannot be done unless, at that very moment, he makes himself 'at one.'

The question appears a difficult one just because the answer is involved in the simplest processes of action. All action between persons is interaction. It is the union of two elements to bring a third to the birth. We may for the moment overlook either the one or the other; but both are there. And the two are really one. William James's theory of the subliminal is suggestive: conversion results from the breaking up of the fountains of the great spiritual deep; there is a 'subliminal uprush' in me; and a flood of perceptions, feelings, loves and hates, of which I had hitherto been quite unconscious, gives me a new conception of myself and my life. The correctness of this account cannot here be discussed. It appears to cover much in the vast changes described so simply in the NT. It leaves room for, but it does not actually state, the main factor in every NT reference to conversion, and this is neither a new moral ideal nor a fresh conception of oneself, but the redeeming love of a God of mercy and righteousness, to whom the sinner turns in repentance and by whose goodness that turning is encompassed and made possible.

LITERATURE.—See references in art. 'Conversion' in *ERE*. The conversions in the Acts are discussed in the various Lives of St. Paul (see PAUL); see also Commentaries on the Epistles for discussions on the passages referred to in the article. W. James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, London, 1902; E. D. Starbuck, *The Psychology of Religion*, do. 1899, also art. in *ExpT*, xxv. [1913–14] p. 219 ff.; F. Granger, *The Soul of a Christian*, London, 1900; and G. Steven, *Psychology of the Christian Soul*, do. 1911, may be mentioned as treating of the experience of conversion generally. See also J. W. Chapman, *S. H. Hadley of Water Street*, London, 1906. For a suggestive discussion of the difficulties in recalling the exact experiences at the time of conversion see W. Thimme, *Augustins geistige Entwicklung*, Berlin, 1908. W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

COPPERSMITH (χαλκεύς, 2 Ti 4^{14}).—The Greek word properly denoted a worker in χαλκός (*aes*)—a term applied indifferently both to copper and its alloys—and more generally a worker in any metal. Copper was the first ore men learned to smelt and work: 'Prius aëris erat quam ferri cognitus usus' (Lucret. v. 1292). The handicraft of the coppersmith was therefore very ancient. Later, when iron came into use, χαλκεύς was extended to include workers in the new ore, σιδηρεύς being a term rarely employed. In the LXX Tubal-cain is described as a χαλκεὺς χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου (Gn 4^{22}). Herodotus (i. 68) tells how Lichas, 'coming to a smithy, looked attentively at the iron being forged, and was struck with wonder when he saw what was done. The smith (χαλκεύς), perceiving his astonishment, desisted from his work.'

As the Romans drew their supply of *aes* chiefly from the island of Cyprus, it came to be termed *aes cyprium*, which was shortened to *cyprium*, and corrupted into *cyprum*, whence comes the Eng. word 'copper,' Fr. *cuivre*, Germ. *Kupfer*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CORINTH (Κόρινθος).—Corinth was the commercial capital of Greece, and one of the first centres of Christian light in the continent of Europe. Occupying a commanding position at the southern extremity of the narrow isthmus which joined the Peloponnesus to the mainland of Greece, and under the steep northern side of the stupendous rock of Acrocorinthus (1800 ft. above sea-level) which formed one of nature's strongest fortresses, it enjoyed unique advantages alike for commerce and defence. 'Corinth of the two seas' ('bimaris Corinthus' [Hor. *Car.* I. vii. 2; Ovid, *Met.* v. 407])

could not fail to become a great maritime power. Its western harbour, Lechæum, on the Corinthian Gulf, received the shipping of Italy, Sicily, and Spain; its eastern port, Cenchreæ (*q.v.*), on the Saronic Gulf, that of Asia Minor, Syria, Phœnicia, and Egypt. Instead of circumnavigating stormy Cape Malea, coasting ships regularly made for the Isthmus, where those of larger size transhipped their cargoes, whilst those of smaller tonnage were hauled from sea to sea on a tramway 5 miles long (*δίολκος*). 'For goods exported from Peloponnesus, or imported by land, a toll was paid to those who had the keys of the country' (Strabo, VIII. vi. 20). As an emporium of the trade of the East and the West, Corinth grew into a splendid city, the home of merchant princes, adorned with Temples and filled with works of fine art.

Corinth was described as 'the bridge of the sea' (Pind. *Nem.* vi. 4), and 'the gate of the Peloponnesus' (Xen. *Ages.* 2). 'Prosperous (*εὐδαίμων*) Corinth' is Herodotus' designation of old Corinth. 'The Corinthians,' says Thucydides, 'were very rich, as is shown by their poets, for they gave the title of *ἀφνειός* to the place' (*Hist.* i. 13). 'The city was rich and opulent at all times,' says Strabo (VII. vi. 23). At the zenith of its power it probably had a free population of 200,000, with half a million slaves employed in its fleet and in its numerous colonies.

Pillaged and razed to the ground by the Romans under Lucius Mummius in 146 B.C., Corinth lay desolate for a century, till Julius Cæsar refounded it in 46 B.C. as the *Colonia Laus Julia Corinthus*, peopling it with Roman veterans and freedmen. 'The copestone of the republican epoch was the atonement for the sack of Corinth made by the greatest of all Romans and of all Philhellenes, the dictator Cæsar, and the renewal of the star of Hellas in the form of an independent community of Roman citizens, the new "Julian Honour"' (Th. Mommsen, *Provinces*, Eng. tr.², 1909, i. 260).

As the capital of the province of Achaia, and the seat of proconsular government, new Corinth became nearly as populous and prosperous as the old had been, again deriving a vast revenue from the sea, again developing its industries and cultivating its arts. Corinthian potters and especially workers in Corinthian brass—a mixture of gold, silver, and copper—were famous all over the world: 'nobilis aere Corinthus' (Ov. *Met.* vi. 416). The establishment of the Isthmian games in the sanctuary of Poseidon (Strabo, VIII. vi. 22) made the city a great centre of Hellenic life. But as it increased in wealth and refinement, it succumbed to the temptations of luxury. Theoretically, and not unnaturally, it was devoted to the cult of Poseidon, but practically it worshipped only Corinthian Aphrodite, who was doubtless no other than the Syrian Astarte of the original Phœnician settlers. Her temple had more than a thousand *ἱερόδουλοι*—ministers of vice not found in other shrines of Greece, though common enough in those of Asia Minor—and 'the city was frequented and enriched by the multitudes who resorted thither on account of them' (Strabo, VIII. vi. 22). Corinth became proverbial for abysmal profligacy. 'To live like a Corinthian' (*Κορινθιάζεσθαι*) was a synonym for abandonment to immorality. When St. Paul wrote the appalling first page of his Epistle to the Romans, he had never seen Rome, but he had lived nearly two years in Corinth.

Into this centre of commerce, shrine of art, and vortex of iniquity St. Paul came probably in the autumn of A.D. 50. He came alone, depressed by the apparent failure of his preaching to the intellectuals of Athens, entering his new sphere of labour, as he confesses, with a sense of 'weakness and fear and much trembling' (1 Co 2³). But when his companions, Silas and Timothy, whom he had left in Philippi, rejoined him after some weeks, 'he was constrained by the word' (*συνείχετο τῷ λόγῳ*, Ac 18⁵). This probably means that to these companions it seemed as if all his energies were being 'compressed' into one channel, all his thoughts controlled by a master idea. Carlyle has shrewdly observed that 'the preaching man of our day has lost the point.' The greatest preacher of apostolic times had, perhaps after some humiliation, rediscovered the point. His profound philosophical disquisition in Athens—his noble attempt to find common ground with the speculative minds of Hellas—having apparently missed the mark, he determined not to repeat his error in Corinth; here he would preach nothing 'save Jesus Christ and him crucified' (1 Co 2²). He did not, of course, contemplate the preaching of a new gospel, for in the province of Galatia, and doubtless elsewhere, Christ had already been 'openly set forth crucified' (Gal 3¹). But in Corinth he seemed to limit himself to one aspect of 'the word,' to preach the Cross with a new passion. His message, like his mind, was 'compressed.' The intensity of spirit with which Christ faced His own last task was indicated by the same word, *πῶς συνέχομαι*, 'how am I straitened!' (Lk 12⁵⁰).

The 'word of the cross,' preached with such fervour, wrought moral miracles in pleasure-loving Corinth. The spiritual attraction of Calvary was the counter charm to the sensual temptations of the corrupt city. Writing not long afterwards to his converts, St. Paul gives a black list of the various types of evil-doers in Corinth, and adds: 'such were some of you; but ye were washed, but ye were sanctified, but ye were justified, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ and in the Spirit of our God' (1 Co 6⁹⁻¹¹). And if he found that the inveterate habits of a light-hearted pagan society speedily re-asserted themselves even within the Church (1 Co 5¹ 6¹²⁻²⁰), it was still by the spiritual influence of the same sacrifice that the members of Christ's body were to make and to keep themselves pure (5⁶⁻⁸. ¹¹⁻¹³ 6¹¹⁻²⁰).

St. Paul had not intended to remain long in Corinth, his heart being in Macedonia, to which he had been Divinely called (Ac 16⁹. ¹⁰), and where his appointed task seemed scarcely begun. He would have quickly retraced his steps if certain difficulties, which seemed to him Satanic hindrances, could have been removed (1 Th 2¹⁷. ¹⁸). But another night-vision (Ac 18⁹. ¹⁰), attaching itself no doubt to waking thoughts which had begun to shape themselves in his mind, convinced him that it was now his duty to remain in Corinth, where many converts were to be won. As in other cities, he laboured there with his own hands, that his motives as a preacher might be above suspicion. Being of the same trade (*ὁμότεχνος*) with Aquila and Priscilla (*q.v.*), he accepted an invitation to live in their house (18³). In a commercial centre like Corinth the presence of Jews was a matter of course (cf. Philo, *Leg. ad Gaium*, 36), and their numbers had lately been augmented by the edict of Claudius which banished all Jews from Rome (Ac 18²). A number of Greeks had gradually been attracted to the worship of the synagogue, in which St. Paul, adhering to his plan of going to the Jew first (Ro 1¹⁶ 2⁹. ¹⁰), 'reasoned every Sabbath' (Ac 18⁴), till the inevitable rupture took place (v.⁶). He was then offered the use of the house of the 'God-fearing' Titus Justus, who was probably one of the Roman *coloni*, and who may have adopted the cognomen of Justus when he became a proselyte. The preaching of the gospel in such a house was calculated to win the ordinary Gentile population, who might have been slow to enter the synagogue.

The Corinthian converts were drawn from three classes of inhabitants—Roman colonists, Greek incolæ, and Jewish settlers. The number of those who bear Latin names—Lucius, Tertius, Quartus, Fortunatus, Achaicus (Ro 16[21-23], 1 Co 16[17])—is striking. A few were men of some social standing, such as Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue (Ac 18[8]), Gaius, who was hospitable to St. Paul and to 'the whole Church' (if this means that the Church met at his house, it is possible that he is to be identified with Titus Justus), and Erastus, the city treasurer (Ro 16[23]). Not many in philosophical, administrative, or aristocratic circles were called (1 Co 1[26]), and St. Paul glories in the apparent impotence of the means by which the gospel gains its victories: 'faex urbis lux orbis.' Yet Ramsay may be right, on the whole, in maintaining that in Corinth, as everywhere else, 'the work of the Christian Church was to create or to enlarge the educated, the thoughtful middle class' (*Expositor*, 6th ser., i. [1900] 98).

St. Paul's Corinthian experiences seem to have directed his attention to the central importance of the Church in Rome and to the attitude of the Imperial government to Christian missions. (1) His host and hostess, having lately come from Italy, were able to give him vivid first-hand intelligence regarding the world-city, which from this time certainly loomed large on his mental horizon: he 'must see Rome' (Ac 19[21]; cf. Ro 1[11] 15[24]). (2) His Corinthian trial, at the instance of jealous Jews, before the proconsul Gallio, the large-minded and tolerant brother of Seneca, on the charge of worshipping God 'contrary to the law,' a trial ending in his speedy and triumphant acquittal, not only made it clear to him that Christianity was a *religio licita*, which might be preached in any part of the Empire, but evidently confirmed his idea that the Imperial government might be regarded as a restraining power (1 Th 2[7]), which would give protection to law-abiding Christians, especially to Roman citizens, engaged in the peaceful work of evangelization.

In Corinth St. Paul initiated a form of missionary activity which proved immensely beneficial to all the churches—the writing of letters. From Corinth he dispatched 1 and 2 Thess., Rom., and possibly Gal.; and to Corinth he sent not only the two canonical Epistles which have come down to us, but apparently two others—referred to in 1 Co 5[9], 2 Co 2[4] 7[8]—one of which may be fragmentarily preserved in 2 Co 6[14]–7[1], while the other is perhaps to be found, in whole or in part, in 2 Co 10–13.

It was in the Church of Corinth, with its numerous types of converts and its astonishing variety of gifts (1 Co 1[4-7] 12[4-10]), that the first ecclesiastical divisions (*σχίσματα*, 1 Co 1[10] 11[18] 12[25]) took place, with an accompanying hero-worship which detracted from the reverence due to Christ alone (1 Co 1[10-13]). For the party-strife, so characteristic of the democracy of Greek cities, in which persons were put before principles, the three leaders who, without being consulted, were set up as heads of rival factions, were in no way to blame. St. Peter probably never visited Corinth at all. Apollos laboured for a time in this city, and achieved much success among the Jews (Ac 18[28]), but nothing could have been finer than the mutual loyalty of St. Paul and Apollos (1 Co 3[6] 4[6] 16[12]). Cf. also following article.

The Epistle of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians was written about A.D. 97. While commending their general tone and spirit, it contains an exhortation to concord among the members of the Church, which was still vexed by divisions. See art. CLEMENT OF ROME, EPISTLE OF.

LITERATURE.—E. Curtius, *Peloponnesos*, Gotha, 1851–2; W. G. Clark, *Peloponnesus*. London, 1858; E. Wilisch, *Geschichte Corinths*, Leipzig, 1887, 1896, 1901; Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, ed. J. G. Frazer, London, 1898, iii. 20–38; Baedeker, *Greece*, do. 1889, *s.v.* 'Corinth'; art. 'Corinthus' in Smith, *DGRG* i. [1856] 674.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO THE.—1. Authenticity.—It is generally agreed that both these Epistles are rightly ascribed to St. Paul. As to 1 Cor. the external evidence is remarkably strong. Clement of Rome directly appeals to it as the work of the 'Apostle Paul' (*ad Cor.* xlvii.: *ἀναλάβετε τὴν ἐπιστολὴν τοῦ μακαρίου Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. τί πρῶτον ὑμῖν ἐν ἀρχῇ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου ἔγραψεν; ἐπ ἀληθείας πνευματικῶς ἐπέστειλεν ὑμῖν περὶ αὐτοῦ τε καὶ Κηφᾶ τε καὶ Ἀπολλώ, διὰ τὸ καὶ τότε προσκλίσεις ὑμᾶς πεποιῆσθαι*). The Epistle was certainly known also to Ignatius and Polycarp (cf. W. R. Inge, in *The NT in the Apostolic Fathers*, 1905, p. 67: 'Ignatius must have known this Epistle almost by heart. Although there are no *quotations* [in the strictest sense, with mention of the source], echoes of its language and thought pervade the whole of his writings in such a manner as to leave no doubt whatever that he was acquainted with the First Epistle to the Corinthians.' P. V. M. Benecke [*ib.* p. 86] is equally sure about Polycarp: 'Polycarp's use of 1 Corinthians may be regarded as certain'). The internal evidence is equally strong. The Epistle gives an extremely graphic picture of a Christian Church of early date. Much of it is occasional in character. There is nothing to suggest forgery. The attack made on its authenticity by Bruno Bauer, and renewed later by Loman, Pierson, Naber, van Manen, Steck, and others, has met with very little acceptance. Attacks have also been made on its integrity by Hagge and Völter, but these also have little to be said for them.

2 Cor. appears in Marcion's Canon, and is afterwards widely quoted. But there are few traces of it in the Apostolic Fathers. Clement makes no allusion to it, though it would have suited his purpose to do so. It seems probable that it was not published until the churches began to look upon St. Paul's letters as Scripture. It is in the main personal, and contains but little moral or doctrinal instruction. It is, therefore, quite intelligible that it should not have been published as early as 1 Cor.,* which would be at once recognized as a document of universal interest and great importance; but there is no reason to doubt its Pauline authorship, in spite of the inferiority of the external evidence for it. Irenæus, Tertullian, Athenagoras, and Clement of Alexandria are all familiar with it and quote it freely. And the internal evidence is very strong. Its autobiographical touches carry their own assurance of genuineness, and, while not in the main doctrinal, 'it is saturated with the characteristic theological conceptions of St. Paul.'†

2. St. Paul's relations with Corinth before writing 1 Corinthians.—St. Paul's first visit to Corinth is described in Ac 18[1-18], where we have an account of the foundation of the Corinthian Church. After leaving Corinth, he continued to be in communication with the Church there, and we can reconstruct some part of his relations with it from the evidence of his two extant Epistles to the Corinthians.

(*a*) St. Paul wrote a 'previous letter' (1 Co 5[9]), in which he told the Corinthians not to keep company with fornicators. This must have been due to information that immorality was creeping into the Church. It is possible that a portion of this letter is preserved in 2 Co 6[14]–7[1] (see below).

* Cf. J. H. Kennedy, *The Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians*, 1900, p. 141 ff.; K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 163 f.

† *HDB* i. 492.

(*b*) The Corinthians had themselves written a letter to St. Paul, raising a number of points and requesting his decision upon them (1 Co $7^{1.25}$ 8^{1} 11^{2} 12^{1}). They raise the question of marriage—whether marriage is legitimate for a Christian, the relation between husband and wife, between a non-Christian husband and a Christian wife, and *vice versa*. They interrogate him regarding the status of virgins, and probably also ask advice on the question of *εἰδωλόθυτα*, with all the problems of social life which it involves. The difficulties that arose over the Eucharist may have been mentioned in the letter ($11^{17ff.}$), also the question of spiritual gifts and of disorders in the assemblies, perhaps also the question of the resurrection of the dead. Attempts have been made to reconstruct the Corinthian letter,* but these must necessarily be too conjectural to be of any great value. It is probable, however, that a good many of the expressions used in 1 Cor. are direct quotations from their letter, *e.g.* *πάντα ἔξεστιν* (cf. 10^{23}), probably a sort of catchword, which the Apostle accepts from them, but qualifies. In 11^{2} he probably quotes their letter.

(*c*) St. Paul had had other sources of information besides this letter. The existence of parties within the Corinthian Church had been made known to him by Chloe's people or household (1 Co 1^{11}). He had also heard, possibly from the same source, of a case of incest (ch. 5), and of the habit which had arisen of going to law with fellow-Christians before heathen tribunals (6^{1-8}). Apollos, too, had visited Corinth (3^{6}), and was now with St. Paul at Ephesus (16^{12}). Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus had also come to him from Corinth (16^{17}).

3. Analysis of 1 Corinthians.—In view of the information received from these sources, St. Paul wrote the First Epistle. It will be convenient here to give a full analysis of it.

I. *Introduction* (1^{1-9}).
- 1^{1-3} Salutation.
- vv.4-9 Thanksgiving for spiritual gifts of Corinthians.

II. *Rebuke* (1^{10}–6^{20}).
- (*a*) *Party-spirit*, based on false intellectualism in religion (1^{10}–4^{21}).
  - 1^{10-17} Exhortation to unity.
  - vv.18-25 The paradox of the Cross. What seems to men weak and foolish is Divine strength and wisdom.
  - vv.26-31 This is illustrated by the natural characteristics of Corinthian Christians—they are naturally weak and foolish, but their strength and wisdom is Christ.
  - 2^{1-5} Further illustrated by St. Paul's own behaviour at Corinth.
  - vv.6-9 Yet there is a spiritual wisdom for mature Christians.
  - $2^{10-3^{2}}$ Only the spiritual man can understand this. The Corinthians, when St. Paul preached to them, were not yet spiritual.
  - 3^{3-4} Nor are they yet spiritual, as is evidenced by their factions.
  - vv.5-9 Foolishness of party-spirit, seeing that the work of all is God's work.
  - vv.10-15 St. Paul has laid the One Foundation, Jesus Christ. Others may build upon it, and are responsible for the character of their building.
  - vv.16,17 The building is God's Temple. To destroy it is to cause one's own destruction.
  - vv.18-23 Folly of subjection to human teachers. All belong to Christ.
  - 4^{1-5} Human teachers are responsible to Christ, and to Him only.
  - vv.6-7 This rebuke is really only applicable to the followers, not to the teachers.
  - vv.8-13 For the teachers are forced by their sufferings to realize their limitations. Only the followers are proud.
  - vv.14-17 Appeal to them to follow St. Paul's example.
  - vv.18-21 He hopes to come himself, and test the truth of their claims.
- (*b*) *Want of discipline in dealing with case of incest* (ch. 5):
  - 5^{1-8} The case of incest. Necessity of excommunicating offender.
  - vv.9-13 Explanation of instructions given in former letter about Christians' attitude to immoral persons.
- (*c*) *Litigiousness* (6^{1-11}).
  - 6^{1-6} Lawsuits not to be taken before heathen tribunals.
  - 6^{7-11} Lawsuits altogether wrong. Christians ought rather to endure wrong; but no Christian ought to give occasion for a lawsuit.
- (*d*) *Fornication* (6^{12-20}).
  - 6^{12-14} The law of liberty does not apply to impurity.
  - vv.15-20 Relation between Christ and believer incompatible with fornication.

III. *Answers to Questions* (7^{1}–14^{40}).
- (*a*) *Marriage problems* (ch. 7).
  - 7^{1-7} Celibacy is best, but marriage is sometimes expedient.
  - vv.8-9 Unmarried persons and widows should, if possible, remain as they are.
  - vv.10-11 Married couples should not separate. If they do, the wife must not re-marry.
  - vv.12-16 Mixed marriages are not real marriages in the Christian sense, and therefore not indissoluble.
  - vv.17-24 It is best for people, both in marriage questions and in other matters,* to remain externally in the condition in which they were when they became Christians.
  - vv.25-38 Virgins may marry without sin, though they do better to remain unmarried.
  - vv.36-38 Spiritual marriage is a good custom.†
  - vv.39-40 Second marriage allowed, but not recommended.
- (*b*) *The eating of things sacrificed to idols* (8^{1}–11^{1}).
  - 8^{1-3} One should be guided by the Law of Love.
  - vv.4-6 Christians know that idols are nothing.
  - vv.7-13 Yet to eat of a banquet in an idol's temple may offend the weaker brethren, and so is a sin against the Law of Love.
  - 9^{1-3} St. Paul claims spiritual liberty even more than they can.
  - vv.4-11 He has the same rights as the other apostles.
  - vv.12-18 Yet he does not use the right to maintenance, but surrenders it as a voluntary offering to God.
  - vv.19-23 He has surrendered his liberty for the sake of his cause.
  - vv.24-27 For the Christian life needs perpetual effort and self-denial.
  - 10^{1-5} This is illustrated by the example of the Israelites, most of whom perished in spite of their privileges.
  - vv.6-11 Their history is an example to us, that we may avoid their sins.
  - vv.12-13 No temptation is too strong to be resisted.
  - vv.14-22 Idolatry is a real danger. The Eucharist and feasts upon things sacrificed to idols are incompatible.
  - vv.23-24 In any case the Law of Love is supreme.
  - vv.25-30 Christians may accept the invitations of non-Christians, and so run the risk of eating things offered to idols. But the Law of Love forbids that this should be done knowingly.
  - 10^{31}–11^{1} One must do all to God's glory, and avoid giving offence.
- (*c*) *Women in the assemblies* (11^{2-16}).
  - 11^{2-10} Women must have the head covered in the assemblies because they are inferior in spiritual status to men.
  - vv.11-12 Yet men and women are complementary.
  - vv.13-15 Appeal to natural instinct.
  - v.16 Appeal to Christian custom.
- (*d*) *Disorders at the Lord's Supper* (11^{17-34}).
  - 11^{17-22} Prevalence of greed and drunkenness at the Lord's Supper.
  - vv.23-25 Account of institution.
  - vv.26-29 Responsibility of communicant.
  - vv.30-32 Physical evil and death caused by unworthy reception.
  - vv.33-34 Command to avoid gluttony and self-assertion.
- (*e*) *Spiritual gifts* (12^{1}–14^{40}).
  - 12^{1-3} The test of a Spirit is his attitude to Jesus.
  - vv.4-11 The gifts of the Spirit are diverse, but all for use.
  - vv.12-13 Christ is One; yet we in our variety are members of His Body.
  - vv.14-26 The members of the natural body are interdependent.
  - vv.27-31 So is it with Christ's Body. Yet some gifts are greater than others.
  - 13^{1-3} But all gifts are useless without love.
  - vv.4-7 Description of love.
  - vv.8-12 Temporary character of spiritual gifts contrasted with permanence of love.
  - v.13 Faith, hope, and love are permanent, and love is the greatest.
  - 14^{1-5} Superiority of prophecy to tongues.
  - vv.6-19 Unintelligibility of tongues.
  - vv.20-22 The only use of tongues is as a miraculous sign to unbelievers.
  - vv.23-25 An outsider is impressed more by prophecy than by tongues.
  - vv.26-33 Need of order in the assemblies.
  - vv.34-36 Women forbidden to speak in the assemblies.

* Cf. G. G. Findlay, in *Expositor*, 6th ser. i. [1900] 401 ff.

* v.21 may contain an exception in the case of slaves; but the Greek is ambiguous.

† The meaning of this passage is not quite certain, but cf. art. 'Agapetæ' in *ERE*.

1437-40 Final appeal for order and submission to St. Paul's authority.

IV. *THE RESURRECTION.*—An answer to those who doubted about the resurrection of Christians (ch. 15).

151-11 Summary of St. Paul's Gospel, of which the resurrection is an essential part.

vv.12-19 The resurrection of Christians depends on the fact of Christ's Resurrection.

vv.20-22 Parallel between Christ and Adam.

vv.23-28 The final consummation, the reign of the Father, when Christ, having subdued all His enemies, delivers up to Him the Kingdom.

vv.29-32 Christian practices, Christian endurance and self-denial unintelligible without the Resurrection.

vv.33-34 Knowledge of Resurrection should be an incentive to energy in Christian life.

vv.35-38 Nature of resurrection body. Analogy of seed.

vv.39-41 Variety of natural kinds.

vv.42-46 The natural body is the suitable framework of man's present self; his future body will be the suitable framework for him when he has become spiritual.

vv.47-49 So man must be changed from the likeness of the First to that of the Second Adam.

vv.50-53 At the Last Trump, the dead shall arise incorruptible, and those who are still on earth will be suddenly changed and glorified.

vv.54-57 This is the conquest of death.

v.58 This gospel of the Resurrection gives value to all moral effort.

V. *PERSONAL MATTERS* (ch. 16).

161-4 Arrangements about collection.

vv.5-9 St. Paul's intention to come and make some stay at Corinth.

vv.10-11 Commendation of Timothy.

v.12 Apollos' unwillingness to come.

vv.13-14 Final exhortation.

vv.15-16 Commendation of the household of Stephanas.

vv.17-18 Thankfulness for the coming of Stephanas and others.

vv.19-24 Salutations and benediction.

4. St. Paul's relations with Corinth between 1 and 2 Corinthians.—It is necessary to go into some detail with regard to the relations between St. Paul and Corinth after the dispatch of 1 Cor., as many questions connected with 2 Cor. depend upon the view taken of the external history.

(*a*) *Visit of Timothy.*—In 1 Co 4^{17} St. Paul speaks of sending Timothy to Corinth, apparently with a mission to deal with the party-spirit that was prevalent there. But in 16^{10} he speaks as though it were uncertain whether Timothy would arrive. In Ac 19^{22} we read that Timothy went into Macedonia. If that refers, as is probable, to the same journey, Timothy must have had a mission to discharge in Macedonia as well as in Corinth. We hear nothing of his arrival at Corinth. But it is quite certain that St. Paul did receive from some source very bad news from Corinth. It is on the whole probable that Timothy went to Corinth, and found the situation there very bad, that he made no impression, and that he returned with alarming news to St. Paul at Ephesus.

(*b*) *St. Paul's second visit ἐν λύπῃ.*—On the receipt of bad news from Corinth, whether from Timothy or from some other source, St. Paul sailed thither in person, but his visit was unsuccessful, and he soon went back again to Asia Minor. The evidence for this visit is to be found in three passages of 2 Cor., viz. 13^{1-2} 12^{14} 2^{1}. The most natural exegesis of 13^{1-2} and 12^{14} implies that he had been to Corinth twice already, though it is just possible to avoid this conclusion. When these two passages are combined with 2^{1}, the case for a second visit to Corinth becomes overwhelming, for in 2^{1} it is implied that St. Paul had paid a visit to Corinth ἐν λύπῃ. Now such a description would not apply to his first visit, which was a distinct success, in spite of certain disappointments and sorrows. The fact that this visit is not mentioned in Acts is unimportant. It was very brief, and in the main unsuccessful. The difficulties which occasioned it were afterwards settled, and it would not naturally enter into the plan followed by the author of Acts.

This visit must have been paid after 1 Cor. had been written, for in that Epistle St. Paul speaks throughout as though there had been only one visit. His knowledge of the state of affairs at Corinth is derived from information received, not from personal observation (cf. 1^{11} 5^{1} 11^{18}), and in 4^{21} he shows that he realized the possibility that he might have to pay a second visit, though he was not sure about it.

(*c*) *The severe letter.*—On his return to Ephesus, St. Paul wrote a severe letter 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart.' The letter so referred to in 2 Co 2^{4} must have been written at this time, though efforts have been made to identify it either with 1 Cor. or with the 'previous letter' alluded to in that Epistle (1 Co 5^{9}; see above, § 2). 1 Cor. was certainly not written 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears.' It is calm and in the main unemotional. Moreover, the references to the 'severe letter' in 2 Co $7^{8.9}$ 3^{1} 1^{23} 2^{1} do not suit 1 Cor. particularly well. There is not a word in 1 Cor. to suggest that he was shrinking from a visit for fear of its being unpleasant. The 'previous letter' is also impossible. For St. Paul only heard that his 'severe letter' had brought the Corinthians to repentance when Titus returned and met him in Macedonia (see below). But, when writing 1 Cor., St. Paul had already had an answer to the 'previous letter' (1 Co 5^{9-11}).

The theory has been put forward that part of the 'severe letter' is to be found in 2 Co 10–13. If this theory is correct, we should expect to find (1) a great difference in tone and spirit between the two parts of the Epistle, together with a sudden break of the sense at the end of ch. 9: the last four chapters should be severe and threatening, the first nine should be encouraging, cheerful, and forgiving; (2) a certain number of cross-references, passages in the first nine chapters which seem to look back to the last four; (3) a solution of the rather intricate question of the relations of Titus with Corinth.

(1) The first nine chapters are clearly written at a time when St. Paul has suddenly been relieved from very great anxiety by the arrival of Titus and the good news which he has brought from Corinth (7^{4-7} 2^{12-13}). The whole tone of these chapters is one of great relief, apparently caused by the impression produced by his 'severe letter.' But in chs. 10–13 we find great anxiety and great passion. The change cannot fail to be noticed by any reader of the Epistle. And there is a marked break in the sense at the end of ch. 9. After speaking of the collection, and ending with an ascription of praise to God, suddenly, without even an ἀλλά, he begins to threaten his readers. This has been accounted for by those who believe in the integrity of the Epistle in two ways—(i.) That the first nine chapters were addressed to the repentant majority, the last four to the rebellious minority. But there is no hint of this. Ch. 10 is apparently addressed to the Church as a whole. There seems no room for a repentant majority. And chs. 1–9 give no hint of a rebellious minority (cf. 7^{13-15}). (ii.) That St. Paul received later news from Corinth while writing the Epistle, and wrote the last four chapters in the light of this later news. But surely there would have been some indication of this. He could hardly have allowed the earlier part to stand without alteration.

(2) We find certain apparent cross-references between the two parts of the Epistle, pointed out by Kennedy in his *Second and Third Epistles to the Corinthians* (pp. 79–94), and by Lake in *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul* (pp. 157–162). Of these the most striking is the parallel between 2^{3} and 13^{10}. In 2^{3} the Apostle states that he wrote a severe letter in order that when he came he might not have to be so severe. In 13^{10} he says that he is at that moment writing a severe letter, that he

may not have to be severe when he comes. Again in 1^{23} we have a parallel with 13^{2}.

(3) The visit of Titus to Corinth mentioned in 7^{6} was with, or at the same time as, the 'severe letter.' 8^{17-18} shows that St. Paul was sending Titus *again* to make arrangements for the collection. This surely he would not have ventured to do if he were under the necessity of writing in the tone of chs. 10–13. No man would send a letter full of rebuke, and of self-justification in the face of what seem to have been charges of dishonesty, and in the same letter ask his readers to subscribe money. In 12^{14} he alludes to his custom of taking no money from them for himself personally. He assumes (v.^{16}) that they admit this, but then he says that they may accuse him of winning their confidence with a view to future efforts to get something out of them. How? he asks. Not by his representatives; *e.g.* Titus never 'made gain out of them.' Clearly he alludes to some early work of Titus at Corinth. Titus they know and trust. So he is a suitable person to send at this critical moment to Corinth. In ch. 7 we hear of the success of his mission. The fact that he was a *persona grata* at first and has recently been successful there makes him a very suitable person to send again (ch. 8) to arrange about the collection.

Finally, the last four chapters of 2 Cor. answer admirably to the descriptions we have of the 'severe letter.' They might well have been written 'out of much affliction and anguish of heart, with many tears' (2^{4}). It is quite conceivable that after writing them St. Paul might have regretted sending them and wondered whether they were not too severe (7^{8-9}). Self-commendation is a very prominent feature in them (3^{1}). They show that the Apostle was contemplating, but shrinking from, a visit which he might have to pay (12^{20-21} 13^{1}). This corresponds to 1^{23} and 2^{1}. Thus the internal evidence for the theory is very strong. No single point is in itself conclusive; but the conjunction of different lines of evidence, and the fact that the theory straightens out a tangled web and solves many problems, is very significant.

The theory is made easier of acceptance by the fact that 2 Cor. appears not to have been published at an early date (see above, § 1). The Corinthian Church would hardly have wanted to publish the 'severe letter,' and the later letter is in the main personal, and does not contain much instruction. It is quite possible that the MSS were not carefully preserved, and the two letters may have been confused.

(*d*) *Visit of Titus.*—The 'severe letter' and the mission of Titus already alluded to were apparently successful, and Titus met St. Paul in Macedonia, bringing him reassuring news (2 Co 7^{6-7}), after which St. Paul wrote, according to the theory we have adopted, 2 Co 1–9, probably sending Titus with it, and instructing him to make arrangements for the collection.

5. Analysis of 2 Co 10–13.

I. *Strong rebuke* (10^{1-18}).
- 10^{1-2} Appeal, and threat of strong action against his detractors.
- vv.3-6 Claim to possession of spiritual power, and description of that power.
- v.7 The Christ-party's exclusive claim unjustified.
- vv.8-11 Threat of exertion of spiritual power on arrival at Corinth.
- vv.12-16 St. Paul's boasting, unlike that of his opponents, shall be confined to his own sphere of work.
- vv.17-18 But all self-commendation is to be deprecated.

II. *St. Paul's self-commendation and its reasons* (11^{1}–12^{18}).

(*a*) *The reasons* (11^{1-15}).
- 11^{1-3} His fears for them.
- v.4 Their tolerance of new preachers.
- vv.5-6 Comparison of himself with these preachers.
- vv.7-11 His refusal of maintenance.
- vv.12-15 Its reason—avoidance of unfavourable comparison with them.

(*b*) *The self-commendation* (11^{16}–12^{18}).
- 11^{16-20} Apology for boasting.
- vv.21-22 Comparison of himself with his rivals in respect of religious prerogatives.
- vv.23-33 In respect of sufferings on behalf of the gospel.
- 12^{1-5} In respect of visions and revelations.
- vv.6-10 The thorn in the flesh and its significance.
- vv.11-13 Comparison resumed in respect of work done at Corinth.
- vv.14-18 Justification of his refusal of maintenance.

III. *Forecast of a third visit to Corinth* (12^{19}–13^{10}).
- 12^{19-21} His fears about what he may find at Corinth.
- 13^{1-2} Threat of severe action.
- vv.3-5 This is likely to be made necessary by their accusation of weakness. Discussion of this.
- vv.6-10 His hope that after all it may not be necessary.

IV. *Exhortation, salutation, and benediction* (13^{11-14}).

It is impossible to feel any certainty about the place of 13^{11-14}. Some think that it is really the conclusion of chs. 1 to 9. But there seems no good reason to think that it is in its wrong place. St. Paul might quite well have concluded the 'severe letter' with ordinary exhortations and salutations. The decision is made difficult by the fact that in any case chs. 10–13 can be no more than a fragment of the 'severe letter,' and we have no means of judging what proportion of that letter has been lost.

6. Analysis of 2 Co 1–9.

I. *St. Paul's relations with Corinth* (1. 2).
- 1^{1-2} Salutation.
- vv.3-5 Thanksgiving for consolation.
- vv.6-7 Parallelism of their experiences with his.
- vv.8-11 His sufferings and deliverance in Asia.
- vv.12-14 His clear conscience.
- vv.15-22 His failure to carry out his previous intention of visiting them was not due to fickleness.
- 1^{23}–2^{2} It was due to his desire to spare them.
- 2^{3-4} Reason for writing the 'severe letter.'
- vv.5-11 Exhortation to forgive the offender.
- vv.12-13 His anxiety previous to his meeting with Titus.
- vv.14-17 His thankfulness to God for His use of him.

II. *Vindication of St. Paul's life and work as an Apostle* (3–7).
- 3^{1-3} His 'letter of commendation' is nothing but his relations with them.
- vv.4-6 His confidence, based on this, as a minister of the New Covenant.
- vv.7-9 The old and the new dispensations compared in respect of content.
- vv.10-11 In respect of permanence.
- vv.12-16 In respect of clearness and openness.
- vv.17-18 The new dispensation brings liberty and transformation into Christ's likeness.
- 4^{1-2} Consequent openness of Christian preacher.
- vv.3-4 Any obscurity is due to the blindness of the hearers.
- vv.5-6 For the content of the preaching is Christ, the Illuminator.
- v.7 Weakness of human preacher makes manifest God's power.
- vv.8-12 His continual difficulties, which are not, however, insuperable, show that the life manifest in his converts comes from Christ.
- vv.13-15 All his efforts are based on faith, and directed to their conversion to the end of God's glory.
- vv.16-18 So he works on, while the body grows weaker, but the spirit stronger.
- 5^{1-5} Gradual dissolution of weak earthly bodies succeeded by bestowal of new spiritual bodies.
- vv.6-8 So death shall mean presence with Christ.
- vv.9-10 Therefore, in view of the Judgment, he strives to do His will.
- vv.11-13 This must be his defence against charges alike of fanaticism and of excessive self-restraint.
- vv.14-15 The constraining motive in everything is Christ's Love.
- vv.16-19 This transforms everything, so that he has a new and spiritual knowledge of Christ and Christians.
- vv.20-21 As Christ's ambassador he preaches reconciliation to God, made possible through Christ's Sacrifice.
- 6^{1-2} His instant appeal to them.
- vv.3-5 As a Christian minister he endures hardships.
- vv.6-7 He displays supernatural virtues.
- vv.8-10 His life is one of continual contrasts.
- vv.11-13 He exhorts them to respond to his affection.
- 6^{14}–7^{1} Impossibility of Christians associating with immoral persons.
- 7^{2-4} His affectionate and honourable relations with them.
- vv.5-7 The relief brought to him by the coming of Titus.
- vv.8-12 Satisfactory result of the 'severe letter.'
- vv.13-16 The joy of Titus.

III. *The Collection for the poor Christians at Jerusalem* (8. 9).
- 8^{1-5} The generosity of the churches of Macedonia.
- vv.6-7 His injunctions to Titus to stir up the Corinthians in like manner.
- vv.8-9 The example of Christ.
- vv.10-12 Appeal to them to carry out their good resolutions.

9$^{12-15}$ Need of reciprocity among churches.
vv.$^{16-24}$ Commendation of the deputation which he sends.
9$^{1-5}$ Necessity of immediate action if his boasting is not to be falsified.
vv.$^{6-7}$ Cheerful giving.
vv.$^{8-11}$ Generosity brings a blessing.
vv.$^{12-15}$ It also redounds to the glory and praise of God.

7. Integrity of 2 Co 1–9.—Attempts have been made to divide our 2 Cor. still further, or to ascribe portions of it to a later editor or editors. Drastic reconstructions have been proposed, *e.g.*, by A. Halmel,* D. Völter,† and H. Lisco.‡ But such elaborations have but little to recommend them. There are, however, reasons for thinking that 2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1} is a passage which has got misplaced. It occurs in the middle of an affectionate appeal made by St. Paul to the Corinthians, and appears to have no connexion with what precedes and what follows it. The supposed connexion is that St. Paul urges them to show their affection for him by ceasing from their immorality. But a closer examination of the passage shows that the point is not that they should cease to be immoral, but that they should abstain from intercourse with unbelievers. Now we know from 1 Co 5$^{9-13}$ that in a letter written previously to the Corinthians he had spoken on this subject, and that they had asked for an explanation of his exact meaning, and in the passage referred to he explains that he did not mean, as they supposed, that they were not to have anything to do with non-Christians, but only that immoral Christians were to be avoided. In the absence of definite evidence it is impossible to be certain, but it is clear that 2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1} would naturally be interpreted to mean what the Corinthians did as a matter of fact suppose St. Paul to mean. And for this reason, taken together with its irrelevance in its present position, it seems extremely likely that it is an extract from the 'previous letter,' which has by some means been misplaced. If it is omitted here, the sense runs on admirably from 2 Co 6^{13} to 7^{2}; and we avoid the necessity of having to suppose an extremely unnatural digression on the part of St. Paul.

Another view which seems to deserve special consideration is that which finds the situation implied in ch. 8 inconsistent with that in ch. 9. After the earnest exhortation to liberality contained in ch. 8, we hardly expect to find in 9 the words: 'About the ministration to the saints it is superfluous for me to write to you.' Moreover, these last words would certainly suggest that the 'ministration to the saints' was a new subject, with which he had not so far dealt. J. S. Semler,§ therefore, propounded the hypothesis that ch. 9 was a separate letter, addressed to the Christians of Achaia. Others have supposed that it is ch. 8 that ought to be separated from the rest of the Epistle (*e.g.* Hagge, Michelson). It is no doubt true that, as the chapters stand, there is a certain amount of repetition, and, as has been noticed above, the beginning of ch. 9 would be more natural if ch. 8 did not precede it. Moreover, the subject of the 'collection' seems to be treated at disproportionate length. Yet these considerations are not really conclusive. There is no question that St. Paul attached very great importance to the 'collection' alike for religious and political reasons; and when he feels strongly about a subject he often deals with it in an emotional and rather disconnected manner. This would account also for the disproportionate length of his references to it. And the situation implied in ch. 9, taken as a whole, is not really inconsistent with that implied in ch. 8. With some hesitation, therefore, we conclude that it is unnecessary to separate chs. 8 and 9, and that it is probable that they are in their right places.

8. The troubles at Corinth.—We must now discuss the nature of the troubles at Corinth—a subject of great complexity. The evidence at our disposal is really not sufficient to enable us to arrive at a positive conclusion. The fact that we only possess a portion of the 'severe letter,' in which St. Paul deals with the troubles at their height, and that the portion which we possess does not include his treatment of the specific difficulties, but is only a discussion in general terms, ambiguous to us because of our ignorance of the context, adds greatly to the complexity of the problem. But there are certain passages in both Epistles which throw some light on the situation.

(*a*) In 2 Co 2$^{5-11}$ 7^{12} St. Paul speaks of a particular offender. It appears that he has been sentenced to some punishment by a majority of the Corinthians (*ὑπὸ τῶν πλειόνων*). St. Paul says that the sentence is adequate. The language of the passage suggests the existence of a dissentient minority, and it would seem that St. Paul is addressing this minority when he gives his exhortation that the offender should now be forgiven and encouraged, lest he should be swallowed up by excessive grief. It seems most probable that the minority had objected to the sentence as inadequate; and this would imply that they were what we may call an ultra-Pauline party. This suits the passage better than the older view that they were hostile to St. Paul, and objected to the sentence as excessive. St. Paul's use of the word *ἱκανόν* makes it clear that the objection was rather that the sentence was inadequate. St. Paul says in effect that the sentence passed by the majority satisfies him, and urges them to forgive the man, implying that their forgiveness will make all the difference to the man's happiness. Who then was the offender, and what had he done? The view that he was the man guilty of incest, mentioned in 1 Co 5, cannot possibly be right. For in 2 Co 7^{12} St. Paul says: 'I wrote not for his sake who did the wrong, nor for his sake who suffered the wrong, but that your zeal for us might be made manifest to you in the sight of God.' But (1) it is clear from 1 Co 5^{5} that in that case St. Paul was writing 'for his sake who did the wrong'; (2) 'He who suffered the wrong' (*ὁ ἀδικηθείς*) would have to be the man's father. This would involve the supposition that the father was alive, and that a Corinthian Christian had actually taken to wife his father's wife during the lifetime of his father without protest from his fellow-Christians. The language of 1 Co 5 does imply that it was a gross case of immorality, but it is hardly conceivable that this could really have occurred. And, if it had occurred, St. Paul would surely not have treated it as lightly as he seems to treat it in 2 Co 2$^{5-11}$ and 7^{12}. The language of these passages suggests rather that the offence was a personal one, that the offender had grossly insulted St. Paul when he came to Corinth, and that *ὁ ἀδικηθείς* was St. Paul himself. The suggestion has been made that *ὁ ἀδικηθείς* was Timothy, and that he had been insulted when he visited Corinth (cf. 1 Co 4^{17} 16^{10}). This is possible, but it is more probable that the reference is to an insult inflicted on St. Paul himself: the fragment of the 'severe letter' which we possess is full of defence of his authority, which had clearly been in some way attacked. No doubt there was a reference to the offender in the part of the 'severe letter' which is lost. St. Paul's authority had been attacked, but it is not clear from what quarter the attack had proceeded.

(*b*) In 1 Co 1^{12} we read of the existence of factions or parties at Corinth. It is possible that

* *Der zweite Korintherbrief des Apostels Paulus*, Halle, 1904.
† *Paulus und seine Briefe*, Strassburg, 1905.
‡ *Die Entstehung des zweiten Korintherbriefes*, Berlin, 1896.
§ *Paraphrasis in Pauli ad Cor. Epistolas*, Halle, 1770, 1776.

here we may have the key to the Corinthian troubles, for one of the parties at any rate may probably either have been from the first anti-Pauline or have afterwards turned hostile to St. Paul. It will therefore be convenient at this stage to consider these parties. First of all, St. Paul, with characteristic tact, mentions the party which took his name, and condemns them. He then mentions the party of Apollos. The latter clearly did not exist in opposition to St. Paul with the consent of Apollos (1 Co 16^{12}). Apollos (*q.v.*) was a Jew of Alexandria, who, after instruction from Priscilla and Aquila, went into Achaia, where he was very helpful to those who had believed, being particularly skilful at confuting the Jews, and using for this purpose his great knowledge of Scripture (Ac 18^{24-28}). Until he met with Priscilla and Aquila, we are told that 'he spake and taught accurately the things concerning Jesus, knowing only the baptism of John.'

The meaning of this is uncertain, but it is probable (cf. art. by J. H. A. Hart on 'Apollos' in *JThSt* vii. [1905] 16 ff.) that it means that he was fully acquainted with Messianic prophecy, but did not know to whom it referred, 'the things concerning Jesus' being texts from the OT which from the Christian point of view referred to Jesus, though not, of course, from the point of view of Apollos himself at this time. This interpretation gives a more intelligible sense to the passage than that which is at first sight more natural, viz. that τὰ περὶ Ἰησοῦ means the history of Jesus' life. It would imply that he preached the same message as John the Baptist—a message of the imminence of the Kingdom, the marks of the Messiah, and the need for repentance. His instruction at the hands of Priscilla and Aquila taught him to whom the Messianic passages with which he was familiar referred. And at Corinth his knowledge of Scripture was turned to good account in showing that the Messiah had come and was none other than Jesus. The view that the intellectualist tendencies condemned in the early chapters of 1 Cor. were particularly characteristic of the party of Apollos is not susceptible of proof, but it is not inconsistent with what we know of Apollos. For Alexandria was the home of philosophy, and Apollos was an Alexandrian Jew. We do not, however, know that he was a disciple of Philo, and we do know that he was a disciple of John the Baptist. These discipleships might be combined in the same person, but it does not seem altogether probable. The fact is that there is no evidence, and we must be content to leave the matter doubtful.

The party of Cephas was in all probability a Judaizing party. To say this does not involve the view that St. Peter was himself a Judaizer. But it is extremely likely that those who used his name were so. Lake (*The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, pp. 112–117) maintains that it is probable that St. Peter had himself been to Corinth, and that there is no likelihood of his party having been Judaizing. But this is perhaps the least convincing part of his admirable discussion of the Epistles to the Corinthians. The policy of St. Peter was one of friendliness to the work and mission of St. Paul, combined with a personal respect for and adhesion to the Law. The Acts certainly represents St. Peter as acquiescing in the freedom of the Gentiles from the Law, but does not forbid the supposition that he acquiesced with some reluctance. A modified and liberal Judaism would describe his position with sufficient accuracy. This may well represent the policy of his party at Corinth. Probably also they went behind the authority of St. Paul to that of the Twelve, of whom St. Peter was the recognized leader. It is most likely that the main point in dispute between them and the Pauline party was this question of St. Paul's independent authority. But we have no indication that they were an important body at Corinth.

The Christ-party is the real difficulty. Some have held that ἐγὼ δὲ Χριστοῦ is not the watchword of a party, but St. Paul's own cry. But the form of the sentence makes this most improbable. Moreover, there are indications in 2 Cor. of the existence of a Christ-party at Corinth (10^{7}). This party apparently questioned St. Paul's authority. Their leaders commend themselves (10^{12}), *i.e.* arrogate a lofty position to themselves. They are probably referred to (11^{5}) as οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι. It appears that they declined to take money from the Corinthians.* But he says that they are false apostles, deceitful workers. In justifying his own position against them he says that he too is a Hebrew, etc. (11^{22}). He certainly excels them in the amount of his sufferings for Christ. In the matter of visions and revelations he is at least their equal. Therefore he is in no respect inferior to them (12^{11}).

Broadly speaking, there are two views as to the character of this Christ-party. The first is that they were Judaizers, representatives of the party who sent emissaries to Antioch and preached the necessity of circumcision for all Christians (Ac $15^{1ff.}$), but were afterwards repudiated by St. James. It is clear from 2 Co 11^{22} that they were Jews who prided themselves on their Jewish birth. But there is no kind of evidence that anyone had told the Corinthians to observe the whole Jewish Law. This is not one of the subjects with which St. Paul has to deal in his Epistles. The danger seems to be the other way. Therefore it is on the whole unlikely that this party were, as has been supposed, more extreme Judaizers than the Cephas party, representing themselves as being in an authoritative position to say what the mind of Christ really was, and what His own practice had been, because of their common descent with Him from an old Jewish stock and because they were in continual communication with His relatives.

A more probable view is that they were spiritualizers rather than Judaizers, and that they went further than St. Paul in the direction of freedom from the Law. The arguments about εἰδωλόθυτα in 1 Co 10 seem to be directed against men who made a boast of their freedom from Jewish restrictions—πάντα ἔξεστιν seems to have been their cry. St. Paul shows the danger of this, and the necessary subservience of any such principle to the law of charity, and consideration for weaker brethren. The whole of 2 Cor. becomes more intelligible if we suppose the opposition to St. Paul to have come from a party of people who regarded themselves as πνευματικοί, and therefore free from restrictions and regulations concerning carnal matters. 2 Co 10^{2} implies that their charge against St. Paul was that he walked according to the flesh, *i.e.* that he was not πνευματικός. The grounds of their attack on his apostolicity were, it seems, such as would most probably be employed by those who regarded themselves as πνευματικοί. For he defends himself not only by asserting his Jewish birth, but, after giving a list of his sufferings for Christ's sake (which is the defence to which he himself attaches most importance), by making claims to visions and revelations (12^{1-10}), and the working of miracles (12^{12}). Throughout the Epistle St. Paul claims to be πνευματικός in the only legitimate sense, quite as much as his opponents (cf. 5^{16}). The fact that

* This would appear from 2 Co 11^{12}, where St. Paul asserts that his object in refusing to accept maintenance was that in the very matter of which they boasted they might be found even as he. This seems to make it clear that they did not accept maintenance, and the phrase εἴ τις κατεσθίει (11^{20}) must be interpreted in accordance with this fact.

these opponents were Jews does not make it impossible that they were also πνευματικοί. We have evidence that there were Jews who did not attach importance to circumcision and the ceremonial Law, but treated the Law as symbolic (cf. Philo, *de Migratione Abrahami*, quoted by Lake, *op. cit.* pp. 24, 25). The attack on the apostolicity of St. Paul is also intelligible from this point of view. An 'apostle' was not much more than a missionary (cf. *Didache*). οἱ ὑπερλίαν ἀπόστολοι cannot in any case be the Twelve, for St. Paul was at this time on good terms with them. Their attack on his apostolicity was based on his lack of spiritual power and γνῶσις, and therefore cannot be regarded as inconsistent with this view of their character. The fact that they seem also to have prided themselves on their Jewish birth, though logically inconsistent, is not at all unnatural. For such pride of birth often remains in people whose view of life makes it wholly irrelevant.

It would seem, then, that the opponents of St. Paul at Corinth were men who boasted that they were above the Law as being in the Spirit. They attacked St. Paul because he was still held in the bonds of a legalism from which they had emancipated themselves, and attached an altogether undue importance to such carnal matters as morality. St. Paul's answer is a claim that he too is πνευματικός; but there underlies this answer an undertone of protest. He does not really accept their tests of apostolicity. While asserting that he can meet them on their own ground, he continually reminds them that spiritual power and knowledge must show themselves in zeal for morality and in actual suffering for Christ's sake. It is on these points that he lays the greatest stress.*

9. The doctrine of the Epistles.—(*a*) *The Person and Work of Christ.*—No one can read the first chapter of 1 Cor. without perceiving that the writer places Jesus Christ in a position which is more than human. There is, of course, no developed doctrine of God to be found either in this chapter or elsewhere in the Epistles, but where St. Paul places God and man over against one another, he consistently puts Jesus Christ on the side of God over against man. Grace and peace are to come to man from God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ (1 Co 1^3, 2 Co 1^2). Jesus is never regarded as a man among men. He is the source, or at any rate the medium, of God's gifts to men. Christians call upon His Name, and the bond of union between Christians in every place is that they recognize the common Lordship of Christ. When St. Paul wants to reprove the Corinthians for the existence of factions among them, his crowning argument is that they are actually degrading Christ to the position of a party-leader, and so putting Him on a level with Apollos, Cephas, or himself. Always he disclaims any independence of Christ. 'We preach not ourselves but Christ Jesus as Lord' (2 Co 4^5). When he is speaking of the exalted position of 'spiritual men' (1 Co $2^{10\text{-}16}$), he points out that the spiritual man is superior to all others, for whereas the 'natural man' can understand and form estimates only of 'natural things,' the spiritual man can form estimates of all things. He has all that the 'natural man' has, and he can move freely in a sphere where the 'natural man' is helpless. And he crowns his argument by a quotation from the OT: 'Who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct him?' That is to say, no one can understand the thoughts of Jahweh. 'But we,' he adds, 'have the mind of Christ.' The 'natural man' cannot understand the mind of God. But we who are spiritual actually have the mind of Christ. The argument of this passage shows that St. Paul, at any rate here, identified Christ with the Jahweh of the OT. This is perhaps the most striking example of the position which he gives to Christ, but it is what the language of the Epistle throughout would lead us to expect. He clearly regards Christ as having existed before He was born upon earth. 'Though he was rich, for our sake he became poor' (2 Co 8^9). Yet it would be dangerous to assert that he had a clear and consistent view of the relation of Christ to the Father. He regards Christ as sent by the Father, as in some sense belonging to the Father (1 Co 3^{23}). And in 11^3 he seems to imply that the relation of God to Christ is parallel with the relation of Christ to man, and again with the relation of man to woman. It seems superfluous, however, to suppose that he had a very definite conception in his mind. He need not have meant more than that, as Christ does the will of God, so man is to be obedient to Christ, and woman to man. In 15^{28} he looks forward to the time when the mediatorial Kingdom of Christ shall come to an end, and God shall be all in all. There is no reference here to any termination of the personal existence of Christ; he is only thinking of the end of His mediatorial Kingdom. But it seems clear from this and the other passages mentioned that he regards Christ as being definitely subordinate to the Father, though, as has been said above, always on the Godward side of things, over against man. He had not faced the question of the bearing of this view on monotheism.

As to the human life of Christ he has no doubt. 'He was crucified through weakness' (2 Co 13^4). His Cross and Passion are the centre of the gospel message. There is probably no Epistle in which it is made so clear that St. Paul regards the Cross as the centre of the Christian Creed. 'We preach Christ crucified' (1 Co 1^{23}). 'The story of the Cross is to them that are perishing foolishness, but to us that are being saved it is the power of God' (1^{18}). There is very little in the way of an explanation of the significance of the Cross. 'God was in Christ reconciling the world to himself.' 'Him who knew no sin he made to be sin for us, that we might become the righteousness of God in him' (2 Co $5^{19\text{-}21}$). But here again it is a mistake to suppose that St. Paul had in mind any detailed theory of Atonement. There was a sense in which the death of Christ was a sacrifice (1 Co 5^7); but there is no theory of the Atonement either stated or implied.

There is, however, a great deal of explicit teaching about the relation between Christ and Christians. Christians are in Christ, and Christ is in them. This relationship is brought about by the action of God (1 Co 1^{30}). And on this mystical union of the Christian with Christ his spiritual status entirely depends. It is Christ with whom he is united that is his wisdom. He is justified, sanctified, and redeemed because of this union. The Christian calling can be described as a calling into fellowship with Jesus Christ (1^9). And this union makes a complete change in a man's whole position. 'If anyone is in Christ, it is a new creation: old things have passed away; behold they have become new' (2 Co 5^{17}). It is impossible to exaggerate the stress which is laid by St. Paul on this experience of union with Christ.

(*b*) *The Church and the Christian ministry.*—The ruling thought of St. Paul about the Christian Church is expressed by the metaphor of the Body and the members (1 Co 12). The gifts of the Spirit are most diverse in kind; but it is One Spirit who is the giver of them all. Just as in the human body the members are diverse, and for all their diversity of function are closely inter-related, and

* For this whole section see Lake, *op. cit.*, where the case is lucidly and convincingly stated.

all of them necessary, so it is with the Church, which is indeed the Body of Christ. Every individual member of the Church has a necessary part to play. Being a member of the Church, he is necessarily a member of Christ. He does not give a list of ecclesiastical officials. To suppose that he does so is to misunderstand his argument. He merely gives specimens of the diverse spiritual gifts which God has bestowed upon the Church, and the lesson which he desires to teach is the lesson of unity—the same lesson as he tries to inculcate when he rebukes the Corinthians for their factions (1 Co $1^{10ff.}$) —diversity in unity, a unity which is secured by the fact that the whole body is the Body of Christ, and that the Spirit from whom the diverse gifts descend is One. The Church is also compared to the Temple of God (1 Co 3^{16}) built upon the One Foundation, Jesus Christ (3^{11}). Here the lesson is the same. The Christian teachers are indeed different from one another, but all of them build upon that One Foundation.

This brings us to the consideration of the position which he assigns to the Christian ministry, about which there is a good deal in the Epistles. While deprecating strongly any usurpation by Christian teachers of what should belong to Christ alone, and asserting that they exist only for the benefit of the Church, he claims for them an independence of the Church which they serve. They are responsible to Christ, and to Him alone (1 Co $4^{3.4}$). They are slaves of men, but they are ambassadors of Christ. And their authority can be put to the test. St. Paul always claims that if he exerts his authority he will be able to reduce his opponents to subjection (4^{18-21}, 2 Co 10^{11} 13^{3}). He seems to have been prepared to allow that the authority of the Christian minister should be tested by his spiritual power, which would on occasion manifest itself by producing physical or natural results. An instance of this is to be found in 1 Co 5^{5}, where he speaks of delivering a man over to Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus. He seems to mean that the carrying out of the sentence passed by himself, and confirmed by the Corinthian Church, would result in the death of the offender, and that this would ultimately be for the salvation of his soul. The passage may be paralleled by the story of Ananias and Sapphira (Ac 5^{1-11}). As a rule, however, spiritual power produced results which were themselves spiritual; and the main proof of his own authority as a Christian minister was the existence of the Corinthian Church.

(*c*) *The Eucharist.*—The accidental circumstance that difficulties had arisen in the Church at Corinth owing to the bad behaviour of some Corinthians at the common meal with which the Eucharist was associated, is responsible for the fact that we have in 1 Co $11^{23ff.}$ our earliest account of the institution of the Eucharist. But in the same Epistle it is alluded to in two other connexions. When St. Paul is using the example of the Israelites as a warning to the Corinthian Church against presuming upon their privileges, he gives as instances of the privileges of the Israelites the cloud which went with them and the sea which they miraculously crossed, and also the rock which, according to the Jewish legend, followed them, and from which they drank. These he clearly regards as types of Baptism and the Eucharist. Thus he puts into close association as the two great privileges of the Christian Church the two Sacraments of the Gospel (1 Co 10^{2-4}). And immediately afterwards, in warning the Corinthians against idolatry, he treats the Eucharist as parallel with the heathen sacrificial feasts, thus clearly showing that he regards it as a sacrifice in the same sense in which these heathen feasts were sacrifices. He regards the communicant as entering into real communion with Christ through the act of eating the bread and drinking the cup; and similarly he seems to regard real communion as brought about between the worshipper at the heathen sacrifice and some *δαιμόνιον* whose power was behind the idolatrous worship (10^{14-22}). His account of the institution he prefaces by the words, 'I received from the Lord' (11^{23}), and this has been taken to mean that he claims to have received it from the Lord Himself, presumably in a vision. But this is not certain. Even if it is true, it by no means follows that he claims to receive all the details of his account in this way. It may be that he merely intends to convey the impression that he received directly from the Lord a revelation of the general doctrinal meaning of the Eucharist. It is important to remember that he claims to have had other visions and revelations of the Lord (2 Co 12^{1-9}). His account of the institution is marked by the command to repeat the rite, which is given twice, after the institution of both bread and cup. He connects it with the death of Christ, which is thus proclaimed. He attaches great importance to due preparation for reception; and asserts that physical evils have resulted from unworthy reception and failure to discern the Body, which seems to mean failure to differentiate the bread from ordinary bread. It may be said here briefly that St. Paul's teaching about the Eucharist is that it is sacrificial, that it brings about a real communion between the communicant and Christ, that the bread and the wine are endowed with the character of the Body and Blood of Christ, and must not therefore be received as ordinary bread and wine. See further art. EUCHARIST.

(*d*) *Eschatology.*—St. Paul's treatment of the questions submitted to him is always coloured by his belief in the imminence of the *παρουσία*. Christians are 'waiting for the revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Co 1^{7}). His language implies that he expects some at any rate of those to whom he is writing to be alive at the *παρουσία*, and he appears to expect to be alive himself (15^{51-52}). The chief characteristic of the *παρουσία* will be judgment (2 Co 5^{10}). The work of the Christian minister will then be tested (1 Co 3^{13}). The Parousia will be the signal for the beginning of the mediatorial reign of Christ. 'He must reign, till he hath put all his enemies under his feet' (1 Co 15^{25}). And then finally comes the end of His reign, when God's rule shall be unmediated (v.^{28}). It is important to notice that St. Paul does not discuss in these Epistles the future condition of those who are not Christians. It is with the resurrection of Christians that he is here concerned. For them he affirms the resurrection of the body. But it is to be noticed that he differentiates the body from its parts, 'Meats for the belly,' he says, 'and the belly for meats: but God shall bring to nought both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication, but for the Lord, and the Lord for the body: and God both raised the Lord and will raise us also through his power' (6^{13-14}). The new spiritual body will differ from the old as the fruit differs from the seed sown. This life is the time of sowing, and the nature of the spiritual body will depend upon the character of the seed. But it will not be of flesh and blood, and it will have no element of corruption (15^{50}). It will be a full and complete means of self-expression for the 'spiritual' man, just as the 'natural' body is a suitable means of self-expression for the 'natural' man, but is already found inadequate for Christians, who are even now becoming 'spiritual.' Christians have received an earnest of the spiritual body in the gift of the Holy Spirit (2 Co 5^{5}). The metaphor of which he is most fond is that of a garment. He is to be

clothed with this new spiritual body (1 Co 15^{38}, 2 Co $5^{1ff.}$).

10. St. Paul's attitude to practical questions.—(*a*) *εἰδωλόθυτα.*—One of the problems which faced the Corinthian Christians was the question of their attitude to the eating of things sacrificed to idols. This affected their social life very nearly. For much of the meat sold in the market had been offered to idols, and their heathen friends would give banquets in idol-temples, using in the banquet food that had been offered to the idols on domestic and other anniversaries. Moreover, in the ordinary entertainments given by heathen there was a possibility that some of the food had been so offered. It might have been supposed that the question would be regarded as settled for St. Paul by the Apostolic Decree (Ac 15). But, whatever be the reason, no allusion at all is made to any decree of the kind. St. Paul deals with the matter on first principles. He enunciates the law of liberty, which must, he says, be tempered by the law of love. At first he makes a strong assertion of monotheism. Idols, he says, are nothing (1 Co 8^{4}). But elsewhere he seems to admit that there is, or may be, the power of a *δαιμόνιον* behind the idolatrous worship (10^{20}; see above, § 9 (*c*)). Whatever that power may be, there is no danger to the Christian in the mere act of eating. But there is a danger for a man who has only recently emancipated himself from idolatrous belief and practice, lest he may be acting against his own conscience if he eats. There is also a danger lest by eating he may offend the conscience of his weaker brethren. And so St. Paul's conclusion is that Christians may eat what is set before them without asking questions, may accept invitations to dine with their heathen neighbours, but may not go and dine in a heathen temple, which would be a mere act of bravado. This is a good illustration of St. Paul's method of dealing with practical problems, and settling them upon fundamental Christian principles. The whole discussion of this question in the Epistle is rendered much more intelligible if we suppose that the opponents with whom he had to deal regarded themselves as *πνευματικοί*. This supposition accounts for the protest which he makes against self-styled *γνῶσις*, on which men relied, and thus felt themselves justified in ignoring the scruples of their brethren.

(*b*) *Marriage and the position of women.*—St. Paul's teaching upon this question is conditioned by the attitude to women common in the world in which he lived, and also by his expectation of the *παρουσία*. As the time is so short, it is best for people to remain in the external circumstances in which they were when they were converted (1 Co 7^{18-20}). As to the desirability of marriage, he lays stress upon the necessity of the avoidance of anything that can distract the Christian from the service of God. In most cases he thinks marriage will constitute a distraction. Therefore for most people celibacy is desirable. But if celibacy constitutes a greater distraction than marriage, then Christians should marry. There is no hint of any view of conjugal relations as being in themselves evil. The only consideration present to his mind is as to whether marriage will help or hinder a Christian in the service of God. His view that celibacy from this point of view is the best state is put forward on his own authority.

But for the indissolubility of Christian marriage he claims the authority of Christ Himself (1 Co $7^{10, 11}$). As to this he is quite explicit. A wife must not separate from her husband; if she do so, she must not marry another; and a husband must not leave his wife. But where two non-Christians have been married, and one of them is afterwards converted, then, if the unbelieving partner is willing, St. Paul thinks it is best that the marriage should be regarded as binding; yet he allows divorce, apparently with liberty of re-marriage (7^{15}). His principle is quite clear. A marriage entered upon by two non-Christians is not a Christian marriage at all, and was never intended to be a permanent bond. It is not fair to the non-Christian partner that it should be regarded as necessarily permanent. Yet, if he is willing, it had better be regarded as a Christian marriage. For that will be better for the children.

His attitude to women is, as has been said, affected by the current view of their position. Women are not to take part in the assemblies, and are not to be teachers. In one passage he speaks as though women occupied an inferior spiritual position to men (1 Co 11^{3}). But his language elsewhere is inconsistent with this. The fact is that St. Paul had not in this matter worked out his own principles, and he is therefore inconsistent. In his discussion of marriage he gives to women a position which is distinctly high. The rights of the wife are safeguarded no less than those of the husband.

11. The character of St. Paul as revealed in the two Epistles.—There is no Epistle in which the personal character of St. Paul is so fully revealed as in 2 Corinthians. The 'severe letter' brings before us a man acutely sensitive, affectionate, and at the same time determined. He is in a high degree impulsive. He writes a 'severe letter,' and is sorry for having written it (7^{8}). An immense load is lifted from his heart by the news of the repentance of the Corinthians ($7^{6, 7}$). He is intensely affectionate, and yearns for the affection of his converts (6^{11-13}). He never spares himself. There is no limit to the demands which are made upon him by his converts. It is no affectation on his part to crown the list of the sufferings which he has endured for Christ by the words 'anxiety for all the churches' (11^{28}). We see him as a true pastor, combining great practical wisdom with remarkable emotional intensity. He is a mystic, and he gives us an account of one of his mystical experiences (12^{1-9}; there is no reason to doubt that in this passage he is speaking of himself). But he is fully alive to the danger of mysticism. No one could lay more emphatic stress upon the duty of letting religion bear fruit in good works. Indeed he is sometimes self-assertive where self-assertion is needed. He does not hesitate to tell the Corinthians to imitate him (1 Co 11^{1}). But every missionary must speak so on occasions. And he was in the presence of teachers who asserted their own authority against his. Above everything else he is possessed with an over-mastering devotion to Christ; for His sake he is willing to endure everything, even ridicule (2 Co $5^{13, 14}$). Thus his correspondence with the Corinthians is of immense importance for the understanding of his character. For we see him dealing with difficult practical problems, and we see him when he is most deeply moved by personal slights, and again by personal reconciliation. It is absurd to look to such a man for a systematic doctrinal system. He speaks as he is moved. He makes experiments. He is often tentative. He provides the material on which doctrinal systems may be built. He is not himself their builder.

12. Importance of the evidence of the Epistles.—The importance of the Epistles to the Corinthians consists largely in the fact that they give us examples of St. Paul's methods of dealing with practical difficulties which actually arose in an early Christian community. He does not set out to give instruction to the Corinthians, but rather to answer questions which they themselves have raised, or to reform abuses which have actually

grown up. We thus get a picture, of quite unique value, of the life of such a community; and the doctrines and practices referred to in the Epistles are evidently not being advocated by St. Paul now for the first time, but are actually existing in the Corinthian Church, and apparently have so existed for some time.

(*a*) *Doctrine.*—It would seem that the doctrine held by this Church was of a comparatively advanced type. There is no hint of any difference of opinion at Corinth about fundamental beliefs. Differences do exist, but they are concerned with disciplinary or ethical rather than with theological questions. It is true that there are some at Corinth who deny the resurrection from the dead. But it would appear from St. Paul's argument that they all accepted the doctrine of the Resurrection of Jesus. For he argues from the Resurrection of Jesus to the resurrection of Christians generally; and his argument seems to involve the supposition that there was no difference of opinion about the Resurrection of Jesus. Similarly there is no hint of any difference about the position assigned to Jesus Himself, or about the expectation of His speedy return in judgment. No one in the Corinthian Church seems to have thought that Jesus was merely human. The danger was probably rather the other way. There may have been a tendency to regard Him as a Redeemer-God in the same sense as other redeemer-gods,* and to have paid inadequate attention to His human life, but for this there is no direct evidence. It is clear that to a Christian this life was in the main a preparation for entrance into the Kingdom of God when that Kingdom should come. This preparation consisted in the reception of Christian Sacraments, by which he was transformed into a 'spiritual man.' But the necessity of moral reformation was never forgotten, at any rate by St. Paul, though there may have been a tendency on the part of some of the Christians to forget it (1 Co 6^9). All the evidence of these Epistles goes to show that there was no tendency to depreciate the importance and the supernatural character of the change wrought for Christians by the life and death of Christ. The danger probably lay in the other direction—lest they should think that Baptism and the Eucharist of themselves, without any effort on their own part, were sufficient to ensure membership of the Kingdom.

(*b*) *Organization and discipline.*—The chief piece of evidence about the organization of the early Christian Church is to be found in 1 Co 5. It would seem from this chapter that for the decision of a case of discipline there would be an assembly of the Church, presided over by St. Paul in virtue of his apostolic authority. St. Paul pronounces sentence of excommunication, and it is ratified by the assembly. It does not appear that the Apostle recognized any right on the part of the assembly to dispute his sentence. In the case specified St. Paul is himself absent from Corinth, but he acts as though he were present, being indeed present, as he says, in spirit. These Epistles tend to confirm the view that the Apostle held an absolutely predominant position. Apart from the Apostle there is not much evidence about organization, though the discussion of the Body and members includes the names of many Church offices. It is clear that on the principle of the specialization of function, different duties were assigned to different members of the Church, in accordance with the Divine choice expressed by diverse spiritual gifts (1 Co $12^{28ff.}$); and there is a recognition of the fact that some members are *ἰδιῶται*, *i.e.* have no special ministerial position in the Church (14^{16}). But there is really no evidence as to the different functions discharged by the different officers.

* See, however, A. Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, Eng. tr., 1912, p. 193 f.

13. Christianity and Gnosticism: the Christian wisdom.—Christians have the mind of Christ (1 Co 2^{16}). This differentiates them at once from other people, who are merely *ψυχικοί*. The *ψυχικὸς ἄνθρωπος* is the man whose spirit has not been touched by the Divine Spirit. At Baptism a man is made potentially *πνευματικός*; he becomes *νήπιος ἐν Χριστῷ*. His life in the Christian Church is a rendering actual of the potentiality of spirituality which is now within him, and which shows itself in moral effects. Thus the Corinthians, although they ought to be by this time full-grown Christians, are still babes. This is shown by the fact that they display party-spirit—a sure sign of carnality. As long as a man is merely *ψυχικός*, the Christian wisdom is not for him, for he will not be able to understand it. He has first to be converted by the mere preaching of the Gospel of the Cross. St. Paul seems to mean by 'Christian wisdom' something more than this, *τὰ βάθη τοῦ θεοῦ*, probably the secret counsels of God, God's purpose towards mankind. The purpose of the gift of the Spirit is that we may know the things freely given to us by God. Thus the greatness of the heritage of the Christian appears to be the main content of the 'Christian wisdom.' There is no indication of an esoteric doctrine, belonging to a privileged class in the Christian Church. The 'Christian wisdom' is, indeed, esoteric from the point of view of those outside the Christian Church. And even for those who are babes in Christ it is not suited, but only for the *τέλειοι*. But all Christians may become *τέλειοι*. It is their own fault if they do not.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited throughout the article, see A. P. Stanley, *Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*[4], 1876; J. A. Beet, *St. Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians*, 1885; G. G. Findlay, *EGT*, '1 Cor.,' 1900; J. H. Bernard, *EGT*, '2 Cor.,' 1903; G. H. Rendall, *Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, 1909; P. Bachmann, *Der erste Brief des Paulus an die Korinther*, Leipzig, 1905, *Der zweite Brief*, do. 1909; Commentaries on 1 Cor.: T. C. Edwards (²1885), C. J. Ellicott (1887), H. L. Goudge (*Westminster Com.*, 1903), Robertson-Plummer (*ICC*, 1911); on 2 Cor.: A. Plummer (*Camb. Gr. Test.*, 1903), A. Menzies (1912); artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*.

G. H. CLAYTON.

CORNELIUS (Κορνήλιος).—Cornelius was a Roman centurion stationed at Cæsarea in the early years of the history of the Church (Ac 10^1). His name is of Roman origin, and he is described as belonging to the Italian band or cohort. An inscription recently discovered in Vienna proves that an Italian cohort was stationed in Syria about A.D. 69, but Schürer holds that this could not have been the case under Agrippa in A.D. 40–44, which is the date of Cornelius (cf. Schürer, *GJV*[4] i. [1901] 463, also *Expositor*, 5th ser., iv. [1896] 469–472; W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor*, 5th ser., iv. [1896] 194–201, v. [1897] 69). Leaving aside altogether the question as to the presence in Cæsarea at this date of an Italian cohort recruited from Romans settled in the district, there is no reason why Cornelius even apart from his cohort may not have been there on duty in the years referred to. Native princes often received assistance from Roman officers in training their home troops (cf. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 250). Cornelius enters into the history of the Church through a series of mutual visions received by him and the Apostle Peter, who admitted him into the Church by baptism. According to the narrative in Acts, St. Peter, in the house of Simon the tanner of Joppa, saw in a vision a cloth let down from heaven on which were four-footed beasts, creeping things, and fowls of the air, many of which in the eyes of the Jews were regarded as unclean. When St. Peter refers to their ceremonial uncleanness, the message is given, 'What God hath cleansed make

not thou common' (Ac 10^{15}). After the vision had passed messengers arrived from Cæsarea telling St. Peter of Cornelius, who in a trance had received a command to send to Joppa for him. The next day the Apostle, accompanied by some of the Christians of Joppa, went to Cæsarea and preached Jesus to Cornelius and his household, who gladly accepted the message, received the Holy Ghost, and were baptized. An important question arises as to the exact significance of this act of St. Peter. Luke evidently, from the space devoted to this incident, regards it as of supreme importance and as marking a decided step in the forward progress of the Church. Cornelius is described as 'a devout man and one that feared God.' The phrase 'a devout man' might be used to denote goodness characteristic of a Gentile, but, in connexion with 'one that feared God,' it implies that Cornelius was a proselyte, although there is no reason to believe that he had been formally admitted to the Jewish Church by the rites of circumcision and baptism. He belonged to that large class who found greater truth and satisfaction in the teaching of Judaism than in their own heathen religions, and who observed the Jewish law of the Sabbath and the regulations of ceremonial cleanness (cf. Schürer, *GJV*[4] iii. [1909] p. 177, where Bertholet's view is combated that *φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν*, 'fearers of God,' is not in Acts a *terminus technicus*). The distinction which was drawn by later Judaism between 'proselytes of righteousness' and 'proselytes of the gate' is not found till after NT times, but there is little doubt that the circumstances giving rise to this distinction did really exist, and that 'the fearers of God' of Acts are practically identical with those who at a later date came to be known as 'proselytes of the gate' (see art. PROSELYTE). The significance of the incident seems then to lie in the recognition that full membership in the Christian Church was open not only to Jews but also to the Gentiles who 'feared God.' St. Peter uses the incident as a true precedent in Ac $11^{3ff.}$, and reasserts its determining importance at the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15). The admission of Cornelius was the first step towards the recognition of the universality of the gospel of Christ. A further step was taken when membership in the Christian Church was offered to the heathen who had no relation to the synagogue.

LITERATURE.—R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 250; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., i. [1894] 103 f.; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, 1897, p. 101 note.

W. F. BOYD.

CORNER, CORNER-STONE.—Among Semitic peoples a special sacredness was supposed to belong to the corners of structures, and this probably lies at the root of the metaphor. The Heb. פִּנָּה, *pinnāh*, 'corner-stone,' is the stone at the angle, which, uniting the walls, holds the two sides together. It was chosen for its solidity and beauty to occupy an important place either in the foundation or the battlement. In the OT *pinnôth* denotes the principal men in the community and the supports of the State (*e.g.* Jg 20^{2}, 1 S 14^{38}); cf. 'Meum praesidium et dulce decus meum' (Hor. i. 1), where strength and beauty are united in one. NT believers saw Christ everywhere in the OT, and hence the word which originally referred to the choice among the chosen people came to signify Christ. The figure of the corner-stone is thus taken over from the OT, and specially from Ps 118^{22} and Is 28^{16}, the passages which rule the apostolic use.

In the NT 'corner-stone' was applied by Jesus to Himself (Mt 21^{42}), and reappears in St. Peter's address to the Sanhedrin: 'He is the stone which was set at nought of you the builders, which was made the head of the corner' (Ac 4^{11} *γενόμενος εἰς κεφαλὴν γωνίας*). Quoting, evidently from memory, the Apostle uses *ἐξουθενέω* 'despise and regard as valueless,' a word expressing great contempt; but later (1 P 2^{7}) he uses the milder word *ἀποδοκιμάζω* of the LXX, which means 'test and reject after actual trial.' Ramsay (*Pauline Studies*, London, 1906, p. 253) notes that 'at the Phrygian marble quarries there have been found many blocks, which had been cut, but not sent on to Rome . . . some of them bear the letters REPR, *i.e. reprobatum*, "rejected." These were considered as imperfect and unworthy pieces, and rejected by the inspector.' It might happen, however, that a stone passed over by one builder was seen and chosen by another and wiser architect; cf. Michel-Angelo carving his colossal statue of David out of a block of marble which had been spoiled and rejected by an inferior sculptor some years before. So St. Peter's argument in his Epistle (1 P $2^{6,7}$). In ignorance and self-will the leaders of the people had rejected the corner-stone, but others, with truer spiritual discernment, making it the ground of faith and belief in God, had found in the rejected stone 'preciousness' (RVm 'honour') and worth; *ἔντιμος* suggests both meanings.

In Eph 2^{20} 'Christ Jesus himself being the chief corner-stone' (*ὄντος ἀκρογωνιαίου αὐτοῦ Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ*), the thought is of the unity of Jew and Gentile in the Church—'the saints build up the fabric, and the corner-stone is Christ.' They are drawn and held together in Him, as the walls of a building cohere in and are united by the corner-stone, which determines the lines of 'each several building' and compacts it into one.

LITERATURE.—C. Gore, *Ephes.*, London, 1898, p. 118; W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor*, 5th ser. ix. [1899] 36 f.; A. Maclaren, *Expositions*: 'Ephesians,' London, 1909, p. 118, may be consulted for doctrinal and homiletical uses.

W. M. GRANT.

COS (Κῶς, now *Stanchio* = *εἰς τὰν* Κῶ).—Cos was an island of Caria, at the entrance to the Ceramic Gulf, between the two headlands on which stood the cities of Cnidus and Halicarnassus. Its chief city, lying at the sheltered eastern extremity of the island, was 'not large, but beautifully built, and a most pleasing sight to mariners sailing by the coast' (Strabo, XIV. ii. 19). Its position on the maritime highway between the Ægean and the Levant gave it great commercial importance and wealth. It had the rank of a free city till the time of Augustus.

Cos was 'the garden of the Egean' (T. Lewin, *St. Paul*, 1875, ii. 97). It was renowned for its vines and looms, its literature and art, and above all for its temple of Æsculapius and school of medicine, which must have made it especially interesting to St. Luke. It had Theocritus the poet, Apelles the painter, and Hippocrates the physician among its citizens. It attracted Jewish settlers at least as early as the Maccabæan period (1 Mac 15^{23}). Some words which Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2) quotes from a lost work of Strabo—'Mithridates sent to Cos and took . . . 800 talents belonging to the Jews'—prove that the city had become a Jewish banking centre. One of the benefactors of the island was Herod the Great (*BJ* I. xxi. 11). Another was the Emperor Claudius, who decreed that it 'should be for ever discharged from all tribute,' chiefly on account of its medical fame (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 61).

St. Paul and his companions, in their voyage through the Ægean, 'came with a straight course'—running before the wind (*εὐθυδρομήσαντες*)—from Miletus to Cos, a distance of 40 miles. Off Cos, where there was good shelter, they anchored for the night, and next day, with a northerly wind still blowing, they enjoyed an equally good passage to Rhodes (Ac 21^{1}).

LITERATURE.—L. Ross, *Reisen nach Kos, etc.*, Halle, 1862; W. R. Paton and E. L. Hicks, *The Inscriptions of Cos*, Oxford, 1891.

JAMES STRAHAN.

COUCH.—See BED.

COUNCIL.—See SANHEDRIN.

COURAGE.—See BOLDNESS.

COURTS.—See TRIAL-AT-LAW.

COVENANT.—1. Context.—In the EVV of the NT 'covenant' is the translation of the Greek word διαθήκη, which occurs 33 times. In the RV the word is uniformly rendered 'covenant' except in He 9[16. 17], where 'testament' is used, with 'covenant' in the margin. In the AV, 'testament' occurs 13 times (Mt 26[28], Mk 14[24], Lk 22[20], 1 Co 11[25], 2 Co 3[6. 14], He 7[22] 9[15 bis. 16. 17. 20], Rev 11[19]) and 'covenant' 20 times (Lk 1[72], Ac 3[25] 7[8], Ro 9[4] 11[27], Gal 3[15. 17] 4[24], Eph 2[12], He 8[6. 8. 9 bis. 10] 9[4 bis. 10][16. 20] 12[24] 13[20]). (For further particulars see *DCG* i. 374.) Analyzing the instances more closely, we see that 18 refer directly to the OT, 7 occurring in quotations; 12 have reference to the new or better dispensation of Jesus, or to His blood; 3 only (Gal 3[15], He 9[16. 17]) are concerned with ordinary human institutions.

2. Use of διαθήκη in LXX.—It is most natural, in view of this preponderance of references to the OT, to seek in the LXX use of διαθήκη the clue to its meaning in the NT. διαθήκη is the all but invariable translation of the Hebrew word בְּרִית (*bᵉrîth*), which in our EVV is always rendered 'covenant,' never 'testament.' In some instances—as, for example, 1 S 18[3] 23[18], 1 K 20[34]—the word indisputably means 'covenant' in the full sense, *i.e.* a mutual relationship between two parties. In others, the idea of the *mutual* relationship is wanting, as in 1 S 11[1]; but the idea of setting up a relationship, which may be done by the free act or choice of one person, is always present. It is in this later sense that we understand the Divine *bᵉrîth*. This is a Divine order or arrangement which takes its rise without any human co-operation, springing from the choice of God Himself, whose will and determination account for both its origin and its character. The one-sidedness of such an institution makes the word 'covenant' a rather unfortunate choice in our EVV. Kautzsch goes so far as to state that 'the usual rendering of *bᵉrîth*, namely "covenant," ought to be avoided as incorrect and misleading' (*HDB* v. 630b). It seems that we do not possess a word in English which exactly conveys the meaning of the Divine *bᵉrîth*. Neither 'arrangement' nor 'disposition' is at all adequate. We are compelled in the OT to continue the use of 'covenant,' merely making the mental qualification required.

We have next to inquire why the LXX chose and adhered to the word διαθήκη as the rendering of *bᵉrîth*. It is an undoubted fact that throughout the later classical period, and certainly in the early Christian period, this word had, in common usage, the meaning of 'will' or 'testament.' It is sometimes stated that there is only one instance of its use in the sense of 'covenant' in the whole of Greek literature, namely in Aristophanes, *Birds*, 440. Building upon this instance, Wackernagel has recently suggested that this meaning was current in the Ionic dialect, and may have been derived by the LXX from that source. If this were proved, many questions would be answered at a stroke; but unless some further evidence can be adduced in its favour it seems very precarious. On the other hand, further investigation rather qualifies the absoluteness of the assertion that διαθήκη means 'will' and nothing else. Ramsay in his *Historical Commentary on the Galatians*, and Norton in his *Study of* ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, both show that, before will-making in our modern sense had become part of Greek social life, the word διαθήκη might be used to express 'a disposition of relations between two parties, where one party lays down the conditions which the other accepts,' not an ordinary bargain or contract, but a more dignified and solemn compact or covenant (Norton, *op. cit.* p. 31). In particular Ramsay speaks of the διαθήκη as a solemn and binding covenant, guaranteed by the authority of the whole people and their gods, and being primarily an arrangement for the devolution of religious duties and rights (*op. cit.* p. 361 f.). Accordingly, it is urged that in the early part of the 3rd cent. B.C. no better word was available to express the OT idea of a solemn and irrevocable disposition, made by God Himself of His own gracious choice, and meant to secure a religious inheritance to His chosen people. Accepting this as the best explanation offered as yet, we may observe that the later Greek translators, Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, writing at a time when the meaning of διαθήκη had been narrowed down to mean 'will' exclusively, felt obliged to fall back on the usual Greek word for 'covenant,' συνθήκη. Similarly, as Riggenbach has pointed out (*Theol. Stud.* 294), Josephus instinctively replaces διαθήκη by συνθήκη or the cognate verb, where the reference is undoubtedly to a covenant agreement between man and man, his linguistic sense being offended by the use of διαθήκη in any sense but that of 'will.' We come, therefore, to the conclusion that in NT times the use of διαθήκη in the sense of a solemn promise or undertaking had become an archaism. Readers of the English Bible can easily recall analogies to such a process in the use of words like 'conversation' or 'peculiar' or 'walk disorderly.'

3. Use of διαθήκη in apostolic and sub-apostolic times.—(1) *Ordinary usage.*—When we come to the NT period, there is no possible doubt that in ordinary usage διαθήκη means 'will' (so G. Milligan and J. H. Moulton in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vi. [1908] 563). 'The agreement of papyri and inscriptions with regard to the use of διαθήκη is very remarkable. . . . Any number of citations may be made, and there is never a suggestion of any other meaning' (than 'will'). Deissmann, agreeing with this conclusion, emphatically declares that the usage was so fixed that St. Paul could not have employed the word in the sense of 'covenant.' 'There is ample material to back me in the statement that no one in the Mediterranean world in the first century A.D. would have thought of finding in the word διαθήκη the idea of "covenant." St. Paul would not, and in fact did not. To St. Paul the word meant what it meant in his Greek OT, "a unilateral enactment," in particular "a will or testament"' (*Light from the Ancient East*[2], p. 341). In his *St. Paul* (p. 152) he goes further and says that St. Paul found in his Greek Bible the idea that God had executed a will in our favour. It does not, however, seem possible to grant that St. Paul, who read his Hebrew Bible as well as his Greek, always thought of a will when he read of the Divine *bᵉrîth*. Yet the expression of *bᵉrîth* by a word that meant 'will' may have enriched the OT idea with new associations. We may note in further illustration of the usage in Jewish authors that in the Greek apocryphal writings διαθήκη and συνθήκη are used, once at any rate, as synonymous terms (cf. Wis 12[21]; 'covenants of good promises' (συνθήκη), and 18[22]: 'covenants made with the fathers' (διαθήκη). Philo appears to use διαθήκη in the sense of 'will,' saying that it is written 'for the benefit of those who are worthy of a gift.'

Yet when he adds that it is 'a symbol of grace, which God has placed between Himself who offers it, and man who receives it,' he seems to go back to the somewhat wider use we found in the LXX (Philo, *de Mut. Nom.* vi. 52 f.; cf. Riggenbach, *op. cit.* p. 311 f.).

(2) *NT usage.*—Passing now to the NT, we must ask whether its writers use διαθήκη in what is undoubtedly the Hebrew OT sense of the covenant between man and God, *i.e.* 'unilateral enactment,' or as 'will,' or in a sense derived from both meanings. (*a*) It is best to begin with He 9^{16-18}. Here, in spite of some attempts to retain the meaning of 'covenant' throughout (Westcott, Hatch, Dods, *et al.*), the weight of evidence seems decisive that in v.[17], at any rate, the writer is speaking of a human will. As has been said, 'if the question were put to any person of common intelligence, "What document is that which is of no force at all during the lifetime of the person who executed it?" the answer can only be, "A man's will or testament."' The most usual exposition grants this, but then supposes that the writer slips from one meaning in v.[16] to another in v.[17], and then back again to the first one. But if Philo, with whose writings the author was familiar, could, as we have seen, read the notion of will into an OT passage, there is little ground for denying the same possibility here. And when once the translation 'will' is admitted throughout the passage, the argument, which is so difficult to follow from any other point of view, becomes luminous. Verse 16 affirms that the inheritance contemplated under the first testament of God could not be enjoyed until a death had taken place; v.[17] adds that this is illustrated by the ordinary human practice, where a will comes into force after death; v.[18] states further that this was foreshadowed, even at the time when the first testament was given, by the death of the victim, which, as the whole argument of the Epistle shows, looked onwards to the perfect sacrifice of Christ. It is indeed urged that the use of the word 'mediator' in v.[15] is fatal to the translation 'will,' since a will needs no mediator, whilst a covenant does. But, as has been shown by Cremer (*Lexicon*, p. 421), citing illustrations from Diodorus Siculus, iv. 54, and Jos. *Ant.* IV. vi. 7, the word μεσίτης (mediator) may be used in the sense of 'one who appears or stands security for anything,' 'one who pledges himself for promises,' a parallel conception to the 'surety' in He 7^{22}. This is admirably illustrated by the use of the cognate verb in He 6^{17} 'God *interposed* with an oath.' God gave His promise to Abraham direct, and by the oath which He swore condescended to become the guarantor of His own word.

If we admit this translation of διαθήκη in these verses, it appears to follow also in 9^{20} 10^{29} 13^{20}, as also in 7^{22} and 12^{24}. The references in $8^{6ff.}$, in view of the direct citation from Jeremiah, seem less certain, though Riggenbach argues for the same meaning here. A διαθήκη written on the heart is less easy to think of as a 'testament.' Yet the connexion of the διαθήκη with the promise in v.[6] suggests that this thought was not far away. This is one of those cases where we cannot deny that the archaic sense may have been present, but we may at least claim that it has been enriched by the new meaning of the word. Such a use is easily illustrated. When Newman in his sermon on 'Unreal Words' says: 'Our professions, our creed, our prayers, our dealings, our *conversation*, our arguments, our teaching, must henceforth be sincere,' and goes on immediately to quote: 'In godly sincerity . . . we have had our *conversation* in this world,' he understands of course the archaic biblical use of the word he quotes. But can we doubt that it has been enriched to him in such a context and on such a subject by its later use to describe speech?

(*b*) Turning to St. Paul's Epistles, we may begin with the much-discussed passage in Gal 3^{15-17}. Here St. Paul declares that he is about to speak 'after the manner of men.' By some he is supposed to mean that he intends to use the word διαθήκη in its ordinary human sense of 'will,' as opposed to its biblical sense of 'covenant.' But it appears more likely that he means that having taken his previous arguments from Scripture he will now make his point clearer by taking an illustration from common daily life. Obviously if he does this he must give to διαθήκη its current meaning, which is without doubt 'will.' But if so, we ask whether he reverts to another meaning for the same word in v.[17]. The whole circle of ideas is against this. It is a διαθήκη of promise, *i.e.* a testament. It belongs to Abraham and to his seed, it comes by way of gift, it invests those taking part in it with the rights of inheritance. The testator designates his heir, and arranges that at a predetermined time he shall receive the specified boon (4^{2}). It is indeed argued (Lukyn Williams, *et al.*) that we must not translate 'will,' because this connotes death. But St. Paul seems to have guarded himself against the over-pressing of his argument, showing by his 'though it be but a man's will' that the analogy was not exact. The word διαθήκη suggested to him that there was a human document which no one could set aside, namely a will; how much more then when God makes a will must that remain unalterable.

In Eph 2^{12} and Ro 9^{4} the idea of 'will' seems most probable. The use of the plural of διαθήκη to express the singular meaning 'will' is very frequent in Greek, meaning either the different provisions or the will as a whole. It is possible, however, that the Apostle is thinking of the oft-renewed promises made to the fathers. In Gal 4^{24} the word is twice used, and applied once to the διαθήκη of promise given to Abraham and fulfilled through Christ, and once to the διαθήκη made at Sinai. As we can hardly suppose that St. Paul speaks of the Abrahamic dispensation in another sense than in ch. 3, and as the thought of a will seems clearly present in 4^{2}, we find the same conception here. The Law of Moses, which in 3^{19} appeared only as a supplement to the testament of promise, delaying its operation but not cancelling it, is here spoken of as an inferior testament. There appears to be a very marked touch of irony here. 'If you will have it that it is a testament,' says the Apostle, 'and insist on choosing to come under its provisions, it is a testament which will bring you an inheritance of slavery.' Our view of 2 Co 3^{6} will be determined by our explanation of 1 Co 11^{25}. Here we note the comment of Zahn (*Galater*, p. 162) that the Greek word had actually in the time of our Lord passed over into the Aramaic as a loan-word in the sense of 'will.' Hence we may suppose that our Lord, speaking almost in the very presence of death, and promising to His disciples a share in His inheritance (*Lk* 22^{29}), enriched the OT idea of covenant with the thoughts that cluster round the testament of a dying man planning out the future of those who are dear to him. This is the best illustration the NT affords of the new wealth of meaning put into the old conception of *bᵉrîth*. If so, we may find this in St. Paul's use also. In the case of 2 Co 3^{14}, where διαθήκη seems to stand for the OT, the archaic use appears more likely.

(*c*) Lastly (omitting Ro 11^{27} and Rev 11^{19}, which, as cited directly from the OT, do not contribute anything to the understanding of the question), we may say that Ac 3^{25}, referring to Abraham and to the inheritance, may have been at least coloured

by the Greek conception of 'testament.' In Ac 7^8 διαθήκη stands for the seal which accompanied the establishment of the new relationship, and sheds no light upon its character.

(3) *Sub-apostolic writers.*—Passing to the sub-apostolic Christian writers, we find few instances that are decisive. In Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* i. the word occurs twice (xv. 4, xxxv. 7), each time in citations from the OT. The *Epistle of Barnabas* quotes also from the OT, and refers specially to the two tables of the διαθήκη which were broken by Moses (iv. 6 f.). Yet his most frequent use is 'heirs of the διαθήκη' (vi. 19, xiii. 1, 6, xiv. 5). 'Moses as a servant received it; but the Lord himself, having suffered in our behalf, hath given it to us that we should be the people of inheritance.' 'He was manifested that we . . . being constituted heirs through him, might receive the διαθήκη of the Lord Jesus, who was prepared for this end, that . . . he might by his word enter into a διαθήκη with us.' In this last passage we seem to have a clear instance of a passing over from the idea of 'will' to that of 'covenant.'

4. Conclusion.—As an illustration of the new fullness of meaning which we have discovered above, reference may be made to one of the most interesting of all the Jewish non-canonical writings, *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. There the fathers of the Hebrew tribes plan out the future of their descendants, and with warning and promise speak of what lies before them. In the NT all earlier thoughts of God are summed up in the grand conception of Fatherhood, whilst man's relationship to God is set forth as perfected in the realization of sonship. It was the knowledge that we have been brought into the family of God, and made children of His and therefore heirs, that called forth St. Paul's adoring gratitude (Ro $8^{14f.}$). Looking back into the past, he delighted to think that this gracious 'will' which adopts us and makes us heirs of the great inheritance had been made long since in favour of Abraham, and of those who are partakers of his spirit of faith and trust. If he read into the OT *bĕrîth* something that was hidden from the sight of those who first wrote of it, it is but another illustration of Augustine's saying: 'Vetus Testamentum in Novo patet.'

LITERATURE.—E. Riggenbach, 'Der Begriff der διαθήκη im Hebräerbrief' (in *Theologische Studien Th. Zahn dargebracht*, Leipzig, 1908), pp. 291–316; J. Wackernagel, 'Die griechische Sprache' (*Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 4 [do. 1908]); F. O. Norton, *A Lexicographical and Historical Study of* ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ, Chicago, 1908; A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*², Eng. tr., 1911, and *St. Paul*, Eng. tr., 1912; G. Milligan and J. H. Moulton, 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri,' in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vi. [1908] 562; J. Behm, *Der Begriff* ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ *im NT*, Leipzig, 1912; E. Lohmeyer, *Diatheke, Ein Beitrag zur Erklärung des NT Begriffs*, Leipzig, 1913; Dawson Walker, *The Gift of Tongues*, 1906, pp. 81–175. See also the Commentaries on Galatians and Hebrews: on Gal., especially W. M. Ramsay (1899), Zahn (²1907), Lukyn Williams (1911), Lightfoot (⁴1874); on Hebrews, Westcott (1889), A. S. Peake (1902). Cf. also artt. in Bible Dictionaries and Lexicons, especially H. Cremer, *Bibl-Theol. Lexicon*³, 1880.

WILFRID J. MOULTON.

COVETOUSNESS.—In both AV and RV 'covetous' or 'covetous person' translates πλεονέκτης (1 Co $5^{10.\ 11}$ 6^{10}, Eph 5^5), and 'covetousness' πλεονεξία (Ro 1^{29}, Eph 5^3, Col 3^5, 1 Th 2^5). Closely related terms are φιλαργυρία (1 Ti 6^{10}) = 'love of money,' and αἰσχροκερδής (1 Ti 3^8, Tit 1^7) = 'greedy of filthy lucre.' φιλαργυρία and πλεονεξία are sometimes distinguished as 'covetousness' and 'avarice,' the desire to get and the desire to keep; but this distinction, which scarcely exists in fact, is not borne out in NT usage. φιλαργυρία, which is a 'root of all evils,' is manifested alike in greed of gain and in parsimony. It emphasizes the object of the desire, while the primary idea in πλεονεξία is the injustice of the means used for its attainment. Etymologically the latter word signifies the desire or claim to have a larger share (πλέον ἔχειν) than others; in usage it is covetousness, rapacity, the disposition to seek, and the habit of seeking, one's own enrichment without regard to the rights and interests of others. This sense comes out clearly in the use of the verb πλεονεκτεῖν, which in the Pauline Epistles (2 Co 2^{11} 7^2 $12^{17.\ 18}$, 1 Th 4^6) always means to 'take advantage of' another. Such unrighteous advantage may be taken in the transaction of business (τῷ πράγματι, 1 Th 4^6), or by the employment of religious influence and ecclesiastical position as a means of gain. In the apostolic writings the latter abuse is strongly reprobated. To be without covetousness is a mark of the true apostle (1 Th 2^5), of the worthy bishop (Tit 1^7), deacon (1 Ti 3^8), and elder (1 P 5^2). To be 'greedy of filthy lucre' is characteristic of the false prophet (2 P 2^3); and against this charge St. Paul guards himself with sensitive scrupulosity (1 Co 9^{1-18}, 2 Co 7^2 $12^{17.\ 18}$).

(1) The apostolic writings show that then, as now, covetousness, the grasping selfishness which manifests itself in disregard of the interests, and violation of the rights, of others, was one of the most prevalent and flagrant of the evils which it is the work of Christianity to eradicate.

(2) They take the gravest view of its heinous sinfulness (Col 3^5), its wide-spread ramifications (1 Ti 6^{10}), its ultimate consequences (1 Co 6^{10}). In the Epistles of St. Paul, particularly, a central place is always assigned to it in the organism of vice. It is constantly set side by side with unchastity (1 Co $5^{10.\ 11}$, Eph 4^{19} $5^{3.\ 5}$, Col 3^5, 1 Th 4^{4-6}) in a fashion which has suggested to some exegetes that in such passages πλεονεξία signifies transgression of the rights of others in sexual rather than in pecuniary relations (many thus understand τῷ πράγματι in 1 Th 4^6). The preferable explanation is that 'impurity and covetousness may be said to divide between them nearly the whole domain of selfishness and vice' (Lightfoot, *Col.*³, 1879, p. 213). 'Homo extra Deum quaerit pabulum in creatura materiali vel per voluptatem vel per avaritiam' (Bengel).

(3) Covetousness is a sin against one's own soul—destructive of spiritual self-possession (He 13^5), bringing men into bondage to things external and uncertain (1 Ti 6^{17}); against one's neighbour (1 Th 4^6); but ultimately and essentially against God. The most pregnant word on the subject is that of St. Paul (Col 3^5), 'covetousness which is idolatry.'* The antidote is regard for the righteous judgment of God (1 Th 4^6), love to one's neighbour (1 Co 10^{24}), trust in God's unfailing providence (He $13^{5.\ 6}$, 1 Ti 6^{17}), a soul-satisfying experience of life in Christ (Ph 4^{11-13}).

LITERATURE.—Comm. on the passages quoted, especially Lightfoot on Col 3^5; Armitage Robinson on Eph 4^{19} $5^{3.\ 5}$; J. Weiss on 1 Co $5^{10.\ 11}$; Lietzmann on Ro 1^{29}; R. C. Trench, *New Testament Synonyms*⁸, 1876, p. 78; *Sermons New and Old*, 1886, p. 60; John Foster, *Lectures*³, ii. [1853] 161; also Phillips Brooks, *The Light of the World*, 1891, p. 159; E. M. Goulburn, *The Pursuit of Holiness*, 1869, p. 147.

ROBERT LAW.

CRAFT.—See ARTS.

CREATION.—The NT doctrine of creation in general is that of the later OT writings and the Apocrypha; *e.g.* 2 Mac 7^{28}, Wis 11^{17}. It is found over the whole range of apostolic writings, from the early speeches in the Acts (7^{50} [quoted from Is 66^2] 14^{15} 17^{24}) to 2 Pet. (3^5). God made the heaven and the earth and all that therein is; He is the one supreme power in nature; and He is as benevolent as He is supreme (cf. Ac 14^{17}). Human affairs are subject to His will (cf. Ac 18^{21}, Ja 4^{15}). Though

* Cf. Euripides, *Cyclops*, 316–17:
ὁ πλοῦτος, ἀνθρωπίσκε, τοῖς σοφοῖς θεός·
τὰ δ' ἄλλα κόμποι καὶ λόγων εὐμορφίαι.

supreme, therefore, He is no capricious tyrant. The concept of laws of nature, of course, is unknown; but the world is none the less a world of order; when surprising events take place, they serve as reminders or signs of His government or as means for the working out of His providential purposes (cf. Ac 12[7-10. 22f.]). The existing world order, however, will not last for ever; it will dissolve in a catastrophe or series of catastrophes (cf. Ac 2[19f.] quoting Jl 2[28-32]; also Jude, 2 P 2, and Rev. *passim*), when the power that created will unmake to make anew.

But throughout the OT writings is manifested the feeling that some intermediary is needed in the operations of God's government (cf. Jg 6[11ff.] 13[3] [an angel; but note 6[14]] and Ezk 11[1] [the Spirit]). Later Jewish thought went further and developed a detailed angelology; but the NT reproduces the simpler thought of the OT (cf. Ac 27[23] [an angel; so in 12[7]] or 16[6] [the Holy Spirit]). And with regard to the original act or acts of creation, the simple 'And Jahweh formed' or 'breathed' of Gn 2, and the even simpler 'And God said' of Gn 1, are extended even in the OT by the well-known references to the brooding Spirit (Gn 1[2]; perhaps, like the rest of the chapter, containing a purified echo of pagan cosmologies) and to Wisdom (Pr 8[30] etc.); a hint of a primal man as an assessor at creation has been found by Ewald in Job 15[7]. On such foundations as these, later Jewish thought built its theology of the *Memra* or Divine Word, and of the *Logos* as it appears in Alexandrian Judaism.

In contrast, perhaps in opposition, to all this, the apostolic writings prefer the language of continual reference to God Himself. They are troubled by no Jewish (or Gnostic) fears as to God's contact with the world of matter (Ro 1[20] 4[17], He 1[10] [quoting Ps 102[25-27]] 3[4]). Note also He 11[3]: 'the worlds —*αἰῶνες*—have been framed by the word of God' (cf. Ro 11[36], 1 Co 12[6], Eph 1[23] 4[6]). The practical deductions from this view, that all things made by God are good, and work together for good, are found in Ro 8[28], 1 Ti 4[4].

This insistence on God's sole activity makes the more remarkable the relation of the Father to the Son in the work of creation—a concept which, like so many others, owes its most definite formulation to St. Paul, but is represented in every other stratum of apostolic teaching. Thus in 1 Co 8[6] we read: 'to us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, through (*διά*) whom are all things, and we through him.' It is perhaps worth notice that this great sentence occurs in the discussion of things offered to idols, as if St. Paul expected the Corinthians to recognize the truth as something quite familiar (cf. Ro 11[36], where the expression is *ἐκ*, not *ἀπό*, *θεοῦ*). In Col 1[16] we read that all things have been created in Christ and through Him and unto Him (*ἐν*, *διά*, *εἰς*). In v.[15] He is called the *πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως*—a term which recalls Rev 3[14] but goes far beyond it; with this should be compared the *μονογενής* of Jn 1[14]; see also Ro 8[29] (*εἰς τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πολλοῖς ἀδελφοῖς*), Eph 1[4], and 1 P 1[20]. The same thought appears in somewhat different language in He 1[2f.] (the Son 'through [*διά*] whom he made the worlds . . . upholding all things by the word of his power'). In the *locus classicus* of the Johannine writings (Jn 1[3]) the preposition is still 'through' (*διά*). In these passages we have what may be termed the distinctively Christian contribution to the theistic doctrine of creation. Instead of a word, or spirit, or angels, the great instrument of creation is a living Divine Person—the Son. And the difference is not simply what the Christian might express by saying that the instrument is not the word but the Word. The Son is not merely the instrument, He is the end; *δι' αὐτοῦ*, and also *εἰς αὐτόν*; cf. Eph 1[10] 'to sum up all things in Christ'; *i.e.* He is also the final cause, while at the same time, from another aspect, with regard to His manifestation (1 P 1[20] quoted above), the final cause of the appearance of Christ in the world is to be found in the Church. Christ is also Lord of the created world, in this present time (Eph 1[22], Col 1[17-19]); all things consist, have their ordered being, in Him; He is the head of all principality and power (Col 2[10]), just as 'all the fulness of God' dwells in Him (2[9]). And of all this created order the Church is the crowning work; of the Church Christ is the Head (Eph 1[22]); *i.e.* the Church, as in some way distinct from the rest of creation, stands in a unique and timeless relation to Christ.

It is impossible to enter into these daring thoughts without asking, What then of evil? Was evil too created by God, and through Christ? To the childlike thought of the OT, evil was, or rather is, created by God, like good (Is 45[7]; cf. Am 3[6]). And the NT writers were too fully steeped in the thought of the OT to feel the problem as we feel it to-day. But it was felt none the less. In 1 P 4[19], indeed, the sufferings of the good only suggest the thought of a 'faithful Creator.' Ps 8[6] is quoted three times in the Epistles: once in Eph 1[22], with simple approval; in 1 Co 15[27] it is recognized that the subjection of all things to Christ is not yet complete; so in He 2[8f.], where this recognition is joined to the author's characteristic teaching with regard to the sufferings of Christ. For the most part, St. Paul refers moral evil to the 'spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places' (Eph 6[12]; cf. 2[2], also 2 Th 2[9], 2 Co 4[4]). But in one pregnant passage, illuminating yet obscure, Ro 8[19ff.], he hears in the long wail of the misery of creation the cries of the birth-pangs which herald a new order, of which the leaders and inaugurators are the sons of God; and in the apparent vanity (fruitlessness) of nature (in which 'of fifty seeds she often brings but one to bear'), he sees the preparation for a new revelation of the creative order and purposefulness of God; while no created thing is able even now to separate us from the love of Christ (v.[39]). It is therefore not surprising that, in contrast to the old order, St. Paul should speak of the appearance of a new, here and now. If the whole of creation is through Christ, much more is the new character or self a new creation (Gal 6[15]; cf. 2 Co 5[17], Eph 4[24] with Eph 2[15] and Ps 51[10]). The 'new man in Christ' explains and satisfies the longing of the created and imperfect world.*

Hitherto, no reference has been made to the Epistles of St. John, and indeed in these Epistles no mention is made of the act of creation. But it may none the less be maintained that St. John adds an essential element to the whole apostolic doctrine. A consideration of this may be introduced by a summary of the foregoing. As we have seen, the majority of apostolic writers are not interested in the question, How did things originate? Their language can be used with equal sincerity by those who believe in separate acts of creation and in some form of evolution (though doubtless, if questioned, all of them would have upheld a literal interpretation of Gn 1). Their interest is in crea-

* A word should here be added on the four terms for creation and created objects; *κτίσις* denotes created things either singly or collectively, like the much rarer *κτίσμα* (Ro 8[19], Col 1[23], He 9[11], 2 P 3[4]; cf. Wis 19[6]). *κόσμος* is the world as an ordered system 'relative to man as well as God' (Westcott), and thus comes to denote the order of things apart from God, separate from Him, and even in antagonism to Him (*e.g.* in Ro 3[6], 1 Co 1[20] 4[9], 2 Co 5[19], He 11[7], Ja 1[27], and constantly in 1 Jn.). *αἰών* is chiefly a dispensation evolving into something further: when used in the singular, it refers either to the present age or to the perfect age; but it is often used, quite naturally, in the plural (cf. He 1[2] 11[3], also 2 Co 4[4], Eph 2[2]).

tion as a stage or epoch; an epoch destined, after its work is done, to give place to a better, whose beginnings can even now be discerned. Neither of these stages can be understood apart from Christ. The first, like the second, is good, because it is the work of God. It is based on Christ; it is held together in Christ. But its goodness (to employ the profound Aristotelian distinction) is a matter of δύναμις rather than of ἐντελέχεια. Moreover, it exists side by side with another order, κόσμος, which is ruled over by the powers of evil, and which is doomed not to be superseded but destroyed. The second stage or epoch, whose succession to the first is sometimes spoken of in terms of a sudden catastrophe, sometimes, as it would seem, as the result of a long process—'one far-off divine event'—is the complete manifestation of the will of God; it involves a kind of transfigured pantheism, in which God is all things, and in all things (1 Co 15^{28}).

St. John does not, however, pay attention to these two epochs; his antithesis is throughout between the present evil order and God's final purposes (the phrase ὁ κόσμος ὁ μέλλων is never used). This order is the abode of evil (1 Jn 2^{16}) and of the great enemy of God (4^4); it lies, indeed, in the evil one (5^{19}); it is passing away (2^{17}); it is not to be loved (2^{15}; contrast Jn 3^{16}), but to be conquered (5^4). On the other hand, the Son of God has been sent into the world; and through believing in Him is enjoyed, here and now, the gift of eternal life—a gift so complete and final that only in one passage does 1 Jn. speak with any definiteness of a future order at all (3^2). As the other apostolic writers imply, the order of creation which centres in Christ, properly understood, is not physical, but moral and spiritual; and therefore, to those who believe in Christ, it is present here and now.

References in the Apostolic Fathers are not numerous; the deeper aspects of NT teaching were hardly caught; attention may be called, however, to 1 Clement: 'the Creator and Father of the ages' (ch. xxxv.), 'the God of the ages' (lv.), and 'the King of the ages' (lxi.). In Hermas we have a further reminiscence of the NT (*Vis.* I. i. 6): 'God, who dwelleth in the heavens and created out of nothing the things that are, and increased and multiplied them for His church's sake.'

LITERATURE.—References to the literature on Creation as a part of theistic doctrine cannot be given here, but the reader may be referred to G. H. A. v. Ewald, *Old and New Test. Theology*, Eng. tr., 1888; A. M. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 1902; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, 1897; and the Comm. of Westcott, Lightfoot, and Sanday-Headlam, *ad locc.* W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

CRESCENS (Κρήσκης).—Crescens, a companion of St. Paul during his last imprisonment, had at the date of the writing of 2 Timothy gone to Galatia (2 Ti 4^{10}), which may mean either Galatia in Asia Minor or the western province of Gaul. We find two of the best MSS (ℵ and C) reading Γαλλίαν (Gaul) for Γαλατίαν (Galatia), and Eusebius (*HE* III. iv. 9), Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 11), Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Theodoret understand Western Gaul to be meant in the passage. If the Apostle visited Spain, as we have every reason to suppose, it is probable that he passed through Southern Gaul and may have founded churches there to which Crescens may have been sent as a delegate. On the other hand, the fact that the other delegates mentioned in the verse were sent to the east of Rome has led some to think that Asiatic Galatia is meant. The reference in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) is ambiguous, as Western Gaul might be referred to as Galatia. Lightfoot thinks it likely that Western Gaul is indicated, and that the Apostle would certainly have written 'Galatia' when referring to the province in the West. He also holds that Γαλλίαν (Gaul) is an early explanatory gloss which crept into the text of several MSS (*Galatians*[5], 1876, p. 31). The churches of Vienne and Mayence both claimed Crescens as their founder. Of the man himself nothing further is known. His name is Latin, and he may have been a Roman freedman. He is commemorated in the Roman Martyrology on June 27 and in the Greek Menologion on May 30, where he is treated as one of 'the Seventy' and bishop of Chalcedon (*Acta Sanctorum*, June 27; *Menologion*, May 30).

W. F. BOYD.

CRETE, CRETANS.—One of the largest islands in the Mediterranean, Crete (Κρήτη) lies 60 miles S. of Greece. It is about 150 miles in length from E. to W., and varies from 7 to 30 miles in width. The greater part of it is occupied by ranges of mountains, but the valleys are exceedingly fertile, and the climate is delightful. While the northern coast has good natural harbours, the southern is much less indented, the mountains in many parts rising almost like a wall from the sea. In ancient times Crete had very numerous cities; Horace (echoing Homer, *Il.* ii. 649) describes it as 'centum nobilem Cretam urbibus' (*Epodes*, ix. 29; cf. Virgil, *Æn.* iii. 106). The recent excavations of early sites have furnished astonishing evidence of a highly developed pre-historic civilization, with 'Minoan' palaces and shrines, a 'Minoan' art of which that of Mycenæ is only an offshoot, and a 'Minoan' script of which the Phœnician alphabet is but an altered copy (*EB*[11] vii. 421).

Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 2) commits a curious error in suggesting that the Jews came originally from Crete, and that the name *Judæi* was derived from Mt. Ida. The Jews who resided in Crete in the early Maccabæan period (1 Mac 10^{67} 15^{23}) were of course immigrants. In 67 B.C. the island was annexed by Rome, and combined with Cyrenaica to form a single province, which remained senatorial under the Empire.

The ship in which St. Paul sailed from Myra for Italy would under ordinary conditions have gone north of Crete, but she was driven by stress of weather to seek the shelter of the south coast. Rounding the promontory of Salmone in the east, she coasted as far as Fair Havens, where she remained for some time weather-bound. In an attempt to reach the better harbour of Phœnix (now probably *Lutro*), she hugged the shore till she rounded Cape Matala, when a violent E.N.E. wind suddenly beat down upon her from the central mountains of the island, and compelled her to scud till she was able to get under the lee of the small island of Cauda (Ac 27^{5-16}). See FAIR HAVENS, PHŒNIX, and CAUDA.

It is not known how Crete was first evangelized. Cretan Jews and proselytes were present at the first Christian Pentecost, and some of them may well have been among the 3000 converts (Ac $2^{11.41}$). It is hardly likely that St. Paul was idle while he was perforce spending 'much time' (ἱκανοῦ χρόνου) near the city of Lasea ($27^{8.9}$). The Epistle to Titus, though perhaps not Pauline, reflects a credible tradition which links the name of Titus with Cretan Christianity. The need of the churches of which he had the oversight was organization (Tit 1^5). 'The natural inference is that up to this time the Christians of Crete had gone on without any kind of responsible government, and that this anarchic condition was one considerable cause of the evidently low moral condition to which they had sunk. Accordingly, the appointment of elders was a necessary first step towards raising the standard of Christian life generally' (F. J. A. Hort, *Christian Ecclesia*, 1897, p. 176).

The Cretans were a brave and turbulent race, hard to govern, with an evil reputation for avarice, mendacity, and drunkenness. The writer of Tit.

quotes a hexameter of Epimenides, a prophet of their own—called by Plato θεῖος ἀνήρ (*Laws*, i. 642 D)—who brands them as 'always liars, beasts, and idle gluttons' (Tit 1^{12}). For this indiscriminate condemnation, uttered with prophetic indignation and scorn, there was much excuse. The Greeks coined a special word (Κρητίζειν) for a kind of talk and conduct which was characteristic of Crete, and to out-Cretan a Cretan (πρὸς Κρῆτα Κρητίζειν) was to outwit a knave (Plut. *Æmil.* 23, *Lysand.* 20).

LITERATURE.—T. A. B. Spratt, *Travels and Researches in Crete*, 2 vols., London, 1865; A. J. Evans, *Scripta Minoa*, i. Oxford [1909]; C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*, London, 1909.
JAMES STRAHAN.

CRISPUS.—Crispus (Κρίσπος) was the ruler of the Jewish synagogue at Corinth (Ac 18^{8}) who accompanied St. Paul when he abandoned the synagogue for an adjoining house, and who became a Christian. Crispus was one of the few persons whom St. Paul himself baptized in Corinth (1 Co 1^{14}), the Apostle usually leaving the baptizing to others; but Crispus was one of the first converts, and one of uncommon importance, whose conversion cost him dear, whilst it was a notable encouragement to St. Paul. The example set by a man of such eminence had considerable influence. His own household became Christians with him; and their conversion seems to have inaugurated a large ingathering.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB*, vol. i., on 'Crispus,' 'Corinth,' p. 481ᵃ, and 'I. Corinthians,' p. 485ᵃ; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, i.² [London, 1897] 305–310; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900; and G. G. Findlay, *EGT*, '1 Cor.,' 1900, *ad locc.*
J. E. ROBERTS.

CROSS, CRUCIFIXION.—The English word is derived from the Latin *crux* through the French *croix* (Old French and Middle English, *crois*). The Greek σταυρός is wider in its meaning than the English word, and includes the upright stake, *crux simplex*, to which the criminal was bound or upon which he was impaled, as well as the *crux composita*, of various shapes. In the NT, however, σταυρός is confined to the usual English signification, and is equivalent to *crux*. It was the instrument upon which criminals suffered death, and the references in the NT are chiefly to the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, the instrument becoming the symbol of the cardinal doctrine of the Christian faith, the atonement and the work of human redemption, and in general the gospel itself.

1. Archæological.—The crossing of two lines at right angles as a symbol not only antedates Christianity, but is of the remotest antiquity, being prehistoric in origin. The primitive form of the cross was probably the gammate cross (*crux gammata*) known by the Sanscrit name of *swastika*, as it is designated by students of archæology. The form of this cross 卐, used as a token of benediction and good luck, has been found on the ruins of ancient Troy, on the Hittite monuments, in Cyprus, and in Greece. In pre-historic times it was used, according to de Mortillet, as a symbol of consecration and not as a merely ornamental device. The gammate cross has been found on ancient Buddhist remains, and it was largely employed by the Buddhists. It has also been seen upon jewels and weapons amongst the Gallic, the German, and the Scandinavian peoples, in China, and Ashanti, and amongst the South American Indians. Although it was used by the early Christians as a prophylactic symbol, it was often placed alongside the other forms of cross. In Egypt the cross is found in the paintings on the tombs in the form ☥, as the key of life; and although its material origin is doubtful, the symbolism clearly indicates the vital germ. From Egypt its use extended to the Phœnicians, and afterwards to all the Semitic tribes.

2. Historical.—The relation of the non-Christian symbolism of the cross to that of the Christian Church need not be discussed here, although the connexion is held by some writers to be very close. We are on sure ground, however, in tracing the Christian doctrine of the cross to the historic basis as found in the crucifixion of Jesus Christ. This mode of execution was exceedingly ancient in the Orient, and it was practised amongst the Phœnicians (Valer. ii. 7), the Egyptians (Thuc. i. 110), and the Persians (Herod. ix. 120). Amongst the Romans it was a punishment considered too degrading for the citizens of the Empire (Josephus, *Ant.* xx. vi. 2, *BJ* ii. xii. 6, xiv. 9, v. xi. 1). Cicero (*in Verr.* ii. v. 66) speaks of it as being the severest penalty, reserved only for slaves ('servitutis extremum summumque supplicium'). It was inflicted upon those convicted for highway robbery, piracy, and similar crimes (Petron. lxxii.; Flor. iii. xix.), also for the public accusation of a master by a slave, for sedition, tumult, or false witness. The *arbor infelix* spoken of by Cicero is suggestive of the penalty of crucifixion (*pro Rabir.* iii. ff.). The Jews did not crucify their criminals whilst they were alive, although dead bodies were hanged by them to the accursed tree; consequently the execution of Jesus Christ was carried out by the Romans. The Jewish mode of execution was by stoning to death (Lv 20^{2} $24^{16.\ 23}$, Dt 13^{10} 17^{5}, etc.).

There were generally two forms of cross used in capital punishment: the *crux simplex*, which consisted of a single stake to which the victim was fastened or upon which he was impaled; also the *crux compacta*. The latter was made of cross pieces of wood and took the form of: (*a*) the *crux andreana* or *crux decussata*, in shape like the Greek X; or (*b*) the *crux commissa*, in the shape of the letter T or Greek Tau; or (*c*) the *crux immissa*, in which the vertical trunk extended higher than the transverse beams. It was upon the last-named form of cross, according to the testimony of the Fathers, that Jesus was crucified. Matthew tells us (27^{37}) that the *titulus* was placed over (ἐπάνω) the head of Jesus.

Crucifixion was preceded by scourging (*virgis cædere*), according to the custom of the Romans, after which the prisoner was compelled to carry his cross, or at least the transverse portion of it, to the place of execution. There the cross would be uplifted, and the victim bound to it by cords (*tollere in crucem*). Then he would be fastened to it by three (or perhaps four) nails (Lipsius, *de Cruce*, ii. vii.), and probably also supported by ropes (Pliny, xxviii, § 46), and the placard or *titulus* bearing the name of the criminal and his sentence would be fastened to the upper portion. The condemned man would in the ordinary way die of hunger and thirst in the course of time; but in order to shorten the duration of the agony, the legs of the sufferer might be broken, although this practice was not common amongst the Romans. Nor would the Romans permit the removal of the corpse without special authorization.

The historical account of the crucifixion of our Lord agrees with all the above details of the mode of execution. He was condemned (falsely) for sedition and tumult. He was scourged, and compelled, until He was relieved, to carry His cross. His legs were not broken, it is true, because it was found that He was dead already (Jn $19^{32.\ 33}$). The brigands who were crucified with Him were subjected to *crucifragium*, but one of the soldiers pierced His side with a spear to make sure that He was really dead, and there flowed out 'blood and water.'

To the Romans the cross had no religious signi-

ficance as it had in the East; they merely regarded it as the material instrument of a most degrading punishment. The Hebrew Scriptures, on the other hand, contain what may be regarded as suggestions of the crucifixion, as in the case of the uplifted brazen serpent in the wilderness (Nu 21[8. 9]), the piercing of hands and feet in Ps 22[16], also in the suppressed passage, referred to by Justin Martyr, formerly contained in Ps 96[10] (LXX version, some codices).

As the instrument of Christ's execution came to be regarded in the early Church as the means of human redemption, it became the symbol of the Passion, and later still it was used as a sign of protection and defence. Some of the earlier forms of the crucifix represented the Lord as reigning from the tree, the triumphant Saviour-King, with no signs of agony. There is, however, no monument of the cross or crucifix remaining which belongs to the 1st century.

The ceremony of making the sign of the cross is of great antiquity, and is referred to by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 11 [*Patr. Græca*, ix. 305]) and by Tertullian in the 3rd cent. (*de Cor. Mil.* iii.), who felt it necessary to defend the Christians against the charge of the heathen that they too were guilty of idolatry in the worship of the cross. The superstitious use of the symbol to ward off evil may be traced to the middle of the 2nd cent., whilst the adoration and the exaltation of the cross came in later.

3. The doctrine of the cross in the early Church.—The doctrine of the cross, or the death of Christ, and the doctrine of the resurrection formed the essential teaching in apostolic Christianity. At Pentecost, and in the earliest contact of Christianity with Judaism, the fact of the resurrection, or rather the Christ of the resurrection, came to the front. But it was always the Crucified One who had been raised from the dead. The crucifixion was an event which was familiar to all, but the distinctive message was that God had put His seal and approval on the sacrifice of Christ. On each occasion in the Acts on which St. Peter preached the doctrine of the resurrection, he charged the Jews with having crucified Jesus (Ac 2[36] 4[10] 5[30] 10[39]). In his First Epistle he spoke of Jesus as having borne our sins in His own body on the tree (1 P 2[24]).

St. Paul in his address in the synagogue at Antioch of Pisidia proclaimed the fact of the resurrection and laid the responsibility of the crucifixion of our Lord upon the Jews (Ac 13[27-29]). It was in his Epistles, however, that he laid down specifically the doctrine of the cross. In his First Epistle to the Corinthians he refers to the cross as the central feature of his ministry, and states that he had determined to know nothing among them save Jesus Christ and Him crucified (2[2]). It is a double reconciliation which is thereby effected, between God and man, Jew and Greek. The enmity is slain through the cross, and access is gained in one Spirit unto the Father (Eph 2[16-18]). It was the sole means whereby reconciliation and peace between God and man were possible (Col 1[20]). The cross was a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks, but it was God's wisdom, not discernible by the natural man and only truly appreciated by those who are spiritual (1 Co 1). In Gal. the curse of the cross is brought forward (3[13]). This curse was borne by Jesus Christ on behalf of all men, both Jews and Greeks, for it rests upon those who have not kept the whole law, as well as upon those who have ignored it altogether. Neither Jews nor Gentiles can be justified by the works of the law; both alike are under the curse and are to be justified by faith alone. The curse is transferred to Christ as the sacrificial victim, and the 'bond written in ordinances' is nailed to His cross, and taken out of the way (Col 2[14]). This idea is very prominent in the symbolism of the scapegoat, the transfer of the curse being represented in the light of the victim bearing the iniquities of the people into the wilderness (Lv 16[5ff.]). The shame, ignominy, and disgrace which were associated with the cross formed the culmination in the humiliation of Him who 'was in the form of God and counted it not a prize to be equal with God,' and it was the ground of the glorious exaltation with which God invested Him, and for which He received the name which is above every name, and should receive the homage of all things in heaven and earth and under the earth (Ph 2[8-11]). 'He was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth through the power of God' (2 Co 13[4]).

The Epistle to the Hebrews (especially 9[11-28] 10) develops the conception of the High-Priesthood of Christ and demonstrates that He is the High Priest of good things to come, having through His blood obtained eternal redemption for us, and thus He becomes the Mediator of the new Covenant. By His redemptive work once for all we are sanctified and perfected for ever through the offering of His body.

The hope of the race for the future is based upon the atonement, and the consummation of the dispensation is associated with the sacrifice of Christ as the Lamb which hath been slain. The Lord of the Churches is to receive the adoration of the Church throughout all ages because He hath loved us and washed us from our sins in His own blood and hath made us a kingdom and priests unto God the Father (Rev 1[5. 6]). 'Because of the suffering of death' He is 'crowned with glory and honour' (He 2[9]). Throughout the eschatological references of the Apocalypse, the power and dignity of the Lamb upon the throne culminate in the ascription of all praise and glory to Him who is worthy because He has been slain.

From the references in the NT we gather that the cross and the crucifixion of Christ became the symbol of human redemption and of the doctrine of the atonement. The doctrine of the cross was the central truth in the early Church, confirmed and completed in the fact of the resurrection. Though a symbol of humiliation, disgrace, and shame, it came to stand for the most glorious truths of the salvation wrought for us by Jesus Christ and as synonymous with the gospel itself.

That this was the doctrine of the cross amongst the churches of the 1st cent. is evidenced by the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. Polycarp refers to the blood of Christ as demanding vengeance upon His persecutors (*Phil.* ii.); he also alludes to the cross, when he affirms that he who rejects the testimony is of the devil (vii.), and enjoins prayer for the enemies of the gospel (xii.). The doctrine of the cross is with Ignatius the central teaching of his faith, and he lays great stress upon the 'blood,' the 'passion,' and the 'cross' of Christ, so much so that he vividly recalls the words of St. Paul. The cross means to him salvation and is the pledge of eternal life, but it is a scandal to the unbeliever (*Eph.* xviii.). The words τὸ πάθος are very frequently used by Ignatius, for in our Lord's passion all men must die; through Christ's sufferings the penitent is to return to God; Christ's passion the saint must strive to imitate; and it is the joy and peace of the Church. The main endeavour of Ignatius in combating the Docetic heresy was to prove that the sufferings of Christ were real experiences, especially in *Trall.* ix. (see also *Trall.* Inscr. xi., *Smyrn.* i. iii. vii., *Philadel.* Inscr. iv. viii.).

(1) *The death of Christ upon the cross is the sacrifice for human guilt and sin.*—The immediate cause of Christ's death was the animosity of the

Jews with whom our Lord was brought into collision through His teachings, His ministry, and His claims. In the condemnation and death of Jesus all human sin was epitomized and focused. It was the rejection of the Messiah by God's chosen people who represented the race in its treatment of the Son of God. The death of Christ was, however, voluntarily borne by Him, who was willing to sacrifice Himself and become the victim of the sins and wrongs of humanity. It is plainly and repeatedly taught by Christ and His disciples that He gave Himself on our behalf and for our sakes. The Greek prepositions *ἀντί*, *ὑπέρ*, *διά*, *περί* are used with respect to this transaction as well as such terms as propitiation, reconciliation, mediator, and ransom. The propitiatory rites of the Mosaic economy are freely employed by the NT writers, not merely by way of illustration but also as types of Christ, who has in His death fulfilled and consummated them all.

The whole scheme of human redemption must be viewed in the light of Divine and perfectly holy love. Love transfers to itself every aspect of suffering that its object has to bear. Even the sense of isolation and 'the dereliction' of our Lord, as it is termed, must be regarded as the transfer that love alone is capable of making. Perfect love is perfect sympathy and perfect interest, and the mystery of the cross is the mystery of love at its highest power and value. When love sacrifices itself for sin it must entail suffering. Although love is regarded as identifying itself with its object in the sense of shame, disgrace, and degradation, there is no confusion of moral issues. Christ knew no sin although He was made sin for us. He was pure, harmless, and undefiled, without spot or blemish. Nevertheless He experienced sin as God experiences it, whilst He experienced its effects as man does (Forsyth, *The Cruciality of the Cross*, p. 212). As there is in the identification of love the act of putting oneself in the place of another, an element of identification, which in some sense amounts to substitution, is always involved.

It is important, however, to observe that the death of Christ regarded as a penalty or an act of suffering is not *per se* stated to be the propitiation or the satisfaction offered to Divine Justice or the Moral Law. It was the perfection of the offering and the finished obedience culminating in the death of the cross which won the acceptance by God of the sacrifice. The moral value of the offering was the sacrifice of a complete and absolutely perfect life which met and satisfied the claims of the law. It was not the transfer of an exact equivalent in suffering which constituted the worth and efficacy of the atonement, but the offering of a complete personality in holy obedience and full surrender. Such was the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, who became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.

(2) *The redemption of mankind is wrought by means of Christ's death upon the cross.*—The race is under condemnation and a curse through sin, but Christ has taken the curse upon Himself, and in doing so has made an offering for the whole of mankind—a cosmic sacrifice by the life of perfect obedience that the Law required. This righteousness is imputed to all who exercise true faith in Him. Whilst the holy love of God in Christ makes it possible that sin should be transferred to the Redeemer, it is faith on the part of the believer which makes possible the imputation of the righteousness of Christ to the sinner's account. The man who believes in Christ appropriates the righteousness of Christ as his own, by accepting the sacrifice and the satisfaction rendered to the eternal law of right as being offered on his behalf. Thus there is on the part of the believer the identification of himself with Christ in His perfect sacrifice. He lays his hand as it were upon the head of the scapegoat, and he makes the offering of the Paschal Lamb his own act. Christ is to him the expression and the fulfilment of the perfect righteousness which he feels is expected of him and that is worthy of him. Ideally all that Christ did, accomplished in His life of perfect obedience to the will of God, culminating in the death of the cross, is appropriated by the believer as his own. Christ's righteousness is transferred to the believer in so far as he is united to his Saviour by living faith. He can say with St. Paul, 'I have been crucified with Christ, yet I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me' (Gal 2^{20}), and 'That I may gain Christ, and be found in him, not having a righteousness of mine own, even that which is of the law, but that which is through faith in Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith' (Ph 3^{9}). The true self is not the actual self, but the ideal self, which the believer finds in his Lord. In the life and character of the believer this ideal is being continuously and progressively realized, in such a manner that he dies to sin and rises with Christ in the power of His resurrection, and is enabled more and more to live the Christ-life in the world. By faith we are united to Christ in His death, dying to sin, and are raised into newness of life in His resurrection.

The death of Christ upon the cross secures the forgiveness of sin for those who accept the Christ and His sacrificial work on their behalf. In Him we have our redemption, the forgiveness of sins (Eph 1^{7}, Col 1^{14}). The demands of the Law are satisfied, God's requirements are met in the perfect life and personality of our Lord, the rightness of the moral obligation is acknowledged, and the God of Holiness can forgive. The need of forgiveness is seen in the psychological fact that every man requires, before he can make a fresh start in a life of holiness, the consciousness that he is entering upon a new, unstained, and unblemished chapter of his life, and that the guilty past is blotted out. The incubus of guilt must be removed, and he must take up his life as if the past had not been. He needs to know that he is in a right relation with God, and that his ideal is yet attainable. The assurance of forgiveness is absolutely necessary; for although the Lord is full of mercy, and there is always forgiveness with Him, yet the requirements of the Law must be acknowledged and satisfied. They have been fully met in the death of Christ, and the acceptance of that offering has been sealed in the resurrection of Christ from the dead.

The mystic union of the believer with his Lord, which is constituted by love and wrought through faith, results in the crucifixion of self to the world and of the world to self (Gal 6^{14}). The spell of sin is broken, and the believer is dead to its power; the violated law has no hold upon the believer. He is one with his Lord in the love that sacrificed itself to the death, and is kindled within the heart of the man who accepts the sacrifice as made on his behalf. The love which brought Christ to the cross and the grace of God in Christ establish a spiritual unity with Christ in all His sufferings and His judgment upon sin, so that man's lower nature is crucified with Christ and His blood washes away sin and cleanses from all guilt. Thus the blood of the cross becomes the symbol of that redemptive grace which brings men back to God, and by which the triumph of the Redeemer over sin and death is achieved.

LITERATURE.—O. Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, 1875; H. Fulda, *Das Kreuz und die Kreuzigung*, 1878; C. C. Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*, 1893; artt. on 'Cross' and 'Crucifixion' in *HDB*, *DCG*, *ERE*, Smith's *DB*, *EBi*, *CE*; H. P. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures for 1866*[8], 1878, p. 472 ff.; R. W. Dale, *The Atonement*, 1878; T. J. Crawford, *The Doctrine of Holy*

Scripture respecting the Atonement, 1871, ²1874; J. Denney, *The Atonement and the Modern Mind*, 1903; P. T. Forsyth, *The Cruciality of the Cross*, 1909, *The Work of Christ*, 1910.

J. G. JAMES.

CROWN.—The word is used in the apostolic writings of the NT (AV) to translate two Greek words—*στέφανος* and *διάδημα*. The RV, however, distinguishes between them and always translates *διάδημα* by the word '**diadem.**' The latter term is less frequently used, and signifies the official head-dress of a king or a priest. It was originally applied to the silken fillet of blue or purple mixed with white used by the Persians to confine the hair (Gr. *διαδέω*, 'to bind'). By and by the word came to be applied to the ornamental head-dress of the king, which was distinguished by its colour and the pendants of gold or jewels attached to it. The Persian diadem was adopted by Alexander the Great, and came to be regarded as the special and distinctive head-dress of royalty. Metaphorically the word was used to indicate royal power, dominion, or authority. Thus in Rev 12^3 13^1 19^{12} the RV gives the correct translation 'diadems' (AV 'crowns'). In Rev 12^3 the royal power of the dragon is referred to, in 13^1 the power of the beast, and in 19^{12} the royal dignity of Christ.

The term *στέφανος* (Lat. *corona*, Eng. 'crown' [AV or RV]), on the other hand, is never used of a kingly crown (cf. Trench, *NT Syn.*⁸, London, 1876, § xxiii.). It refers to the chaplet or wreath given by the Greeks as a mark of victory, *e.g.* to the winner in the games, or as a reward of talent, of military or naval prowess, or of civil distinction, while it was also worn on festive occasions and at funerals. The Romans in the same way used the term *corona*, and distinguished a great many crowns (made of different materials to signify various achievements in war and peace. No fewer than eight crowns are mentioned as rewards for military prowess. Thus a crown or wreath made of grass, seeds, or wild flowers was given by the inhabitants of a besieged city to the general who raised the siege (*corona obsidionalis*). To the soldier who saved the life of a Roman citizen was given a wreath of oak leaves (*corona civica*). The sailor who first boarded an enemy's ship received a golden crown (*corona navalis* or *classica*). In the same way the soldier who first scaled the wall of a besieged city received the *corona muralis*, also of gold; while a similar crown, *corona castrensis* or *vallaris*, was given to the soldier who first crossed the rampart (*vallum*) and forced an entrance into the enemy's camp. The Romans also distinguished three kinds of triumphal crowns (*corona triumphalis*), one made of bay leaves and worn round the head of the general who secured a triumph; another of gold held over the head of the victorious general during his triumph; and another, also made of gold, sent by the provinces to the victorious commander. In the same way the general who received only an ovation obtained a crown of myrtle (*corona ovalis*), while another crown of olive leaf (*corona oleagina*) was worn by the soldiers of the victorious army as well as by their commander.

The custom of wearing crowns or chaplets at festive entertainments originated in Greece and was transferred to Rome. These festal wreaths were made of various shrubs and flowers, such as roses, violets, myrtle, and ivy, while at marriages the bride and bridegroom were both adorned with wreaths, the bride plucking the flowers with her own hand. The practice of crowning the dead with garlands of flowers and leaves, which was also taken over from Greece to Rome, probably arose from the desire to honour the departed who had fallen in war.

Thus we see that the ideas underlying the word *στέφανος* are neither dominion nor royalty but (*a*) victory, honour, reward; and (*b*) joy. (1) The conquering Christ in the Book of the Revelation is described as wearing a crown (6^2 14^{14}), as are also the devastating locusts (9^7) and the 'woman clothed with the sun' (12^1). Here the idea is that of victory. (2) In the same way the Christian who is victorious over the temptations of life obtains as his final reward a crown of victory (1 Co 9^{25}, Rev 2^{10} 3^{11}). This is particularly described as a 'crown of life' (Ja 1^{12}, Rev 2^{10}) and 'a crown of glory that fadeth not away' (1 P 5^4). Probably the 'crown of righteousness' of 2 Ti 4^8 is to be understood as signifying not 'the reward which is righteousness,' but rather 'the reward of righteous acts.' The Apostle has fought the good fight, finished the course, kept the faith, and as the reward of these things expects to receive the victor's crown, the victor's reward (cf. *EGT* iv. [1910] 178). The crown of life and the crown of glory are undoubtedly to be understood in the sense of 'the reward or crown which is life,' 'which is glory.' Probably a saying of Jesus suggested the use of the word crown in this connexion (cf. *EGT* iv. 427). (3) The ideas of victory and of joy are both present in the use of the term by St. Paul to describe his converts. The Philippian Christians are his 'joy and crown' (4^1), *i.e.* the marks of his victory, the cause of his rejoicing, his reward; so the Thessalonians (1 Th 2^{19}) are his 'crown of rejoicing.'

The same word is used of the 'crown of thorns,' which probably was intended to mock the defeat and humiliation of the 'King of the Jews.' It marked the ironical contempt of the Roman soldiers for the Jews. In the later history of the Apostolic Church the question of the relation of Christian converts to these 'crowns' of the Roman army and Emperors became a burning one, which is discussed by Tertullian in his work *de Corona*.

LITERATURE.—Liddell and Scott, *Greek-Eng. Lexicon*, and Grimm-Thayer, *s.vv.* *στέφανος* and *διάδημα*; W. Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1868, *s.v.* 'Corona'; *HDB* i. 529; *EGT* iv. v.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*⁴, 1878, p. 157.

W. F. BOYD.

CRYSTAL (*κρύσταλλος*, from *κρύος*, frost).—The glassy sea before the throne of God is like unto crystal (Rev 4^6), the light of the New Jerusalem like a crystal-clear jasper (21^{11}), and the river of the water of life bright (*λαμπρόν*) as crystal (22^1). *κρύσταλλος* signifies either ice (*glacies*) or rock-crystal (*crystallum*). For the purpose of the similes it is immaterial which of these is meant, as both are colourless and transparent, and either may be used to convey an idea of 'the white radiance of eternity.' The same ambiguity attaches to the terrible crystal (*or* ice) in Ezk 1^{22}, where the LXX renders קֶרַח by *κρύσταλλος*. The ancients regarded rock-crystal as a kind of congealed water, whence its name in Hebrew and Greek. It is really the most refined kind of quartz. It crystallizes in hexagonal prisms with pyramidal apices. The Romans carved it into vases and goblets, sometimes elaborately engraved. It was supplied to them from the Alps and India. Its use is now largely superseded by that of glass.

JAMES STRAHAN.

CUBIT (Gr. *πῆχυς*, lit. 'forearm').—The most important Hebrew unit for measuring length was from the earliest times the cubit. This was approximately the length of the forearm from the elbow to the tip of the middle finger, and we find very frequent use of this measure in the OT. Like our own 'foot' as a measure of length, this standard was averaged at an early date, and many varied attempts have been made by metrologists to fix the exact length of the Hebrew cubit in English inches.

The evidence of the OT generally, and particularly of Ezekiel, goes to show that both before and after the Exile a longer and a shorter cubit were recognized. We find 'the cubit of a man' (Dt 3^{11}) distinguished from a longer cubit used in the measurement of Ezekiel's Temple (Ezk 40^5 43^{13}). The 'cubit of a man' is the measure in every-day use at the date of the writing of Deut. (probably in the time of Josiah). Ezekiel in describing the Temple of his vision uses a larger measure—one hand-breadth longer than the ordinary cubit. As the prophet's measurements correspond with the details of Solomon's Temple, he probably adopts the ancient cubit, generally used in the days of Solomon, in order that his new Temple may be an exact reproduction of the Solomonic edifice. The Chronicler (2 Ch 3^3) speaks of the dimensions of this first Temple as being 'after the former measure.' Common tradition fixes the length of the cubit as six hand-breadths, and we have ground for concluding that the larger cubit used in building in the age of Solomon measured seven hand-breadths.

It is remarkable that in Egypt (see F. L. Griffith, 'Notes on Egyptian Weights and Measures,' in *PSBA* xiv. [1892] 403) two cubits were in use from early times, viz. the 'short' cubit of six and the 'royal' cubit of seven hand-breadths. The 'royal' cubit can be fixed with practical accuracy at 20·63 in. (Petrie, *EB*^{9} xxiv. 483^a). Using this as a basis, we can fix the 'short' Egyptian cubit at 17·68 in., being six hand-breadths of 2·95 in. or 24 finger-breadths of ·74 inches. It is uncertain whether the Hebrew system of measurement was originally derived from Egypt or not, but the similarity of the two systems makes such a conclusion extremely probable.

Kennedy in *HDB* iv. 909 brings forward evidence which seems to show that the cubit of later Judaism and particularly at the date when Josephus wrote his histories, had been approximated to the Roman-Attic standard cubit, which was measured from the elbow to the knuckle of the middle finger and was equal to 17·5 in. (cf. Smith, *Dict: of Gr. and Rom. Ant.*^{2}, 1875, p. 1227).

The cubit was subdivided into the span, equal to $\frac{1}{2}$ cubit; the palm or hand-breadth, equal to $\frac{1}{6}$th of a cubit; and the finger-breadth or digit, $\frac{1}{24}$th of a cubit. Four cubits formed a fathom, and six cubits a reed.

In the apostolic writings of the NT the word 'cubit' is found only once; viz. Rev 21^{17}, where the seer describes the angel going forth to measure the walls of the New Jerusalem: 'and he measured the wall thereof, a hundred and forty and four cubits, according to the measure of a man, that is, of an angel.' The measure used by the writer here is the ordinary Græco-Roman cubit, of which 400 went to the *στάδιον* or *στάδιος* of the preceding verse. The mention of 'an angel' does not imply any reference to the 'royal cubit,' but is, as Moffatt (*EGT*, 'Rev.,' 1910, p. 484) remarks, 'another naive reminder (cf. $19^{9.\ 10}$ $22^{8.\ 9}$) that angels were not above men.' Swete says: 'The measurements taken by angelic hands are such as are in common use among men. . . . There is perhaps the further thought that men and angels are *σύνδουλοι* (19^{10} 22^9) and men shall one day be *ἰσάγγελοι*' (Swete, *Com. in loc.*).

W. F. BOYD.

CUP (*ποτήριον*).—The Eucharistic cup is called by St. Paul 'the cup of blessing' (*τὸ ποτήριον τῆς εὐλογίας*, 1 Co 10^{16}). Various shades of meaning have been found in the phrase: (1) the cup which Christ blessed, making it for ever a cup of blessing; (2) the cup which has been consecrated by a prayer of thanksgiving for use in the Lord's Supper; (3) the cup which brings blessing to the communicant. The sacramental cup is usually, and very naturally, supposed to have been connected in Jesus' mind with the third and most sacred of the cups which, in the ceremonial of later Judaism, were handed round at the Passover. That third cup was known as 'the cup of blessing' (כּוֹס בְּרָכָה), and St. Paul, who had often received it, also appears to be tacitly comparing and contrasting with it 'the cup of blessing which we (Christians) bless.' The identification of the Lord's Supper with the Passover is, it is true, a much-disputed point, but even if the institution of the Eucharist took place at an ordinary meal, the cup used by our Lord may well have been signalized, both at the time and ever afterwards, as the new cup of blessing. Another name for it was 'the cup of the Lord' (1 Co 10^{21}), *i.e.* the cup received from His hand, signifying fellowship with Him and devotion to Him, to drink from which made it morally impossible for the communicant to share in the riot and debauch of heathen banquets—to drink 'the cup of demons.'

By a Semitic figure of speech, one's lot or experience, joyful or sorrowful, regarded as a Divine appointment, is compared with a cup which God presents to one to drink. Thus the writer of Rev., saturated with prophetic ideas and imagery, speaks of Divine retribution as 'the wine of the wrath of God, which is prepared unmixed in the cup of his anger' (14^{10}; cf. 16^{19}).

JAMES STRAHAN.

CURSE.—Traces of the early belief that curses rightly pronounced had an inherent power can hardly be found in the NT. The principal force of the word is either as an expletive provoked by passion from an undisciplined mind, or as a serious and strong assertion of the connexion between evil-doing and woe. Sometimes the imprecation of Divine wrath is present, with sternness or mere rage in the appeal; sometimes religious sanctions are implicit, and part of the connotation of the Heb. *hērem* or ban is preserved; and in one passage (Gal $3^{10\text{-}13}$) the word recurs in various forms four times in as many verses, and its suggestions relate to one of the deepest mysteries of the Cross.

In Ac $23^{12.\ 14.\ 21}$ and Rev 22^3 the Gr. word used is a form or compound of *anathema* (*q.v.*); and in each case the form is in the NT peculiar to the passage, though not unknown in later ecclesiastical usage. The curse or oath was the invocation upon themselves of the judgments of God if the conspirators failed to do as they had covenanted with one another. It was a religious bond such as fanatical hatred has always been disposed to resort to, and superstitious terrors were called in to ensure the common purpose. In the passage from Rev. the word is strengthened by a prefix, and made equivalent to our 'execration.' The phraseology is at least reminiscent of Zec 14^{11}, and includes, but goes beyond, the reversal of the doom of Gn 3^{17}. In the Holy City, as in the Jerusalem of the prophet, will be found no more any person or thing, execrated or execrable, and there will be no need for the incidence of any Divine judgment. It is an anticipation of a condition of moral purity without any breach of right relationship among the residents or between them and God; but the prophetic parallel suggests that the primary idea is that of security, the people dwelling safely in the absence of any influence that would involve moral peril.

Another root occurs in the rest of the passages, its usage passing from the general idea of prayer through that of the effect of prayer in securing ill to an enemy and ending with a partial personification in which Ara becomes a goddess of destruction and revenge. Almost without exception the thought is that of a Divine visitation upon an offender, in-

volving grievous, though not necessarily permanent, suffering. The simplest form is found in Ro 3^{14}, which is a free rendering from the LXX of Ps 10^{7}. In Ro 12^{14} also the meaning does not go much beyond ordinary blasphemy (cf. Mt 5^{44}). James ($3^{9f.}$) makes the curse of an individual a wrong done to mankind, and thus protests against the Pharisaic temper of Jn 7^{49}, and traces the sin back to its actual source, a defect in love for man being an effect of the absence of love for God. 'Children of cursing' (2 P 2^{14}) is a Hebraism (cf. Eph 2^{3}, Lk 10^{6}); it may denote nothing more than the extreme wickedness of the men referred to, though one is disposed to see an allusion to the wrath of God, as in Ps 95^{11}. 'Nigh unto a curse' (He 6^{8}) recalls Gn $3^{17f.}$; such land looks like that described in the original curse, and therefore rejection and 'to be burned' are its natural fate. The burning is apparently final, or at least like the destruction of a land by volcanic eruption (Dt 29^{23}), for the thought of purification by the burning up of noxious growths is foreign to the context.

There remains only the critical reference in Gal 3^{10-13}. The starting-point of the argument is the impossibility on the part of anybody of compliance with the requirements of a legal religion or specifically of the Jewish Law; for while the Mosaic Law is to the forefront, the Pauline use of the word for 'law' without the article is significant, and the pronouns look beyond the group of converts from Judaism. Hence every legal religion lays upon its adherents the unavoidable curse of Dt 27^{26}, which again is cited freely from the LXX. The curse evidently means humiliating hopelessness of attainment; strive as he may, the aspiring man is bound in the shackles of his very nature, and cannot meet the claims which his religion is recognized as justly making upon him. 'He that doeth them shall live in them' (Lv 18^{5}) is a law of life, which in experience becomes a doom. The only refuge left is a sure one, for Christ became a curse for us and thereby redeemed us from the curse of the Law. What that curse means is shown in two particulars. The one is His death by crucifixion, and the other the fact that this death was endured not for Himself but for others. Shame and penalty, rejection by God (Mk 15^{34}), gathered upon Him; and thus faith became the permanent secret of righteousness. Crucifixion can hardly be said to have been practised among the Jews; though there are many instances of their exposing dead bodies on stakes or otherwise, and to that the citation from Dt 21^{23} relates. To the Roman the shame of the punishment was intolerable because of its association with slaves and captives; to the Jew it was an outrage upon humanity. It meant the defilement of the land, and the concentration upon the sufferer of the wrath of God. It has been argued that Christ's death in this way, though He was personally sinless, was the formal inauguration of a better method of salvation than Mosaism (but see C. C. Everett, *The Gospel of Paul*, 1893). But neither Jew nor Gentile would be likely thus to understand it; nor do such spectacular expedients appear to enter into God's methods of salvation. The Pauline thought is rather that Christ was made sin for us (2 Co 5^{21}) and a curse for us, bearing the penalties of sin and thus effecting our redemption.

LITERATURE.—In addition to Comm. on the passages cited, and artt. on 'Ban' in *SDB* and on 'Cursing and Blessing' in *ERE*, see F. Weber, *Die Lehren des Talmud*, 1880, p. 137 ff.; E. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. [1885] 60 ff.

R. W. MOSS.

CUSTOM.—**1.** Custom in its primary significance is habitual practice, on the part of either the individual or the community. The Greek word *ἔθος* implying both usage and habit is employed in the NT to denote the routine of the priest's office (Lk 1^{9}), the practice of attending the ceremonial feast (Lk 2^{42}), and detailed observance of ancestral practice or the Mosaic ritual (Ac 6^{14} 16^{21} 21^{21} 26^{3} 28^{17}).

The formation of habit in individual conduct through frequent repetition is a process well known to the psychological student, but the origin and development of custom in the community are involved in some obscurity. The first step towards the establishment of a polity and organized society is the formation of a 'cake of custom,' as Bagehot terms it (*Physics and Politics* [*ISS*, 1872], p. 27); but it is a matter of dispute as to the way in which the 'cake' was made, since it goes back to the remotest antiquity. The parities of circumstance were in those far-distant days more prominent than in the historical period, but it is thought by some, as *e.g.* Henry Maine, that the specific commands and judgments of the ruler or sovereign preceded the establishment of custom (*Ancient Law*[10], new impression, 1907, p. 4 ff.). Most probably it is a collective product or a common creation. It is generally held that custom was the precursor of law and one of the chief elements in its evolution. Whether amongst primitive peoples or in later times, custom has a tremendous influence over the actions of the individual and the community, rivalling even the law itself, with its appropriate sanctions. The law recognizes the force of custom and usage, but apart from the legalized forms; whilst the individual is largely under the domination of habit, so the community is under the sway of custom.

2. The word 'custom' in English, through the associations of law and obligation, is extended to cover what is connoted by the Greek *τέλος* in its signification of toll, tax, or duty. The State with its authority and sovereign power becomes the *τέλος*, but the term is used in a derivative sense to include what is due to the State, as custom in the sense of toll. The tax-gatherer, *ὁ τελώνης*, collected the custom on behalf of the State or the King (Mt 17^{25}). In Ro 13^{7} the payment of custom together with tribute, no less than fear and honour, formed part of the obligation devolving upon the Christian with respect to the higher powers, which indeed are 'ordained of God.'

J. G. JAMES.

CYMBAL (*κύμβαλον*, from *κύμβος*, 'a hollow').—The word signifies one of a pair of brass or bronze plates which make a ringing sound when brought sharply together. The word appears only in 1 Co 13^{1}, where *κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον* is used to describe the man whose lack of love despoils even his undoubted gifts of intellect and eloquence. The adjective is better translated as 'clanging'; cf. the *cymbalum concrepans* of Jerome on Gal 5^{26}. Pliny (*HN* Præf. § 25) has an expression which is suggestive: 'hic quem Tiberius Cæsar cymbalum mundi vocabat'; and in modern days, Goethe is said to have thought of 1 Co 13^{1} when he read Byron's poems.

Little is known for certain of Jewish music in the Apostolic Age, and we rely mostly on inference. As a race the Hebrews did not deserve Cicero's tribute to the ancient Egyptians, but they cultivated music and were probably influenced by the Egyptians and Assyrians (but cf. J. L. Saalschütz [*Geschichte und Würdigung der Musik bei den Hebräern*, 1829, p. 67], who believed that the Jews preserved their own national music). Harmony and counter-point were almost unknown, though C. Engel (*The Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, 1864, pp. 320, 356) holds that the Hebrews were acquainted with some form of harmony; and, consequently, much attention was devoted to form and volume of sound, and to combinations of instruments. This accounts for the prevalence of

percussion instruments, especially those, like the cymbal, which had a shrill, clanging sound. Cymbals were in the hands of the chief musicians, and were used to mark time, as they were used in Egypt, Greece, and Rome, where they played their part in the festivals of Cybele and Bacchus. From 1 Ch 15[19] we learn that cymbals were made of brass, but, if we can trust Josephus (whose account of Jewish music is at times perplexing), they were also made of bronze. He describes them as large broad plates of bronze (*Ant.* VII. xii. 3). In Wellhausen's 'Psalms' (Haupt's *PB*, 1898), Appendix, there are two illustrations of Assyrian musicians which make it plain that cymbals were of two varieties: the one depicts bell-shaped cymbals with handles which permit the player to strike them together, the one on the top of the other; the second shows flat cymbals, similar to modern dinner-plates, with cord handles, and these were beat against each other sideways.

In the OT, to which one must turn for knowledge of cymbals, the two words used are מְצִלְתַּיִם and צִלְצְלִים. In Ps 150[5] the latter word appears, and it has been supposed that 'loud cymbals' are castanets (cf. Engel, *op. cit.* p. 312), but Wellhausen thinks this very doubtful. Zec 14[20] presents difficulties to the exegete, but it is possible to compare the noise of tinkling trappings of horses with the clanging of miniature cymbals. Cymbals are still used in the East at religious and secular festivals (see W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, new ed., 1910, pt. iv. p. 698). ARCHIBALD MAIN.

CYPRUS (Κύπρος).—The name is given to a large island in the N.E. angle of the Mediterranean, 46 miles S. of Cilicia and 60 miles W. of Syria. In fine weather the Taurus and the Lebanon ranges are both distinctly visible from its higher ground. Its greatest length from W. to E. is 140 miles (including the eastern promontory, which is 45 miles long), and its greatest breadth 60 miles. It consists mainly of two mountain ranges, running E. and W., separated by a wide and low-lying plain, which is drained by the Pediæus. Strabo describes it as a land of wine, oil, and corn (XIV. vi. 4). The fragrance of its flowers won for it the epithet εὐώδης. For centuries it derived a great revenue from exports of copper and timber, the supply of which has long been exhausted. The word 'copper' itself comes from 'Cyprus.' The island owed much to Phœnician and Greek colonists, but it never developed the nobler aspects of Hellenic culture and art. Its Oriental character always predominated, and the Cyprian queen, whom the Greeks identified with Aphrodite, was really the Astarte of Syria.

The Cypriotes never had energy enough to establish themselves as an independent nation. After having been successively under Assyrian, Egyptian, Persian, and Greek influence, they became subject to Rome in 57 B.C. Cyprus was at first an Imperial province, but in 22 B.C. Augustus gave it to the Senate in exchange for S. Gaul (Dio Cass. liii. 12), so that St. Luke is strictly accurate in calling the governor at the time of St. Paul's visit 'the proconsul' (ἀνθύπατος, Ac 13[7]). An inscription of Soli on the north coast of the island is dated 'in the proconsulship of Paulus,' who was probably the Sergius Paulus of Acts (D. G. Hogarth, *Devia Cypria*, London, 1889, p. 114). The names of several other proconsuls of the province are found on coins and inscriptions (*op. cit.* Appendix). The presence of Jews in Cyprus during the Maccabæan period is indicated by 1 Mac 15[23], and probably many others were attracted to the island when Augustus farmed the copper mines to Herod the Great (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. iv. 5).

The part which Cyprus played in the progress of apostolic Christianity was singularly honourable. She helped to liberalize the primitive Church. Her Jewish population had the gospel preached among them by Christians whom persecution drove from Jerusalem after the death of Stephen (Ac 11[19]), and some Christian Jews of Cyprus, along with others from Cyrene, initiated a new movement by preaching at Antioch 'to the Greeks also' (11[20]). This reading, rather than 'to the Hellenists,' is required to bring out the contrast to 'Jews only' in the previous verse; and where the MS authority is about equal the sense must decide. Barnabas, who discovered St. Paul (11[25]) and became his first comrade in missionary labour, was a native of Cyprus. It was probably at the instance of Barnabas that the island became the earliest scene of their united evangelism (13[4]).

After preaching in the synagogues of Salamis—the plural number indicates that the Jewish colony was large—they went through the whole island (13[6]), and Ramsay (*Expositor*, 5th ser. iii. [1896] p. 385 ff.) contends that διελθόντες signifies 'a missionary progress.' The verb, with the accusative of the region traversed, occurs other eight times in Acts (never in chs. 1–12), and also in 1 Co 16[5], each time apparently with this meaning, and it seems to have been a *terminus technicus* in the missionary language of the Apostle and the historian. To travel across Cyprus by either of two roads—the one inland, the other along the south coast—would take only 3 or 4 days, but an evangelistic tour would occupy a much longer time. The Apostles had John Mark, Barnabas' cousin, himself perhaps a Cypriote, with them as their attendant (ὑπηρέτης, Ac 13[5]), but he deserted them at Perga, and his conduct ultimately led to the painful separation of the two leaders (15[37-39]). Barnabas and Mark thereafter returned to Cyprus (v.[39]), probably to resume a joint-ministry, of which no record has been preserved. Another Cypriote was the 'early disciple' Mnason, who may have been one of Barnabas' converts, and who became St. Paul's host in Jerusalem (Ac 21[16]).

The other references to Cyprus are geographical. The ship which brought St. Paul back to Syria at the end of his second missionary tour went straight across the high seas from Patara to Tyre, Cyprus being sighted—ἀναφανέντες is one of St. Luke's many nautical terms—on the left, *i.e.* to northward (Ac 21[3]). At the beginning of his voyage from Cæsarea to Italy, his ship sailed round the north side of the island, in order to get under its lee, and to have the benefit of the current which sets strongly westward along the coast of Cilicia and Pamphilia.

The connexion of the Jews with Cyprus ended in disaster. In A.D. 117 they rose and massacred 240,000 of their fellow-citizens. To avenge this appalling crime, Hadrian banished all the Jews from the island, forbidding them to return on pain of death. If at any time thereafter a Jew was wrecked on the shores of Cyprus, he pleaded for mercy in vain (Eusebius, *HE* iv. 6). The later history of the Cyprian Church lacks distinction. The legendary discovery of St. Matthew's Gospel in the tomb of Barnabas at Salamis gave the patriarch of the island the right to sign his name in red ink; and the Council of Cyprus was convened for the purpose of forbidding the reading of the books of Origen!

LITERATURE.—E. Oberhummer, *Die Insel Cypern*, i. [Munich, 1903]; Perrot and Chipiez, *Phénicie et Cypre*, Paris, 1885; M. Ohnefalsch-Richter, *Kypros, Bibel und Homer*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1898. JAMES STRAHAN.

CYRENE, CYRENIANS.—Cyrene (Κυρήνη), the capital of Cyrenaica, was an important city in N. Africa, about equidistant from Alexandria and

Carthage. It was founded by a colony of Dorians in 631 B.C., and its inhabitants retained their thoroughly Hellenic nature, though with some mixture of Libyan blood.

Standing on a plateau 10 miles from the coast, 1800 feet above the sea-level, with a background of mountains on the S., and in full view of the sea to the N., the city was famous for its beauty, its climate, and its fertility. It excelled in culture as well as in commerce. It was the birth-place of Aristippus, whose school of philosophy was called the Cyrenaic, of Callimachus the poet, of Eratosthenes the father of geography, and of Carneades the founder of the New Academy. The phrase used in Ac 2^{10} to describe Cyrenaica, *τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην*, corresponds with *Λιβύη ἡ περὶ Κυρήνην* of Dio Cassius (liii. 12) and *ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη* of Josephus (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 1).

After the time of Alexander, Cyrene was subject to the Greek kings of Egypt. Jewish settlers were attracted to it at an early period. Ptolemy the son of Lagos (305–285 B.C.), 'being desirous to secure the government of Cyrene and of the other cities of Libya to himself, sent a party of Jews to inhabit them' (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 4), and in all such cities the Jews had equal rights with the Macedonians and Greeks. Strabo (quoted by Jos. *Ant.* XIV. vii. 2) says that the population of Cyrene consisted of citizens, husbandmen, strangers, and Jews. The second book of Maccabees is stated to have been written by Jason of Cyrene (2 Mac 2^{23}). The territory of Cyrene was left to the Romans by Ptolemy Apion in 95 B.C. Cyrenaica and Crete, being separated by no great expanse of sea, were made into a dual province, *Creta et Cyrenæ*, which at the division of the provinces in 27 B.C. became senatorial. Under Roman government the Jews had their ancient privileges confirmed (Jos. *Ant.* XVI. vi. 5).

Cyrenians played an interesting and important part in the expansion of the primitive Church. Simon of Cyrene (*ὁ Κυρηναῖος* in each of the Synoptists, Mt 27^{32}, Mk 15^{21}, Lk 23^{26}) was the cross-bearer, and his sons Rufus and Alexander were Christians well known to St. Mark's first readers (Mk 15^{21}). Rufus may be the 'choice Christian' (*τὸν ἐκλεκτὸν ἐν Κυρίῳ*) of Ro 16^{13}, whose mother had at some time 'mothered' St. Paul. Jews and proselytes from Cyrenaica were present at the first Christian Pentecost (Ac 2^{10}). Cyrenian Jews resident in Jerusalem, where they had a Hellenistic synagogue, were among the narrow-minded antagonists of Stephen (6^{9}); but, on the other hand, Cyrenian Jewish Christians, progressive in thought and action, were among the original founders of Gentile Christianity in Antioch (11^{20}), and Lucius of Cyrene was one of a number of prophets and teachers in that city who are credited with the organization of the first mission to the nations (13^{1}). A tradition which cannot be called well-founded makes Lucius the first bishop of Cyrenaica.

An insurrection in the reign of Trajan, in which the Jews of Cyrene massacred many Greek and Roman citizens, led to great disasters. The beautiful city was destroyed by the Saracens in the 4th century. Extensive ruins still attest its former magnificence.

LITERATURE.—C. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, i. [Berlin, 1822]; A. F. Gottschick, *Gesch. der Gründung und Blüte des hell. Staates in Kyrenaika*, Leipzig, 1858; G. Haimann, *La Cirenaica*, Rome, 1882; D. G. Hogarth, in *Monthly Review*, Jan. 1894.

JAMES STRAHAN.

D

DALMATIA (*Δαλματία*).—Till about the middle of the 1st cent. this term denoted the southern part of the Roman province of Illyricum (*q.v.*). Thereafter it began to be extended to the whole province. Both Pliny and Suetonius reflect this change. For a time the two terms were convertible. From the Flavian period onward Dalmatia was the word regularly used. St. Paul, who consistently gave geographical names their Roman sense, first employed the old provincial term (Ro 15^{19}), but in his last Epistle (2 Ti 4^{10} occurs in what is generally regarded as a genuine Pauline fragment) he adopted the new designation. In his own missionary progress he went as far as the frontiers of Illyricum (*μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ*), but probably did not enter it. His lieutenant Titus took possession of Dalmatia for Christ. JAMES STRAHAN.

DAMARIS.—Damaris was converted by the preaching of St. Paul at Athens (Ac 17^{34}). The name is probably a corruption of Damalis ('heifer'), a popular name among the Greeks. St. Chrysostom (*de Sacerd.* iv. 7) makes Damaris the wife of Dionysius the Areopagite, as does the Latin of Codex E ('cum uxore suo'), though the Greek has only 'a woman.' W. M. Ramsay (*St. Paul*, 1895, p. 252) suggests that she was one of the educated *ἑταῖραι*. She seems to have been a person of some importance, since her name is mentioned, and it is open to doubt whether a prominent Athenian woman would have been present. Codex Bezae omits all reference to her.

LITERATURE.—F. Blass, *Com. in loc.*; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, p. 161; J. Felten, *Apostelgeschichte*, Freiburg i. B., 1892, p. 327.

F. W. WORSLEY.

DAMASCUS, DAMASCENES.—Damascus (*Δαμασκός*) cannot now be regarded as the oldest city in the world, but it has a surer title to fame in its possession of the secret of eternal youth. While Tadmor and Palmyra, Baalbek and Jerash, have only a 'glory hovering round decay,' Damascus is still 'the head of Syria,' the queen of Oriental cities. The creations of architectural genius have their day and cease to be, but Damascus is the perennial gift of Nature. The green oasis between Mount Hermon and the desert must always be a theatre of human activity. Wheresoever the river comes, there is life. Damascus has no means of self-defence, has never done anything memorable in warfare, has been captured and plundered many times, and more than once almost annihilated, but it has always quickly recovered itself, and to-day the white smokeless city, embowered in its gardens and orchards and surrounded by its hundred villages, is to every Arab what it was to young Muhammad gazing down upon it from the brow of Salahiyeh—the symbol of Paradise.

During the centuries of Greek and of Roman sway in Syria, Damascus had to yield precedence to Antioch. The Hellenic city in the Levant became the first metropolis of Gentile Christianity, and organized the earliest missions to the Western nations. Yet in a sense the religion of Europe

came by the way of Damascus, which was the scene of the conversion of the greatest of all missionaries. It is in connexion with this event alone that the city is ever mentioned in the NT. The story is told three times in Acts (9^{1-23} 22^{3-16} 26^{1-20}).

In the 1st cent. of our era the Jewish colony in Damascus was large and influential. During a tumult in the reign of Nero 10,000 Jews were massacred. Josephus indicates the extent of Jewish proselytism in the city when he states that the Damascenes 'distrusted their own wives, who were almost all addicted to the Jewish religion' (*BJ* II. xx. 2). It is not known when or how Christianity first came to Damascus. There were doubtless Syrian Jews in Jerusalem at every feast of Pentecost, though none are mentioned in Ac 2. Damascus was the first of the 'foreign cities' (Ac 26^{11}) from which the Jewish authorities resolved to root out the Nazarene heresy. St. Paul came to it as a voluntary inquisitor, to call the Christian Jews to account for their apostasy. He was armed with 'the authority and commission of the chief priests' (Ac 26^{12}).

'In a certain sense the Sanhedrin exercised jurisdiction over every Jewish community in the world. . . . Its orders were regarded as binding throughout the entire domain of orthodox Judaism. It had power, for example, to issue warrants to the congregations (synagogues) in Damascus for the apprehension of the Christians in that quarter' (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [1885] 185).

St. Paul had instructions to deal summarily 'with any that were of the way' (Ac 9^{2}), but the letters which he carried 'for the synagogues' (9^{2}) were never delivered, and his 'commission' (26^{12}) was never executed. One of the Christians whom he intended to 'bring bound to Jerusalem' (9^{2}) baptized him (9^{18}), and 'with the disciples who were at Damascus' (9^{19}) he enjoyed his first Christian fellowship. None of them were among the confessors who afterwards haunted him 'with their remembered faces, dear men and women whom' he 'sought and slew.' In Damascus he 'preached Jesus' (9^{20}), the substance of his gospel being 'that he is the Son of God,' 'that this is the Christ' ($9^{20.\ 22}$). The incident of St. Paul's escape from conspirators by his being let down over the city wall in a basket (*q.v.*) is recorded by the writer of Acts (Ac 9^{23-25}), and confirmed in one of St. Paul's own letters (2 Co 11^{32}). While St. Luke ascribes the plot against him to the Jews, St. Paul relates that it was the ethnarch under Aretas the king who guarded the city of the Damascenes to take him. The two versions of the story can be reconciled by supposing that the governor turned out the garrison and set a watch at the instigation of influential Jews, who represented St. Paul as a disturber of the peace of the city. The alleged ascendancy of the Nabatæan king in Damascus at that time raises a difficult historical problem, which has an important bearing upon the chronology of the primitive Church. This point is discussed under ARABIA, ARETAS, ETHNARCH.

LITERATURE.—G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 1897, p. 641 ff.; Baedeker, *Handbook to Syria and Palestine*, 1912, p. 298 ff.; W. Smith, *Dict. of Gr. and Rom. Geog.* i. [1856] 748; R. W. Pounder, *St. Paul and his Cities*, 1913, p. 58; H. Macmillan, *Gleanings in Holy Fields*, 1899, pp. 101, 114; E. B. Redlich, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913.

JAMES STRAHAN.

DARKNESS.—See LIGHT AND DARKNESS.

DART.—See ARMOUR.

DATES.—The dates of the Apostolic Age are interlinked with those of the NT as a whole. No single date is fixed with the absolute precision which modern historical science demands in the case of recent or contemporaneous chronology. Although some individual dates are so nearly agreed upon that all practical ends aimed at in chronology are secured, yet, in the words of W. M. Ramsay, 'No man can as yet prove his own opinion about chronology and order in the New Testament to the satisfaction of other scholars' (*Expositor*, 8th ser., ii. [1911] 154). In re-stating the information accessible on these dates, it will be well to exhibit clearly the limits of the apostolic period, to reproduce some Roman Imperial dates, to fix some pivotal points which may serve as landmarks, and to determine the times of some of the important events in the life of the Christian community so far as they can be related to the above. What has been said of the difficulty of reaching indisputable results will be found to be especially true of the last part of this task.

I. *GENERAL LIMIT DATES.*—In its broadest acceptance (in ecclesiastical history) the Apostolic Age begins with the birth of Jesus Christ (usually reckoned as 4 B.C.), and ends with the passing of the last of the apostles from the scene of action, *i.e.* the death of John in the reign of Trajan, or, for the sake of convenience, A.D. 100. In a narrower sense, the first 33 years of this general period are not included in the Apostolic Age. They constitute an epoch by themselves. The problems raised in them are connected with the life and work of Jesus, and the story is told in the Canonical Gospels. In this definition of it, the Apostolic Age begins with the Day of Pentecost, or at the point where the author of Acts takes up the story; and it ends with the last of the apostles. In a still narrower sense, the period beginning with the Fall of Jerusalem (A.D. 70) is thrown off on the ground that 'NT history may fitly be said to close with the great catastrophe of A.D. 70' (Turner in *HDB* i. 415[b]). This limitation may be further justified by the fact that the destruction of the Temple established a new order of things not simply with reference to Judaism, but also to the whole apostolic activity, and that the only items of importance in Christian history that can be included in a chronology subsequent to that event are the dates of some apostolic (or other NT) writings.

The date of the Crucifixion.—Since the Apostolic Age begins with the Day of Pentecost, the question of the year in which the Crucifixion occurred falls to be briefly reviewed here. The line of departure for the chronology of the Crucifixion is given by the Gospel narratives. These name both the Roman and the Jewish rulers of the day. The Roman Emperor was Tiberius (A.D. 14–37), the procurator of Judæa was Pontius Pilate (A.D. 26–36), the high priest of the Jews was Caiaphas (A.D. 25[?]–34[?]). Since Pilate must have been procurator for two or three years before the case of Jesus came for trial (cf. Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 1–3, *BJ* II. ix. 2–4), and since, according to St. Luke, the whole ministry of Jesus falls after the 15th year of Tiberius (A.D. 29, if sole reign is meant, and 27, if co-regency with Augustus), it follows that the earliest year for the Crucifixion is 28.* The latest limit is fixed by the fact that after 34 Caiaphas was no longer high priest. Between 28 and 34, however, the determination of the exact year is facilitated by the astronomical calculations as to the coincidence of Passover with the day of the week implied in the Gospel narrative. There is a margin of uncertainty on this point; but, whichever way the perplexing problem is solved, the year 29 or 30 still satisfies the conditions.† As between the two years to which the discussion narrows down the choice, the year 30 seems upon the whole, in view of traditional as well as internal grounds, to be the more satisfactory.

* The question is somewhat complicated by the uncertainty as to the length of the ministry of Jesus (cf. L. Fendt, *Die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu*, 1906; W. Homanner, *Die Dauer der öffentlichen Wirksamkeit Jesu*, 1908).

† For full discussion see Turner in *HDB* i. 410; cf. also art. 'Dates' in *DCG* i. 413.

The net results arrived at for limiting dates, therefore, are:

(1) The Apostolic Church = 4 B.C.–A.D. 100.
(2) The Apostolic Age = A.D. 30–100.
(3) The Apostolic Era = A.D. 30–70.

II. *ROMAN IMPERIAL DATES.*—Jesus Christ was crucified during the reign of Tiberius, and more precisely in the 15th year of that Emperor's sole rule, and the 17th, or 18th, of his co-regency with Augustus. Tiberius was followed by Caius Caligula in A.D. 37. Caligula was succeeded by Claudius in 41. Nero followed Claudius in 54, and was supplanted in 68 by Galba. Otho succeeded Galba in 69, and was followed by Vespasian in 70. Vespasian was followed by his son Titus in 79. Domitian came next in 81, reigning until 96. Then came Nerva, whose reign lasted till 98; and, so far as the Apostolic Age was concerned, Trajan closed the succession, ascending the throne in 98 and reigning till 117.

	A.D.		A.D.
Tiberius	14–37	Vespasian	70–79
Caligula	37–41	Titus	79–81
Claudius	41–54	Domitian	81–96
Nero	54–68	Nerva	96–98
Galba	68–69	Trajan	98–117
Otho	69–70		

III. *PIVOTAL DATES.*—Close scrutiny brings into measurably clear detail the following fixed points in the apostolic chronology, which, therefore, may serve as general landmarks.

1. The rule of Aretas over Damascus.—In unravelling the complications of the problem raised by the mention of an 'ethnarch of Aretas' by St. Paul (2 Co 11[32]), it must be borne in mind that Rome governed the subject territories of Asia either directly or through subject princes. Before 33–34 and after 62–63 Damascus was under direct Roman administration. This is made clear from the extant Syrian coins of these years, which bear the heads of the Roman Emperors Tiberius and Nero and do not allude to subject rulers. Since some allusion is always made where subject princes intervene, the case seems clearly made out that only after 34 and before 62 could a Nabatæan king have secured ascendancy at Damascus. How this came about, however, is not definitely known. It could certainly not have been due to rebellion or any other form of violence. And if it was brought about peacefully, it is probable that it was done upon the initiative, or by consent, of Caligula, who is known to have encouraged the devolution of as much autonomy on the native dynasts as was consistent with Roman suzerainty. The Nabatæan ascendancy in Damascus was thus near its beginning during the last years of Aretas (Harithath) IV. For the accession of this king is placed by Josephus (*Ant.* XVI. ix. 4) in connexion with certain events in the latter part of the reign of Herod the Great. His immediate successor Abia ruled under Claudius and was a contemporary of Izates, of Adiabene, against whom he waged war upon invitation of certain malcontents and traitors (*Ant.* XX. iv. 1). The probable limits of his reign thus appear to be 9 B.C. and A.D. 39 or 40 (cf. *CIS*, pt. ii. 197–217; also Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. 357, II. i. 66, 67). The 'governor (ethnarch) of Aretas' referred to by St. Paul must therefore have acted his part of guarding the gates of Damascus before the year 39. But how long before is not certain. And since from Gal 1[17] it is clear that Saul returned to Damascus as a Christian leader after a period of three years spent in Arabia, and the flight from Damascus (2 Co 11[32]) cannot be identified with any later event than this visit, his conversion must have taken place not later than 36, and perhaps several years earlier. See also art. ARETAS.

2. The death of Herod Agrippa I.—According to Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2, *BJ* II. xi. 6), Agrippa died at the age of 54, at the end of the seventh year of his reign, four of which had been passed under Caligula and three under Claudius; Josephus also makes it plain that the three years that fell under the reign of Claudius were the period of Agrippa's sole rule over the whole of Palestine, and that he had been made king over the whole of Palestine by Claudius immediately after his accession (*Ant.* XIX. v. 1, *BJ* II. xi. 5). Since Claudius succeeded Caligula on 24th Jan. 41, the death of Agrippa must be dated in 44. This conclusion harmonizes with the circumstance that the festivities at Cæsarea during which he was stricken with his fatal illness were being held in honour of the safe return of the Emperor from Britain (σωτηρίας, *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2) in the year 44 (Dio Cass. lx. 23; Suet. *Claud.* 17). But if this was the occasion for the celebration, the time of the year for it was in all probability the late summer or early autumn, since news of the return of the Emperor must have taken some time to reach the East. The year 44 is thus fixed as the date of the events in Ac 12, and at the same time serves as a *terminus ad quem* for all that precedes.

3. The proconsulship of Gallio in Achaia.—L. Junius Gallio (Ac 18[12]), brother of the philosopher Seneca and mentioned by him in affectionate terms (*Quest. Nat.*, Preface), but adopted by the rhetorician Gallio, served a proconsulship of one year in Achaia some time between 44 and 54. The fact of his residence in Achaia is certified by Seneca, who alludes (*Ep.* XVIII. i. 104) to his having been obliged to leave that province on account of a fever. It is further attested by the mention of his name in an inscription found near Platæa in which he is designated as a benefactor of the city: Ἡ πόλις Πλαταιέων Λούκ[ιον Ἰού]νιον Γαλλίωνα Ἀνιανόν [ἀνθύ]πατον τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργ[έτην]. But, since neither of these references to Gallio's experience in Achaia is associated with any date, the exact year of his proconsulship was left to be determined in the earlier computations upon purely conjectural grounds; and these yielded no palpable gain in the direction of greater fixity.

Thus a great variety of results was reached: Anger (*de Temporum ... Ratione*, 1833, p. 119), A.D. 52–54; Wieseler (*Chronol. des apostol. Zeitalters*, 1848, p. 119), Lewin (*Fasti Sacri*, 1865, p. 299), Blass (*Acta Apost.*, 1895, p. 22), Harnack (*Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.*, 1897, ii. 237), 48–50; Turner (*HDB* i. 417[b]), after 44, probably after 49 or 50; Hoennicke (*Chron. des Lebens des Apostels Paulus*, 1903, p. 30), at the latest 53–54; Clemen (*Paulus*, 1904), 52–53; O. Holtzmann (*NTZG*[2], 1906, p. 144), 53; and Zahn (*Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, iii. 470), 53–54.

This uncertainty has been altogether removed by the discovery at Delphi of four fragments of an inscription naming Gallio and linking his proconsulship with the 26th acclamation of Claudius as Imperator. The fragments were fitted together and the inscription was given to the public by Émile Bourguet (*de Rebus Delphicis Imperatoriæ Ætatis Capita Duo*, Montpellier, 1905). The discovery and its significance were discussed more or less fully by Deissmann (*Paulus*, 1911, pp. 159–176; Eng. tr., 1912, Appendix I. p. 235), Offord (*PEFSt* April 1908, p. 163), and Ramsay (*Expositor*, 7th ser., vii. [1909] 468). The text is not in a perfect state of preservation, but is sufficiently clear, with the restorations which have been proposed by Bourguet, to cover the chronological point under dispute. It was a letter sent by Claudius when he bore the title of Imperator XXVI. (ΚΟ Πατηρπατρίδος). It names Junius Gallio as the friend of the writer and proconsul of Achaia: [Ἰου]ΝΙΟΣ ΓΑΛΛΙΩΝΟ[φίλος] ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ [ἀνθύ]ΠΑΤΟΣ. This meaning of the inscription was first pointed out by A. J. Reinach (*REG*, 1907, p. 49), and is independently reached or otherwise accepted by Offord (*loc. cit.*), Ramsay (*loc. cit.*), Clemen (*ThLZ*, 1910, col. 656), Loisy (with his usual hypercritical caution, *Revue d'hist. et de lit. relig.*,

March, April, 1911, pp. 139–144), and Deissmann (*loc. cit.*). The exact date of the acclamation of Claudius as Imperator XXVI. is not given anywhere. But, since from R. Cagnat's tables (*Cours d'épigraphie latine*[3], 1898, p. 478) it appears that at the beginning of 52 Claudius was Imperator XXIV. and at the end Imperator XXVII., both the 25th and the 26th acclamations must have been issued some time in 52, and in all probability after victories secured during the summer season. But if Gallio was proconsul when the document was sent to Delphi, since the proconsular year was fixed by Claudius as beginning April 1 (Dio Cassius, lvii. 14. 5; lx. 11. 6, 17. 3), Gallio's term of office falls in the year beginning with the spring of 52. Cf. art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, VI. **3.**

4. The recall of Felix and the accession of Festus.—The appointment of Felix was one of the later acts of the Emperor Claudius; and Nero on his accession confirmed it (*BJ* II. xii. 8, xiii. 2–7; *Ant.* XX. viii. 4, 5). The exact year of the event is given by Eusebius (*Chron.* [Armen. VS and some MSS of Jerome's tr.]) as the 11th year of Claudius. Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 54; cf. Jos. *BJ* II. xii. 7 f.), in his account of the troubles leading to the deposition of Cumanus, placed the event in connexion with the year 52. Although Harnack has drawn a different conclusion from the Eusebian *Chronicle*, it seems upon the whole that these three sources agree in pointing to the year 52 for the arrival of Felix in Palestine, or, at all events, for his assumption of the proconsulship. Much more complicated, however, is the question of the termination of Felix's tenure of office. There is no doubt that, like Cumanus, Felix had by his misrule made himself the object of hatred and the ground of complaint on the part of the Jews, and that, owing to representations made by the latter, he had fallen into disfavour, and had escaped condemnation only by the timely intercession of his brother Pallas (Josephus, *Ant.* XX. viii. 7–9). According to the apparent meaning of Josephus' words, this occurred after Festus had assumed control of Palestine in succession to Felix. But Tacitus informs us that Pallas had already fallen from his place as Nero's favourite in 55 (*Ann.* xiii. 14), *i.e.* when Britannicus was 13 years of age. With this Dio Cassius (lxi. 7. 4) agrees.

Assuming that Josephus is correct, and taking in addition the testimony of Eusebius (*Chron.*), who places the accession of Festus in the second year of Nero, Harnack (*Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.* i. 235) and Holtzmann (*NTZG*, p. 128 f.) place the vindication of Felix in 55 and the arrival of Festus in Palestine in 56. But, while this course seems the natural one upon the narrow range of evidence taken into account, it is precluded when the following considerations come into view.—(1) The sedition of 'the Egyptian' (Ac 21^{38}) occurred during the procuratorship of Felix, and some time earlier than the arrest of St. Paul. But Josephus informs us that it took place during the reign of Nero, or after 54 (*BJ* II. xiii. 5; *Ant.* XX. viii. 6). If the downfall of Felix is to be dated before 56, the arrest of St. Paul must have been made in 53 or at the latest in 54, and the uprising of 'the Egyptian' still earlier, or from two to four years before the accession of Nero.—(2) The marriage of Felix and Drusilla is, according to Josephus, rendered impossible before 55. For she had been given by her brother Agrippa to Azizus of Emesa, being herself 15 years of age, in 53 (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1). But according to Ac 24^{24} she was married to Felix at the time of St. Paul's appearance before the procurator. Either, therefore, the arrest of the Apostle and the end of the proconsulship of Felix must be dated several years later than 53, to allow time for the necessary development of the intrigues by which Felix lured her to unfaithfulness to her husband and persuaded her to marry him, or these events must be condensed within an incredibly short interval. Besides, between the appearance of St. Paul before Felix and Drusilla and the deposition of Felix two years must be allowed (Ac 24^{27}).—(3) Felix had sent certain Jewish leaders to Rome, where they were imprisoned pending trial. Josephus says that in his own 27th year (63–64) he went to Rome to negotiate the liberation of these prisoners. But if Felix ceased ruling Judæa in 55, these men were kept confined for the unparalleled period of 8 or 10 years. If, on the other hand, Felix remained in office until 60, their imprisonment lasted only 4 years.—(4) The length of the procuratorship of Felix may be approximately computed from a comparison of Ac 24^{10} and 24^{27}. In the former passage Felix is said to have already ruled 'many years.' It would be impossible to construe this as meaning less than three years. In the latter his rule is reported as continuing for two years longer, thus giving a minimum of five years. This is, however, a bare minimum, and may well be doubled without violence to the situation. If, therefore, the computations which fix the date of the appointment of Felix be correct as given above, and the year 52 is approximately the correct time of that event, the year 59 or 60 would be a reasonable one to fix on as the time of the end of his rule.

The only consideration that offers any difficulty in the way of this conclusion is the fact that Josephus associates the recall of Felix with the influential period of Pallas at court; but (*a*) Josephus may have been in error in attributing Felix's escape from punishment to the intercession of Pallas. (*b*) He may have grouped together events belonging to two separate dates, *i.e.* certain charges made at the early date, when Pallas by his plea on behalf of Felix saved him from punishment, and the final complaints which ended in his removal. If this be the case, the effectiveness of the later accusations of the Jews could be all the more easily understood, since at that time Poppæa had acquired her influence over Nero and an appeal of the Jewish leaders would enlist her strong endorsement. (*c*) It may be, however, that Pallas, after being charged with high treason and found innocent, was re-instated into favour by Nero, and so continued until the year 60. This is not probable in view of the testimony of Tacitus, who tells us that Pallas was indeed acquitted along with Burrhus (*Ann.* xiii. 23); but that he was never again treated with special favour (*ib.* xiii. 2). He died of poison in the year 62. The conflict between the statements of Tacitus and Josephus is best harmonized if we take the former to have been well informed on the order and time of events in Rome, but misled as to similar matters in Judæa; Josephus, on the other hand, may be regarded as accurate in his statements regarding Palestinian events and less so on matters of an internal character in Rome. The result yielded by this view is that Felix was found guilty of maladministration in 54–55 and escaped punishment at this time through the intercession of his brother Pallas. Pallas was himself charged with high treason the following year and fell from Imperial favour. Felix continued until 60, and meantime added to the grievances of the Jews, and yet entrenched himself in favour with sundry leaders because of his bold measures against certain classes of criminals. In 60, however, he was finally brought to trial, and in the absence of the powerful intercession of his brother was at this time deposed and succeeded by Festus. Cf. also artt. FELIX, FESTUS.

IV. *CORROBORATIVE DATES.*—These are such as do not of themselves permit of clear determination, but can be deduced from general considerations; and when so deduced confirm and elucidate the chronology as a whole.

1. The famine under Claudius.—Josephus, in connexion with his account of Agrippa's death (*Ant.* XX. ii. 1, 5, v. 2), tells how Helena, queen of Adiabene, and her son Izates were converted to Judaism and made a visit to Jerusalem during a famine which both she and her son helped to relieve by procuring provisions at great expense. According to Ac 11^{28-30} a famine occurred 'throughout all the world,' but presumably it was especially severe in Judæa, for it was to this point that the brethren 'determined to send relief.' This relief came 'by the hand of Barnabas and Saul.' The death of Herod must have taken place during this visit of Paul and Barnabas (Ac 12^{25}); else why

should it appear after the account of the mission of the Apostles to Judæa and before their return from Jerusalem? This is a natural inference; but it meets with a difficulty in the omission of all mention of this visit in Gal 1^{17}, where St. Paul presumably gives an exhaustive statement of all his visits to Jerusalem. The difficulty is primarily one of harmony between Gal. and Acts. Yet it indirectly affects the chronological problem. By way of explanation it may be said that the enumeration of the visits in Gal 1^{17} was meant to be exhaustive, not absolutely but relatively to the possibility of St. Paul's meeting the 'pillar' apostles at Jerusalem. If it were known that during the famine they were absent from the city, St. Paul might very well fail to allude to a visit at that time.

But even with the visit fixed during the distress of the famine, which is in general associated with the time of Herod's death, it still remains doubtful whether this famine took place in 44. Since both Josephus and the author of Acts introduce the whole transaction (*Ant.* XX. ii. 1; Ac 12^{1}) with the general formula 'about that time,' the famine may very well have occurred as late as 45 or 46.

2. The expulsion of the Jews from Rome (Ac 18^{2}; also Suet. *Claud.* 25).—This cannot be the action alluded to by Dio Cassius (lx. 6), who expressly says that the Emperor, deeming it unwise to exclude the Jews from the city, commanded them not to hold meetings together, although he permitted them to retain their ancestral customs (*πάτριος βίος*). The decree, therefore, must be a later one unmentioned by the secular historians (except Suetonius, who assigns no date to it). It is possible, in spite of the generally favourable attitude of Claudius towards Agrippa II. in the years between 51 and 54, that he saw the necessity of checking the growing power of the Jewish community in the capital, and decreed their exclusion from the city.

3. Sergius Paulus (Ac $13^{7\text{-}12}$).—The data for the fixing of Sergius Paulus in a scheme of NT chronology are as follows: (1) The name occurs in inscriptions. Of these one was first published by L. Palma di Cesnola (*Salaminia*, 1887, p. 256) and afterwards carefully edited by D. G. Hogarth in *Devia Cypria*, 1889, p. 114. It ends with the words *τιμητεύσας τὴν βουλὴν [δι]ὰ ἐξαστῶν ἐπὶ Παύλου [ἀνθ]υπάτου*. Palæographically the inscription is judged to belong to the 1st century. The second inscription is one found in the city of Rome naming L. Sergius Paulus as one of the *curatores riparum et alvei Tiberis* during the reign of Claudius (*CIL* vi. 31545).—(2) The government of Cyprus was by proconsuls. The island came under Roman control before the establishment of the Empire, but was defined as a 'senatorial' province in 22 B.C. under Augustus (Dio Cass. liii. 12. 7; liv. 4. 1). Upon these data, however, while it is very clear that about A.D. 50 L. Sergius Paulus (who had already been a high officer in Rome) was holding the proconsulship of Cyprus, no nearer approach to the precise date either of the beginning or the end of his rule can be made. See also art. SERGIUS PAULUS.

4. Agrippa II. and Drusilla.—Agrippa II., the son of Agrippa I., was born in A.D. 28. According to Photius (*Bibl.* 33) he died in 100. At the time of his father's death he was considered too young for the responsibilities of the large kingdom, which was therefore again put under the care of procurators. But on the death of his uncle in the eighth year of Claudius (48) he was given the government ('kingdom') of Chalcis (*Ant.* XX. v. 2, *BJ* II. xii. 1). Within four years, however, Claudius, 'when he had already completed the twelfth year of his reign' (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1), transferred him from the kingdom of Chalcis to the rule of a greater realm consisting of the tetrarchy of his great-uncle Philip, of the tetrarchy of Lysanias, and of that portion of Abilene which had been governed by Varus (*BJ* II. xii. 8). When Nero succeeded Claudius, he enlarged this kingdom by the addition of considerable tracts of Galilee and Peræa, but the dates of these larger additions are not clearly given. More important than the growth of Agrippa's power is his giving of his sister in marriage to Azizus, whom not long after (*μετ' οὐ πολὺν χρόνον*) she left in order to marry the Roman procurator Felix. These events cannot be fixed earlier than 54 or 55. The incidents of Ac 20^{16} $24^{1.\ 20}$ are therefore posterior to this time. Cf. art. DRUSILLA.

5. Death of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome.—The belief that the martyrdom of the two apostles took place in Rome in one of the last years of Nero's reign is based on tradition. Epiphanius places it in the 12th year of Nero, Euthalius in the 13th, Jerome in the 14th. Dionysius of Corinth associates the death of St. Peter and St. Paul in the phrase *κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρόν* ('about the same time'). No positive result for precise chronology is gained by these data. The general conclusion, however, that St. Paul's death took place after 64 is borne out by the necessity for finding a place in his life later than the Roman imprisonment for the composition of the Pastoral Epistles; and, although this necessity is not admitted on all sides, the predominance of view among critics seems to recognize it. The death of the two apostles may thus be approximately placed between the years 65 and 68. See artt. PAUL, PETER.

6. The Passover at Philippi (Ac $20^{4\text{-}7}$).—W. M. Ramsay, upon the basis of some very precarious data (see his *St. Paul*, p. 289 ff; also Turner's discussion, *HDB* i. 419 f.), claims the fixed date 57 for St. Paul's fifth and last recorded visit to Jerusalem, which was also the occasion of his arrest. The argument is briefly as follows. The Apostle celebrated the Lord's Supper at Troas on Sunday night (v.^{7}). If so, he must have left Philippi on Friday. Friday was the day after the Passover, which was therefore observed on Thursday that year. But the 14th Nisan (Passover Day) fell on Thursday in the year 57, not in 56 or 58. The uncertain factors in the computation are: (1) the exact day of the week for the Passover; concerning this there is always room for dispute, owing to the well-known but unscientific method of the Jews in determining the beginning of the month Nisan; (2) the interval between the Passover and St. Paul's departure from Philippi, which, on Ramsay's assumption, is a single night (but the text does not exclude a longer interval); (3) the time when the Lord's Supper was observed at Troas, which is stated to have been 'the first of the week' (*τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων*) (but this may be construed as Saturday evening towards Sunday). Any one of these uncertainties vitiates the conclusion arrived at. Yet on the whole the conclusion corroborates the date 59, and is not necessarily inconsistent with 60 for the removal of St. Paul to Rome.

V. *PALESTINIAN SECULAR DATES.*—**1. The procurators of Judæa.**—(1) *Pontius Pilate*, it seems to be universally agreed, was appointed procurator of Judæa in 26, and held the office until 36, being then deposed and sent to Rome by Vitellius, after 'ten years in Judæa' (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2). He arrived in Rome just after the death of Tiberius.

(2) The year following the deposition of Pilate, the Imperial authority of Rome was represented in Judæa by *Marcellus*, a friend and deputy of Vitellius. He is nowhere given the title of 'procurator,' and Josephus is careful to call him a

'curator' (ἐπιμελητής, *Ant.* XVIII. iv. 2). Nor had he apparently come into sufficient prominence through any action to warrant his being mentioned in the succession.

(3) From 37–41 the procurator was a certain *Marullus* (*Ant.* XVIII. vi. 10) who, like Marcellus, does not seem to have done anything official worthy of note.

(4) From 41 to 44 Agrippa I., as king on approximately the level of independence enjoyed by his grandfather Herod the Great, superseded all procurators. At his death, according to Josephus, *Cuspius Fadus* was appointed, thus resuming the line broken for three years (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 2, XX. v. 1, *BJ* II. xi. 6; Tacit. *Hist.* v. 9). The term of office of Fadus was probably between two and three years.

(5) *Tiberius Alexander*, a renegade Jew, who was rewarded for his apostasy by appointment to various offices, culminating in the procuratorship, probably reached Palestine in 46 (Jos. *Ant.* XX. v. 2; *BJ* II. xi. 6, xv. 1, xviii. 7 f., IV. x. 6, VI. iv. 3; Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 28, *Hist.* i. 11, ii. 74, 79; Suet. *Vespas.* 6).

(6) *Ventidius Cumanus* was sent to succeed Alexander in 48. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 54), he was placed over Galilee only, while Felix was assigned rule over Samaria. They were both involved in various cruelties practised on the natives, and both were accused before Quadratus, who was commissioned to examine into the affair. But the commissioner quietly exculpated Felix, and even gave him a place on the court of investigation and judgment. Cumanus was condemned and removed. Such a joint procuratorship, however, is excluded by Josephus' explicit statements (*Ant.* XX. vi. 2, vii. 1). According to these, Cumanus alone was the procurator and alone responsible. Felix was sent by Claudius from Rome to succeed him at the express request of Jonathan, the high priest. The contradiction is probably due to some confusion on the part of Tacitus. The date of the removal of Cumanus may be approximately fixed as 52.

(7) *Antonius Felix* immediately succeeded Cumanus. Soon after his arrival in Palestine, he saw and was enamoured of Drusilla, the sister of Herod Agrippa II., and enticed her to leave her husband, Azizus king of Emesa, and marry himself. This he succeeded in accomplishing through the aid of a magician from Cyprus, bearing the name of Simon. Drusilla was born in 38, being six years of age at the time of her father's death (44), and his youngest child. She was therefore at this time 14 or 15 years old. The procuratorship of Felix was characterized by arbitrariness and greed. Though he did much to punish lawlessness, he also provoked complaints on account of which he was recalled in 60. See above, III. 4 and art. FELIX.

(8) *Porcius Festus.*—The reasons which fix the beginning of the procuratorship of Festus in 60 have been given above. The time of the year when he arrived is determined as the summer season (Ac 25[1]). There are clearer data for fixing the end of his term. From *BJ* VI. v. 3 we learn that Albinus his successor was in Jerusalem at the Feast of Tabernacles (?), four years before the outbreak of the great war and seven years and five months before the capture of Jerusalem—or, in other words, the Feast of Tabernacles of the year 62. Allowing for sufficient time for the next procurator to assume the reins of government at Cæsarea, for a similar interval for his appointment, for the journey from Rome and arrival in Palestine, the death of Festus, which took place while he was still in office in Palestine, must be dated very early in the summer or late in the spring of 62.

(9) *Albinus.*—The date of the death of Porcius Festus determines also that of the accession of Albinus (*BJ* VI. v. 3). W. M. Ramsay (*Expositor*, 6th ser., ii. [1900] 81–105), in harmony with his theory that the death of Festus occurred in the autumn of 60, dates the arrival of Albinus in May or June 61. But the computation rests on a series of obscure and questionable considerations. Albinus was recalled in 64, after more than two years of maladministration.

(10) *Gessius Florus* was the last of the procurators. According to Josephus (*Ant.* XX. xi. 1), it was in his second year that the Jewish War broke out. Since this is fixed at 66 (*BJ* II. xiv. 4), he must have entered upon his office in 64. The end of his administration was also the end of the method of governing Judæa by procurators. For the events which follow the year 66 and culminate in the catastrophe of 70 he is held responsible.

We thus obtain the following list of procurators of Judæa, with dates of their administration:

	A.D.		A.D.
Pilate	26–36	Ventidius Cumanus	48–52
(Marcellus)	36–37	Antonius Felix	52–60
Marullus	37–41	Porcius Festus	60–62
Cuspius Fadus	44–46	Albinus	62–64
Tiberius Alexander	46–48	Gessius Florus	64–70

2. The Herodian kings.—When Jesus Christ was crucified, Herod Antipas and Herod Philip were reigning simultaneously in accordance with the testamentary provision of their father, Herod the Great. Antipas held Galilee and Peræa; Philip ruled over the region beyond Jordan. Both bore the title of tetrarch. Philip died in 34 without a successor. In 37 his place was filled by the appointment of his nephew, the son of Aristobulus and brother of Herodias, Herod Agrippa I., and this was done by Caligula, whom Agrippa had befriended. He did not, however, take active possession of his kingdom until 39. He lived for the most part in Rome, and engaged in intrigues with the politicians and secured the deposition and banishment of Antipas. When the tetrarchy of Antipas was added to his (*BJ* II. ix. 6), he took his place in Jewish national affairs, and by assisting Claudius to the Imperial throne after the assassination of Caligula, he so ingratiated himself into the favour of the new Emperor that the province of Judæa was added to his domains immediately on the accession of Claudius (A.D. 41). Thus he came to unite the different sections of the kingdom of his grandfather, Herod the Great (*BJ* II. xi. 5 f.). He issued coins from which it appears that he must have reigned until 44 or 45. These dates, given for the most part by Josephus, are corroborated by the incidental coincidence of the order of events in Acts. The death of Herod is recited in Ac 12. All that precedes must be dated before 44; all that follows, after that year. The appearance of Cornelius as the representative Roman military authority in Cæsarea is probably prior to the elevation of Agrippa to the standing of Herod the Great (41).

When Agrippa I. died, his son, Herod Agrippa II. was deemed too young to succeed him, but in 49 he was given a portion of his father's kingdom (Chalcis), held by his uncle Herod. In 53 he exchanged this kingdom for another, made up of portions of Galilee and Peræa, and thus reigned to his death in 100.

The following table exhibits the Herodian rulers during the Apostolic Age:

Antipas, A.D. 4–39—Galilee and Peræa.
Philip, A.D. 4–34—beyond Jordan.
Agrippa I., A.D. 37, as tetrarch; 39(41)–44, as king.
Agrippa II., A.D. 49–53 (of Chalcis),–100 (of Galilee, Peræa, etc.).

VI. *PAULINE DATES.*—The pre-eminence of St. Paul in the Apostolic Age and the leading part he took in the development of the earliest Church

have furnished the ground for the preservation, in his own Epistles and in the Book of Acts, of a double series of data regarding his work. These determine not only the general order of the facts of his ministry, but also many of the minuter details of time and place. The accuracy of the author of Acts has been questioned, especially on matters of remoter interest; but his reports of the movements of St. Paul are coming to be more and more recognized as drawn from personal knowledge of, companionship with, and participation in, the Apostle's ministry.*

A fixed starting-point for Pauline chronology is given in the year of the accession of Festus. This took place, as shown above, in A.D. 60. But, according to Ac 24^{27}, St. Paul was detained by Felix a prisoner at Cæsarea for two years. His arrest must, therefore, have taken place in 58 (possibly as early as May). But he left Philippi 40 days earlier, late in March or about the beginning of April ('after the days of unleavened bread'). From Philippi his course is next traceable backward to Corinth. His presence at Philippi was only incidental, his purpose being to journey into Syria (Ac 20^3). At Corinth he had spent three months, arriving there in January of the year 58. This visit to Corinth immediately followed the memorable and troublous residence at Ephesus. From a comparison of 1 Co 16^{5-9} and 2 Co $2^{12f.}$ with 2 Co 7^5 it may be gathered that the continuation of the whole journey from Ephesus to Corinth through Macedonia was prolonged by circumstances not included in the record. A fair allowance for these yields the approximate estimate of nine months earlier, or the spring of 57, for the end of the stay at Ephesus. This stay, however, lasted nearly three full years.† This leads to the year 54. The departure from Antioch in the spring or summer of 54 marks the beginning of the third missionary journey.

The interval between the second and third missionary journeys is not given definitely. It included some sort of a visit to the churches in Galatia and Phrygia, and a sojourn of some length in Antioch (Ac 18^{23} 'after he had spent some time there'). It is probable that this stay at Antioch was as long as one year; but, assuming that it was not, there is still the period of three years to be assigned to the second missionary journey. One year and six months were probably consumed in the earlier part of the journey. This would bring the beginning of the journey to the spring of 51; or, if the sojourn at Antioch had occupied a whole year, to 50.

The second missionary journey was immediately preceded by the Apostolic Conference at Jerusalem on the question of the admission of the Gentile converts without the rite of circumcision (Ac 15). The interval between the Conference, from which St. Paul proceeded immediately to Antioch, and the beginning of the journey, was very brief and spent at Antioch. The Conference itself would thus appear to have been held in 49–50.

The chronology of the years between the conversion of the Apostle and the Conference at Jerusalem may now be approached from another point of view. The item furnished by the allusion to the 'ethnarch of Aretas' at Damascus (2 Co 11^{32}; cf. above) fixes as the latest limit for the conversion of St. Paul the year 36, but admits of several years' latitude for the earlier limit. In determining this earlier limit much depends on the identification of the journey to Jerusalem alluded to in Gal $2^{1ff.}$. Two questions must be answered here: (1) When did the 14 years begin—at the conversion or after the three years mentioned in Gal 1^{18}? (2) Are these full years in each case, or are they reckoned after the Hebrew plan, with parts of years at the beginning and end counted in the number as separate years? The answers to these questions yield respectively longer or shorter periods between the conversion and second visit of the Apostle to Jerusalem. The longest period admissible is 17 years; the shortest, 12. The smaller of these figures is excluded almost certainly by the datum found in connexion with the control of Damascus by Aretas, which does not admit of a later date for the conversion than 36. The longer period necessitates the very early date of 32 or 33 for the conversion. This is favoured by W. M. Ramsay, who fixes the conversion in 33. But there are intermediate possibilities. The interval may have been 13, 14, or 15 years; which would bring the conversion in any one of the years 34–36, with the probability in favour of the earlier dates.

The Conference at Jerusalem arose out of the conditions produced by St. Paul's preaching during the first missionary journey. This is shown by the place given it by St. Luke, and also by the fact that it was during this journey that the preaching of the gospel met with large success among the Gentiles, and that a definite movement to preach to the Gentiles independently of the Jews was inaugurated (Ac 13^{46} 14^{27}). From these considerations it would be natural to draw the inference that no very long interval separates the end of the journey from the Conference. In spite, therefore, of 'the long time' alluded to in Ac 14^{28}, it is safe to fix the limits of the first missionary journey at 47–48.

Between the date of the conversion of St. Paul and the beginning of the first missionary journey it is possible to identify the date of one more incident, viz. the visit to Jerusalem, with the aid in relief of the famine. Computations independent of the life of St. Paul lead to the placing of this date in the year 45–46 (cf. IV. 1). For reasons given in rehearsing these computations it is impossible to identify this visit with that made in Gal 2^1. This must be regarded as the prolonged visit for purposes of conference and thorough interchange of views with the leaders of the Jerusalem church of which the author of Acts gives an account in ch. 15. The chronology of the life and work of St. Paul yielded by the above items may therefore be put as follows:

	A.D.		A.D.
Conversion	34–35	Arrest at Jerusalem	58
Visit to Jerusalem with aid for famine-stricken church	45–46	Imprisonment at Cæsarea	58–60
First missionary journey	47–48	Removal to Rome	60
Conference at Jerusalem	49–50	Imprisonment at Rome	60–62
Second missionary journey	51–54	Release	62
Third missionary journey	54–57	Last missionary journey	63–64
		Arrest, imprisonment, and execution at Rome	(65–67?)

VII. *APOSTOLIC CHURCH DATES.*—**1. Pentecost.**—It is manifestly the intention of the author of Acts to begin his narrative with the significant event of Pentecost. Just as he had closed his Gospel with the account of the Resurrection of the crucified Jesus, he opens his second treatise with the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. For the Apostolic Age, Pentecost becomes the epoch-

* The researches of W. M. Ramsay and A. Harnack have contributed much toward this result (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 1895, *Luke the Physician*, 1908; Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, 1907, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1909, *The Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*, 1911).

† Although in Ac 19^8 the period of his active work in the synagogue is said to be three months and in Ac 19^{10} his teaching in the school of Tyrannus two years, the further detail in Ac 19^{22} ('for a season') would tend to confirm the conclusion reached here that the 'three years' of Ac 20^{31}, though possibly reckoned in the Hebrew sense of 'parts of three,' were in reality more nearly three entire years than a whole year with mere fragments of the year preceding and the year following.

making day. But, as the very name of it indicates, Pentecost was a relative date in the year, being computed from a day of manifestly more importance than itself. Accordingly, in the determination of the year for the Pentecost of Ac 2 it is necessary to revert to the computation which fixed the date of the Crucifixion (see above, I.). Pentecost is thus dated in May A.D. 30.

2. The martyrdom of Stephen.—The date of this event is fixed with approximate certainty by its relation to the conversion of St. Paul. It was the persecution following the death of Stephen which enlisted Saul in the effort to exterminate the nascent Christian community and thus led him on the way to Damascus and his conversion. Stephen's martyrdom could not therefore have preceded the conversion by a very long interval, and must have taken place between 32 and 34.

3. The execution of James the son of Zebedee, together with the imprisonment and deliverance of St. Peter, is so closely associated with the death of Herod that both these events may be safely placed in the same year (44).*

4. The rise of Antioch into prominence as a centre of Christian aggressiveness must be placed at some time before the year 46, though, from the nature of the case, the exact time cannot be fixed. From Ac 2^{26} (cf. Tacit. *Ann.* xv. 44) it is clear that some time before the year of the famine there was a large number of believers to attract attention and to be recognized as a type of religionists different from the Jews. Immediately after the year of the famine the church at Antioch became the fountain-head of missionary activity.

5. The Conference at Jerusalem is placed, through its relation to the missionary journeys of St. Paul, in the year 50.

6. The death of James the brother of Jesus.—From the time of the Conference at Jerusalem, St. James was recognized as one of the foremost men in the Christian community at Jerusalem (Ac 15^{13}, Gal 2^{9}). In consequence of his relation to the mother church, he bears the title of bishop of that church. According to Josephus, he was put to death during the interregnum between the procuratorships of Festus and Albinus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1). This was in the year 62.

7. The death of St. Peter.—For the date of St. Peter's death we are obliged to appeal to extra-historical (purely traditional) information. The difficulties of estimating the value of such information are due (1) to the absence of sufficient data regarding the original witnesses on whose authority such information secured circulation, and (2) to the facility with which even good historians in antiquity accepted unverified statements where events of importance were concerned. The desire for some definite data often overcame whatever intuitive sense of accuracy may at other times have ruled the outlook of these historians. Thus tradition, *i.e.* the unverifiable belief of an age not capable of direct contact with the facts, may be credited frequently with a high degree of probability, more frequently with less probability; in most instances it is incapable of giving more than the mere possibility of what it attests. In the case of the death of St. Peter several considerations conspire to render the tradition highly probable. The Apostle was in Rome at a time of persecution. This appears from the contents of 1 Peter, irrespective of the genuineness of the writing. Even if it be assumed, as seems probable to many scholars, that it was composed about A.D. 80, it would issue from a period near enough the date of the reputed death of St. Peter to afford a reflexion of a living current belief regarding his experiences. The allusion to 'Babylon' in the Epistle has from the days of Papias (Euseb. *HE* ii. 15) to the present time (with slight exceptions) been taken to refer to Rome. From this city the Apostle, according to Papias, sent the letter to his fellow-Christians dispersed and scattered by the persecution of which he was made a victim. But, even granting that the martyrdom of the Apostle occurred in the Neronian persecution, the question of the exact year remains uncertain. Harnack believes that it took place in 64 (*Gesch. der altchristl. Lit. bis Euseb.*, pt. i. 'Chron.,' 249 ff.). Erbes (*TU*, new series, iv. [1900]) fixes it in 63. Of the older historians, William Cave (*Lives of the Apostles*, 1677, 'St. Peter,' xi. 7) also believed in the date 64. In the *Chronicon* of Eusebius, however, the 13th or 14th year of Nero (67–68) is given as the date, and the same conclusion is accepted by Jerome. The tradition of the Roman Catholic Church has uniformly adhered to the period 42–67 as 'the twenty-five year episcopate' of the Apostle in Rome. Upon the whole, this later date seems best supported. See IV. 5 and art. PETER.

8. The pre-eminence of Ephesus in Christian activity may be generally placed in connexion with the ministry of St. Paul in that city; but its rise to the first rank as the seat of apostolic influence under John (the Presbyter?) must have followed the Fall of Jerusalem, but cannot be fixed with precision.

9. The death of St. John, 'the beloved disciple,' is associated by tradition with his residence at Ephesus to an extreme old age, occurring in the reign of Trajan (98–117). See art. JAMES AND JOHN (sons of Zebedee).

VIII. *LITERARY DATES.*—Nothing in the Apostolic Age was fuller of significance for the future than the production of the NT writings. But, while the dates of production of a few of these are comparatively easy to determine, the majority do not afford sufficient data for the positive solution of the problem as it affects them.

1. The Epistle of James.—Discussions of the date of this writing are based for the most part on the neutral features of it. The character of the audience to which it is addressed does not betray an advanced development of Christian thought or practice. There is no allusion to Gentiles in the Church. Compact organization has not yet been achieved, and it is possible for teachers (διδάσκαλοι) to assume the function at will (3^{1}; cf. Ac 13^{1}, Ro 12^{7}). The eschatological outlook still includes the vivid expectation of the Parousia (5^{7-9}), which has not been disputed as in 2 P 3^{3-9}. In general the author addresses Jews as if the new doctrine of Christianity were the legitimate and rightful outcome of historic Judaism. Such a point of view was natural in the early beginnings when the challenge to Christianity was still in its first forms, but scarcely after the rupture between Judaism and the Church had issued in open and wholesale hostilities on each side. On the other hand, certain characteristics of language and style, together with supposed allusions to the Pauline doctrine of justification by faith, have led others to assume an extremely late date for the Epistle. Upon the whole, it seems probable that the date 40 to 44 is the correct one. Cf. JAMES, EPISTLE OF.

2. The Thessalonian Epistles.—The First Epistle was written during the sojourn at Corinth (Ac 18^{11}). The referenec to Achaia ($1^{7f.}$) is decisive

* In a recently published fragment of Papias (de Boor, *TU* v. 2, p. 170) it is said that 'John and James his brother were killed by the Jews.' This, together with the bracketing of the names of the two brothers in the Martyrology on the same day, has led some to infer that the death of John the son of Zebedee took place in 44. The question, however, is involved in the vexed problem of the identity of the author of the Fourth Gospel, and must be left open for further investigation and discussion. See art. JAMES AND JOHN (sons of Zebedee).

on this point. The view that Athens was the place of writing, held by Theodoret and many ancient Fathers, is deduced from 3^{1}, which, however, evidently refers to a stay at Athens somewhat anterior to the composition of the Epistle. Since the Corinthian sojourn falls in 52–53, 1 Thess. must be dated accordingly. The Second Epistle could not have been written much later than its predecessor. It is evidently designed to explain what was misunderstood in 1 Thess. (2 Th 2^{2}), and aims to do this as speedily as possible. Cf. THESSALONIANS, EPISTLES TO THE.

3. Galatians.—The date of Galatians has been made the subject of a new discussion as the consequence of the promulgation of the South Galatian theory of its destination. The traditional dating of the document based on the North Galatian destination fixed it in the sojourn of the Apostle at Ephesus (Ac 19^{1}). The reasons for this view are that St. Paul proceeded from Galatia to Ephesus (Ac 18^{23}), and must have written either before he reached that city (which is improbable) or during his sojourn, or perhaps on the way from Ephesus to Corinth. The rise of the South Galatian theory, however, renders it possible to think of a much earlier date. Accordingly, many argue for its priority over all the Pauline writings (Emilie Briggs, *New World*, 1900, p. 115 ff.; C. W. Emmet, *Expositor*, 7th ser., ix. [1910] 242 ff.; Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, 1911, p. 23 ff.); some trace it even to a time anterior to the Conference at Jerusalem. Calvin, singularly, held this view (cf. *Com.* on Gal 2^{1}), fixing the date at 48 or 49. Had St. Paul written it as early as this date, however, he must have named Barnabas, who was still with him in his labours. Upon the whole, the year 54 still appears the most probable for the writing of this Epistle. See, further, art. GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

4. The Corinthian Epistles.—The First Epistle was written in Ephesus some time before Pentecost (1 Co 16^{8}), whether before or after the Passover does not appear (5^{6-8}). The Apostle was expecting to leave very soon; and the writing must, therefore, be placed towards the close of the stay at Ephesus, hence about the time of the Passover in 56. On the assumption of the unity of 2 Cor., the interval between it and the First Epistle could not have been very long, and the writing must accordingly be placed somewhat later in the same year. But, if the Epistle is a composite one, as it seems reasonable to believe upon good critical grounds, the probabilities are that the earliest section of it (6^{14}–7^{1}) constitutes a fragment of a letter earlier than 1 Corinthians. The second section in point of time is 2 Co 10–13 ('the painful letter') and represents the sequel to 1 Cor., growing out of the situation created by the last-named communication. This portion of 2 Cor. is accordingly to be located in 56 as above. The remainder of the composite document (2 Co 1–9, exc. 6^{14}–7^{1}) must be dated later than chs. 10–13, but is not necessarily separated from this section by a long interval. If the phrases 'since last year' (ἀπὸ πέρυσι), 'a year ago' (2 Co 8^{10}), 'for a year past' (9^{2}) refer to 1 Co 16^{1}, approximately one year must have intervened between this portion of 2 Cor. and the First Epistle. This would bring the date to 57. Thus the dates of St. Paul's letters to Corinth would be: (1) 2 Co 6^{14}–7^{1} in 55 or early 56; (2) 1 Cor. in 56 before Pentecost; (3) 2 Co 10–13 in summer of 56; (4) 2 Co 1–9, late 56 or 57. Cf. CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO THE.

5. Romans.—Since Ro 15 must be regarded as an original part of the whole Epistle (cf. Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 143), the allusion in v.^{25} to St. Paul's intended journey to Jerusalem fixes the point of departure for the date of the Epistle. The statement in v.^{19} that the Apostle had 'fulfilled' the gospel 'from Jerusalem and round about even unto Illyricum,' has led some to place the writing of Romans in Illyricum; but the greater probability lies with the view which identifies the place with Corinth, and fixes the date as the eve of St. Paul's departure thence for 'Syria' (Ac 20^{3}). This was in the spring of 58 (during the Apostle's three months' sojourn at Corinth). See art. ROMANS, EPISTLE TO THE.

6. The Imprisonment Epistles.—Under this title are usually included Ephesians, Colossians, Philippians, and Philemon. Ephesians is by many made an exception to this class. The period of St. Paul's imprisonment, however, is divided into two parts by his removal from Cæsarea to Rome. Assuming the Pauline authority of Ephesians, it has been, with Colossians and Philemon, located in the Cæsarean period of his imprisonment (56–60; so Meyer, Weiss, Sabatier [*The Apostle Paul*, 1891, pp. 225–249]). Others have included even Philippians in this list. But it is difficult to think of Philippians and Philemon as composed elsewhere than in Rome and during the Roman part of the imprisonment (cf. the reasons in a summary by Bleek, *Einleitung in das NT*[4], 1885, § 161). It is possible, though not probable, however, that Col., which was written earlier than Eph., may have fallen within the latter portion of the Cæsarean imprisonment. In such a case the order and dates of these writings would be: (1) Colossians in 59 (Cæsarea); (2) Ephesians in 60 (Rome); (3) Philemon in 60 (Rome); (4) Philippians in 61 (Rome). See artt. on the various Epistles named.

7. The Pastoral Epistles.—The present condition of opinion on the problem of the Pastoral Epistles presents three distinct views as to their dates: (1) that they were composed by the Apostle after his release from the Roman imprisonment (62), towards the end of his fourth missionary journey (66 or 67); (2) that they represent a much more advanced stage of development in Christian thought and organization, and therefore fall between the date of St. Paul's death and the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 67–117), with the greater probability for 90–100 (cf. Moffatt, *LNT*, pp. 395–420); (3) that they represent short letters by St. Paul produced in his last year and expanded by interpolation. The merits of these views it is not possible to discuss in the compass of this article (cf. J. V. Bartlet, *Acts* [*The Century Bible*, 1901], Moffatt, *loc. cit.*, and the artt. on TIMOTHY, EP. TO, and TITUS, EP. TO).

8. Acts.—All the discussion of the problem created by the abrupt close of the Book of Acts seems to lead to but one clear conclusion, viz. that the author knew nothing more to tell about St. Paul and the fortunes of the gospel, and that the date of the composition of the book coincides with the end of the second year of the Apostle's imprisonment at Rome (62). This in general is the simple process of reasoning that ruled opinion in ancient times from the days of Eusebius onwards (*HE* II. xxii. 6). In modern times its advocates have been some of the ablest critics (Alford, Godet, Salmon, Rendall, Bisping, Rackham, Blass, and Harnack). On the other side, it is argued that, as Acts is a sequel to the Third Gospel (τὸν μὲν πρῶτον λόγον), which, it is assumed, was written after A.D. 70, the earliest date possible for Acts must be some years posterior to this date. The more precise determination of the period, however, becomes a question of extremely debatable considerations. Accordingly, a wide variety of dates of composition is proposed, as by Zahn, Headlam, Bartlet (72–74); by Bleek, Adeney, Gilbert (80); by Jülicher, Burkitt, Wrede (*c.* 100); by the Tübingen critics (110–120), or even later. Harnack, however, has shown reasons why the posteriority of St. Luke to the year 70 cannot stand (*The Date*

of Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels), and the traditional dating at A.D. 62 may be said to have received a rehabilitation at his hands. See art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

9. The Synoptic Gospels.—That the Synoptic Gospels were composed upon the basis of pre-existing collections of 'Sayings of Jesus,' through a process of development, may be assumed as one of the fairly well-established results of modern critical study. How long this process continued is of secondary importance. The order in which the Gospels evidently appeared is—Mark, Luke, Matthew. The earliest notices of the time of the composition of Mark are not perfectly harmonious. Irenæus (*Hær.* iii. 1) testifies that Mark, 'the disciple and interpreter of Peter,' published 'the things preached by Peter' after the departure (ἔξοδον) of Paul and Peter; but Clement of Alexandria, a contemporary, represents the Gospel of Mark as written in the lifetime of Peter, and adds that the Apostle 'neither forbade nor encouraged' the work. This discrepancy is not of course a contradiction. The 'departure,' to which Irenæus makes the writing of Mark posterior, may be a mere departure from Rome (though this is not likely); or it may be that the statement of Clement merely means that Peter knew of Mark's purpose to write, though that purpose was not actually carried out till after his death. The best view, however, of the discord is that neither of the representations is primarily based on chronological interest, and therefore neither can be used as a precise datum in a chronological computation. So far as the passage in Irenæus is concerned, Chapman has shown this to be true (*JThSt*, vi. [1905] p. 563 ff.), and Harnack contends that it is also true of the passage in Clement. Such an estimate of these 'testimonies' of the ancients leaves the time of the origin of the Gospels indefinite, but is in itself just. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems not improbable that Mark and Luke at least were composed before Acts and in the years of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome or even earlier. The case is slightly different with Matthew, where signs of a later time are more clearly visible (27^{8} 28^{15}: ἕως τῆς σήμερον, 'until to-day,' implying a considerable interval from the days of Jesus); a date as late as 70 or even later is quite admissible. See art. GOSPELS and artt. on separate Gospels in *DCG*.

10. Epistle to the Hebrews.—The evidence as to the date of this production is extremely faint and uncertain. The external data are partly some free citations from it in Clem. Rom. (xix. 2, xxi. 9 [cf. He 12^{21}], xxxiv. 1 [cf. He 2^{18} 3^{1} 4$^{2-5}$ 1$^{3f.}$]), and partly a certain dependence of thought on St. Paul and on 1 Peter. Internal data appealed to are such as that the Temple service was still operative (7^{8} 8$^{3-5}$ 9$^{6-9}$ 13^{10}); that, considering the purpose of the writing, if the Temple service had been rendered impossible by such an event as the catastrophe of 70, the writer must have mentioned the fact; the non-occurrence of any severe persecution of Christians in the Hebrew world leading to martyrdom (12^{4}), the possibility of which is, however, kept in view. Other items are slighter and less conclusive. The most decisive indications of time seem to be the allusions in 10$^{33f.}$ 12$^{4.\ 6ff.}$, which show that the writer was thinking of an attitude in his readers of shrinking from suffering publicly, whether this was imminent or actual, though not severe. In Palestine this attitude of mind was to be met in the years of the Jewish war. The latter portion of the period, therefore, or the years 68 and 69, may very well be taken as the most appropriate setting for the writing. See, further, HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE.

11. The Epistles of Peter and Jude.—The date of the death of St. Peter as already fixed necessitates a date for 1 and 2 Peter prior to 67. For 2 Peter (*q.v.*), in the present condition of the evidence, this proves impossible, on both internal and external grounds. The conclusion is inevitable that this writing (together with Jude [*q.v.*]) must be detached from the Apostolic Age. For 1 Peter, however, there is a very natural place in the Apostle's sojourn in Rome. The mention of 'Babylon' (5^{13}) has been from very early days (Euseb. *HE* ii. 15) referred to Rome, in harmony with the literary methods of the day. The conditions reflected in the writing also correspond with those that prevailed in the reign of Nero. Christians had been obliged to leave the capital in large numbers and create a new 'Dispersion.' It was a time of temptation to fall away because of hardships, threatened or actual, for bearing the name 'Christian.' Altogether, the year 66 or even 65 may, therefore, well have been the date of the writing of this Epistle. See, further, art. PETER, EPISTLES OF.

12. The Johannine writings.—Of the writings of this group the Apocalypse offers the clearest marks of its age. But even here, from the earliest times, differing views have prevailed. Signs of an earlier time than Domitian's reign may easily be pointed out in the book. But they are quite as easily accounted for as reminiscences or traditions incorporated into the work. The undeniable allusion to the worship of the Emperor (17$^{8.\ 12}$), however, points to the reign of Domitian, under whom for the first time Emperor-worship assumed its serious aspect to the Christians. This, with some minor considerations, gives the predominance of weight to the Domitianic dating of the Apocalypse. See, further, art. APOCALYPSE.

The Fourth Gospel is related to the Apocalypse not merely by the external and superficial identity of the author's name but by the substantial agreement of the two writings in view-point and doctrinal system. Stylistic and linguistic characteristics, however, separate them very widely, and the affiliation of the two is best explained on the ground of origin within a Johannine 'school' or group. But if the Apocalypse was written between 85 and 95, the Gospel cannot be dated much earlier than the latter year, since such a Johannine group must have taken some time to develop its characteristic point of view and conceptions. On the other hand, the likelihood that Ignatius, Justin, and Papias were familiar with the Gospel fixes the latest date for the latter as 110. It must be dated, then, some time between 95 and 110, with the probability strongly in favour of a year prior to 100.

Of the Johannine Epistles (see JOHN, EPISTLES OF) the First must be connected in time as well as authorship with the Fourth Gospel. Whether it preceded the larger writing or followed it is of small importance. Its general period remains the same. The two minor Epistles by the Presbyter issue from the same group, and probably belong to the same general period.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

	A.D.		A.D.
James	44 (80–100)	Synoptic Gospels (Mk. [60], Lk. [61], Mt. [68])	60–68
1 and 2 Thessalonians	53	Acts	62
Galatians	54 (50–53)	Pastoral Epistles (1 and 2 Tim., Tit.)	66
1 and 2 Corinthians	56–57	1 Pet.	66
Romans	58	Hebrews	69
Imprisonment Epistles (Col., Eph., Philem., Phil.)	59–61	Apocalypse	81–96
		Epistles of John	98 (?)
		Fourth Gospel	96–100 (?)

LITERATURE.—The primary sources of information outside the apostolic records and Epistles are the works of Josephus (*Ant.* and *BJ*); the *Annals* of Tacitus; Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Cæsars*; and the works of Eusebius (*HE* and *Chronicon*, together with Jerome's VS). The modern study of the subject has issued in a vast number of discussions. Some of these are incorporated in works of larger scope, such as E. Schürer,

*GJV*³ i. [1901], ii. iii. [1898] (*HJP*, Eng. tr., 1885–1890); W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895; A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristl. Lit.*, ii. [1897]; C. H. Turner, art. 'Chronol. of NT' in *HDB* i. [1898] 403; T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT* (Eng. tr., 1909), Appendix; J. Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911. Of separate treatments of the Apostolic Age, mention must be made of R. Anger, *de Temporum in Actis Apost. Ratione*, 1833; T. Lewin, *Fasti Sacri*, 1865; G. Hoennicke, *Chronol. des Lebens des Apostels Paulus*, 1903; F. Westberg, *Bibl. Chronol.*, 1910.

ANDREW C. ZENOS.

DAUGHTER.—See FAMILY.

DAVID (Δαυείδ, but TR Δαβίδ). — David, the most popular of the heroes and the most illustrious of the kings of Israel, is often alluded to in the NT. He is 'David the son of Jesse' (Ac 13²²), a name reminiscent of his lowly origin; and he is 'the patriarch David' (2²⁹), 'our father David' (4²⁵), one of that company of venerable progenitors who may be supposed to have bequeathed something of their spirit to all their descendants. He is habitually thought of as the ideal of manhood, the man (ἀνήρ) after God's heart, doing all His will (13²²); and as the devout worshipper who desired to find a habitation for the God of Jacob (7⁴⁶). All Israelites loved to think of his 'days' (7⁴⁵) as the golden age of Hebrew history, and of 'the holy and sure blessings' shown to him (13³⁴), or Divine promises made to his family, as pledges of everlasting favour to his nation. He is of course included in the roll of the OT heroes of faith (He 11³²).

These were matters of ancient history, but the relation of David to the Messiah seemed a point of vital importance to every Jew and Jewish Christian, as well as of deep interest to all educated Gentile Christians. The Davidic descent of the coming Deliverer—based on Is 11¹, Jer 23⁵, Ps 132¹¹—was an article of faith among the scribes, who connected with it the hope of regal power and a restored Kingdom. It would be too much to say that our Lord's own discussion of the point (Mt 22⁴¹, Mk 12³⁵, Lk 20⁴¹) amounts to a denial on His part of Davidic descent, but it clearly implies that He did not attach to the traditional genealogy the same importance as the Rabbis. The Messiah's spiritual Lordship, acknowledged by the writer of Ps 110—who is presumed to be David—is for Him the essential fact (cf. W. Baldensperger, *Das Selbstbewusstsein Jesu*², 1892, p. 82 f.). The Apostolic Church, however, appears to have taken for granted His Davidic extraction on the male side. This fact is genealogically set forth in Mt 1¹⁻¹⁶ and Lk 3²³⁻³⁸. Much earlier, St. Paul is said to have referred to it at Pisidian Antioch (Ac 13²³), and in Ro 1³ he expresses the belief that Christ was 'born of the seed of David according to the flesh' (cf. 2 Ti 2⁸). For the writer of the Revelation, too, it is an article of faith that Christ is 'the Root (meaning shoot or scion from the main stem) of David' (5⁵), 'the Root and Offspring of David' (22¹⁶).

Before the rise of historical and literary criticism, the Psalms were assumed to be Davidic in authorship and many of them directly Messianic in import. In Ac 1¹⁶ the 69th Psalm, in 2²⁵ Ps 16, in 2³⁴ Ps 110, in 4²⁵ Ps 2, in Ro 4⁶ Ps 32, in 11⁹ Ps 69, and in He 4⁷ Ps 95 are ascribed to David. Ps 16 is supposed to be the poetical embodiment of an astonishing vision granted to David, of the resurrection of his greater Son. In its original significance it was a cry for the deliverance of the writer from death and the expression of a serene hope that the prayer would be answered. St. Peter is struck by the parallel between the words of 'the patriarch David' and the experience of Christ, and instead of abstracting the eternal principle contained in the Psalm—that God cannot leave to destruction any holy one with whom He had made a covenant—and applying it to Christ, he assumes, as the exegetical methods of his time permitted him to do, that the Psalmist had the actual historical events directly in view a thousand years before their occurrence. In the same way Ps 110, which ascribes to an ideal King the highest participation in the sovereignty of God, is interpreted, on the ground that David himself 'ascended not into the heavens,' as a prevision on his part of the Ascension of Christ (Ac 2³⁴). Historical criticism insists on the rigid separation of all the Psalms from their NT applications. Each of them had its own meaning in its own time and place. The words 'his office let another take' (Ac 1²⁰ ‖ Ps 109⁸) were no doubt originally spoken regarding some traitor, but probably not by David, and certainly not concerning the betrayer of our Lord. Yet 'the idea lying behind the parallel perceived . . . is usually profound, admitting of suggestive restatement in terms of our own more rigorous literary methods' (J. V. Bartlet, *Acts* [*Century Bible*, 1901], p. 145).

In Rev 3⁷ the Messiah is described as 'he that hath the key of David.' This is part of a message of comfort to the persecuted Church of Philadelphia. The whole verse is an adaptation of Is 22²². The idea is that the steward who has the key of the house possesses the symbol of unlimited authority over the household. As the Scion of the house of David, Christ has supreme power in the Divine realm, admitting and excluding whom He will. 'And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder' (Is 22²²) is synonymous with 'And the government shall be upon his shoulder' (9⁶). Vested with that authority, possessing that key, the Messiah sets before the Jewish Christians of Philadelphia, who are shut out from the synagogue, the ever-open door of His eternal Kingdom.

LITERATURE.—F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 332 f.; C. A. Briggs, *The Messiah of the Apostles*, 1896, pp. 42, 74 ff.; E. F. Scott, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, 1911, p. 175 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

DAY AND NIGHT (figurative).*—Besides their literal meanings, 'day' has frequently, and 'night' on two or three occasions, a figurative signification.

1. By a species of synecdoche, 'day' is often employed generally as an equivalent for 'time'; cf. the similar use of יוֹם in the OT (Gn 47²⁶, Jg 18³⁰, 2 S 21¹, etc.). 'The day of salvation' (2 Co 6²) is the time when salvation is possible; 'the day of visitation' (1 P 2¹²), the time when God visits mankind with His grace, though some would make it equivalent to the day of judgment; 'the evil day' (Eph 6¹³), the time of Satan's assaults. In this use of the word the plural is much more common, and is illustrated by such phrases as 'for a few days' (He 12¹⁰), 'in the last days' (2 Ti 3¹), 'good days' (1 P 3¹⁰). Sometimes 'days' is followed by the genitive either of a person or a thing. With the genitive of a person it denotes the period of his life or public activity. 'The days of David' (Ac 7⁴⁵) are the years of his reign; 'the days of Noah' (1 P 3²⁰), the time when he was a preacher of righteousness to the disobedient world. With the genitive of a thing, 'days' refers to the time of its occurrence, as 'in the days of the taxing' (Ac 5³⁷), 'in the days of the voice' (Rev 10⁷).

2. In Rev. 'day' is used as a mystical symbol for a certain period of time. As to the length of that time the interpreters of apocalyptic have widely differed. Some have taken the author to be using words in their literal meaning when he writes in 11³ 12⁶ of the 1260 days (with which cf. the corresponding 42 months of 13⁵ and the 'time and times and half a time,' *i.e.* 3½ years, of 12¹⁴). More commonly the 'year-day principle' (cf. Ezk 4⁶)

* For 'day' and 'night' in the literal sense see art. TIME.

has been applied, so that the 1260 days have stood for the same number of years. Similarly the 'ten days' of tribulation (2[10]), instead of being regarded as a round-number expression for a short and limited period (cf. Job 19[3], Dn 1[12]), has been taken to indicate a persecution of the Church at Smyrna lasting for 10 years.

3. In a specific sense 'the day' (Ro 13[12], 1 Co 3[13], 1 Th 5[5], He 10[25], 2 P 1[19]) and 'that day' (1 Th 5[4], 2 Th 1[10], 2 Ti 1[12. 18] 4[8]) are used metaphorically for the Parousia with all its glorious accompaniments, in contrast with which the present world of sin and sorrow appears as 'the night.' 'The night is far spent,' St. Paul exclaims, 'the day is at hand' (Ro 13[12]). Elsewhere he conceives of Christ's people as illumined already by the glorious light of that day's dawn, so that, although they still have the night around them just as others have, they do not belong to it, but are 'sons of light and sons of the day' (1 Th 5[5]), whose calling it is to 'cast off the works of darkness' and to 'put on the armour of light' (Ro 13[12]; cf. 1 Th 5[8]). In keeping with this metaphorical description of the glory of the Parousia as a shining day is the conception of the heavenly city, illumined by the presence of the Lamb (Rev 21[23]), as a city of unfading light: 'for there shall be no night there' (v.[25]; cf. 22[4. 5]). In this distinctive sense 'the day' is more fully described as 'the day of the Lord' (1 Th 5[2], etc.), 'the day of our Lord Jesus' (2 Co 1[14]), 'the day of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1[6]), 'the day of Christ' (v.[10]), 'the day of God' (2 P 3[12]), 'the great day' (Jude[6]), 'the great day of God Almighty' (Rev 16[14]). It is further defined by a variety of epithets in which reference is made to its characteristic manifestations and events. Thus it is 'the day of judgment' (2 P 2[9] 3[7], 1 Jn 4[17]), 'of wrath' (Ro 2[5], Rev 6[17]), 'of slaughter' (Ja 5[5]), 'of revelation of the righteous judgment of God' (Ro 2[5]); but also 'the day of redemption' (Eph 4[30]), a day in which Christ's people shall not only have boldness (1 Jn 4[17]), but shall rejoice (Ph 2[16]), and whose coming they are to look for and earnestly desire (2 P 3[12]).

J. C. LAMBERT.

DAY OF THE LORD.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

DAY-STAR.—In the OT there are traces of the survival of a dawn myth of which we have reminiscences in Job 3[9], where 'the eyelids of the dawn' (עַפְעַפֵּי־שָׁחַר; LXX *ἑωσφόρον ἀνατέλλοντα*) glance over the mountain-tops to behold the sleeping earth. The morning- or day-star is the son of the dawn, as in the great ode on the overthrow of the king of Babylon (הֵילֵל בֶּן־שָׁחַר; LXX *ἑωσφόρος ὁ πρωῒ ἀνατέλλων*; AV 'Lucifer, son of the morning'; but RV 'day star' [Is 14[12]]). From this came the metaphor. But in the NT the physical associations of the figure are entirely lost, and the word 'day-star' has become the equivalent of harbinger or forerunner—some joyful event or appearance foretelling the end of the night of distress and sorrow, and the dawning of a new and better day. 'This species of symbolism was employed freely, as every reader knows, in the Gospels. . . . John the Baptist was the Forerunner, the Morning Star. Christ was the Sun, the Light of the World. . . . The usage persisted as it had been originated' (W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, p. 230 f.).

The word 'day-star' occurs in the NT only in 2 P 1[19]—*καὶ φωσφόρος ἀνατείλῃ ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*—'and the day-star arise in your hearts' (AV and RV). The thought, however, is fairly common (cf. such expressions as 'the dayspring [*ἀνατολή*] from on high,' Lk 1[78]; 'his marvellous light' [*φῶς*], 1 P 2[9]; and specially 'I will give him the morning star' [*τὸν ἀστέρα τὸν πρωϊνόν*], Rev 2[28]; 'the bright, the morning star' [*ὁ ἀστὴρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ὁ πρωϊνός*], 22[16]). In the Apocalypse, it should be noted, the usage (2[28] 22[16]) is different. While in the Gospels 'an earlier age and another style of thought' (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 234) had called Christ not a Star but the Sun and the Light of the World, in Revelation Christ calls Himself the Morning-Star as 'the herald and introducer of a new era,' and the gift of the Morning-Star means 'the dawn of a brighter day and a new career.' In 2 P 1[19] the writer, discussing the effect produced by the Transfiguration of Jesus, says that by it 'we have the word of prophecy made more sure' (RV). The glorification of Christ on the Mount was not only a partial fulfilment of Messianic prediction, but was in itself the earnest of a complete glorification. In the squalid place of the world (RVm *ἐν αὐχμηρῷ τόπῳ*—the adj. occurs only here in the NT), where the Christian's lot is cast, the prophecies, even with their partial fulfilment, are a lamp shining.

The new day heralded by the day-star may be the Second Advent (Bennett, *Century Bible, in loc.*); but there is more to be said for Plumptre's view (*Cambridge Bible*), that the rising of the day-star points to a direct manifestation of Christ in the soul of the believer (*ἐν ταῖς καρδίαις ὑμῶν*). It is the revelation and confirmation in the heart of the Christian of what had been foreshadowed both by the prophetic word and the earthly manifestation of God's Son. Christ in the heart is the gleam, the light, the Day-star, which the believer follows, and to which he moves. He has therefore the testimony in himself that he follows, not wandering fires, but a star.

Witsius (Trench, *Epp. to the Seven Churches*[3], London, 1867, p. 155) sums up the import of the morning-star as follows: (1) a closer communion with Christ, the fountain of light; (2) an increase of light and spiritual knowledge; (3) glorious and unspeakable joy, which is often compared with light. Such hopes 2 Peter holds before Christians in the squalidness of a world where God is not known. But they know, for the day-star shines in their hearts.

> 'Nor would I vex my heart with grief or strife
> Though friend and lover Thou hast put afar,
> If I could see, through my worn tent of life
> The stedfast shining of Thy morning star'
> (Louise Chandler Moulton).

For the same thought in the hymnology of the Church reference may be made to the Advent Hymns, 'Light of the lonely pilgrim's heart, Star of the coming day,' also 'Come, O come, Immanuel.'

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, London, 1908, pp. 230-234. For the morning-star in the symbolism of the NT, see G. Mackinlay, *The Magi: How they recognized Christ's Star*, do. 1907.

W. M. GRANT.

DEACON, DEACONESS.—'Deacon' or 'deaconess' (*διάκονος*, masc. or fem.) means one who serves or ministers. In classical Greek the word commonly implies menial service. In the NT it implies the noble service of doing work for God (2 Co 6[4] 11[23], Eph 6[21], 1 Th 3[2]), or ministering to the needs of others (Ro 16[1]; cf. 1 Co 16[15], 2 Co 8[4] 9[1]); and the meaning of the term, with its cognates 'service' or 'ministry' and 'to serve' or 'to minister' (*διακονία* and *διακονεῖν*) is nearly everywhere quite general and does not indicate a special office. The only passage in which special officials are certainly mentioned is 1 Ti 3[8-12], where v.[11] refers to women deacons (RV) rather than to wives of deacons (AV). But it is highly probable that 'with [the] bishops and deacons' (Ph 1[1]) also refers to special officials; although it is just possible that St. Paul is merely mentioning the two functions which must exist in every organized community, viz. government and service. A church consists of rulers and ruled. The case of Phœbe, '*διάκονος* of the church which

is in Cenchreæ' (Ro 16[1]), is doubtful. She may be a female deacon; but this is very unlikely, for there is no trace of deacons or other officials in the church of Corinth at this time. Phœbe was probably a lady, living at the port of Corinth, who rendered much service to St. Paul and other Christians. Milligan (on 1 Th 3[2]) quotes inscriptions which show that *διάκονος* (masc. and fem.) was a religious title in pre-Christian times. The Seven (Ac 6) are probably not to be identified with the later deacons. The special function of deacons, whether men or women, was to distribute the alms of the congregation and to minister to the needs of the poor; they were the church's relieving officers. They also probably helped to order the men and the women in public worship. The qualities required in them (1 Ti 3[8-12]) agree with this: 'not greedy of sordid gain,' and 'faithful in all things,' point to the care of money. See artt. CHURCH GOVERNMENT and MINISTER, MINISTRY.

LITERATURE.—F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, London, 1897, pp. 196-217; M. R. Vincent, *Philippians* (*ICC*, Edinburgh, 1897), pp. 36-51; art. 'Deacon' in *HDB*.

ALFRED PLUMMER.

DEARTH.—See FAMINE.

DEATH.—See LIFE AND DEATH.

DEBT, DEBTOR.—The Acts and the Epistles give few glimpses of the trade of the time (cf. Ja 4[13ff.], 1 Th 2[9] 4[11], 2 Th 3[8ff.], Ac 19[24ff.], 1 Co 7[30], Ro 13[7ff.], Rev 18[4-20]). This may seem all the more remarkable since Christianity touched the commerce of the Roman world at so many points and used the fine Roman roads (see art. TRADE AND COMMERCE). The allusions to debt are quite incidental, and come in generally in the metaphorical use of words.

1. Literal use.—The word 'debt' signifying a business transaction is found in Philem[18] (*ὀφείλει*), where St. Paul delicately refers to money or valuables stolen from Philemon by Onesimus. St. Paul here uses the technical language of business—*τοῦτο ἐμοὶ ἐλλόγα*. We meet *ἐλλογέω* in pagan inscriptions and in an Imperial papyrus letter of the time of Hadrian (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*[2], 79 f.). Dibelius ('Kol.' in *Handbuch zum NT*, 1912, p. 129) quotes various examples, as *ὑπὲρ ἀρραβῶνος [τῇ τ]ιμῇ ἐλλογουμέν[ο]υ* (Grenfell and Hunt, ii. 67, 16 ff.). In the rest of St. Paul's half-humorous sally with Philemon (*ἔγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί*) he probably has in mind *τὸ χειρόγραφον* (Col 2[14]). The debtor could have another to write for him if unable to write himself (cf. specimen of such a note by an *ἀγράμματος* from the Fayyûm papyri [Deissmann, *op. cit.* p. 335]). The common word for 'repay' is *ἀποδίδωμι* (cf. Ro 13[7]), but St. Paul here uses *ἀποτίσω*, 'which is much stronger than *ἀποδώσω*' (Deissmann, p. 335 n.; cf. also Moulton and Milligan, in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vi. [1908] 191 f.). St. Paul thus gives Philemon his note of hand to pay the debt of Onesimus. In Ph 4[18] St. Paul uses, perhaps in playful vein again, the technical word for a receipt, *ἀπέχω*, in expressing his appreciation of the liberal contribution sent to him by the Philippians (cf. *ἀπέχω* for a tax-receipt on an ostracon from Thebes [Deissmann, p. 111]). The term *εἰς λόγον ὑμῶν* (Ph 4[17]) has the atmosphere of book-keeping (cf. also *εἰς λόγον δόσεως καὶ λήμψεως* in v.[15]). In Ro 4[4] we find the figure of credit for actual work as a debt—*κατὰ ὀφείλημα*. This is simply pay for work done (wages). The word *ὁ μισθός*, hire for pay, is the common expression (cf. the proverb in 1 Ti 5[18] and *μίσθωμα* (hired house) in Ac 28[30]).

In Ja 5[4] the curtain is raised upon the social wrong done to labour by grinding employers who kept back (*ἀφυστερέω*) the wages of the men who tilled the fields. James rather implies that there was little recourse to law in such cases, but consoles the wronged workers in that God has heard their cries. There was imprisonment for debt, as was the case in England and America till some 50 years ago, but it was only with difficulty that the workman could bring such a law to bear on his employer. In Ro 13[6-8] St. Paul expressly urges the Roman Christians to pay taxes, a form of debt paid with poor grace in all the ages. Christianity is on the side of law and order, and recognizes the debt of the citizens to government for the maintenance of order. 'For this cause ye pay tribute also' (v.[6]), *φόρους τελεῖτε*. In v.[7] he urges the duty of paying (*ἀπόδοτε*) back in full (perfective use of *ἀπό* as in *ἀπέχω* above) one's taxes. *φόρος* is the tribute paid by the subject nation (Lk 20[22], 1 Mac 10[33]), while *τέλος* represents the customs and dues which would in any case be paid for the support of the civil government (Mt 17[25], 1 Mac 10[31]). So Sanday-Headlam, *Romans, in loco*.

In Ro 13[8] St. Paul covers the whole field by *μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε*. We are not to imagine that he is opposed to debt as the basis of business. The early Jewish prohibitions against debt and interest (usury) contemplated a world where only the poor and unfortunate had to borrow. But already, long before St. Paul's time, borrowing and lending was a regular business custom at the basis of trade. Extortionate rates of interest were often charged (cf. Horace [*Sat.* I. ii. 14], who expressly states that interest at the rate of 5 per cent a month or 60 per cent a year was sometimes exacted). Jesus draws a picture of imprisonment, and even slavery, for debt in the Parable of the Two Creditors (Mt 18[23-35]; cf. also 5[25f.]). But the point of view of St. Paul here is the moral obligation of the debtor to pay his debt. In few things do Christians show greater moral laxity than in the matter of debt. Evidently St. Paul had already noticed this laxity. He makes this exhortation the occasion of a strong argument for love, but the context shows that literal financial obligations (*ὀφειλή*, common in the papyri in this sense) are in mind as well as the metaphorical applications of *ὀφείλω*.

2. Metaphorical uses.—The examples in the apostolic period chiefly come under this heading. The debt of love in Ro 13[8] is a case in point. It may be noted that *ἀγάπη* can no longer be claimed as a purely biblical word (cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.* p. 70). None the less Christianity glorifies the word. The debt of love is the only one that must not be paid in full, but the interest must be paid. For other instances of *ὀφείλω* see Ro 15[1-27], 1 Co 5[10]. In Ro 13[7] *ὀφειλή* covers all kinds of obligations, financial and moral (cf. also 1 Co 7[3] [conjugal duty]). The metaphorical use of *ὀφειλέτης* appears in Ro 1[14], Gal 5[3], etc. The metaphor of debt is found in various other words. Thus, when St. Paul speaks of Christians being 'slaves of Christ,' he is thinking of the obligation due to the new Master who has set us free from the bondage of sin at the price of His own blood. The figure need not be overworked, but this is the heart of it (cf. Ro 6[16-22], Gal 2[4] 5[1], 1 Co 6[20] 7[23], Ro 3[24], 1 Ti 2[6], Tit 2[14]; cf. also 1 P 1[18], He 9[12]). (See Deissmann, *op. cit.* pp. 324-44 for a luminous discussion of the whole subject of manumission of slaves in the inscriptions and papyri, as illustrating the NT use of words like *ἀπολύτρωσις, λυτρόω, λύτρον, ἀντίλυτρον, ἀγοράζω, τιμή, ἐλευθερόω, ἐλεύθερος, ἐλευθερία, δοῦλος, δουλεύω, καταδουλόω*, etc.) The use of *ἀποδίδωμι* with the figure of paying off a debt is common (cf. Ro 2[6] 12[17], etc.). *ἀρραβών* (Eph 1[14]) presents the idea of pledge (mortgage), earnest money to guarantee the full payment (Deissmann, *op. cit.* p. 340). In He 7[22] in the same way *ἔγγυος* is surety or guarantor. It seems clear that *διαθήκη* in He

$9^{16f.}$ has the notion of a will (testament) which is paid at death. Deissmann (*op. cit.* p. 341) argues that 'no one in the Mediterranean world in the first century A.D. would have thought of finding in the word διαθήκη the idea of "covenant." St. Paul would not, and in fact did not.' That sweeping statement overlooks the LXX, however. Cf. art. COVENANT. The figurative use of ἐλλογάω occurs in Ro 5^{13}.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB*, *DCG*, *JE*, and *CE*, and Commentaries on the passages cited; A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, and *Light from the Ancient East*², 1911; A. Edersheim, *LT* ii. p. 268 ff.; E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 362 f.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

DECREE.—This word occurs only three times in the NT, once in the singular (Lk 2^{1}), where it is the decree of Cæsar Augustus that all the world should be taxed, and twice in the plural (Ac 16^{4} 17^{7}), the reference in the one case being to the decisions of the Apostolic Church at Jerusalem, and in the other to the decrees of the Roman Emperors against treason.

The word in its technical or theological sense of the Divine decree of human salvation, or of the decrees of God comprehended in His eternal purpose whereby He foreordains whatsoever comes to pass, is therefore not found in the NT at all. The Greek word which it most nearly represents is πρόθεσις, which describes the purpose of God in eternity for the salvation of men. 'They that love God' are 'the called according to his purpose' (οἱ κατὰ πρόθεσιν κλητοί, Ro 8^{28}). 'The purpose of God according to election' (ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν πρόθεσις τοῦ θεοῦ, 9^{11}) is to stand, not of works but of His own sovereign grace who calls them that believe. Christians are 'allotted their inheritance, having been foreordained according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his will' (προορισθέντες κατὰ πρόθεσιν τοῦ τὰ πάντα ἐνεργοῦντος, Eph 1^{11}). The Divine purpose is 'a purpose of the ages' which God fulfilled in Christ (Eph 3^{11}) as He had purposed it in Him (προέθετο, Eph 1^{9}). God's eternal decree depends upon the counsel of His own will, for it is 'not according to our works but according to his own purpose (κατὰ ἴδιαν πρόθεσιν) and grace given in Christ Jesus before times eternal' that 'he saved us and called us with a holy calling' (2 Ti 1^{9}). See artt. CALL, ELECTION, and PREDESTINATION.

The decree of God, however, is not to be conceived in the same way as that of Darius or Nebuchadrezzar, who could say, 'I have made a decree: let it be done with speed' (Ezr 6^{12}). God's decree has no constraining effect on the things to which it is directed, because it is not promulgated to the world, but is really His secret plan for the regulation of His own procedure. It is not the proximate cause of events, yet the objects which it contemplates are absolutely certain, and are in due time brought to pass. Whilst the decrees of God are 'his eternal purpose whereby he foreordains whatsoever comes to pass,' yet He accomplishes His ends by the means proper thereto, and even when men are moved by Divine grace to embrace the gospel offer, they do so in the exercise of their liberty as free agents. As St. Paul says: 'God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation through sanctification of the Spirit and belief of the truth' (2 Th 2^{13}).

T. NICOL.

DELIVERER.—In the Acts and Epistles the word 'deliverer' occurs only twice. Once (Ac 7^{35}) the original word is ὁ λυτρωτής and once (Ro 11^{26}) it is ὁ ῥυόμενος. The reference in Acts is to Moses, and so does not specifically concern us here, except that the word is one of a group (λύτρον, ἀντίλυτρον, λυτρόω, ἀπολύτρωσις) used of the redemptive work of Christ. In the Koine the word λύτρον usually meant the purchase-money for the manumission of slaves (A. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*², 1911, p. 331 f.). In the LXX (Ps 19^{14} 68^{35}) the word λυτρωτής is used of God Himself, and the λύτρωσις wrought by Christ is illustrated by that wrought by Moses (Lk 1^{68} 2^{38}, He 9^{12}, Tit 2^{14}), and that notion may have influenced Luke's choice of the word in Ac 7^{35} (R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 192). The passage in Ro 11^{26} (ὁ ῥυόμενος) is a quotation from Is 59^{20} and is given the Messianic interpretation. 'There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer.' It is a free quotation, the LXX having ἐκ Σιών instead of ἕνεκεν Σιών, while the Hebrew has 'to Zion.' Some of the current Jewish writings (*En.* xc. 33; *Sib. Orac.* iii. 710 f.; *Pss. Sol.* xvii. 33–35) cherished the hope of the conversion of the Gentiles. St. Paul here seizes on that hope, and the OT prophecy of the Messiah as Deliverer, to hold out a second hope to the Jews who have already in large measure rejected the Messiah. Before He comes again, or at His coming, the Jews will turn in large numbers to the Deliverer once rejected (cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Rom.*⁵, 1902, *in loc.*). In 1 Th 1^{10} St. Paul had already used ὁ ῥυόμενος of Jesus in connexion also with the expectation of the Second Coming of Christ. It is not here translated 'the Deliverer' because the participle is followed by ἡμᾶς, 'who delivereth us from the wrath to come.' The word ῥύω means properly 'to draw,' and so the middle voice is 'to draw to one's self for shelter,' 'to rescue.' The word emphasizes the *power* of Christ as our Deliverer, ἐκ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς ἐρχομένης. The deliverance is complete (ἐκ) (Milligan, *Thess.*, 1908, *in loc.*). This word ῥύομαι is the most frequent one for deliverance by God. St. Paul in 2 Co 1^{10} uses it of his rescue from death in Ephesus (ἐρύσατο ἡμᾶς καὶ ῥύσεται—καὶ ἔτι ῥύσεται). It is the word for our rescue from the power of darkness in Col 1^{13}. St. Paul has it also in 2 Ti 3^{11} when he tells how the Lord delivered him out of his persecutions. In $4^{17f.}$ he uses it of his rescue from the lion, and of his hope that the Lord will deliver him from every evil deed. In 2 P 2^{9} St. Peter uses it also for God's help in temptation. In Gal 1^{4} St. Paul has ὅπως ἐξέληται for Christ's purpose to deliver us from the present evil age. The word is ἐξαιρέομαι, 'to take out from,' while in He 2^{15} the word for deliverance from the fear of death is ἀπαλλάσσω, 'to set free from.'

These words are simply those that in the RV happen to be translated by 'deliver' in English. But they by no means cover the whole subject. As a matter of fact all the atoning work of Christ is embraced in the notion of deliverance from sin and its effects. St. Paul himself epitomizes his conception of Christ as Deliverer in his pæan of victory in 1 Co $15^{54ff.}$: 'Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy victory? O death, where is thy sting? The sting of death is sin; and the power of sin is the law; but thanks be to God, who giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.' This deliverance applies to the whole man (soul and body) and to the whole creation (Ro 8^{18-25}). It means ultimately the overthrow of Satan and the complete triumph of Christ in a new heaven and a new earth (the Apocalypse).

A. T. ROBERTSON.

DELUGE.—See FLOOD.

DEMAS (Δημᾶς, perhaps a short form of Demetrius, as Silas was of Silvanus).—Demas was a Christian believer who was with St. Paul during his imprisonment in Rome, and sends greetings to the Colossians (4^{14}) and to Philemon (v.^{24}). Probably he was a Thessalonian, and in both the references he is mentioned in connexion with St. Luke, while in 2 Ti 4^{10} his conduct is contrasted with that of the beloved

physician. In the last-named passage we are informed that Demas left the Apostle when he was awaiting his trial before Nero. The desertion seems to have been deeply resented by St. Paul, who describes his action as due to his 'having loved this present world.' Probably Demas realized that it was dangerous to be connected with one who was certain to be condemned by Nero, and he saved his life by returning to his home in Thessalonica. The phrase used, however, suggests that the prospect of worldly advantage was the motive which determined Demas. No doubt the busy commercial centre of Thessalonica offered many opportunities for success in business, and love of money may have been the besetting sin of this professing Christian. The name 'Demetrius' occurs twice in the list of politarchs of Thessalonica; and, while we cannot say with certainty that the Demas of 2 Ti 4[10] is identical with either of these, the possibility is not excluded. In this case the prospect of civic honours may have been the reason which led him to abandon the hardships and dangers of the Apostle's life and return to Thessalonica, where his family may have held positions of influence. Perhaps the bare mention of his name in Col 4[14] and the reference in Ph 2[20. 21] may indicate that the Apostle even at this early date suspected the genuineness of Demas, who was with him at the time of his writing to Philippi (cf. Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 358). We have no certain assurance that the apostasy of Demas was final, but the darker view of his character has usually been taken, as *e.g.* by Bunyan in *The Pilgrim's Progress*. Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 6) classes him among the apostates from the faith. It is impossible to identify Demas with any Demetrius mentioned in the NT.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*[3], 1897, p. 358; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*[2], 1876, pp. 36, 242; artt. in *HDB*, *EBi*, and *SDB*.

W. F. BOYD.

DEMETRIUS.—There are two, if not three, persons of this name mentioned in the NT—a fact which is not surprising, considering how very common the name was in the Greek world.

1. Demetrius, the silversmith of Ephesus (Ac 19). A business man, profoundly interested in the success of his business, Demetrius was a manufacturer of various objects in silver, of which the most profitable were small silver models of the shrine of the Ephesian goddess Artemis (see DIANA). These models were purchased by the rich, dedicated to the goddess, and hung up within her temple. The preaching of St. Paul was so powerful that devotion to the goddess became less prevalent, the demand for such offerings was reduced, and Demetrius felt his livelihood in danger. He called a meeting of the gild of his handicraft to decide on a means for coping with the new situation. The meeting ended in a public disturbance. Nothing is known of the later life of Demetrius.

2. Demetrius, an important member of the church referred to in the Second and Third Epistles of St. John. It is impossible to identify the church with certainty, but there can be little doubt that it was in the province of Asia. The presbyter-overseer of the church is absent, and in his absence Gaius and Demetrius act in the truest interest of the members. Demetrius' good conduct (3 Jn[12]) is attested by all.

3. The full name of Demas (Col 4[14], 2 Ti 4[10], Philem[24]) may very well have been Demetrius (possibly Demodorus, Demodotus); see DEMAS.

LITERATURE.—See W. M. Ramsay's lifelike picture of the scene at Ephesus in his *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, London, 1895, p. 277 ff. The best list of pet-names is found in A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, do. 1897, § 287.

A. SOUTER.

DEMON.—1. Nomenclature.—The word δαιμόνιον (or δαίμων, which, however, occurs only once in the NT in the best MSS, viz. in Mt 8[31], though some MSS have it in Mk 5[12], Lk 8[29], and some inferior ones in Rev 16[14] 18[2]) is almost always rendered 'devil' in EV, though RVm usually gives 'demon.' In the RV of the OT 'demon' is found in Dt 32[17], Ps 106[37], Bar 4[7] (Heb. שֵׁד, LXX δαιμόνιον). Originally δαίμων had a somewhat more personal connotation than δαιμόνιον, which is formed from the adjective (*i.e.* 'a Divine thing'); and both had a neutral sense: a spirit inferior to the supreme gods, superior to man, but not necessarily evil. Some trace of this neutral sense is found in the apostolic writings. Thus δεισιδαίμων, δεισιδαιμονία have probably not the bad sense of 'superstitious,' 'superstition' in Ac 17[22] 25[19]—which at any rate would hardly suit the former passage, where St. Paul is not likely to have gone out of his way to insult the Athenians—but the neutral sense of 'religious,' 'religion.' This view is borne out by the papyri, where, Deissmann says (*Light from Ancient East*, 1910, p. 283), the context of these words always implies commendation. And similarly St. Luke's phrase (Lk 4[33]) 'a spirit of an unclean demon' would imply the existence of a pure demon, just as 'unclean spirits' imply the existence of pure spirits. The neutral sense is also found in the saying attributed to our Lord by Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 3; see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*[3], pt. ii. vol. ii. [1889] p. 296): 'Lay hold and handle me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon' (δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον), a saying clearly founded on or parallel to Lk 24[39], perhaps due to an independent oral tradition. But ordinarily in the NT δαιμόνιον has a bad sense, and signifies 'an evil spirit.' The expression 'to have a demon' (or 'demons'), which occurs several times in the Gospels (ἔχειν δαιμόνιον [δαιμόνια], equivalent to δαιμονίζεσθαι, which is also frequent there), is the same as the paraphrases found elsewhere in the NT which avoid the word 'demon' (Ac 8[7] 'had unclean spirits,' 19[12] 'had evil spirits,' 10[38], etc.). In Christian writings the word 'demon' always means an evil being, though it is curious that, in the NT and (as far as the present writer has observed) in the Fathers, Satan himself is never called δαίμων or δαιμόνιον ('demon'). Conversely his angels are never in the NT called 'devils' (διάβολοι), though in Jn 6[70] Judas is called διάβολος. The Fathers emphatically assert that all demons are evil: see *e.g.* Tertull. *Apol.* 22, Orig. *c. Cels.* v. 5, viii. 39 (the Son of God not a demon), Cypr. *Quod idola dii non sint*, 6 f. By the time of Augustine even the heathen used the word 'demon' only in a bad sense (*de Civ. Dei*, ix. 19).

2. Conceptions about demons in apostolic writings.—Demons are regarded as the ministers of Satan—a host of evil angels over whom he has command. They are the 'angels which kept not their own principality (ἀρχήν) but left their proper habitation' (Jude[6]), who 'when they sinned' were 'cast down to Tartarus' (2 P 2[4]). They are described as the Dragon's angels, forming his army (Rev 12[7. 9]; cf. Mt 25[41]). That these angels are the same as the demons appears from the fact that Satan is the prince of the demons (Mk 3[22]), and that demoniacs are said to be 'oppressed of the devil' (τοῦ διαβόλου, *i.e.* Satan [see DEVIL], Ac 10[38]; cf. Lk 13[16]). Thus there are good spirits and evil spirits which must be distinguished and proved: the spirit of the Antichrist must be distinguished from the Spirit of God (1 Jn 4[1]).

St. Paul, in not dissimilar language, speaks of discernings of spirits (1 Co 12[10]; cf. 2 Co 11[4]) and of evil angels as being 'principalities' (ἀρχαί), 'powers,' 'world-rulers (κοσμοκράτορες) of this darkness,' 'spiritual beings (πνευματικά) of wickedness

in the heavenly [places]' (Eph 6^{12}; the last phrase may be roughly rendered 'in the sphere of spiritual activities'; cf. Robinson's note on Eph 1^{3} and see art. AIR); perhaps also as being 'the rulers of this age which are coming to nought . . . the spirit of the world' (1 Co $2^{6.\ 12}$); or collectively as 'all rule and all authority and power' which are to be abolished (1 Co $15^{24.\ 26}$, Eph $1^{21f.}$). That these are Satan's hosts appears from the context of the last passage (2^{2}), which speaks of the Prince of the power of the air (see AIR).

It would seem that St. Paul regarded the heathen gods as demons, having a real existence, though they were not gods. On the one hand, 'no idol is anything in the world, and there is no God but one' (1 Co 8^{4}); on the other hand, the sacrifices of the heathen are offered to demons, not to God, and therefore Christians must not attend heathen temples lest they have communion with demons ($10^{20f.}$; note the idea that sacrifice involves communion between the worshipper and the worshipped). So in the LXX Ps 96^{5} affirms that all the gods of the heathen are demons (Heb. אֱלִילִים, *i.e.* 'vanities'; Vulg. *daemonia*); and Dt 32^{17} (see above) both in the Heb. text and in the LXX clearly identifies the heathen gods with demons. And similarly in Rev 9^{20} the worship of demons is joined to that of idols.

The activity of demons towards man is great. Though, after a fashion, they believe—not with the Christian's faith, which is born of love, but with faith compelled by fear (Ja 2^{19}: they 'shudder')—yet with the ingenuity which is peculiarly their own (Ja 3^{15} *σοφία . . . δαιμονιώδης*), they try to draw man away from his belief: they are 'seducing spirits,' whose teaching is called the 'doctrine of demons' (1 Ti $4^{1f.}$, so most commentators); their captain is called the 'spirit that now worketh in the sons of disobedience' (Eph 2^{2}, where, however, 'spirit' is in apposition to 'power,' not to 'prince,' perhaps by grammatical assimilation; see Robinson's note *ad loc.*). The demons accordingly instigate evil men against the good; they are 'unclean spirits, as it were frogs' coming 'out of the mouth of the dragon . . . for they are spirits of demons,' instigating the 'kings of the whole world' to the 'war of the great day of God' (Rev $16^{13f.}$). If we identify them with the 'rulers of this age' of 1 Co 2^{6} (see above), they instigated our Lord's crucifixion (v.^{8}). See also DEVIL.

Demons are able to work miracles or signs (*σημεῖα*, Rev 16^{14}), as Antichrist can (2 Th 2^{9}); they attract worship from men (Rev 9^{20}; cf. Dt 32^{17} above), and have their temples and tables (see above). Rome, the corrupt capital of the heathen world, designated 'Babylon,' is the habitation of demons, the prison of every unclean spirit, the prison of every unclean and hateful bird (Rev 18^{2}).

Just as the fruits of the working of the Holy Ghost in man are called the spirit 'of power and love and discipline' (2 Ti 1^{7}) and 'of truth' (1 Jn 4^{6}), so those of the demons are 'the spirit of bondage' (Ro 8^{15}), and 'stupor' (*κατανύξεως*, 11^{8}), and 'fearfulness' (2 Ti 1^{7}), and 'error' (1 Jn 4^{6}).

3. Demoniacal possession.—This subject is much less spoken of in the writings which are here dealt with than in the Gospels. The evangelistic records depict a much stronger activity of evil in Palestine during the earthly life of our Lord than that which, as the rest of NT would lead us to suppose, existed elsewhere and at a later time. Yet in four passages of Acts we read of possession by unclean or evil spirits: at Jerusalem (5^{16}); in Samaria, where they were expelled at the preaching of Philip (8^{7}); at Philippi, where the ventriloquist maiden is said to have a spirit, a Python (16^{16}: *πνεῦμα πύθωνα* is the best reading); and at Ephesus, where by St. Paul's miracles the evil spirits were expelled (19^{12}). In this last passage we read of the evil spirit speaking out of the possessed man's mouth, and of the man's actions being those of the evil spirit (v.^{15}); also of Jewish exorcists who endeavoured to expel him (the seven of v.^{14} become in all the best MSS two at v.^{16}; probably there were seven brothers, but only two took part in this incident). The word 'exorcist' does not occur elsewhere in the NT. The passage about the Python (16^{16}) is very remarkable. The name is derived from Pytho, a district near Delphi where the dragon (called Python) was slain by Apollo. The title was thus given to a diviner: both Apollo and the Delphic priestess were called 'the Pythian' (*ὁ Πύθιος, ἡ Πυθία*). Ventriloquists were regarded as being under the influence of demons, and as being able to divine; they were, as Plutarch tells us (*Moralia*, ed. Xylander, ii. 414 E, quoted by Wetstein on Ac 16^{16}), called *πύθωνες, πυθώνισσαι*. Here, then, we have the conception of something other than ordinary madness being a possession by evil spirits; and this incident may be considered as a stepping-stone to the conception found in some NT writers of physical disease as being, at least in some cases, also a possession. This is the case especially in the writings of Luke the physician. Thus the woman who was 'bowed together' is said to have had 'a spirit of infirmity' (*πνεῦμα ἀσθενείας*, Lk 13^{11}) and to have been bound by Satan (v.^{16}); our Lord 'rebuked' (*ἐπετίμησε*) the fever of Simon's wife's mother (Lk 4^{39}), as if it were an unclean spirit; a deaf-mute is said to have a 'dumb spirit' or 'a dumb and deaf spirit' (Mk $9^{17.25}$).

There is nothing which leads us to suppose that the conception of demoniacal possession which we find well established in the four Gospels, especially in the Synoptics, was not shared by the other NT writers; but it is noteworthy that, as the subject is only glanced at in the Fourth Gospel (with reference to the charge against our Lord, Jn 7^{20} $8^{48f.}$ $10^{20f.}$), so it is not dealt with at all by St. Paul, though we could perhaps hardly expect that it should be spoken of in epistolary writings. We may, however, remark that the language of the famous passage Ro 7^{14-25}, in which the Apostle speaks of the power of sin in the Christian—for we can hardly think that he is speaking of himself only before his conversion—bears a close likeness to that used to describe demoniacal possession.

LITERATURE.—This article has dealt only with the period from the Ascension to the end of the 1st cent.; for this reference may be made to H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, London, 1900, ch. vi. For demoniacal possession see R. C. Trench, *Notes on the Miracles of our Lord*[9], London, 1870, § 5 ('The Demoniacs in the Country of the Gadarenes'). On the subject in general see H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, London, 1909, Appendix C; A Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr.[2], 1908, i. 125 ff.; O. C. Whitehouse in *HDB*, art. 'Demon, Devil'; W. O. E. Oesterley in *DCG*, art. 'Demon, Demoniacs'; R. W. Moss in *SDB*, artt. 'Devil,' 'Possession.' For post-apostolic conceptions of demonology see H. L. Pass in *ERE*, art. 'Demons and Spirits (Christian)'; for those of other nations see the various articles under the same title in *ERE*.

A. J. MACLEAN.

DEPUTY.—This is the AV translation of *ἀνθύπατος*, the Gr. equivalent of *pro consule*, 'proconsul' (*q.v.*). In NT times 'proconsul' was the name given to the governor of a senatorial province—that is, a province under the supervision of the Roman Senate, which appointed the governors. In the NT the following senatorial provinces are referred to as under proconsuls: Asia, governed by an ex-consul, called proconsul, a province of the highest class, and Cyprus and Achaia, each governed by an ex-prætor, also called proconsul, provinces of the second class.

A. SOUTER.

DERBE (Δέρβη).—Derbe was one of 'the cities of Lycaonia' into which Paul and Barnabas fled when driven from Iconium (Ac 14^{6}). Strabo says it was 'on the flanks of the Isaurian region, ad-

hering (*ἐπιπεφυκός*) to Cappadocia' (XII. vi. 3). It belonged to that part of Lycaonia which, in the 1st cent. B.C., the Romans added, as an 'eleventh Strategia,' to the territory of the kings of Cappadocia (XII. i. 4). From them it was seized, along with the more important town of Laranda, by Antipater the robber (called *ὁ Δερβήτης*), who is otherwise known as a friend of Cicero (*ad Fam.* xiii. 73). Antipater was attacked and slain by Amyntas of Galatia (*c.* 29 B.C.), who added Laranda and Derbe to the extensive territories which he ruled as a Roman subject-king. On the death of Amyntas in 25 B.C. his kingdom was formed into the Roman province of Galatia. But the 'eleventh Strategia' again received special treatment. After changing hands more than once, it was ultimately added—as the inscriptions on coins indicate—to the kingdom of Antiochus IV., and therefore called 'Strategia Antiochiane' (Ptolemy, v. 6), an arrangement which lasted from A.D. 41 to the death of Antiochus in 72. Derbe, however, being required as a fortress city on the Roman frontier, was detached from the Strategia and included in the province of Galatia, after which it received a new constitution, and was named Claudio-Derbe, which was equivalent to Imperial Derbe.

Ethnically and geographically Lycaonian, the city was now politically Galatian. As in Lystra, the educated natives were no doubt bilingual, speaking Lycaonian (*Λυκαονιστί*, Ac 14^{11}) among themselves, but using Greek as the language of commerce and culture. Derbe lay on the great trade-route between Ephesus and Syrian Antioch. All the cities on that line had been hellenized by the Seleucids, whose task the Romans now continued. St. Paul's first visit to Derbe was very successful; he 'made many disciples' (Ac 14^{21}), and the city is not mentioned as one of the places in which he was persecuted (2 Ti 3^{11}). It is a striking fact that he made Derbe the last stage of his missionary progress, instead of going on to the neighbouring and greater city of Laranda. His action appears to be prompted by a motive which the historian does not formally state. Because Derbe was the limit of Roman territory, he made it the limit of his mission. He followed the lines of Empire. In his second journey he evidently crossed the Taurus by the Cilician Gates, passed through the kingdom of Antiochus, and so 'came to Derbe and Lystra' (Ac 15^{41}–16^{1}). A third visit is probably implied by the statement that 'he went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia in order, stablishing all the disciples' (18^{23}). On the Southern Galatian theory, the Christians of Derbe formed one of the 'churches of Galatia' (1 Co 16^{1}, Gal 1^{2}), and they were among the *ἀνόητοι Γαλάται* (Gal 3^{1}) whom he exhorted to stand fast in their Christian liberty (5^{1}). Imperial Derbe stood in closer relations with the Roman colonies of Antioch and Lystra than with the non-Roman Lycaones of the kingdom of Antiochus.

Sterrett (*Wolfe Expedition*, 1888, p. 23) placed Derbe between the villages of Zosta and Bossola on the road from Konia to Laranda. In both of these places there are numerous ancient cut stones and inscriptions, but it is doubtful if they are *in situ*, and W. M. Ramsay thinks that the position of the ancient city is indicated by a large deserted mound, called by the Turks *Gudelissin*, about 3 miles W.N.W. from Zosta. It still waits to be explored.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, pp. 54–56, *The Cities of St. Paul*, 1907, p. 385 ff., *Hist. Com. on Gal.*, 1899, pp. 228–234; W. Smith, *DGRG* i. [1856] 770.

JAMES STRAHAN.

DESCENT INTO HADES.—1. By the Hebrews, Sheol or Hades was regarded as the under world, a subterranean region of abysses and mysterious waters upon which the earth rested (Ps 24^{2} 136^{6}). It was the region to which all souls passed after death, there to live a shadow-like existence, incapable of the higher forms of spiritual activity, such as the praise of Jahweh (Ps 6^{5}). In NT times, a distinction has been drawn between the departments of Sheol inhabited by the good and the bad: 'Paradise' is the resting-place of the righteous and penitent (Lk 23^{43}), while the 'abyss' (*q.v.*) is spoken of as the abode of demons (Lk 8^{31}; cf. Rev 9^{1} 11^{7} 17^{8} 20^{1}).

2. Those who accepted the Jewish cosmogony believed that, at death, every soul passed to this hidden region. The death of Christ involved for Him, as for every son of man, the same journey. To the first disciples, that He 'descended into Hades' would not present itself as an article of faith, or as a matter of revelation; it was implied in the fact of His death. That He went into 'the abyss' does not need argument for St. Paul (Ro 10^{7}; cf. Eph 4^{9} *κατέβη εἰς τὰ κατώτερα μέρη τῆς γῆς*); that His soul was in Hades after the Crucifixion is assumed as a matter of course in Ac 2^{31}. No one in the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic Age would have been impelled by dogmatic considerations to insert the article of the Descent into Hades in the baptismal creed, for it was only another way of saying that Christ died. In the NT, accordingly (with the exception of 1 P 3^{19} 4^{6}), the references to Christ's Descent into the under world are incidental only, introduced to illustrate special points; *e.g.* Ac 2^{31}, that Christ did not remain in Hades; Mt 12^{40}, that the period of His sojourn 'in the heart of the earth' was 'three days and three nights'; Eph 4^{9}, that the Crucified who descended is the Ascended Lord; and Lk 23^{43}, that the penitent thief would be in security with Christ in the unseen life after death. (It is to be observed, however, that Lk 23^{43} is not quoted by the Fathers as illustrating the *Descensus*, some of them—*e.g.* Tertullian—holding that Paradise was not a department of Hades, but distinct from it.)

3. But the question was inevitable: when Christ descended to the under world, what office did He perform there? And in attempting to find an answer to the question as to the consequences and the purpose of Christ's Descent into Sheol, the early Christians naturally betook themselves to the OT and to the forecasts of Messiah's mission which they found therein. Even before speculation began on these points, it had been natural to use OT language when the fact of the *Descensus* was mentioned: thus Ro 10^{7} goes back to Dt 30^{13}, and Ac 2^{31} to Ps 16^{10}. Now the OT suggested a deliverance of the righteous from Sheol, and this thought was destined to be prominent in the development of Christian eschatology.

Sheol, as we have seen, is the abode of the spirits of the departed (Ps 49^{14}), and it is from Sheol, personified as the ruler of this gloomy region, that the righteous Hebrew looked for deliverance. 'God will redeem my soul from the power of Sheol' was his hope (Ps 49^{15}; cf. Ps 30^{3}). The Divine promise was, 'I will ransom them from the power of Sheol' (Hos 13^{14}). 'Because of the blood of the covenant I have brought forth thy prisoners out of the pit wherein is no water' (Zec 9^{11}) is a prophetic forecast.* To St. Paul's thought, the climax of Christ's victory was the conquest of death (1 Co 15^{26}); and it was part of the purpose of His humiliation that in His triumph the powers of the under world should own His sway (Ph 2^{10} *ἵνα πᾶν γόνυ κάμψῃ . . . καταχθονίων*). When it was asked how this subjugation was exhibited, the answer was ready to hand. It was in the deliverance from Satan's bondage of the dead whom

* So it is interpreted by Cyril of Jerusalem (*Cat.* xiii. 34).

he had in thrall in Sheol. Christ has the keys of death and of Hades (Rev 1[18]).

It is possible that some such conception of Messiah's mission to the departed was prevalent in pre-Christian days. Two passages from the *Bereshith Rabba* * are cited as testifying to Jewish belief: 'When they that are bound, they that are in Gehinnom, saw the light of the Messiah, they rejoiced to receive him'; and 'This is that which stands written, We shall rejoice and exult in thee. When? When the captives climb out of hell, and the Shechinah at their head.' But the date of this literature is uncertain, and it may be affected by Christian ideas. At any rate, this conception of the purpose of Christ's *Descensus* is prominent in the earliest Christian documents. Thus in a section of the *Ascension of Isaiah* (ix. 16 f.) assigned by Charles to the close of the 1st cent. we have: 'when he hath plundered the angel of death, he will ascend [*sc.* from Hades] on the third day . . . and many of the righteous will ascend with him' (cf. also x. 8, 14 and xi. 19, 'They crucified him, and he descended to the angel of Sheol'). With this should be compared Mt 27[52. 53], perhaps the earliest suggestion of the thought that the saints were freed from the bondage of Hades by the Descent of Christ.† In a 2nd cent. section of the *Sibylline Oracles* (i. 377) we have: *ὁπόσ' ἂν Ἀΐδωνέος οἶκον | βήσεται ἀγγέλλων ἐπαναστασίην τεθνεώτων*; and again (viii. 310): *ἦξει δ' εἰς Ἀΐδην ἀγγέλλων ἐλπίδα πᾶσιν*. The date of the (Christian) interpolation in the Latin version of Sir 24[45] is not certain, but the words interpolated are significant: 'Penetrabo omnes inferiores partes terrae et inspiciam omnes dormientes, et illuminabo omnes sperantes in Domino.' We have an explicit statement in Origen, who, commenting on Ro 5[14], says: 'Christum vero idcirco in infernum descendisse, non solum ut ipse non teneretur a morte, sed ut et eos, qui inibi non tam praevaricationis crimine, quam moriendi conditione habebantur, abstraheret.'‡ Origen elsewhere interprets the binding of the 'strong man' of Mt 12[29] as a binding of Satan in the under world, and Irenæus gives the same exegesis.§ This is the general view: the express purpose of Christ's Descent to Hades was to liberate the souls who were there in thrall. The apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* works out, in picturesque detail, the story of the 'Harrowing of Hell,' a legend which deeply impressed the consciousness of Christendom. So wide-spread was this belief in the early Christian period that a controversy arose as to whether the souls of Jews or of Gentiles or of both were included in the deliverance wrought by Christ in Hades. Marcion—if Irenæus‖ is to be trusted—held that it was only for the redemption of the wicked heathen of olden time, but Justin¶ and Irenæus** restricted it to the righteous of Israel; while Clement of Alexandria†† and his school included both Jew and Gentile in its grace. We find, then, that, while the NT gives no explicit sanction to this idea of the conquest of the powers of the under world and the deliverance of imprisoned souls by Christ's Descent into Hades, it was firmly established in the 2nd and 3rd cent., and that it grew out of OT phrases about the redemption from Sheol.

5. The idea that Christ *preached* in Hades to the souls who were in bondage there has a somewhat different history. It is found in Ignatius‡‡: 'even the prophets, being His disciples in the spirit, were expecting Him as their teacher, and for this cause, He, whom they rightly awaited, when He came, raised them from the dead.' More explicit is an oracle quoted both by Justin * and by Irenæus† as from Isaiah or Jeremiah, although it is not in the OT, and its source has not been traced: 'The Lord God remembered His dead people of Israel who lay in the graves, and descended to preach to them His own salvation.'‡ In like manner, the apocryphal *Gospel of Peter* (2nd cent.) tells of a voice from heaven which said, 'Thou didst preach to them that sleep' (*ἐκήρυξας τοῖς κοιμωμένοις*). This, according to Clement of Alexandria, who does not countenance the legendary developments of the idea of liberation, was the *sole* purpose of Christ's Descent into Hades, viz. that He should preach the gospel there.§

Of Christ's *preaching* in Hades there is no foreshadowing in the OT, although Clement of Alexandria‖ will have it that Job 28[22] predicts it. But it is plainly stated in 1 P 3[19] 4[6], and the efforts to explain these passages of a preaching of the pre-existent Christ to the patriarchs, or of His mission to the spiritually dead, can only be regarded as after-thoughts of Christology, although they have the authority of Augustine and Aquinas. The words are explicit: *τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασιν πορευθεὶς ἐκήρυξεν . . . νεκροῖς εὐηγγελίσθη*. It is noteworthy, however, that early Christian belief on this point was not founded on these texts. They are not cited in connexion with the *Descensus* by the earliest writers, such as Ignatius, Justin, or Irenæus. Cyprian¶ quotes 1 P 4[6], but he offers no comment upon it; and Clement of Alexandria** is the first to use 1 P 3[19] to illustrate the proclamation of the gospel in Hades. Nothing is said in either passage as to the *effect* of the preaching; there is no suggestion of that triumphant deliverance of souls from Hades, on which the next age loved to dwell. Indeed, 1 P 3[19] does not speak of a preaching to all the spirits of the departed, but only to those of the antediluvian patriarchs; and this limitation, whatever be its precise significance, needs to be kept in mind. It was, perhaps, because of this limitation that the passage was not quoted by the early Christian writers when debating the meaning of the *Descensus*; the doctrine was developing itself in quite a different way.

6. A curious passage in the *Shepherd of Hermas* (*Sim.* ix. 16) throws some light on the primitive Christian conception of the under world. A parable is told of the building of a tower which represents the Church at rest. All the stones which are built into the tower are taken from 'a certain deep place' (*ἐκ βυθοῦ τινός*), *i.e.* the under world. The first tier represents the first generation of men, *i.e.* from Adam to Abraham; the second, those from Abraham to Moses; the third, the prophets and ministers (*sc.* of the Old Covenant); while the fourth tier represents the apostles and teachers of the New Covenant. All alike had 'to rise up through water' that they might be made alive, so that the seal of baptism is needed for all. Now the 'apostles and teachers' differed from the rest in that they had been baptized before they passed into the under world; but when there, 'after they had fallen asleep in the power and faith of the Son of God, they preached also to them that had fallen asleep before them, and themselves gave unto them the seal of the preaching,' *sc.* baptism. Thus Hermas does not speak of a Descent of Christ into Hades, but he finds a mission

* Quoted from Weber by Bigg on 1 P 3[19] (*ICC*, 1901, p. 163).
† So Origen interprets Mt 27[52] as a fulfilment of Ps 68[18] (Lommatzsch, vi. 344).
‡ Lommatzsch, vi. 344.
§ *adv. Hær.* v. xxi. 3.
‖ *ib.* i. xxvii.
¶ *Tryph.* 72.
** *adv. Hær.* iv. xxvii. 2.
†† *Strom.* ii. 9.
‡‡ *ad Magn.* ix.

* *Tryph.* 72.
† *adv. Hær.* iii. xx. 4.
‡ In other passages of Irenæus where this oracle is quoted (iv. xxxiii. 12, v. xxxi. 1) it ends, 'descended to rescue and deliver them,' no mention being made of the *preaching* of Christ in Hades.
§ *Strom.* vi. 6.
‖ *ib.*
¶ *Test.* ii. 27.
** *Strom.* vi. 6.

there for the apostles and teachers of the Christian dispensation, viz. that they might evangelize and baptize the pre-Christian saints, so that they too might become members of the Church. Clement of Alexandria* quotes this passage from Hermas, and adds† that the apostles preached in Hades, *following the Lord*. Probably neither writer had formulated a quite consistent scheme of Christ's mission to the under world. As Clement held that the apostles were *followers* of Christ in Hades, so Origen taught that Christ had *forerunners* there. He held that as the prophets, both those of the OT and John Baptist, were His heralds on earth, so they were His heralds in the under world:‡ *Ἰησοῦς εἰς ᾅδου γέγονε, καὶ οἱ προφῆται πρὸ αὐτοῦ, καὶ προκηρύσσουσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ τὴν ἐπιδημίαν.*

7. The primitive view, so far as it can be collected from Hermas and Ignatius, seems to be correctly expounded by Loofs.§ Christians, since the Redemption wrought by their Master, were not subject to the bondage of Hades after death; from the power of death they had been freed once for all. And what Christ did for the patriarchs in Hades was to place them in a like position to those who had been favoured by His presence on earth. Those who welcomed Him there were delivered from thrall, as all His disciples had already been delivered. This was not held by Tertullian‖ or by Irenæus,¶ but it is definitely stated by Origen**: *ἐὰν ἀπαλλαγῶμεν γενόμενοι καλοὶ καὶ ἀγαθοί . . . οὐ κατελευσόμεθα εἰς τὴν χώραν ὅπου περιέμενον τὸν Χριστὸν οἱ πρὸ τῆς παρουσίας αὐτοῦ κοιμώμενοι.*

This may have been the significance of the *preaching* in Hades, mentioned in 1 P 3^{19} 4^{6}; but it remains obscure why it is limited (at least in the first passage) to the antediluvian sinners, for there is no hint that they are to be taken as typical of all men who lived before Christ's Advent.

8. The Descent into Hades is the topic in several of the recently discovered *Odes of Solomon*, which date from the 2nd century.

These remarkable hymns were first published from the Syriac by Rendel Harris in 1909, and several editions have appeared since in German, French, and English. Opinion is divided as to their date and doctrinal standpoint; but it is not doubtful that the passages here cited are Christian. They may be dated, provisionally, between A.D. 150 and 180.

In *Ode* xxxi. 1 ff. we have a Song of the Victory of Christ in the under world: 'The abysses were dissolved before the Lord: and darkness was destroyed by His appearance: error went astray and perished at His hand: and folly found no path to walk in . . . He opened His mouth and spake grace and joy . . . His face was justified, for thus His holy Father had given to Him. Come forth, ye that have been afflicted and receive joy, and possess your souls by His grace, and take to you immortal life.' And in xlii. 15 ff.: 'Sheol saw me, and was made miserable: Death cast me up and many along with me . . . I made a congregation of living men amongst his dead men, and I spake with them by living lips . . . and those who had died . . . said, Son of God, have pity on us . . . and bring us out from the bonds of darkness; and open to us the door by which we shall come out to thee.'

Here we have the redemption of souls in Hades, and also a preaching by Christ there after His Passion. In these *Odes* there is the earliest appearance of the detailed doctrine of the *Descensus* which is found in the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, and was afterwards universally prevalent in Christian circles. The *Odes* do not appeal directly to Scripture; and the manner in which they allude to the fact and the purpose of the *Descensus* shows that it must have been a familiar Christian idea at the date of their composition.

9. The apocryphal *Gospel of Nicodemus* tells (ii. 10) that John Baptist announced to the patriarchs in Hades that he had baptized the Christ, who would soon come to bring them deliverance. We have already (§ 6) found in Origen the conception of John as the precursor of Christ in the under world; but we have now to notice the remarkable similarity between the language used about the *Descensus* and that used about baptism. Four points in particular may be noted:

(*a*) The Descent was a going down into 'the abyss' (Ro 10^{7}). A text of the OT quoted by Cyril of Jerusalem* as pre-figuring this is Jon $2^{6.7}$, which is in the LXX:

ἄβυσσος ἐκύκλωσέν με ἐσχάτη,
ἕδυ ἡ κεφαλή μου εἰς σχισμὰς ὀρέων,
κατέβην εἰς γῆν ἧς οἱ μοχλοὶ αὐτῆς κάτοχοι αἰώνιοι.

Now in baptism we are 'buried with him' and 'united with him by the likeness of his death' (Ro $6^{4.5}$). The Fathers, *e.g.* Basil,† speak explicitly of our baptism as a reflexion or imitation of Christ's *Descensus*; as a Western Council‡ has it, 'in aquis mersio, quasi in infernum descensio est.'

(*b*) When Christ descended, the keepers of the gates of Hades were scared (cf. Job 38^{17} *πυλωροὶ δὲ ᾅδου ἰδόντες σε ἔπτηξαν*), and the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (ii. 8) speaks of the brazen gates and iron bars being broken (cf. Ps 107^{16}, Is 45^{2}). The powers of the under world were terrified. Now the *Epistle of Barnabas* (§ 11) quotes as predictive of baptism Is 45^{2} 'I will crush gates of brass and break in pieces bolts of iron'; and the same text is alluded to in *Odes of Solomon*, xvii. 9, where again the reference is to baptism. Further, all the Eastern baptismal rites bring in the idea of the waters (the mysterious region where evil spirits dwell) being terrified at the coming of Christ for baptism, quoting Ps 77^{16} 114^{3} 29^{3} as forecasting this. We have the same thing in *Odes of Solomon*, xxiv. 1 and xxxi. 1 f. In some pictorial representations of the Baptism of Christ, Jordan is depicted allegorically as starting away in astonished fear. That is, the terror of the powers of evil is described in the same language, whether the Descent to Hades or Christian baptism is the topic.§

(*c*) The main purpose, as we have seen (§ 3) of the *Descensus* was the release of captive souls. But that baptism is a release from bondage, the bondage of sin, is a commonplace in early Christian literature. Baptism, says Cyril of Jerusalem,‖ is *αἰχμαλώτοις λύτρον* (cf. *Odes of Solomon*, xvii. 11, xxi. 1, xxv. 1, and Ephraim Syrus, *Hymns on the Nativity*, xv. 9: 'Blessed be He who has annulled the bonds').

(*d*) The *Gospel of Nicodemus* describes the passage to Paradise of the saints redeemed from Hades by Christ. It was, again, a familiar thought in early Christian speculation that in baptism we are restored to Paradise, to the state from which Adam fell, the guilt of original sin being annulled (cf. Origen,¶ Cyril of Jerusalem,** Basil,†† and Ephraim,‡‡ who says of the baptized: 'the fruit which Adam tasted not in Paradise, this day in your mouths has been placed.' See also *Odes of Solomon*, xi. 14).

Other illustrations might be given, but these are sufficient to show that what may be called the folklore of the *Descent into Hades* is closely connected with the folklore of baptism. The juxta-

* *Strom* ii. 9. † *ib.* vi. 6.
‡ Hom. *in 1 Sam.* 28[2-25] (Lommatzsch, xi. 326).
§ *ERE* iv. 661. ‖ *de Anima*, 58.
¶ *adv. Hær.* v. xxxi. 2.
** Hom. *in 1 Sam.* 28[2-25] (Lommatzsch, xi. 332).

* *Cat.* xiv. 20. † *de Spiritu Sancto*, xv. 35.
‡ 4th Council of Toledo (633), cap. 6.
§ See Bernard, *Odes of Solomon* (*TS* viii. 3 [1912]), p. 33 f., for a fuller statement and for references in regard to the matter of this section generally.
‖ *Procat.* 16. ¶ *in Gen.* 28. ** *Cat.* i. 4.
†† *Hom.* xiii. 2. ‡‡ *Epiphany Hymns*, xiii. 17.

position of the two thoughts—the ministry of Christ in Hades and the efficacy of baptism—in 1 P 3[19f.] is remarkable, and deserves a closer examination than it has yet received from commentators.

10. The article 'He descended into Hell' does not appear in any Creed until the 4th cent., the Arian Symbol of Sirmium (359) being the first to include it; and it is not included in the baptismal Creed of the Eastern Church to this day. The motive with which it was inserted in the Creeds of the West is not clear; but, whatever the motive was originally, the clause now is useful as testifying to the perfect humanity of Christ, His spirit having passed into the unseen world after death, as the spirits of the departed do. Nor are we just to early Christian tradition, or mindful of the implications of 1 P 3[19] 4[6], if we do not recognize that this *Descensus* must have affected in some way the condition of souls in the unseen world.

LITERATURE.—This is very copious. The artt. 'Descent to Hades (Christ's)' by Loofs in *ERE* and 'Hell (Descent into)' by Burn in *DCG* with the literature there cited are most valuable. A large number of Patristic references will be found in F. Huidekoper, *Christ's Mission to the Underworld*[2], New York, 1876. H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, London, 1894; E. C. S. Gibson, *The Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England*, do. 1896-97; and J. Turmel, *La Descente du Christ aux enfers*, Paris, 1905, give useful summaries. C. Bigg, *Epp. of St. Peter and St. Jude* (*ICC*, 1901), is the fullest English Commentary on the Petrine texts. J. H. BERNARD.

DESERT, WILDERNESS.—The ideas suggested to our minds by the words 'desert' or 'wilderness' differ to a considerable extent from those conveyed to an Oriental by the biblical terms so translated. When we think of a desert we tend to imagine a bare sandy waste, without any vegetation or water, such as the Desert of the Sahara in N. Africa. The 'desert' of the Bible is rather a place without human habitations, devoid of cities or towns, but by no means devoid of vegetation, at least for a considerable portion of the year. Properly speaking, the desert was the place to which the cattle were driven (Heb. מִדְבָּר from דָּבַר 'to drive'), an uncultivated region where pasturage, however scanty, was to be found. Joel, for instance, speaks of the fire having devoured the pastures of the wilderness (1[20]), and of the locusts leaving a desolate wilderness behind them (2[3]). It was in the wilderness that the shepherds tended their flocks, and other forms of life were also to be found there. Thus, *e.g.*, pelicans (Ps 102[6]), wild asses (Jer 2[24]), ostriches (La 4[3]), jackals (Mal 1[3]) had their home in the desert. As the pasture to be found in the wilderness was scanty and insufficient to support a flock of sheep for any length of time, the shepherds had to move from place to place in order to obtain the necessary food for their flocks. The desert was thus the special home of nomadic or wandering tribes, although the name 'desert' or 'wilderness' was applied to the uncultivated tracts of land beyond the bounds of the cultivated area near the towns or villages. Some of the deserts mentioned in Scripture are small, and correspond to the English 'common' or uncultivated pasture ground near a village on which any of the inhabitants could graze their cattle. Thus we read of the Wilderness of Gibeon (2 S 2[24]), of Tekoa (2 Ch 20[20]), of Damascus (1 K 19[15]). On the other hand, many of the wildernesses referred to in the Bible are simply parts of larger deserts. Some of these larger tracts of uncultivated pasture land are, *e.g.*, the Wilderness of Judah (Jg 1[16]), of Moab (Dt 2[8]), of Edom (2 K 3[8]). The Wilderness of Judah included the Wilderness of Ziph, of Tekoa, of Engedi.

The best-known desert of the Bible is the Wilderness of Sinai, where the tribes of Israel wandered before settling in Canaan. God's care for the people in those days of wandering is repeatedly referred to by prophets and psalmists (*e.g.* Hos 13[5], Jer 2[6], Am 2[10], Ps 78[52] 107[4] 136[16]). In the same way the sin and unbelief of the people in the wilderness are mentioned (*e.g.* Ps 78[40] 106[14]), while on the other hand several of the prophets seem to look on the time of the sojourn in the wilderness as the ideal period in the story of Israel's relation to God (*e.g.* Jer 2[2], Am 5[25]).

In the apostolic writings we have several references to 'wilderness' or 'desert.' The terms employed are ἐρημία and ἔρημος, the latter used either as a noun or adjective with τόπος or χώρα or some similar word understood. In the life of our Lord the desert holds an important place. It is the scene of the Temptation, of the feeding of the 5000, of midnight prayer and rest from labour. In the life of St. Paul we have a reference to his sojourn in Arabia (Gal 1[17]) after his conversion, and undoubtedly we are to understand that the Apostle had retired to the desert for meditation. The evangelist Philip is instructed by the Spirit to go to meet the Ethiopian eunuch on the road from Jerusalem to Gaza, and the statement follows, 'which is desert' (Ac 8[26]). If this refers to the road which passed through the desert, there is no difficulty; but the natural application of the words is to Gaza itself, which in the time of Philip was a prosperous town. G. A. Smith (*HGHL*[4], 1897, p. 186 f.) supposes that the reference is to Old Gaza, past which the road ran; but the more likely explanation is that the sentence is a later marginal gloss inserted after Gaza had passed away, and that it at length crept into the text (cf. *HDB* iv. 918[b]). In the Epistle to the Hebrews reference is made to the persecuted followers of Christ 'who wandered in deserts and mountains' (11[38]). Probably this refers to the Jewish Christians of the Holy Land during the great war with Rome and after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The apostolic writings also contain repeated allusions to the wilderness of Israel's wanderings. In the speeches of St. Stephen and St. Paul, as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles, we find the story of the desert sojourn, in the accounts of the history of God's revelation of Himself to mankind (Ac 7[36. 38. 42. 44] 13[18]). St. Paul in 1 Co 10[5] refers to the temptation, sin, and punishment of the people in the wilderness as a warning to Christian believers against giving way to temptation. A similar use of the temptation in the wilderness is made in He 3[8. 17].

In Rev 12[1. 14] 'the woman clothed with the sun' has a place prepared for her in the wilderness, whither she flees from before the dragon, while in 17[3] the seer is carried to the wilderness to see the 'woman sitting upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy.' The thought behind the former reference, of the wilderness as a place of refuge for the woman, may be taken from the history of the Jews who fled from Pharaoh to the wilderness, but there may be no more than the general idea of the wilderness as a place of refuge and concealment, so amply illustrated in the life of David. The idea in the latter instance may be connected with the Jewish conception of the desert as the home of demons or evil spirits (cf. art. DEMON). W. F. BOYD.

DESTRUCTION.—The material is scanty in St. Paul's writings for 'a detailed theory on this most awe-inspiring of all subjects,' and it is proper for us to note 'the "wise Agnosticism" (the phrase is Dr. Orr's in discussing the teaching of Scripture on eternal punishment) of St. Paul with the attempted theories of the Synagogue-theologians' (H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, 1904, pp. 313, 315; cf. also *4 Ezr.* ix. 13, 'Enquire not further how the ungodly are to be

tormented, but rather investigate the manner in which the righteous are to be saved'). But there can be little doubt that the term 'destruction' to St. Paul meant, not annihilation, but a continual existence of some sort in the outer darkness away from God. St. Paul has a group of words for this idea. *ὀργή* (1 Th 1[10], Ro 2[5. 9] 5[9]) is a more general term and applies to the Day of Judgment. *θάνατος* (Ro 6[21. 23] 8[6]) is not the death of the body, which is true of all, but rather the second death of Rev 20[6. 14]. The NT gives no scientific description of death, nor is one possible in the spiritual sphere. The analogy of Nature (see Butler's *Analogy*, ed. Gladstone, 1896, and Drummond's *Natural Law in the Spiritual World*, 1883) does not make annihilation necessary. The words *φθείρω* and *φθορά* (Gal 6[8], 2 P 2[12]) have the notion of corruption. Note the contrast in 1 Co 15[42] between *ἐν φθορᾷ* and *ἐν ἀφθαρσίᾳ*. St. Paul uses *φθείρω* in 1 Co 3[17] for the punishment of one who destroys (*φθείρω*) the Temple of God. In Ro 3[16] destruction (*σύντριμμα*) and misery (*ταλαιπωρία*) are coupled together for the ways of the sinful. But the chief words for the idea of destruction of the unbelieving are *ἀπώλεια* (*ἀπολλύω*) and *ὄλεθρος*, both from *ὄλλυμι*, 'to destroy.' In Rev 9[11] *ὁ Ἀπολλύων*, the destroyer, is the title of Satan. The use of *ἀπό* in *ἀπόλλυμι* and *ἀπώλεια* is perfective, and in Greek literature generally the terms mean 'destruction.' This fact is used by the advocates of conditional immortality in favour of the doctrine of the annihilation of the wicked, but it is by no means clear that the words connote extinction of consciousness. Least of all is this true of the LXX use of the words. In 2 P 3[7] *ἀπώλεια* is used for the Day of Judgment and punishment of the wicked, which implies life after death. In Ph 1[28] the word is in opposition to *σωτηρία*, in He 10[39] it is opposed to *περιποίησις τῆς ψυχῆς* (see also Ja 4[12], Jude[5], 1 Co 1[19] 10[9] 15[18], 2 Co 2[15f.] 4[3], Ro 2[12], Ph 3[19], Rev 17[8. 11]). There seems no good reason for reading into the context the notion of annihilation of the soul, for that was probably an idea wholly foreign to St. Paul. The term *ὄλεθρος* meets us in 1 Th 5[3], 2 Th 1[9], 1 Ti 6[9] (*εἰς ὄλεθρον καὶ ἀπώλειαν*). In 2 Th 1[9] we have *τίσουσιν ὄλεθρον αἰώνιον*, which is the only passage that makes a statement about the duration of the destruction of the wicked. Aristotle (*de Cœlo*, i. 9, 15) defines *αἰών* as the limit (*τὸ τέλος*) either of a man's epoch or the limit of all things (eternity). The word does not in itself denote eternity, but it lends itself readily to that idea. The context in 2 Th 1[9] makes the notion of finality or eternity necessary (Milligan, *Thess.*, 1908, *ad loc.*). The word *ὄλεθρος* denotes hopeless ruin (cf. Beet, *The Last Things*, ed. 1905, p. 122 ff.). In 4 Mac 10[15] we have *τὸν αἰώνιον τοῦ τυράννου ὄλεθρον* in contrast with *τὸν ἀοίδιμον τῶν εὐσεβῶν βίον* (cf. Milligan, *op. cit.* p. 65). St. Paul's natural meaning is the ruin of the wicked, which goes on for ever. It is a dark subject from any point of view, but eternal sinning seems to call for eternal punishing. See also artt. on LIFE AND DEATH, PUNISHMENT, and PERDITION.

A. T. ROBERTSON.

DEVIL (*διάβολος*).—In this article the conception of the Evil One in the apostolic writings and of the various names used to describe him will be considered; for the passages in EV where 'devil' represents *δαιμόνιον* see DEMON.

1. The name διάβολος.—(*a*) It is used as a common noun or as an adjective to denote 'a slanderer' or 'slanderous' (NT in Pastoral Epistles only), as in 1 Ti 3[11] (women not to be slanderers), 2 Ti 3[3], Tit 2[3]; and so in LXX of Haman (Est 7[4] 8[1]; Heb. צָר, Vulg. *hostis* and *adversarius*). The corresponding verb is used of accusation, where the charge is not necessarily false, as in Lk 16[1] (*διεβλήθη*) of the unjust steward, though probably a secret enmity is inferred; and Papias (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* III. xxxix. 16) uses the verb (unless it is Eusebius' paraphrase) with reference to the 'woman accused of many sins before the Lord.' It is noteworthy in this connexion that the devil's accusations against man, though undoubtedly hostile, are not always untrue.

(*b*) As a proper name *διάβολος* is constantly used in the NT, usually with the article, but occasionally it is anarthrous (Ac 13[10], 1 P 5[8], Rev 12[9] 20[2]). It is explicitly identified in Rev 12[9] 20[2] with the Heb. name **Satan**, and, like that name, it is not used in the NT in the plur. (except in the primary sense of 'slanderer' as above), and is not applied to Satan's angels, as we apply the word 'devils' to them. It is curious that we never in English use 'Devil' as a proper name without the article, while we always use 'Satan' in this way. Hence the title does not convey to our ears quite the same idea as it conveyed to the Jews. Conversely we should do well if we did not *always* treat 'Christ' as a proper name, but sometimes used it as a title or attribute, 'the Christ,' as occasionally in RV (*e.g.* Lk 24[26]). In the OT 'Satan' (from שָׂטַן, 'to hate,' 'to be an enemy to,' the root idea being the enmity between the serpent and the seed of the woman, Gn 3[15]) is generally used with the article, הַשָּׂטָן, as denoting *the* adversary: in 1 K 5[4] it is used without the article, as denoting any adversary (LXX *ἐπίβουλος*, Vulg. *Satan*). The name 'Satan,' however, had not been transliterated into Greek till shortly before the Christian era, for we never find it so rendered in the LXX, but always *ὁ διάβολος*. The latter is used as a proper name in the LXX of Job 1[6], Zec 3[1] (Vulg. *Satan*), and Wis 2[24] (Vulg. *Diabolus*); and so often in the NT. There we have, as frequently, *ὁ Σατανᾶς*, almost always with an article, but in 2 Co 12[7] we have *Σατᾶν* or *Σατανᾶ* without the article; some cursives in Rev 20[2] have *Σατανᾶς* anarthrous. The transliteration 'Satan' is found 34 times in the NT, of which 14 cases are in the Gospels.

(*c*) We find in the apostolic writings some paraphrases of the name 'Satan.' 'The Evil One' (*ὁ πονηρός*) is used in Eph 6[16], 1 Jn 2[13f.] 3[12] 5[18f.]; this designation is also found 5 times in the Gospels, and, in addition, probably in the last clause of the Lord's Prayer. In the Apocalypse 'the dragon' is frequently used as a synonym for Satan, *ὁ δράκων* probably meaning 'the sharp-seeing one,' from *δέρκομαι*.* It is used in Rev 12[3ff.] 13[2. 4. 11] 16[13] 20[2] as denoting a large serpent (as in classical Greek), explicitly identified with the 'old serpent' of Gn 3 in Rev 12[9] 20[2]. This identification is perhaps implied in Ro 16[20], 2 Co 11[3] (cf. Wis 2[24]). Satan is also called 'the Accuser' and 'the Destroyer' (see below, § 2). For other names see ADVERSARY, AIR, BELIAL.

2. Apostolic doctrine about the devil or Satan.—The apostles, like their Jewish contemporaries, taught that Satan was a personal being, the prince of evil spirits or demons (Rev 12[7. 9], Eph 2[2]; cf. Mt 25[41], Mk 3[22], but the name 'Beelzebub' is not found in the NT outside the Gospels), and therefore one of the 'angels which kept not their own principality' (Jude[6], 2 P 2[4]). In accordance with the conception of Wis 2[24], that his malignity towards man is caused by envy (for Jewish ideas see Edersheim, *LT*[4], 1887, i. 165), he is represented as pre-eminently the adversary of man (1 P 5[8]), and as accusing him to God (Rev 12[10] *κατήγορος* or *κατήγωρ*; the reference seems to be to Job and Joshua the high priest). He has power in this world, though only for a while (Rev 12[12]), and therefore is called the 'god of this world' or 'age'

* The word *δράκων* in the LXX renders three Hebrew words: תַּנִּין, *tannin* (Job 7[12]), שָׁחַל, *nāḥāsh* (Job 26[13]), לִוְיָתָן, *livyāthān* (Job 40[25]).

(*αἰών*) who 'hath blinded the thoughts (*νοήματα*) of the unbelieving' (2 Co 4^4; cf. Jn 14^{30} 16^{11} 'the prince of the [this] world'). This 'power of Satan' is contrasted with 'God' as 'darkness' with 'light' in the heavenly vision at St. Paul's conversion (Ac 26^{18}). 'The devil' has 'the power of death' (He 2^{14}), not that he can inflict death at will, but that death entered into the world through sin (Ro 5^{12}) at his instigation (Wis 2^{24}). As Westcott remarks (on He 2^{14}), death as death is no part of the Divine order, but is the devil's realm; he makes it subservient to his end. He must, therefore, almost certainly be identified with 'the Destroyer' who appears as Apollyon (*ἀπολλύων*) or Abaddon (אֲבַדּוֹן, lit. 'destruction'; see ABADDON) in Rev 9^{11}, the king of the locusts who has power to injure men for five months—the name is akin to 'Asmodaeus' of To 3^8 (אַשְׁמְדַאי, from שָׁמַד, 'to destroy'), but not with the 'Destroyer' of 1 Co 10^{10} (see ANGELS, 5 (*b*)).

The devil uses his power to seduce man to sin; he tempts Ananias to lie to the Holy Ghost (Ac 5^3); he deceives the whole world (Rev 12^9 $20^{8.10}$); he is pre-eminently 'the tempter' (1 Th 3^5, 1 Co 7^5); he tempts with wiles and devices and snares (Eph 6^{11}, 2 Co 2^{11}, 1 Ti 3^7, 2 Ti 2^{26}); he uses evil men as his instruments or ministers, who 'fashion themselves as ministers of righteousness' even as he 'fashioned himself into an angel of light' (2 Co $11^{14ff.}$). A passage in the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 3^6) suggests that the fundamental temptation with which Satan seduces men is pride. The Christian *ἐπίσκοπος* must not be puffed up with pride lest he fall into the condemnation (*κρίμα*) into which the devil fell (*i.e.* when cast out of heaven; this seems to be the most probable interpretation, not 'the judgment wrought by the devil'; cf. Jn 16^{11} 'the prince of this world hath been judged,' *κέκριται*). Satan is far from being omnipotent; man can resist him, and he will flee (Ja 4^7); man must not 'give place to' him, *i.e.* not give him scope to work (Eph 4^{27}). Not that man can resist by his own strength, but only by the indwelling power of the Holy Spirit, who helps his infirmity (Ro 8^{26}, 1 Co 3^{16}, and in St. Paul's Epistles *passim*; cf. Mt 12^{28}); the Holy Spirit is man's Helper or Paraclete against the Evil Spirit.

The devil is described as instigating opposition to Christian work* and persecution; whether by blinding the minds (lit. thoughts) of the unbelieving (2 Co 4^4), or directly by suggesting opposition, as when he 'hindered' St. Paul's return to Thessalonica (1 Th 2^{18}), perhaps (as Ramsay thinks [*St. Paul*, 1895, p. 230 f.]) by putting into the minds of the politarchs the idea of exacting security for the leading Christians of that city (Ac 17^9). Similarly in Rev 2^{10} the devil is said to be about to cast some of the Smyrnaean Christians into prison; and Pergamum, the centre of the Emperor-worship which led to the persecution described in the Apocalypse, is called Satan's throne (2^{13}). No phrase marks more clearly than this the difference of attitude towards the Roman official world between the Seer on the one hand and St. Paul and St. Luke on the other, or (as it seems to the present writer) the interval between the dates of writing. The Seer looks on the Emperor and his officials as closely allied with Satan, while St. Paul and St. Luke look upon them as Christ's instruments (Ro 13^4, etc.; and note the statements about Roman officials in Acts). In close connexion with the above passages, the persecuting Jews are called a 'synagogue of Satan' (Rev 2^9 3^9).

3. The conflict with Satan.—Michael and his good angels are represented as at war in heaven with the devil and his angels (Rev 12^7) as a direct result of the spiritual travail of the Christian Church (vv.$^{2-6}$). Satan is cast down to the earth and persecutes the Church (v.^{13}). But he is bound by the angel for a thousand years, *i.e.* for a long period, and cast into the abyss that he may no longer deceive ($20^{2f.}$). This period of binding synchronizes with Christ's reign of a thousand years (see v.^{7}), when the triumph is shared by the martyrs (vv.$^{4-6}$); this is the 'first resurrection,' and is best interpreted as taking place in the present life, and as referring to the cessation of the persecution, which was to last for a comparatively short time—3½ days ($11^{9.11}$) as compared with 1000 years ($20^{2.4}$), and to the establishment of a dominant Christianity. But the reign of Christ is not said to be 'on earth.' The reign of the martyrs was not to be an earthly one; they 'would live and reign with Christ as kings and priests in the hearts of all succeeding generations of Christians, while their work bore fruit in the subjection of the civilized world to the obedience of the faith. . . . The age of the martyrs, however long it might last, would be followed by a far longer period of Christian supremacy' (Swete, extending and adapting Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, xx. 7 ff.). In other words, Satan's power for evil now is not to be compared with his power at the beginning of our era. This conception of an anticipatory victory over Satan may be compared with Ro 16^{20}, 1 Jn 3^8 5^{18}.

After the thousand years the devil will be released (Rev 20^3); there will be a great activity of all the powers of evil before the Last Day; but he will be finally overthrown (v.^{10}), and Christ's triumph will be complete. This is the great message of the Apocalypse. The struggle between the Church and the World will end in Satan being vanquished for ever.

4. Satan dwelling in men.—This subject is considered in art. DEMON; but certain NT phrases may be noticed here.

(*a*) Wicked men are called 'children of the devil' (Ac 13^{10}, Elymas; 1 Jn 3^{10}); and in Rev 2^{24} the 'mysteries' of the false teachers at Thyatira are called 'the deep things of Satan, as they say,' as opposed to the 'deep things of God' of which St. Paul speaks (1 Co 2^{10}; cf. Ro 11^{33}, Eph 3^{18}); *i.e.* 'the deep things as they call them, but they are the deep things of Satan.' In these wicked men and teachers Satan is conceived as dwelling; but pre-eminently he dwells in the man who is his representative, and who is endowed with his attributes, 'the lawless one' (Antichrist) who works false miracles and has his Parousia even as Christ has (2 Th 2^9, where see Milligan's note).

(*b*) *Delivering unto Satan.*—This phrase is found in 1 Co $5^{4f.}$ and 1 Ti 1^{20}, and is perhaps based on Job 1^{12} 2^6, where the patriarch is delivered to Satan to be tried by suffering. In St. Paul the phrase seems to denote excommunication, the excommunicate becoming a dwelling-place for the Evil One. It is, indeed, thought by some that the phrase 'destruction of the flesh' in 1 Co 5^5 means the infliction of death, as in the case of Ananias and Sapphira (Alford, Goudge, etc.). But in 1 Tim. death cannot be intended, for the object of the discipline is that the offender may be taught not to blaspheme; and in 1 Cor. the balance of probability perhaps lies with the opinion that the offender is the same as the man who was received back into communion in 2 Co 2^7 7^{12} (for the contrary view see A. Menzies, *Second Corinthians*, London, 1912, p. xvii ff.). Ramsay thinks that the phrase was an adaptation of a pagan idea in which the punishment of an offender is left to the gods. Undoubtedly excommunication in the early Church was a severe penalty; bodily sufferings are not impossibly referred to, for these are attributed to Satan in the NT (Lk 13^{16}, the woman whom Satan

* In this sense Peter is called 'Satan' in Mt 16^{23}.

had bound), and St. Paul calls his 'stake in the flesh,' whatever form of suffering that might have been, 'a messenger of Satan to buffet me' (2 Co 12⁷). Yet this discipline is intended to bring about repentance, 'that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.'

LITERATURE.—H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1900, p. 142 ff. (esp. p. 170 f.); E. B. Redlich, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913, index, *s.v.* 'Satan'; A. Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood*, 1913, pp. 57, 267 ff.; T. J. Hardy, *The Religious Instinct*, 1913, p. 151 ff.; T. Haering, *The Christian Faith*, Eng. tr., 1913, i. 481 f. See art. DEMON. For the Apocalypse passages see especially H. B. Swete's admirable Commentary, London, 1906.

A. J. MACLEAN.

DIADEM.—See CROWN.

DIANA.—The use of the name 'Diana' in Ac 19 (AV and RV) to indicate the Ephesian goddess is probably due to the influence of the Latin Vulgate. From a very early time the Romans used the Italian names of their own divinities to indicate also Greek divinities whose characteristics were analogous to those of their own. It was thus that the Greek maiden huntress-goddess Artemis was early equated with the Latin goddess Diana, maiden and huntress. (In the earliest Roman period Diana and Ianus [=Dianus] are male and female divinities corresponding to one another.) But the Artemis of Ephesus is a divinity entirely different in character from the ordinary Greek Artemis; and that such a goddess should come to be represented in English by the name Diana is almost ridiculous.

The goddess of Ephesus, called Artemis by the Greeks, was a divinity of a type wide-spread throughout Anatolia and the East generally (cf., for instance, ch. iii. in Ramsay's *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895). She represented the reproductive power of the human race. The Oriental mind was from early ages powerfully impressed by this, the greatest of all human faculties, and worshipped it, now under the male form, now under the female. There are still in India, for instance, survivals of phallic worship. The Artemis of Ephesus was represented in art as *multimammia*, covered with breasts. The worship of such divine reproductive power naturally lent itself in practice to disgusting excesses. Instead of being kept on a spiritual level, it was continually made the excuse for brutalizing and enervating practices—prostitution, incest, etc.

The origin of the name 'Artemis' is veiled in obscurity, and the attempts of both ancients and moderns to derive the word have been unsuccessful; the best suggestion is that of Ed. Meyer, that the word is cognate with ἀραμεύς, ἄραμος, ἀραμεῖν, and means 'the female butcher.' This would suit certain early aspects of the cult very well. But it is as a Nature-goddess that we find the most wide-spread worship of Artemis in the earliest days of which we have any knowledge. She was worshipped on mountains and in valleys, in woods and by streams. Her working and her power were recognized in all life, plant and animal, as beneficent in their birth and growth, as signs of wrath in their destruction and death. With her is sometimes united a male counterpart. She is in any case wife and mother; she nourishes the young, aids women in childbirth, and sets bounds to their life. Afterwards various developments in this original conception take place. The wife and mother element, with the growth of the Apollo legend, both Apollo and Artemis being children of Leto, retires into the background, and Artemis becomes a maiden goddess. She also becomes the goddess of seafaring men, and is patroness of all places and things connected with them. In Homer she appears mainly as the goddess of death of the old Nature religion. From the 5th cent. onwards we meet her as goddess of the moon, while Apollo is god of the sun. On the boundaries of the Greek world her cult is associated with the barbarous ceremonies of other divinities recognized as related.

The most important aspects of the Artemis cult for the NT are naturally those connected with the life of Nature, but the whole idea of Artemis must be sketched as briefly as possible. Various trees are sacred to her. Moisture as fertilizing them is sacred to her—lakes, marshes, and rivers. She is thus also a goddess of agriculture. Her beneficence causes the crops to grow, and she destroys opposing forces; whence offerings of crops are made to her. Of all seasons she loves spring best. She is mistress of the world of wild animals, such as bears, lions, wolves, and panthers, and also of birds and fish. Out of this conception the huntress idea would naturally develop. And it seems that it was in connexion with this that the idea of the goddess as a virgin arose. She was also the protectress of cattle. Further, she was reverenced as the guardian of young people, and to her maidens made offering of the toys, etc., of their childhood. Among her other attributes was that of goddess of childbirth, goddess of women in general, especially goddess of death (particularly for women), and as such she demanded human sacrifice. She was a goddess of war, of the sea, of roads, of markets and trade, of government, of healing, protectress from danger, guardian of oaths (by her women were accustomed to swear), goddess of maidenhood, of beauty, of dancing and music. Finally she was a moon-goddess.

The Ephesian cult was in its origin non-Greek. The application of the name Artemis to a goddess of the characteristics of the Ephesian divinity shows that this identification must have been made in very early times, before any idea of virginity attached to the goddess among the Greeks. The cult of the Ephesian goddess remained Oriental, and she was never regarded as virgin. Her temple was a vast institution, with countless priests, priestesses, and temple-servants. The priests were eunuchs, and were called μεγάβυζοι; there was one high priest. The goddess was also served by three grades of priestesses, called μελλιέραι, ἱεραί, and παριέραι; at the head of these was a high priestess. Under the dominion of these priests and priestesses there was a large number of temple-slaves of both sexes. The cult was wild and orgiastic in its character. As a result of partial hellenization two developments took place. First, the worship of Apollo was sometimes associated with that of his Greek sister. Second, games were established on the Greek model, called Ἀρτεμίσια or Οἰκουμενικά, and were held annually in the month Artemision (=April).

The Ephesian cult of Artemis was by no means confined to Ephesus. The statement of Acts (19²⁷), 'whom all Asia and the Roman world worship,' was no exaggeration. Evidence of this cult has been found in numerous cities of Asia Minor as well as in the following places further afield: Autun, Marseilles, Rhone Mouth (France), Emporiæ, Hemeroscopeum, Rhode (Spain), Epidaurus, Megalopolis, Corinth, Scillus (Greece), Neapolis (Samaria), Panticapæum (Crimea), Rome, and Syria. The Ephesians were proud of the goddess not only because she was theirs, but because her worship brought countless visitors from every part of the Empire. This of course was also good for trade, so that religion and self-interest went hand in hand. The account in Acts (19²³ff.) illustrates most vividly the enthusiasm which can be aroused when religious fanaticism and commercial greed are in tune. The manufacture of offerings to the goddess brought in extensive profit to the makers. St. Paul's preaching, which appealed to the better educated classes, drew many away from the coarse

and barbarous cult of Artemis. The demand for offerings decreased; hence the meeting and the riot. The air rang with shouts of 'Great Ephesian Artemis!'

Ephesians prized very greatly the honorary title of *νεωκόρος*, temple-keeper (*lit.* 'temple-sweeper') of the great Artemis and of her image which fell down from the sky (Ac 19[35]). This image was doubtless a meteoric stone of crude shape like the Palladium preserved at Rome.

It was in Ephesus (*q.v.*) that the Artemis worship was at length Christianized in the middle of the 5th cent. by the substitution of the Mother of God (*θεοτόκος*). This was the beginning of Mariolatry.

LITERATURE.—On Anatolian religion, see **W. M. Ramsay's** art. 'Religion of Greece and Asia Minor' in *HDB*, vol. v., and ch. iii. of his *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, Oxford, 1895; on Artemis, see **L. R. Farnell**, *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. ii., Oxford, 1896, pp. 425–486; Schreiber, 'Artemis,' in Roscher's *Lexikon der Mythologie*; and **Wernicke** in Pauly-Wissowa, to the last of which the present writer is particularly indebted.

A. SOUTER.

DIASPORA.—See DISPERSION.

DIDACHE.—1. Discovery.—That at one time a book called the *Teaching* or *Teachings of the Apostles* had an extensive circulation in Christian circles had long been evident before the actual discovery of any MS. The nature of this book, so highly esteemed in certain quarters, was a matter of conjecture. It was thought by some to be another name for the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Others, like Archbishop Ussher, were certain that it must be a much shorter document, omitting much of that later compilation. It came to be recognized that behind the whole development of works like the *Apostolic Church Ordinance*, and the *Apostolic Constitutions and Canons* there must be a common original. A brilliant attempt at reconstruction was made by Krawutzscky (*Theol. Quartalschrift*, iii. [1882] pp. 359–445), who, from the matter common to these two works, framed a document which anticipated with wonderful accuracy the first part of the *Didache*, but which he called, after Rufinus, *Duæ Viæ vel Judicium Petri*.

At the time when this was published, a MS of the *Didache* had already been discovered in the library of the Jerusalem monastery in the Phanar or Greek quarter of Constantinople, and was given to the world in the end of 1883 by its discoverer, Philotheus Bryennios, the Metropolitan of Nicomedia. The MS belongs to the 11th century. It contains, besides the *Didache*, six other early writings or groups of writings, beginning with Chrysostom's *Synopsis of the Old and New Testaments*, and including the *Epistle of Barnabas* and the *Epistles* of Clement of Rome. At its close the scribe has appended a note to the effect that it was finished 'by the hand of Leo, notary and sinner,' in A.M. 6564, *i.e.* A.D. 1056.

No other book of primitive Christianity outside the NT has found so many and such industrious editors. This MS is still the only one known of the whole *Didache*, but in Harnack's edition (*TU* ii. 1, 2 [1884]) von Gebhardt draws attention to a Latin fragment from a MS of the 10th cent., formerly in the convent library of Melk, which, even in its brevity, has one marked difference from our *Didache*, to be referred to later. Then in 1900, J. Schlecht published from a Munich MS of the 11th cent. an old Latin version (*Doctrina XII. Apostolorum*, Freiburg i. B., 1900), co-extensive with the first six chapters of the *Didache*, containing, among other variations, the same noteworthy omission. These are the texts on which all present investigation must rest.

The re-discovery of the *Didache* created a great sensation, and it was hailed as a most important find. It was seen to fill a gap between the Apostolic Church and the Church of the 2nd cent., in matters of worship, ministry, and doctrine.

'Until the discovery of the *Didaché*,' says Sanday (*Expositor*, 3rd ser. v. [1887] 106), 'there were certain phenomena of the Apostolic age which hung as it were in the air. They were like threads cut off abruptly of which we saw the beginning, but neither middle nor end. It is just these phenomena that the *Didaché* takes up, brings them again to our sight, and connects them with the course of subsequent history.'

It was seen to be the actual forerunner of a whole series of later works in the East. It differs from its successors in that it does not claim direct apostolic inspiration; it is simply the summary of what its author conceived to be the teaching of the apostles.

'It is anonymous, but not pseudonymous; post-Apostolic, but not pseudo-Apostolic' (Schaff, *Oldest Church Manual*[3], New York, 1889, p. 14).

2. Contents.—The *Didache* is not a long document. It is about the same size as the Epistle to the Galatians. In the MS it is not divided; but there is now a standard division into chapters and verses, which is followed in this discussion. This division is quite satisfactory save at one point—xi. 1, 2 ought to belong to ch. x.

The *Didache* may be divided into two main parts, the latter containing three sections, thus:

I. Chs. i.–vi. Pre-baptismal moral teaching.
II. Chs. vii.–xvi. General instructions to the Christian community concerning:
(*a*) Rites (vii.–xi. 2).
(*b*) Office-bearers (xi. 3–xv.).
(*c*) The Last Things and the duty of watchfulness (xvi.).

At the head of the MS appears the title, 'The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles' (Διδαχὴ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων). The first part opens with a sub-title which runs continuously with the text (see facsimile in Schaff or Rendel Harris). The sub-title is 'The Teaching of the Lord by the Twelve Apostles to the Gentiles' (Διδαχὴ Κυρίου διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ἀποστόλων τοῖς ἔθνεσιν).

This sub-title was either the original title of the whole work, the present title being an abbreviation (in which case the word *ἔθνεσιν* refers to Gentile Christians) or, as is just possible from its position in the MS, it was originally the title of a shorter work corresponding in length to the Latin Version, in which case *ἔθνεσιν* means 'those not yet received within the Christian fold,' and indicates that the work contains the moral teaching given to those who are still outside the Church—the candidates for baptism.

The first part consists of a delineation of the Two Ways—the Way of Life and the Way of Death. The Way of Life consists in obedience to three commandments: (*a*) Love to God, (*b*) Love to one's fellow-men, and (*c*) the Golden Rule in its negative form. The Way of Life is set forth not as a logical development of these three in turn, but first positively, and then negatively. The positive development (i. 3–6) consists mainly of extracts from the Sermon on the Mount. The negative begins with a prohibition of gross sins (ii.); it proceeds, after the manner of a Jewish 'fence to the Law,' to a warning against subtler forms which lead on to the grosser (iii.); it concludes with the inculcation of duties necessary for a true life in the Church and in the household (iv.). The Way of Death is delineated in a list of sins and sinners (v.). The moral instruction ends with a warning against going astray from 'this Way of the Teaching,' and the injunction to follow it as far as possible. This part, unlike the rest of the book, is addressed to an individual, the connecting link between it and the other part addressed to the community being the words: 'Having first taught all these things, baptize ye.'

The second part begins with (*a*) instructions as to the baptism which is to follow this moral instruction of the catechumen (vii.); fasting and its days; prayer, its times and its form, the Lord's Prayer (viii.); the Eucharist and the common meal

associated with it, together with forms of prayer (ix. and x.). It is added, however, that the prophets are to be left free in prayer. The mention of the prophets leads on to the next section, but first of all there is a more direct connecting link in the injunction to receive all who come teaching 'all these things aforesaid.' (*b*) The section on the Christian ministry deals first with the apostles and their reception as they pass on their way to their fields of labour (xi. 3–6), then at greater length with the prophets (xi. 7, xii.), who were evidently more familiar visitants. Commonly they were itinerant, but they might be settled in one community. Simple tests of character are given, for there is the constant danger of being deceived by a pretended prophet. The itinerant prophet suggests the hospitality to be given to way-faring Christians (xii.). The settled prophet suggests the disposal of first-fruits (xiii.), as also regulations for the Lord's Day and the Eucharist (xiv.). The local ministry of bishops and deacons is dealt with in a short chapter (xv.) which closes this section on the office-bearers of the Church. (*c*) The last section (xvi.) counsels watchfulness and preparedness in view of the approaching end. Signs of the end are enumerated, and 'then shall the world see the Lord coming upon the clouds of heaven.' With these words the *Didache* comes to a conclusion.

3. Sources.—To begin with express quotations, there are two from the OT (xiv. 3=Mal $1^{11.\ 14}$, xvi. 7=Zec 14^{5}), two from the NT (viii. 2=Mt $6^{5ff.}$, ix. 5=Mt 7^{6}), and one probably from some unknown apocryphal book (i. 6). There are, besides, three separate references to what our Lord has commanded in the gospel (xi. 3, xv. 3, 4). Apart from express quotations, reminiscences of the OT are clear, especially in the first six chapters, and the same applies to the OT Apocrypha (Sirach and Tobit). Direct borrowings from the NT are even more numerous. Harnack (*op. cit.* pp. 70–76) has tabulated 23, and of these 17 are from Matthew. (For full list of actual parallels with the NT see Schaff, *op. cit.* pp. 82–95.) Certain features point to acquaintance with Luke—*e.g.* the form of the quotations from the Sermon on the Mount in i. 3–5, and the order of cup and bread in ix. 2. 3—but there is no conclusive proof that Luke was actually used. Mark seems to be unused. The case of John is doubtful. There are resemblances to Jn 6 and 17 in the Eucharistic prayers, the most remarkable being the use of the formula 'Holy Father' (πάτερ ἅγιε, x. 2=Jn 17^{11}). So many and so subtle are the parallels, that acquaintance with John must be admitted, or else it must be supposed that the *Didache*, or at least its liturgical forms, originated in a Johannine *milieu*. The canonical Gospel of Matthew seems the chief source for our author's knowledge of the teaching of the Lord, but alongside this written Gospel he was familiar with phrases from the oral tradition. On the question of the use of St. Paul's Epistles, almost every intermediate position has been occupied between that of Harnack (1884), who could find no single clear trace of their use, and that of Armitage Robinson (*JThSt* xiii. [1912] 350), who regards the writer as intimately acquainted with 1 Corinthians: 'he has imitated its sub-divisions, borrowed its words and phrases, and modified its thoughts to suit his own purposes.' There are certainly traces, but they are few in number. His debt to St. Paul is not great. Much more marked is his debt to Jewish writings. The work has been called 'a sort of Church Catechism intensely Jewish' (*Westminster Review*, Jan. 1885, p. 206). Apart from i. 3–5 there is little that is specifically Christian in the first part, and nearly all of it has its parallels in purely Jewish literature. For this section there has been posited as source a Jewish proselyte catechism of the 'Two Ways,' and parallels and borrowings are not wanting in the later portions of the *Didache* as well (cf. C. Taylor, *The Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, with Illustrations from the Talmud*, Cambridge, 1886).

4. Integrity.—There is no doubt that the *Didache* as we have it in the Constantinople MS reads like a unity. Its parts are closely knit together and follow an orderly development. That the primal *Didache* was co-extensive with our text, with perhaps a few omissions and some textual variations, seems an almost certain inference. But the two facts, that the Latin of Schlecht (L) contains only the first part with no sign of being unfinished, but, on the contrary, with a conclusion of its own, and that certain apparently dependent writings seem to have known these chapters only, suggest that the *Didache* did once actually exist in such a shorter form. The two main questions which emerge whenever the integrity of the fuller *Didache* is discussed arise in this way. Ever since Taylor pointed out the numerous Jewish parallels, and even before that, the theory of its dependence on a Jewish proselyte catechism of the Two Ways has been advanced and defended. The discovery of L seems to confirm this. Was there ever, then, such a Jewish catechism? And was it purely a catechism of the Two Ways, or did it contain further material? The case for a Jewish original seems proved. It was natural that Christians reared in Judaism, familiar with Jewish missionary propaganda and methods of instructing converts, should take over and use the forms which they had seen observed in the reception of proselytes, and the *Didache* bears many a trace of being such a Jewish document worked over in the Christian interest. Was this written or oral *catechesis* of Judaism co-extensive with chs. i.–vi., or are we to look for a larger document having matter parallel with some parts of chs. vii.–xvi.? It was surely to be expected that any such instruction should contain, besides moral precepts, teaching in regard to the ceremonial and legal requirements of Judaism—circumcision, the Sabbath, foods, first-fruits, fasts, prayers, festivals, and so forth. And when we find phenomena such as these—the Christian fasts and prayers carefully differentiated from the fasts and prayers of the 'hypocrites' (viii. 1, 2); the weekly day of worship, called the Lord's Day of the Lord (κυριακὴ κυρίου, xiv. 1), corresponding to the 'Sabbath of the Lord' (Lv 23^{3}), instructions for the disposal of first-fruits (xiii. 3–7) obviously dependent on, and contrasted with, Jewish customs—then it seems almost a certainty that the Jewish source did contain matter corresponding in some measure to the later chapters of our *Didache*. Further, in view of the eschatological interest of contemporary Jewish thought, it would be natural that such a manual should contain an eschatological section parallel with ch. xvi.

But if there was, as seems natural, and appears to be a justifiable inference from the phenomena of the text, a Jewish *catechesis*, oral or written, corresponding to the material in both parts of the *Didache*, it seems to follow that the first form of the *Didache* was not the truncated form of L, but the fuller form of the Constantinople MS; in a word, that chs. vii.–xvi. belong to the primal document. We have, then, to regard L as an abbreviation. But is this credible? How could any Christian writer abbreviate in the manner in which this has been done? It is easy to explain the omission of chs. vii.–xvi. If L belongs to the 4th cent., as Schlecht himself maintained, there would be at least two factors in the omission: (1) Church conditions did not at all correspond in his day with the situation in the *Didache*, and (2) the

material of the *Didache* had already been worked up and modernized in other cognate documents to be considered in the next section. The one grave objection to this whole hypothesis—to the primary nature of the whole of the fuller *Didache*—is the omission in L of i. 3–ii. 1, and the omission in the *Epistle of Barnabas* of any trace of this passage. How can we explain the psychology of an abbreviator who could omit the one specifically Christian part, supposing it to be primary? Certain explanations suggest themselves. He may have reckoned these verses among the counsels of perfection, and considered it unwise to place them at the outset before catechumens. Did they not belong to a later stage and a higher plane of attainment? Or he may have regarded his version of the Two Ways as a kind of equivalent to the *abrenuntiatio diaboli*, and considered positive precepts out of place. In all probability there was a negative and positive baptismal vow from very early days (*ἀποταγή* and *συνταγή*). Explanation is not impossible, but neither is it necessary. The conclusion of the present writer is, that the fuller *Didache*, with the probable exception of i. 3–ii. 1, or parts thereof, and a few isolated expressions later, is the primary form; that it is not an expansion from a form corresponding to L, but that L is either an abbreviation of it, which is not inexplicable, or more probably an abbreviation of an earlier form of the complete version.

The stages in the history of the *Didache* were something like this: (1) Jewish document of the Two Ways *plus* instruction in the practices and customs of the Jewish faith; (2) a Christian adaptation (Δ) corresponding to our *Didache* with some few omissions, from which (3) the Latin version (L) is an excerpt, and of which (4) our *Didache* (D) is a slightly revised version, with probably a few more definitely Christian additions. The contents of Δ were practically identical with our *Didache*. (For analyses of the history of the text which employ a greater number of recensions see Harnack, *Gesch. der altchristl. Litteratur*, i. [Leipzig, 1893] 87, and Hennecke in *ZNTW* ii. [1901] 58 ff.)

5. Cognate and dependent works.—(*a*) *Barnabas.*—That the *Epistle of Barnabas* is a cognate work is obvious. But the significance of the common material has been interpreted in very different ways. The diversity of opinion is perhaps most clearly seen in the first German and the first English editions. The very phenomena which prove for Harnack the priority of Barnabas, for Hitchcock and Brown prove its later and derivative character. The bulk of the common matter is to be found in three chapters (xviii.–xx.), which contain most of the matter in *Didache* i.–v., with the exception of i. 3–ii. 1. But there is also a very close parallel, too close to be a coincidence, with *Did.* xvi. 2 in Barnabas iv. 9, 10. It should be noted in passing that the priority of the *Didache* seems to be hinted at, if not implied, in the way in which this common matter is introduced in Barnabas: 'Let us pass over to another knowledge and teaching (*διδαχήν*).' For without pressing the word, the suggestion is here at least of transition to a new source of material. Without entering into details, the conclusion come to is, that Barnabas used the *Didache*, but in the earlier Christian recension (Δ). If he had it before him in documentary form, he expanded it freely, but he may have quoted familiar material from memory and amplified it in the process.

(*b*) *Hermas.*—The connexion with Hermas is neither so extended nor so obvious. The relationship played a great part in earlier discussions from its bearing on the question of date, but it has now receded into the background. It is matter of general agreement now that Hermas used the *Didache*, but there is much to be said for the thesis of Hennecke, that both Barnabas and Hermas used the earlier Christian recension (Δ), while the final form (D) is indebted in some very minor points to both.

(*c*) *The Apostolic Church Ordinance.*—This is an adaptation of the *Didache* to suit the altered ecclesiastical condition of Egypt in the end of the 3rd or beginning of the 4th century. Here the bulk of the material of the first part of the *Didache* is distributed among the individual apostles, who in turn contribute their part in a kind of dramatic dialogue. Following on this, and corresponding to the rest of the *Didache*, are similarly delivered directions about bishops, presbyters, deacons, readers, widows, deaconesses, the conduct of the laity, and the participation of women in the liturgical service, showing in both the enumeration of office-bearers and the powers ascribed to them a much more developed stage of Church organization. As source the *Apostolic Church Ordinance* has a form of the *Didache* very like ours: it may have been the earlier Christian recension, though the mass of textual evidence points rather to its being ours *plus* Barnabas.

(*d*) *Didascalia.*—This work fulfilled for Syria towards the end of the 3rd cent. what the last-named did for Egypt a little later. It is not, however, like it, simply an adaptation of the *Didache*. Indeed, it was earlier regarded as completely independent, but its dependence may now be held as proved (cf. C. Holzhey, *Die Abhängigkeit d. syr. Didascalia v. d. Didache*, Freiburg, 1898). No certain conclusion can be drawn as to what form its author had before him.

(*e*) *Apostolic Constitutions and Canons.*—The first six chapters embody the *Didascalia*, and to that extent the *Didache* is used at second-hand. Direct relationship is confined to the first 32 chapters of the seventh book. Most of the *Didache* is here embodied, but with significant alterations and additions which betray a later age. The adaptation is clearly based on our text of the *Didache*. Here at last there is no serious question of dependence on an earlier recension.

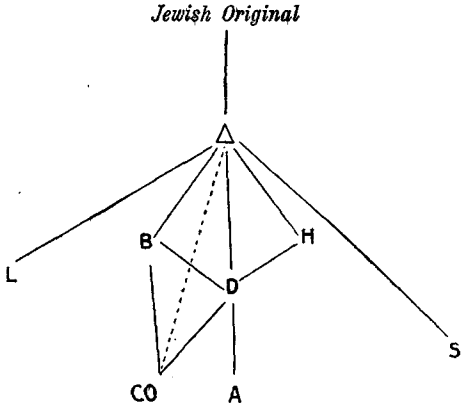
(*f*) *Other works.*—For a full list the reader is referred to Harnack (*Gesch. der altchristl. Litt.* i. 87), Rendel Harris (*Teaching of the Apostles*, 1888), and Vernon Bartlet (*HDB* v. 442). Chief among these may be mentioned: Athanasius, *Syntagma Doctrinæ*, which is obviously dependent on *Did.* i.–vi., and less obviously on xii. xiii., the underlying text probably being the earlier recension (Δ); the pseudo-Athanasian *Fides Nicæna* and *Didascalia cccxviii. Patrum*, where the basis is evidently the *Syntagma*; the *Life* of Schnudi, which includes most of the first part in an Arabic version, derived probably from the *Apostolic Church Ordinance*.

We have, therefore, continuing the numbers at the end of § 4, (5) Barnabas (B) and Hermas (H), dependent on the earlier Christian recension (Δ) and probably known to the maker of the final recension (D); (6) the *Apostolic Church Ordinance* (CO), possibly based on Δ, but more probably on D + B; (7) the *Apostolic Constitutions and Canons* (A), clearly based on D; (8) the *Syntagma* (S) and dependent works based on the earlier recension (Δ).

The evidence, then, points with great probability, for it can never amount to demonstration, to (1) the circulation and use of two recensions of the *Didache*, an earlier and a later, which differ in the omission and inclusion respectively of i. 3–ii. 1 and in certain other ascertainable points of slight importance; (2) the gradual disappearance of the second part of the *Didache* in the two ways of (*a*) omission, as in B and L—in B, through lack of relevance, in L through lack of correspondence to

actual conditions; (*b*) supersession by a complete recast of material to suit altered ecclesiastical conditions as in CO and A, and, it may be added, by omission and supersession jointly, as in S; (3) the fortunate preservation of a complete copy of the later of these recensions by a scribe whose full MS shows interest in what he conceived, generally rightly, to be genuine remains of Christian antiquity.

The general result may be tabulated thus:



6. Place of origin and date.—(1) *Place.*—Both place and date seem to assume importance when we begin to discuss the significance of the work in relation to the problems of the early Church. But this is true of the place only to a very limited extent. For, though it were proved to have originated in some more isolated community, yet its acceptance by so wide a circle would show that it was no mere reflexion of abnormal conditions which existed nowhere else. Most of the regions in which early Christianity had any hold have been suggested as the place of origin—Syria (in particular, Palestine), Egypt, Asia Minor, Thessalonica, Rome. But the great bulk of opinion is almost equally divided between Egypt and Syria. On behalf of Egypt it can be, and has been, urged that the earliest references and quotations belong to Egypt; that the work had there from an early date almost canonical authority, and was used freely from the time of Clement to that of Athanasius and later. On the other hand, the testimony of use from Syria, though less imposing, is also strong. Further, the form of the doxology in the Lord's Prayer has Egyptian affinities. It omits 'the kingdom' with the Sahidic version. But the doxology itself originated in Syria, and was thence adopted into Syrian texts of the NT (Westcott and Hort, *NT*, 1882, App. p. 9). Against the claim for Egypt there is what Schaff calls 'the insuperable objection'—the allusion to the broken bread having been scattered in grains 'upon the mountains.' But after all this only proves that this particular form of prayer here incorporated did not originate in Egypt, but in some hillier land. The objection is not 'insuperable,' but it has more weight than is commonly allowed, for later Egyptian works certainly felt the difficulty. ('Upon the mountains' is omitted in *Apost. Const.*, and represented by 'upon this table' in the pseudo-Athanasian tract *de Virginitate*.) On behalf of Syria, in particular of Palestine, there can be urged the marked affinity of the *Didache* with the Epistle of James and other recognized products of Palestinian Christianity, and the fact that it must have arisen in a community where it was necessary to make decisive the distinction between themselves and non-Christian Jews, *e.g.* in the regulations about fasts (viii. 1). A multitude of lesser indications are urged on both sides, but it is quite unnecessary to make any decisive pronouncement in favour of either. The essential point is that, from an early date, it was accepted in both, in one or other recension, and therefore comes from the heart of a situation which could not be regarded as impossible, or even as irregular, in either.

(2) *Date.*—In regard to date, there has been the same wide divergence—dates having been suggested from A.D. 50 to 500—and the same substantial agreement. The great mass of opinion, however, is again divided, in somewhat unequal portions, between two periods—the larger number favouring a date between 80 and 100, and the smaller clinging firmly to a date between 120 and 160. Space forbids a detailed examination of the evidence. It may be said briefly, in regard to external evidence, that the earlier date is confirmed by such indications as the citation of the *Didache* as Scripture by Clement of Alexandria and the fact that it is an adaptation of a Jewish manual. Such an adaptation could only be made early. And one thing to be remembered is, that long before its actual discovery it had been assigned, necessarily on external evidence, by Grabe (1698) to the closing years of the 1st cent. or the very commencement of the 2nd. Internal evidence confirms this. The general correspondence of conditions with those of the *Ascension of Isaiah* (see *HDB* v. 448-9), the vivid contrast with Jewish customs, the simple nature of the liturgy, all point to this conclusion. Another point has been well made by Taylor (*op. cit.* p. 53), who says in regard to the rules for baptism contained in the *Didache*:

> 'That distinction should be made *more rabbinico* between the kinds of water to be used is one of the evidences of the Jewish origin and early date of the *Teaching*. Tertullian (*de Bapt.* 4) enumerates the various kinds, making no distinction (Nulla distinctio est, mari quis an stagno, flumine an fonte, lacu an alveo diluatur); whilst at a still later date we find merely the injunction to baptize in water (*Apost. Const.* vii. 22).'

But if *Barnabas* and *Hermas* had influence on the text of our *Didache*, we seem driven to some such conclusion as this—that the earlier Christian recension dates from the earlier period (80–100) and the later, which differs only in certain insignificant details, from the later (120–160).

7. Tendency.—Before we go on to discuss the evidence of the *Didache*, and the bearings of that evidence on the problems of the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Church, we have to face this question: Has the *Didache* any special purpose or tendency which would lead us to suspect or to discredit its evidence? In this connexion we encounter first the contention of Hilgenfeld that it is coloured by Montanism. But the general discussion to which the book gave a great impetus has made clear that it must be pre-Montanist. For if Montanism had arisen, and its problems had to be faced, then this book, if produced in the orthodox interest, would have said much less about the prophets, and if written from a Montanist point of view, it could not have resisted saying more. Krawutzsky, who had so fully anticipated the first part of the *Didache* in his reconstruction, assigned it, on its appearance, to an Ebionite heretic at the close of the 2nd century. But searching criticism has failed to discern any clear trace of that heresy. It has been characterized, on obvious grounds, as pro-Judaistic and anti-Judaistic, which implies that it preserves the balance of normal Christianity. Research has failed to displace it from the main current of the Church's life. No writer with a predilection for any early heresy could have hidden it so well, nor would his book have commanded such universal recognition.

In this connexion mention must be made of the contention of Armitage Robinson that the book

reflects no actual conditions which ever existed anywhere, but is a 'free creation' of the author working on the basis of 1 Cor. with close dependence on Matthew and John. But it is surely unthinkable that any Christian writer could have produced a manual which had hardly any correspondence with the conditions of the Church of which he was a member and just as little with the conditions of the Church of the NT, and with no suggestion of substituting a new ideal of Church life and government. The *Didache* certainly has its roots in the NT; it also has its dissimilarities from it; but that is because the Christianity familiar to its author had its roots in the NT, but had in the meantime grown to something different. The *Didache* represents an actual stage in the development through which the Church passed. The purpose of its author was evidently to represent, justify, and confirm actual conditions, and to guard against evident dangers.

8. Church conditions.—It is a simple community with which we are brought into contact in the *Didache*, without the developed organization and manifold official activity of the communities for which the later bodies of legislation were compiled (see art. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS). The instructions, even in regard to baptism and the Eucharist, are addressed to the community, and not to any official personage or class of officials. The 'sovereignty of the community' is implied throughout. Attempts have been made to evade this. The latest has been already referred to (*JThSt* xiii. 339 ff.). The significance of the address is here discounted as a mere trick of style, borrowed from the practice of St. Paul. But this stands or falls with the whole theory that the *Didache* is a 'free creation' of the author with no relation to actual conditions, a theory which we have just shown good ground for rejecting. No work which passed over and slighted the recognized position of accredited officials could have found such general currency and acquired such wide repute. The community, therefore, is sovereign. It tests travellers and prophets; it makes provision for the Christian poor; it sets apart 'bishops and deacons'; it exercises discipline; the Sacraments of the Church are its concern. It is obviously a small community, but not isolated or out of touch with the general body of Christians. It is knit to them by the golden thread of hospitality, by the visits of itinerant apostles and prophets, by the unity of the one bread. It is situated in a locality where Christianity is past its first beginnings. The missionary propaganda of the Church is now further afield. Apostles are known only as exceptional visitants on the way to their proper spheres of labour elsewhere. Though past its first beginnings, it is not yet beyond the possibility of being taken by outsiders for a mere phase of Judaism. Open divergence of practice in outward ordinances is, therefore, strongly emphasized. The moral requirements of the community are of the highest order, but its doctrinal position, though strictly orthodox, is wanting in precision and fullness. The lack of emphasis on soteriology seems to have been felt by Barnabas, who, followed in this respect by the *Apostolic Church Ordinance*, added to the opening words of the Way of Life—'Thou shalt love God who made thee'—the words, 'Thou shalt glorify Him who redeemed thee from death.'

The members meet on the Lord's Day for worship. Here we have the first testimony outside the NT to the Lord's Day as a day of public worship. A little later Pliny reports to Trajan from Bithynia that the Christians there were accustomed on a fixed day (*stato die*) to assemble before daylight to sing hymns to Christ as a God, and to bind themselves by a *sacramentum*. On every detail of this report we have fresh light from the *Didache*. Worship is on the Lord's Day. It consists in the breaking of bread, giving of thanks, and confession of sins—the *sacramentum* (?). And the Eucharist (see below) has as one of its closing sentences, 'Hosanna to the God of David'—a hymn to Christ as a God.

Baptism is the rite of initiation. 'Living water,' *i.e.* water of spring or stream, is to be preferred to other kinds, but even warm water is allowed in exceptional circumstances. Immersion is normal, but, where the water is insufficient, affusion is permissible. The rite is administered after a definite course of instruction, and always in the Name of the Trinity. The candidate for baptism is to fast beforehand. Fasting, recommended to the baptizer and those associated with him, is enjoined on the baptized. No mention is made of any anointing, or the use of anything save water.

The Eucharist is the centre of Christian worship, but the evidence of the *Didache* has proved a bone of contention. Instructions in regard to it seem to be given twice over, in chs. ix. x, and in ch. xiv. It is with regard to the former instructions that difficulties emerge and controversies have arisen. The instructions are thus introduced: 'Now as regards the Eucharist (the Thank-offering) give thanks after this manner' (*περὶ δὲ τῆς εὐχαριστίας, οὕτω εὐχαριστήσατε*). Forms of prayer are given, simple and non-theological.

'We thank Thee, our Father, for the holy vine of David Thy servant, which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy servant [*παιδός*]: to Thee be the glory for ever.'

'We thank Thee, our Father, for the life and knowledge which Thou hast made known to us through Jesus, Thy servant. To Thee be the glory for ever. As this broken bread was scattered [in grains] upon the mountains and being gathered together became one, so let Thy Church be gathered together from the ends of the earth unto Thy Kingdom: for Thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever.'

The former is given for the cup (*ποτήριον*), the latter for the broken bread (*κλάσμα*), and there is another form, similar in thought and diction but longer, for the close, after being filled (*μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι*).

The difficulties in regard to these two chapters arise in this way. There is no trace of the words of institution, and there seems no room for them. Were these simple prayers meant as consecration prayers? Were they meant for the use of the presiding brother at all, or were they written to be used by the recipient (so Box, *JThSt* iii. 367 f.)? Why does the thanksgiving for the cup come before the thanksgiving for the bread? Why are these words, which sound like an invitation to the Table, placed at the very end—'If any one is holy, let him come; if any one is not holy, let him repent'? And why does the previous chapter end with a similar 'fencing of the tables,' given in the very midst of the forms of prayer ('let no one eat or drink of your Eucharist except those who have been baptized into the name of the Lord')? What do the words *μετὰ τὸ ἐμπλησθῆναι* imply? Are they to be interpreted in a literal or spiritual fashion? Finally, why was it necessary to give instructions about the Eucharist in ch. xiv., if these had already been given in detail in chs. ix. and x.?

Beginning with the last question, it has been suggested (V. Ermoni, *L'Agape dans l'Eglise primitive*, 1904, p. 17 ff.) that the first instructions refer to the Agape, and the Agape alone. But there is no other case in which any writer uses the word *εὐχαριστία* in the sense of the Agape alone. All the indications point to a combined Agape and Eucharist, and the word *εὐχαριστία* refers to this combination, *i.e.* it includes the Agape, just as in Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 8) the word Agape has the same meaning, *i.e.* it includes the Eucharist. The words were never interchangeable, but either, it seems,

might be used of the combined celebration. The probability, then, being that these chapters refer to such a combination, can we disentangle the Agape from the Eucharist? Are they inextricably mingled, or can we see that one preceded the other? Certain of the questions asked above seem to point to the former alternative, but the balance of evidence is with the latter, and points to the Agape preceding the Eucharist. The words 'after being filled' seem to shut us in to that. The attempt to find true analogies to a spiritual or mystical interpretation has failed. Jn 6^{12}, so often appealed to, makes for the opposite view. And the author of the *Apostolic Constitutions*, who was dealing with the Eucharist only, has to alter the words to 'after reception' (*μετὰ δὲ τὴν μετάληψιν*). The prayers already given for the cup and the bread refer, then, to the Agape: the 'fencing of the tables' at the end of ch. ix. is preparatory to the Eucharist proper; the prayer in ch. x. is the transition, the closing prayer of the Agape, or the opening prayer of the Eucharist, according to the point of view; the Eucharist follows immediately on the prayer. No formula is given for it. The words of institution may then have been recited. At both Agape and Eucharist the prophets are to have full liberty in prayer. The closing invitation is to catechumens present to come forward to the full privilege and duties of Church membership. One grave objection to this interpretation is that it presupposes a simple liturgy for the Agape and none at all, or practically none, for the Eucharist. *A priori*, we expect the exact opposite. But no other explanation seems to satisfy nearly so many of the conditions. Further, absence of fixed forms is characteristic of the Eucharist even later. Justin Martyr (*First Apology*, 65-67) tells us that the presiding official (*ὁ προεστώς*) offers prayers and thanksgivings according to his ability (*ὅση δύναμις αὐτῷ*).

The Agape, then, in this small community, is combined with the Eucharist. It is a common meal shared by the brethren, with a simple liturgy of its own, Jewish in origin, with marked affinity to Jewish blessings at meals. It is followed by the Eucharist so closely that it is all one service. None but the baptized participate. Forms are lacking, as a member of the charismatic ministry seems in general to preside, and he is to be left free to follow the promptings of the Spirit. Catechumens and members under discipline are not excluded from the place of celebration. On the contrary, they are expected to be present, and are urged publicly to acquire or recover the right of participation. The Eucharist is a sacrifice (*θυσία*), and the words of Malachi are taken as a prophecy of it, 'In every place and time offer me a pure sacrifice, for I am a great King, saith the Lord.' But this does not indicate, as Bickell thought, the germ of the doctrine of the Mass, nor what is technically known as the Eucharistic Sacrifice. The sacrifice, as all approximately contemporary use of the word confirms, consists in the prayers, the praises, the worship, and the gifts of believers (see *ERE* v. 546 f.).

There is no trace of a Christian year in the *Didache*, but there is a Christian week. The Lord's Day is the day of worship; Wednesday and Friday are fasts. The only evident reason for the choice of these days is the necessity of being distinct in all things from the 'hypocrites'—the unbelieving Jews—who fast on Mondays and Thursdays; but the real underlying reason may have been that which was put forward later for these days as semi-fasts, viz. that Wednesday was the day of the Betrayal and Friday that of the Crucifixion. There is also what may be called a Christian day. The beginnings of a certain formalism in devotional exercises appear in the injunction to pray, using the Lord's Prayer, three times a day. This, too, is founded on Jewish practice. No definite hours are named, and therefore no change of hour is suggested. Tertullian, later, prescribes definite hours. Christians are to pray at the third, sixth, and ninth hours, in addition to the ordinary morning and evening prayers of which no Christian needs to be reminded. These devotions are to include the Lord's Prayer (*de Orat.* xxv., x.). Clement of Alexandria, in the work in which he cites the *Didache* as Scripture, though he knows, and, to some extent, commends, the three hours of prayer, rather disparages the adhesion to these definite hours. 'The *γνωστικός* prays throughout his whole life, endeavouring by prayer to have fellowship with God' (*Strom.* vii. 7).

It was in its account of the office-bearers of the Church and the nature of the ministry that the recovered *Didache* produced the most profound impression. Accounts of origins and development like Lightfoot's were greatly strengthened in most particulars, but others received from it a fatal stroke. The details and even the general trend of these controversies lie outside the scope of this article. Our attention is confined to the evidence of the *Didache* itself. Even in its first section it puts a very high value on the ministry. The catechumen is enjoined to 'remember night and day him that speaks to thee the word of God, for wheresoever the Lordship is spoken of, there is the Lord.' Who are included among those that speak the word of God? The reference plainly is, in the first place, to the unlocalized or charismatic ministry, which occupies so large a place in the part dealing with office-bearers. This ministry is not appointed by the members of the Church, their office is transmitted through no human channel. They comprise only the first three of St. Paul's list in 1 Co 12^{28}—apostles, prophets, and teachers.

The apostles are evidently, as already said, rare visitants. The missionary work of the Church is elsewhere. But every apostle who pays a visit is to be received as the Lord. He is not to remain longer than two days, for impostors are rife, and the desire to live for longer than two days on the generosity of the community and in the sunshine of its favour, is a sure sign of a false prophet. The genuine apostle will not ask for money, nor take with him more than the necessary food for the next stage of his journey. Prophets are more common, but are held in high esteem. The true prophet is not to be tried or proved; his word is to be accepted as that of one who speaks in the Spirit. He is to be free from the rules and forms that bind other men. But abuses have crept into the prophetic office, and counterfeit prophets are to be detected by their behaviour, especially by their asking for money for themselves, or ordering an Agape for their own benefit. A prophet may wish to connect himself with a particular community. Such a settled prophet is worthy of support. First-fruits are to be set aside for the use of these men, for, in this respect, they are like the high priests of the Jews. There were communities without any resident prophet. In such the first-fruits were to be given directly to the poor. An obscure sentence about the prophet 'making assemblies for a worldly mystery' or 'acting with a view to the worldly mystery of the Church' (even the translation is doubtful) has, as yet, received no satisfactory interpretation. Little is said about the third class of the general ministry, the teachers. They too are worthy of support. This implies that there were both peripatetic and settled teachers. The slightness of the reference cannot be due to their rarity. May it not be due to the following? It is commonly argued that the *Shepherd of Hermas* passed over the prophets be-

cause its author belonged to that order. May it not equally be that the *Didache* says little about the teachers for a similar reason? The very name of his work would indicate that its author was numbered among the teachers.

In addition to this ministry to the whole Church, there is a local ministry of bishops and deacons. They are appointed and set apart by the local church. Their authority is, thus, not directly derived from the Holy Spirit. They are in danger of being despised, but are to be honoured along with the prophets and teachers. Such is the character of the ministry as known to the author of the *Didache*. It shows us the local ministry strengthening its position in a small community and in need of having its position strengthened, while the general ministry is fading into the background through the prevalence of plausible counterfeits from mercenary motives. (For fuller discussion of the significance of all this see Harnack, *TU* ii. 1, 2, pp. 93–157; C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, 1912, pp. 1–32; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry*, 1902, esp. p. 170 ff.)

With such a full-length picture of contemporary Church conditions, it is not remarkable that the *Didache* was hailed as a most important find. At times its importance may have been over-estimated, but it certainly fills a blank in our knowledge. It sets clearly before us facts which might have been, and indeed were, reached by gathering together the scattered and less definite indications of other works. It sketches the nature of the work, the worship, and the ministry in one community which, though small, was not isolated; though doubtless individual, was not peculiar. It gave the initial impulse to works of a similar character without which our knowledge of the early centuries in these matters would be much more meagre than it is.

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HUGH WATT.

DIGAMY.—See MARRIAGE.

DIONYSIUS.—See AREOPAGITE.

DIOSCURI (Ac 28[11], RVm; AV '**Castor and Pollux**,' RV '**the Twin Brothers**').—The Dioscuri were the sons of Leda and Zeus, Castor being mortal and Pollux immortal. They were famed for many exploits, and at length, in a battle against the sons of Aphareus, Castor was slain by Idas. Pollux besought Zeus that he too might die. According to one fable the Father of the Gods granted Castor life on condition that the brothers should alternately spend a day in Hades, but another states that their love was rewarded by Zeus, who placed them together among the stars as the Gemini. They were regarded as the patrons of athletic contests, Castor presiding over the equestrian events, Pollux being the god of boxing (Κάστορά δ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ πὺξ ἀγαθὸν Πολυδεύκεα [Hom. *Il.* iii. 237]). Their worship was very strictly observed among the Dorian peoples, and they were also held in special reverence at Rome, as they were popularly supposed to have fought on the side of the Commonwealth at the battle of Lake Regillus and to have carried the news of victory to the city (Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* vi. 13). It is worthy of note that they were specially held in honour in the district of Cyrenaica near Alexandria (*schol.* Pindar, *Pyth.* v. 6).

The ships of the ancients carried two figures as a rule, one being the figure-head (*παράσημον, insigne*), after which the ship was named (Virgil, *Æn.* v. 116, x. 166, 188, 209), and the other in the stern. The latter was the *tutela* or image of the divine being under whose guardianship the vessel was supposed to sail. The Dioscuri were regarded as the guardian deities of sailors, and Horace speaks of 'the brothers of Helen, the beaming stars,' as shining propitiously on those at sea (*Odes*, I. iii. 2, xii. 25; cf. Catullus, iv. 27; Euripides, *Helena*, 1662–5).

F. W. WORSLEY.

DIOTREPHES.—An otherwise unknown man named in 3 Jn[9] as ambitious, masterful, and tyrannical. As the authorship of the Epistle, its destination, and date are all doubtful, any attempt to identify Diotrephes is futile. His main interest for the student of the Apostolic Church is that he is a witness to the opposite currents of thought which disturbed it. The writer of 3 John was apparently responsible for a band of travelling evangelists to whom Diotrephes refused a welcome. The ground of refusal appears, from the references to 'truth' in the Epistle, to have been a difference of doctrine. If the writer was a 'pneumatic' teacher, Diotrephes would probably be a Catholic officer of influence, but of lower standing than the writer. If the writer, on the other hand, was a Catholic teacher, Diotrephes was probably a man of Docetic views. The name occurs in profane Greek twice—once as son of Heraclitus in the 3rd cent. B.C., and once as the name of an Antiochene rhetorician (Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.*).

W. F. COBB.

DISCIPLE.—The use of the word 'disciple' (*μαθητής*) in the NT is remarkable and very instructive. It occurs 238 times in the Gospels. In the Epistles and the Apocalypse it does not occur at all, its place being taken by 'saints' (*ἅγιοι*) and 'brethren' (*ἀδελφοί*). Acts exhibits the transition, with 'disciple' (*μαθητής*) 28 times and the feminine form (*μαθήτρια*) once, but with 'saints' 4 times (9[13. 32. 41] 26[10]) and 'brethren' (not counting addresses, and mostly in the second half of the book) about 32 times. In Acts, 'believers' (*πιστεύοντες, πιστεύσαντες, πεπιστευκότες*) is another frequent equivalent. The explanation of the change from 'dis-

ciple' to the other terms is simple. During His life on earth, the followers of Jesus were called 'disciples' in reference to Him; afterwards they were called 'saints' in reference to their sacred calling, or 'brethren' in relation to one another (Sanday, *Inspiration*[3], 1896, p. 289). In Acts, the first title is going out of use, and the others are coming in; in ch. 9 all three terms are found. Christ's charge, 'Make disciples of all the nations' (Mt 28[19]), may have helped to keep 'disciple' in use.

'Disciple' means more than one who listens to a teacher; it implies his acceptance of the teaching, and his effort to act in accordance with it; it implies being a 'believer' in the teacher and being ready to be an 'imitator' (*μιμητής*) of him (Xen. *Mem.* I. vi. 3). It is remarkable that St. Paul does not call his converts his 'disciples'—that might seem to be taking the place of Christ (1 Co 1[13-15]); but he speaks of them as his 'imitators.' In the Gospels, 'disciple' is often used in a special sense of the Twelve, and sometimes of the followers of human teachers—Moses, or John the Baptist, or the Pharisees. Neither use is found in Acts: in 19[2], 'disciples' does not mean disciples of John, as is shown by 'when ye believed' (*πιστεύσαντες*), that is, 'when ye became Christians,' which is the dominant meaning of this verb in Acts. These 'disciples' were imperfectly instructed Christians.

See also art. APOSTLE. ALFRED PLUMMER.

DISCIPLINE.—The root meaning of 'discipline' is 'instruction,' but in course of time it came to be used for 'moral training,' 'chastening,' 'punishment.' The subject naturally divides itself into two parts: (1) the spiritual discipline of the soul; (2) the ecclesiastical discipline of offenders.

1. The training necessary for the discipline of the soul.—This may be under the guidance of another or under one's own direction.—(*a*) In order to develop and perfect man's moral nature, God deals with him as a wise father with a child. The benefit of such treatment is pointed out in He 12[1-13] (cf. Mt 5[10-12]). Its final efficacy depends upon the spirit in which it is received. The motive for its endurance must be right, and the end in view must be clearly perceived. The Heavenly Father does more than simply teach His children; He disciplines them with more (cf. Pr 3[11], Job 5[17]) or less severity (cf. Pr 1[2, 3] 4[1]). If the Author of Salvation was made perfect through sufferings (He 2[10]; cf. 5[8f.] 7[28], Lk 13[32]), it is clear that the 'many sons' must pass through the same process and experience as the 'well-beloved Son.' In their case the need is the more urgent, for latent powers must be developed, lack of symmetry corrected, the stains of sin removed, evil tendencies eradicated. Errors in doctrine and action must be transformed into truth and righteousness (1 Co 11[27ff.], 2 Jn [10f.], 2 Ti 2[16f.]; cf. Tit 3[10], 1 Co 5[9-13], 2 Th 3[6]). Body and mind can move towards perfection only under the guiding hand of the Holy Father. Pain and sorrow, frustrated hopes, long delays, loneliness, changed circumstances, persecution, the death of loved ones, and other 'dispensations of Providence,' are designed to chasten and ennoble the soul. Character, not creed, is the final aim. Having begun a good work in His children, God will 'perfect it until the day of Jesus Christ' (Ph 1[6]).

(*b*) The Christian must also discipline himself. Through the crucifixion of his lower nature he rises into newness of life. St. Paul describes (Tit 2[12]) the negative side as 'denying ungodliness and worldly lusts,' and the positive as to 'live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world' ('sobrie erga nos; juste erga proximum; pie erga Deum' [St. Bernard, *Sermon* xi., Paris, 1667-90]); see Ro 12[2], Tit 2[12]; cf. 2 Ti 2[16], 1 P 4[2], 1 Jn 2[16]; also Lk 1[75], Ac 17[30] 24[25]. The Christian must put away anger, bitterness, clamour, covetousness, envy, evil-speaking, falsehood, fornication, guile, hypocrisy, malice, railing, shameful speaking, uncleanness, wrath (Eph 4[17-32], Col 3[8-12]; cf. Ja 1[21], 1 P 2[1]). Then he must acquire and mature positive virtues. This involves at every stage self-discipline (see Ro 6[19] 8[13], 1 Co 9[25ff.], Col 3[5]; cf. Mt 5[29] 18[9], Mk 9[47], Gal 5[24]).

Many elements enter into this discipline of self. Amongst others the following deserve special mention: *prayer*, 'the hallowing of desire, by carrying it up to the fountain of holiness' (J. Morison, *Com. on St. Matthew*[5], 1885, p. 89); see Ro 12[12]; cf. Ac 1[14], Eph 6[18], Col 4[2-4], 1 P 4[7]; cf. Mt 26[41], Lk 18[1] 21[36]. *Fasting* is frequently associated with prayer: *e.g.* Ac 13[3] 14[23], *Did.* vii. 4, viii. 1, and many other passages. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, London, 1895, p. 122) speaks of the solemn prayer and fast which accompanied the appointment of the elders, and says that 'this meeting and rite of fasting, which Paul celebrated in each city on his return journey, is to be taken as the form that was to be permanently observed.' *Sobriety in thought and action* is commended (Ro 12[3]; cf. 1 P 4[7] [Gr.], 1 Th 5[6, 8], 1 Ti 2[9, 15]; cf. Sir 18[30] [Gr.]); *watchfulness* (Ac 24[16], Ro 8[19, 23], 1 Co 1[7] 16[13], 2 Co 4[18], Eph 6[18], Col 4[2], Tit 2[13], He 13[17], 1 P 4[7], 2 P 3[12]; cf. Mt 24[42] 26[41], Mk 13[33], Lk 21[36]); *obedience* (Ro 13[1-7], 2 Co 2[9] 7[15] 10[6], 1 Ti 2[1-3], Tit 3[1], 1 P 2[13, 14] 3[1], 1 Jn 2[3] 3[22]); *patience* (Ro 5[3] 8[25] 15[4], 1 Th 1[3], 2 Th 1[3-5] 3[5], He 10[36], Ja 1[3]; cf. Mt 10[22] 24[13], Lk 21[19]); *conflict against error and evil forces and on behalf of the truth* (Eph 6[11-18], 1 Ti 1[18-20] 6[12], 2 Ti 2[3, 4] 4[7f.], Philem[2], Jude[3]); *work* (Ac 18[3], Eph 4[28], 1 Th 4[11], 2 Th 3[8-12]); *almsgiving* (Ac 24[17], Ro 12[13] 15[25, 26], 1 Co 16[1-4], 2 Co 9[6, 7], Gal 6[10], 1 Ti 6[17-19], He 13[16], Ja 2[15, 16], 1 Jn 3[17]; cf. Mt 6[19, 20], To 4[7-11]); *temperance* (Ac 24[25], 1 Co 9[25], Gal 5[23]; cf. Sir 18[30] [Gr.], Tit 1[8], 2 P 1[6]); *chastity* (Ro 13[14], Gal 5[24], 1 P 2[11], 1 Jn 2[16]; cf. Sir 18[30]); *meekness* (Ro 12[10], Eph 4[2] 5[2], Ph 2[3], Col 3[12], 1 Ti 6[11], 1 P 5[5, 6]).

In Ph 4[8] and 2 P 1[4-8] there are inspiring directions for this same self-discipline. 'If there be any virtue, and if there be any praise,' the brethren are to 'think on,' or 'take account of,' 'whatsoever things are true, honourable, just, pure, lovely, of good report.' If men are to become partakers of the Divine nature, and to escape the corruption that is in the world by lust, they must heed the injunction: 'For this very cause adding on your part all diligence, in your faith supply virtue; and in your virtue knowledge; and in your knowledge temperance; and in your temperance patience; and in your patience godliness; and in your godliness love of the brethren; and in your love of the brethren love' (see also 1 Co 13 and 1 Jn 4[16]). This will save from idleness and unfruitfulness. They will give the more diligence to make their calling and election sure.

No doubt the expectation in the Apostolic Age of the cataclysmic and immediate coming of Christ led to rigour and austerity of life, which were afterwards relaxed in many places. The moral necessity of discipline is always the same, even though the power of belief in the second coming of Christ in spectacular fashion wanes or departs. After the close of the 1st cent. the development of asceticism and penance became pronounced. The NT gives little or no countenance to the extreme forms that these disciplinary systems assumed.

2. Ecclesiastical discipline.—For self-protection and self-assertion the early Church had to exercise a strict discipline. Its well-being and very life depended upon the suppression of abuses and the expulsion of persistent and gross offenders. In some cases toleration would have meant unfaith-

fulness to Christ and degradation to the community. The duty of maintaining an adequate discipline was one of the most difficult and most important tasks that confronted the primitive Ecclesia. Jesus Himself gave to the apostles (Mt 16[18. 19], Jn 20[22. 23]) and to the Church (Mt 18[15-18]) a disciplinary charter. The Church followed the main lines of guidance therein contained. Only public sins were dealt with in the ecclesiastical courts. Private offences were to be confessed to each other (Ja 5[16]), that prayer might be offered for forgiveness (5[15], 1 Jn 5[16]), and also confessed to God (1 Jn 1[9]). Further, Christians were discouraged from carrying disputes to the civil courts (1 Co 6[1]; cf. 5[12] 6[4]). 'Let not those who have disputes go to law before the civil powers, but let them by all means be reconciled by the leaders of the Church, and let them rightly yield to their decision' (see Clem. *Ep. ad Jacob.*, 10). The object of ecclesiastical discipline was to prevent scandal and to restore the offender. When private rebuke and remonstrance failed (Mt 18[15]; cf. 1 Th 5[14]), the wrong-doer was censured by the whole community (cf. 1 Ti 5[20], Gal 2[11]). This sentence might be pronounced by some person in authority, or by the community as community. If the accused person still remained obdurate, and in the case of heinous sin, the Church proceeded to expulsion and excommunication (Ro 16[17], 1 Co 5[2. 11. 13], 2 Jn [10]). The offender was thrust out from religious gatherings and debarred from social intercourse. To such excommunication might be added the further penalty of physical punishment (Ac 5[1-10] 8[24], 1 Co 5[5], 1 Ti 5[20]) or an anathema (*ἀνάθεμα*, 1 Co 16[22], Gal 1[8]). Knowing the great influence of the mind over the body, one can readily understand that disease, and even death, might follow such sentences. It was fully believed that the culprit was exposed, without defence, to the attacks of Satan (1 Co 5[5]).

The whole Church exercised this power of discipline. St. Paul addresses the community in 1 Cor., which is our earliest guide on the subject. Laymen on occasion could teach, preach, and exercise disciplinary powers. In the case of excommunication it was not necessary that there should be unanimity. A majority vote was sufficient (2 Co 2[6]). It was believed that Christ was actually present (Mt 18[20]) to confirm the sentence, which was pronounced in His name (1 Co 5[4], 2 Co 2[10]).

No doubt the procedure followed in the main that of the synagogue, where expulsion was of three types—simple putting forth, excommunication with a curse, and a final anathema sentence. Discipline was designed to be reformatory and not simply punitive or retaliatory. There must be, if possible, 'rectification' (see 2 Ti 3[16], where *ἐπανόρθωσις* is significantly joined with *παιδεία*). Repentance is to be followed by forgiveness (2 Co 2[5-10], Gal 6[1], Jude [22]). The penitent was probably received into the Church again by the imposition of hands (cf. 1 Ti 5[22]).

Owing to persecution, the discipline of the Church became more and more simply moral influence. The demand for it was more urgent than ever; but, while some communities remained faithful to this duty, others grew more lax (*e.g.* the practice of obtaining *libelli*).

See also ADMONITION, ANATHEMA, CHASTISEMENT, and EXCOMMUNICATION.

LITERATURE.—J. H. Kurtz, *Church History*, Eng. tr., i.[2], London, 1891; F. J. A. Hort, *The Christian Ecclesia*, do. 1897; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., i.[2], do. 1897, ii., 1895; P. Schaff, *History of the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1886; E. Hatch, *Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, London, 1880; A. C. McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897; J. B. Lightfoot, *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, London, 1892; H. H. Henson, *Apostolic Christianity*, do. 1898; art. 'Discipline (Christian)' in *ERE*.

H. CARISS J. SIDNELL.

DISPERSION.—*ἡ διασπορά* (from *διασπείρω* 'to scatter,' as *ἀγορά* from *ἀγείρω* 'to gather') is used collectively in the LXX and the NT for the Jews settled abroad. The most important NT reference occurs in Jn 7[35]: 'Whither will this man go that we shall not find him? Will he go unto the Diaspora among the Gentiles, and teach the Gentiles?' This splenetic utterance was an unconscious prophecy of the course our Lord actually followed, when, having reached the goal of His public ministry, and having received 'all authority in heaven and on earth,' He went on 'to make disciples of all the nations.'* The first line of advance was already marked out by the Diaspora. It was the bridge between the Jew and the Greek, and soon the sound of many feet speeding over it with their message of good tidings was heard; or it was the viaduct by which the living waters that went forth from Jerusalem were led to the cities of the Roman Empire.

The Diaspora partly originated from causes over which the Jews had no control, and was partly the result of a spontaneous movement outwards. It was largely due to the policy adopted by the great conquerors of antiquity of deporting into exile a considerable number of the population of the countries which they subdued. The various transplantations suffered by the Jews need not be recounted here. But their dispersion was still more largely due, in Greek and Roman times, to voluntary emigration from Palestine. The conquests of Alexander the Great turned what had hitherto been barred avenues and dangerous tracks into safe and open roads, and the Jews were not slow to take advantage of the openings, both in the direction of secular culture and of commercial enterprise, that lay before them. In NT times, they were domiciled in all the countries along the shores of the Mediterranean. The accounts of Philo and Josephus, of which the substantial accuracy is attested by inscriptions (*HDB* v. 92[a]), enable us to see how much at home the Jews were in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and the Greek cities and islands, and all the data now available afford grounds for believing that they numbered at this period from three to four and a half millions, and that they formed about seven per cent of the population of the Roman Empire (*EBi* i. 1112; Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*[2], i. 10, 11).

Following Jeremiah's advice to the exiles in Babylon, they 'sought the peace' of the cities they settled in, without, however, amalgamating with the other inhabitants. The dislike created by their aloofness gave way a little before the involuntary respect commanded by their intelligence, their aptitude for work, and their exemplary family life, but was never completely overcome. Yet they had the art of conciliating the great, and of gaining powerful patrons. Several of the Syrian and Egyptian kings were their warm friends. Amongst their friends must also be included Julius Cæsar, who with the prescience of genius saw in them the true connecting link between the East and West, and would not have relished their being made the butt of Roman wits. Their mourning for his death ('noctibus continuis bustum frequentarunt,' Suet. *C. Iulius Cæsar*, 84) reminds us of the mourning of the Jews in London for Edward VII.

The Jews could not carry on their sacrificial worship in foreign lands—we may let pass the schismatic attempt to do so at Leontopolis in Egypt—but they kept in full communion with Jerusalem by making pilgrimages to the great feasts, and by sending the yearly poll-tax of half a shekel for the upkeep of the Temple (cf. Mt 17[24]). 'The Law and the Prophets and the Psalms' went

* 'The secret which malice had divined within the Saviour's lifetime' (Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.* i. 18).

with them everywhere, but 'in the Greek Diaspora . . . strict canonicity was accorded only to the Torah' (*ERE* ii. 580[b]). The observance which attracted most notice from their Gentile neighbours was that of the Sabbath rest. On the day of rest all classes of the Diaspora were 'gathered into one,' and felt that they were indeed 'the people of the God of Abraham.'

That Julius Cæsar had regarded them as his friends was not forgotten by those who came after him. It was a precedent that proved of immense advantage to the Jews settled in Rome. The freedom he granted them in the exercise of their religious customs was endorsed by his grand-nephew Augustus (Jos. *Ant.* xiv. 10, xvi. 6), and, after weathering some dangerous storms, became the settled policy of the Empire. In Roman law, Jewish societies were *collegia licita*, privileged clubs or gilds. Meetings in their synagogues, or προσευχαί, or σαββατεῖα (*op. cit.* xvi. 6. 2) were not hampered with any troublesome restrictions. They could settle matters pertaining to their law without going to the Roman tribunal (cf. Ac 18[14. 15]), and were apparently permitted to inflict punishment for what they looked upon as schism or apostasy (Ac 26[11], 2 Co 11[24]). They had a coinage of their own for sacred purposes (*HDB* v. 57[a]). In the region beyond the Tiber, 'in the neighbourhood of the wharfs where the barges from Ostia were accustomed to unlade' (F. W. Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, 1 vol., 1897, p. 585), many of them found employment, or drove a brisk trade. The only occasion on which they were seriously threatened with the loss of their privileges occurred under Claudius, who, in the words of the historian, 'Iudaeos impulsore Chresto assidue tumultuantes Roma expulit' (Suet. *Claud.* 25). The meaning of these words is uncertain (*HDB* iv. 307[a], v. 98[a]; *EBi* i. 757; *JE* iv. 563; Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.* i. 40; Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, i. 433), but if they refer to tumults in the Jewish quarter caused by the preaching of the gospel, we may conjecture that Aquila, a Jew of the Dispersion, had been one of its preachers (Ac 18[2]). The edict of Claudius was probably found unworkable (Ramsay, *St. Paul*, 254). This Emperor seems to have been as favourable to the Jews as his predecessors (Jos. *Ant.* xix. 5. 2, 3).

Long before they had acquired a political status in Rome, a great inward change had been working among the Jews of the Dispersion. As may be inferred from the fact already mentioned, that strict canonicity was accorded only to the Torah, they carried abroad with them an intensely legal conception of their religion. It was conceived as consisting simply in the observance of a definite code of laws as to worship and life, given by God on Mount Sinai. So long as this conception predominated, their relations with their non-Jewish neighbours were little more than ordinary business relations. But as soon as the stimulus exerted by the higher culture of the Greeks was felt, an inward change began to work. Habitual intercourse with a people so advanced in civilization could not fail to have its effect. They were captivated by the freedom and range of Greek thought. They recognized in their philosophical and ethical ideas a manifestation of the Divine Wisdom. There was thus evolved a tendency to tone down what was repellent in Judaism in order to bring their faith into harmony with the Greek mind. Illustrations of this tendency are found in the Prophetic and Wisdom literature, in the modification of OT anthropomorphism by the LXX, in the serious attempt of Philo to find the philosophy of Plato and the Stoics in the narratives of Genesis by the method of allegorical interpretation (*HDB* v. 199). The LXX itself was the outcome of the keen desire to make their religion understood, as well as to guard and preserve it from influences hostile to it. The favourable reception which it met with brought to the front an aspect of their religion yet scarcely apprehended, viz. that it was a religion of hope for mankind. The words of the prophets concerning the future of the human race began to be read with a more open mind. There it was found that Israel was called to be the missionary to the nations. Many in the Dispersion realized that they were in a specially favoured position for undertaking this missionary duty. In spreading the knowledge of their faith, they laid stress, not upon ritual details, but upon the great central principles of the unity of God, and the cleansing and saving power of His word. As they went on communicating those spiritual principles to others, they became more spiritual themselves, and also more expectant of 'the good things to come.' A large number of high-minded Greeks were convinced of the truth of their doctrine of God. Those whom they won over, the σεβόμενοι or φοβούμενοι τὸν θεόν of the Apostolic Age, were already far on their way to the more complete satisfaction of their spiritual wants that was to be found in Christianity.

From the founding of Alexandria and Antioch, the Jews were πολῖται (*cives*), but in the older Greek cities, except those of which the constitutions were altered by Alexander or his successors (*HDB* v. 104 f.; *Expositor*, 7th ser., ii. 37 f.), they were simply μέτοικοι (*incolæ*, 'residents'). The Jews of Rome whom Cicero mentions as possessing the Roman *civitas* (*pro Flacco*, 28) probably belonged to the class of *libertini* or enfranchised slaves (cf. Ac 6[9]). Jews of Ephesus, Sardis, Delos, etc., had the Roman *civitas*, as appears from the edicts preserved by Josephus (*Ant.* xiv. 10). St. Paul's citizenship (*q.v.*) of the Hellenistic city of Tarsus (Ac 21[39]) is to be distinguished from his Roman citizenship (Ac 22[25]; cf. 16[37]). The latter right may have been conferred by some Roman potentate on certain important Tarsian families (Ramsay, *Expositor*, 7th ser., ii. 144, 152; cf. Schürer, *HDB* v. 105 f.). It was not the least important of St. Paul's providential equipments for the Apostleship, and was recognized as entitling him to respect from Roman officials. The laws of the Empire had a high moral value for the Apostle, and he repaid what he owed to them by fervent intercessions for those who administered them (Ro 13[1-7], 1 Ti 2[1. 2]).

In St. Paul himself—his training, his conversion, his missionary calling, his Christian achievement—we can study, as in a single picture, the service rendered by the Dispersion to the free course of the gospel. Himself a Jew of the Dispersion, educated in a strict Rabbinical school, he had the two-fold advantage of becoming proficient in Judaism, the religion of his fathers (Gal 1[13]), and of growing up in his Cilician home under the penetrating influence of Greek civilization. The question of Ro 3[29], 'Is God the God of the Jews only? Is he not the God of the Gentiles also?' was one that he must have often asked himself in his Pharisaic days; and when the sight and the call of Jesus had given him the decisive answer, 'Yea, of the Gentiles also,' this became the moving force of his strenuous life (cf. Joh. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus*, p. 67). He had been a traveller from his youth, for the journey from Tarsus to Jerusalem was not a short one; but now he took a wider circuit (Ro 15[19]), and would fain have embraced the whole world in his travels (v.[24]), so anxious was he to proclaim what he believed to be the religion of redemption for all mankind. The highest service that the Dispersion has up till now rendered to the world is its becoming the starting-point of

the aggressive Christian movement of St. Paul and his fellow-apostles; what further service it may be designed to render, in the form in which it now exists, is yet hidden in the counsels of the Eternal.

It may cause some surprise that St. Paul never visited Alexandria, where the freest development of pre-Christian Judaism took place. This development, however, was in many respects alien to St. Paul's mind. Alexandrian Judaism was 'a cultured Unitarianism with strong ethical convictions. The old dream of a theocracy was forgotten, and Messianism aroused no interest' (Inge, *ERE* i. 309; cf. Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, i. 177). This brief account must be qualified, however, by the statement in Acts (18[28]), that it was a gifted Alexandrian Jew, Apollos, who, after 'the way of God had been expounded to him more carefully,' demonstrated the Messiahship of Jesus publicly, before the Jews in Corinth, with energy and success (cf. Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 121). The illustrious Church of Alexandria must have been founded, like other churches, on 'the Rejected Stone.'

Many traits of the Diaspora mentioned above are illustrated by the Acts and the Epistles. The long list of foreign Jews present at Pentecost shows how widely scattered their settlements were. Was it by means of some of these (Ac 2[10]), returning to their native synagogue 'in the power of the Spirit,' that the faith of Christ first reached the city of Rome? At Antioch, some Cyprian and Cyrenæan Christians were the first to take the bold step of 'speaking unto the Gentiles also, preaching Jesus as the Lord' (Ac 11[20], 'where the sense of the passage seems to require "Ελληνας' [Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.* i. 56n.]). The names of Barnabas of Cyprus, Philip of Cæsarea, Lucius of Cyrene, Timothy of Lystra, Jason of Thessalonica, Sopater of Berœa, Crispus of Corinth, Aquila of Pontus, illustrate how largely the Church's assets consisted of Jews settled abroad. The tent-making of Aquila, in which St. Paul joined him, gives a glimpse into the industrial life of the Diaspora. Amongst his 'kinsmen' in Asia and Europe the Apostle found some of his most efficient coadjutors; from them too, and not only from the unbelieving portion of them, there came some of his most fanatical opponents.

In Ja 1[1] St. James may be addressing the Christian Jews of the Eastern Dispersion, and in 1 P 1[1] St. Peter those of the Western (J. B. Mayor, *Ep. of James*[3], 1910, p. 30); but in 1 P 1[1] it is much more probable that the whole body of Christians living at the time are addressed as being now, spiritually, 'the Israel of God' (Gal 6[16]; cf. Hort, *First Epistle of Peter, I. 1–II. 17*, 1898, p. 7).

There are few data to satisfy our curiosity about what happened to the Jewish Diaspora from A.D. 70 to 100. The rebellion against the Roman authority seems to have met with no sympathy on the part of the Jews of Rome. They had no share in the insurrections under Vespasian, Trajan, or Hadrian, and were left unmolested (*JE* iv. 563).* We even hear that 'after A.D. 70 till perhaps 100, Judaism made many converts especially in Rome' (*Parting of the Roads*, pp. 286, 305). Those Jews who had had their home in Jerusalem were compelled after A.D. 70 to live after the manner of their brethren of the Diaspora (*EBi* ii. 2286). The story of the re-organization of Judaism on a non-sacerdotal basis by Jochanan ben Zakkai, the founder of the School of Jamnia near Joppa, and his successors, has recently been re-told by E. Levine in a manner that commands attention and respect (*Parting of the Roads*, 299 f.). But to pursue this interesting line of study would take us far beyond the limits of the Apostolic Age.

* 'Even the destruction of Jerusalem scarcely endangered the toleration of the Jews at Rome' (Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.* i. 40).

LITERATURE.—H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History to A.D. 313*, 1909, i. 1-72; A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*[2], 1908, i. 1 ff., *Acts of the Apostles*, 1909, p. 121; *The Parting of the Roads*, 1912, Essay iv.: 'Judaism in the Days of the Christ' (Oesterley), Essay ix.: 'The Breach between Judaism and Christianity' (Levine); W. M. Ramsay, *Expositor*, 6th ser., v. [1902]: 'The Jews in the Græco-Asiatic Cities,' 7th ser., ii. [1906]: 'Tarsus,' §§ xi.-xvii.; H. Schultz, *OT Theology*, 1892, i. 423; J. Weiss, *Paul and Jesus*, 1909, pp. 59, 67; P. Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, 1903-04, i. 177; Th. Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, 1909, i. 433, ii. 134; artt. on 'Dispersion' or 'Diaspora' in *EBi* i. 1106 (Guthe), *DCG* i. 465 (M'Neile), *JE* iv. 559 (Reinach), *HDB* v. 91 (Schürer), Smith's *DB* i. 737 (Westcott). See also *HDB* ii. 608[b] (Sanday), iv. 807 (Patrick and Relton), v. 57[a] (Buhl), v. 199 (Drummond); *EBi* ii. 2286 (Guthe), *ERE* i. 309 (Inge), ii. 580[b] (von Dobschütz). JAMES DONALD.

DIVINATION.—1. Definition.—Primitive man, under the influence of animatism and animism, came to think of himself as surrounded by innumerable spirits. These in course of time became differentiated into gods, goddesses, demons, ghosts, etc. These beings could influence, enter into, and animate not only each other, but human beings, beasts, and things. Man gradually realized that it was his duty to discover and cultivate relations, friendly or defensive, with these—a duty intensified by his covetousness of good and his aversion to calamities or privations. Some of the methods he employed for doing this became regulated and systematized into forms of worship, *i.e.* approved methods of approaching and propitiating the spirits. As these forms became more and more universally recognized, they acquired a sacred character, which differentiated them from, and placed them on a higher level than, other ceremonies. Still the latter continued to be practised, because the forms of worship did not meet all men's necessities. Unusual circumstances occurred through which, or on account of which, the divinities communicated with men, or by reason of which men felt the need of communicating with those beings in whose hands lay the destinies of their lives. These survivals of the lower culture, from which the regular forms of worship had shaken themselves free, may be grouped under the name 'Divination.'

The Latin name for a divine being was *deus*. *Divus* indicates the quality possessed by a thing which makes it 'godlike'; *divinus* rather the qualities which make a being 'divine'; *divinitas* means 'the divine nature'; *divinare*, 'to see like a god'; and *divinatio*, 'the power of seeing like a god.' This came to be confined, in ordinary use, to the power of foreseeing. But the word has a much wider meaning. To Chrysippus and the Stoics, 'divination' was the means of communication between the gods and men. Cicero (*de Div.* i. 38) argues that, if there are gods, there must be men who have the power of communicating with them. In English 'divination' has the wider meaning akin to the original significance. Divination then rests on the idea that, apart from forms of worship, a divinity and a human being can, when necessary, come into living touch with each other, the divinity acting on or through the man, thus revealing his mind to him; or the man by approved methods so revealing his mind to the divinity that the latter acts on or through him.

2. Divination and magic.—Just as worship, by becoming systematized, left behind it the forms of communication called 'divination,' so divination, as it became more regulated and elaborated in the hands of professional diviners, left behind it cruder and lower forms of communication which may all be included under the term 'magic.'*

* A. C. Haddon, *Magic and Fetishism*, 1906; F. B. Jevons, *Comparative Religion*, 1913.

The distinction between divination and magic may be briefly and not inaccurately stated thus: the diviner is in touch with the divinities because he is their servant; the magician, because, for the time being, he is their master. Thus, each of these forms of communication, though existing alongside of each other and accepted by the same people, has its own distinctive features.

3. Development.—If we think of the above three methods of communication between the divinities and men as existing, in embryo, in the earliest ages, we can realize how they were each developed by such great races as the Semites and the Aryans, and how the common inheritance of each of these was developed along distinctive lines by the different nations springing from them. Thus, to confine our attention to divination, we have that of the Semites,* developing into that of the Mesopotamians,† Persians,‡ Jews,§ and Arabians;‖ and that of the Aryans,¶ developing into that of the Vedas,** Greeks,†† Romans,‡‡ Celts,§§ Teutons,‖‖ and Lithuanians;¶¶ while that of the Egyptians strongly influenced and was influenced by many of these.***

The *Pax Romana* and the toleration of the Roman Government permitted the cults of innumerable divinities and all these forms of divination to spread throughout the Empire; and Jews, Christians, worshippers of all kinds of Eastern and Egyptian deities, diviners, 'magicians, astrologers, and wizards jostled each other in a theological confusion to which no parallel can be found' (K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 47).

4. Divination in the Apostolic Age.—It is difficult, but necessary, to realize this amazing profusion of divinities as a distinct feature of the Apostolic Age. Besides mentioning Jahweh, the God of the Hebrews, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit, worshipped by the Christians, and some of the innumerable ethnic deities, the literature of the Apostolic Age contains references to angels, archangels, living creatures, Satan, the Devil, the Wicked One, the Antichrist, demons, unclean and evil powers, dominions, principalities, authorities, thrones, and glories.

It is not easy to decide how far belief in these affected the various classes. But practically this is true: each man had his favourite divinity to which all Gentiles added a select group of deities whom they reverenced. Rationalists like the Sadducees denied the existence of ἄγγελοι and πνεύματα (Ac 23^{8}); many of the more educated viewed the existence of the minor supernatural beings with more or less scepticism; but the mass of people lived in the belief and the fear of these divine beings. In that age men felt themselves surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses (He 12^{1}), living in a world where the gods appeared (Ac 14^{11} 28^{6}), where Jesus appeared to St. Paul ($9^{17.\ 27}$ 26^{16}) and to Stephen (7^{56}), and His Spirit prohibited action (16^{7}), where an itinerant preacher was received as a messenger of God, or even as Christ Jesus re-incarnated (Gal 4^{14}); where the Holy Spirit was a distinct living personality, where the assertion that a man was the Son of God made a Roman governor tremble (Jn 19^{8}), and the patience of His death caused a Roman centurion to exclaim: 'This was a Son of God' (Mt 27^{54}). In such a world the Satan fashioned himself into an ἄγγελος φωτός (2 Co 11^{14}), δαίμονες entered into men, and were cast out by men (Lk 11^{19}, Mk 9^{38}), converts to the religion of Jesus who had believed and were baptized proposed to purchase the ability to confer the Holy Spirit (Ac 8^{19}), the power of the evil eye was exercised (Mk 7^{22}), and ἀρχαί and δυνάμεις, 'principalities' and 'powers' (Ro 8^{38}), 'mustered their unseen array.' Nor must we think that the Christians stood far removed from the common beliefs of the age. This is clear from many things. Think of their belief in the Satan, the antagonist who stood over against God. He was conceived as a huge dragon, or old serpent (Rev 12^{9} 13^{11} [as amended by Charles in his *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1913, p. 100] 20^{2}), and as such was identified with διάβολος. He was regarded as having his abode in the skies, in which he and his ἄγγελοι had been defeated by an ἀρχάγγελος Michael and his ἄγγελοι, and thrown down on the earth (12^{7-9}) to be flung into the abyss for a thousand years ($20^{3.\ 7}$). He had his subordinate spirits. Special mention is made of 'the Lawless One' [according to ℵ B] (2 Th 2^{3}), and the ἄγγελοι who fought for him (Rev 12^{7-9}), and afflicted men's bodies (2 Co 12^{7}), and even destroyed them (1 Co 5^{5}). He himself could masquerade as ἄγγελος φωτός (2 Co 11^{14}), and could equip his servants with full powers, the miracles and portents of falsehood, and the full deceitfulness of evil (2 Th $2^{9.\ 10}$). The Satan was the adversary of men; his chief aim was to seduce to wrong (Rev $20^{3.\ 8.\ 10}$, Eph 2^{2}) by tempting to such sins as lying, cheating (Ac 5^{3}), incontinence (1 Co 7^{5}, 1 Ti 5^{15}), gross sexual excess, 'his deep mysteries' (Rev 2^{24}, Eph 2^{3}). He gains advantages by clever manœuvres (2 Co 2^{11}). He is the accuser of the members of the Christian brotherhood (Rev 12^{10}). He hinders good endeavours (1 Th 2^{18}), but the God of peace crushes him under His people's feet (Ro 16^{20}). Jews hostile to the religion of Jesus are thought of by the Christians as his servants who form his synagogue (Rev 2^{9} 3^{9}), and in places noted for wickedness he dwells in power as a king on his throne (2^{13}). By a deliberate act of judgment an offender could be consigned to the Satan's power for the destruction of his body (1 Co 5^{5}, 1 Ti 1^{20}).

The natural and inevitable outcome of this multiplicity of divinities was the universal practice of divination. The testimony of history to this fact is fully confirmed by the discovery of contemporary texts, among which are 'innumerable . . . horoscopes, amulets, cursing tablets, and magical books. . . . The whole ancient world is full of miracles' (Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East*², 1911, pp. 284, 393). Divination and magic were prevalent not merely among sects like the Essenes, but among the Jews generally (Schürer, *HJP* II. iii. [1886] p. 151 ff., II. ii. [1885] p. 204). The writings of the Apostolic Fathers show the relation of the Christians to these arts. In the *Didache* among other commandments are these, 'thou shalt not practise magic, thou shalt not use enchantments,' οὐ μαγεύσεις, οὐ φαρμακεύσεις (ii.), and this entreaty, 'become not an omen-

* W. Robertson Smith, *RS*², 1894; Th. Nöldeke, *Sketches from Eastern History*, Eng. tr., 1892; *ERE* i. 390; J. E. Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, 1913; *HDB* v. 83 ff. and the Literature there mentioned.

† J. E. Carpenter, *op. cit.*; A. H. Sayce, *Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, 1887; G. Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*², 1896; Stephen Langdon, 'Private Penance,' in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, 1908, p. 249; L. W. King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, 1896, *Bab. Religion and Mythology*, 1899; L. R. Farnell, *Greece and Babylon*, 1911; *ERE* i. 316, iv. 783, and Literature there mentioned; R. C. Thompson, *The Report of the Magicians and Astrologers of Nineveh and Babylon*, 1900, also *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 1903-04.

‡ *ERE* iv. 813; J. H. Moulton, *Early Religious Poetry of Persia*, 1911.

§ *ERE* iv. 806; S. A. Cook, *The Religion of Ancient Palestine*, 1908; T. W. Davies, *Magic, Divination, and Demonology among the Hebrews and their Neighbours*, 1898; *HDB* i. 611 ff.

‖ *ERE* i. 659.

¶ R. v. Ihering, *The Evolution of the Aryan*, tr. Drucker, 1897; I. Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, 1889; *ERE* i. 11 and the Literature there mentioned.

** *Ib.* iv. 827.

†† W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 1913; *ERE* iv. 796, vi. 401; Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912.

‡‡ W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 1911; *ERE* iv. 820.

§§ *Ib.* iii. 277, iv. 787. ‖‖ *Ib.* iv. 827.

¶¶ *Ib.* iv. 814.

*** *Ib.* vi. 374; F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, Eng. tr., 1911, p. 73 ff.

watcher, nor one who uses charms, nor an astrologer, nor one who purifies,' *i.e.* one who averts disease or removes sin by sacrifices, *μὴ γίνου οἰωνοσκόπος . . . μηδὲ ἐπαοιδός, μηδὲ μαθηματικὸς, μηδὲ περικαθαίρων* (iii.). Hermas (*Mand.* xi. 4) cautions Christians not to consult soothsayers (*μαντεύονται*). The *Didache* describes the Way of Death as full, among other things, of 'magical arts and potions,' *μαγεῖαι, φαρμακίαι* (v.), while in the Way of Darkness, among other things that destroy the soul, are 'potions and magical arts,' *φαρμακεία, μαγεία* (*Ep. Barn.* xx.). Ignatius speaks of the birth of Jesus as destroying or making ridiculous every kind of magic, *πᾶσα μαγεία* (*Eph.* xix.), and exhorts his readers 'to flee evil arts,' *τὰς κακοτεχνίας φεῦγε*, but all the more to discourse in public regarding them (*Ep. to Polycarp*, v.). In Ps.-Ignatius, *Ep. to the Antiochians*, xi., 'the practice of magic,' *γοητείας*, is a vice forbidden even to the Gentiles. Aristides (*Apol.* xi.) in indicating the things which Christians should not do, omits all reference to divination or magic, and a similar omission is noticeable in *Ep. Barn.* xix. and in 1 Clement, xxx. xxxv. Hero is warned (Ps.-Ignatius, *Ep. to Hero*, ii.) to distrust any one teaching beyond what is commanded, even 'though he work miracles,' *κἂν σημεῖα ποιῇ*. In the description which Aristides declares the Greeks give of their gods, he writes that they say some of them were 'sorcerers,' *φαρμακούς* (*Apol.* viii.), 'practising sorcery,' *φαρμακείας* (xiii.), and he calls Hermes 'a magician,' *μάγον* (x.). But it is noticeable that in Ps.-Ignatius, *Ep. to the Antiochians*, xii., among the Church officials is 'the exorcist,' *ἐπορκιστής*, and in the *Ep. to the Philippians*, v., Christ is by way of honour called 'this magician,' *μάγος οὗτος*, while in *Ephesians*, xx., the sacramental bread is called 'the medicine of immortality,' *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*. Pagan testimony is to the same effect. The Emperor Hadrian (A.D. 117–138), writing to the Consul Servianus on the state of Egypt, says: 'There is no ruler of a synagogue of Jews, no Samaritan, no Presbyter of the Christians who is not an astrologer, a soothsayer, a quack [*mathematicus, haruspex, aliptes*]' (*Script. Hist. August.*, 1774, 'Vopisci Saturninus,' 8).

These supernatural beings communicated with men by means of *ἄγγελοι* ('angels' or 'messengers') or prophets, by possession, by means of the hand, tongues, dreams, visions, trances, voices, sounds.

The human beings in touch with these supernatural beings were variously named exorcists, soothsayers, sorcerers, enchanters; and, lower still, magicians, witches, and wizards. They had various methods of bringing the power of the divinities to act on men, all of which may be classed into two groups: (*a*) *regular*: blessing, cursing, pronouncing anathema, invoking the Name, embracing, laying on of hands, shadowing, signs and wonders, as *e.g.* healing, or smiting with disease such as blindness; (*b*) *exceptional*: the lot, the vow, the oath, and committing to Satan.

As religion has become spiritualized, divination has more and more lost its hold on the minds of men. The ultimate end will be reached when worship shall be the approach to the One Father by a man, who, because he is taught and led by the indwelling Spirit of Jesus, needs no divination, and who, because he can proffer his requests to the Father in prayer, scorns all magic. But the end is not yet.

LITERATURE.—There is no book dealing with Divination in the Apostolic Age. Reference to its various phases will be found in modern Commentaries and in works on Comparative Religion, and Anthropology, as those of E. B. Tylor, A. E. Crawley, J. G. Frazer, F. B. Jevons, J. H. Leuba, and R. R. Marett. In addition to these and the authorities cited throughout the art., reference may be made to F. W. H. Myers, on 'Greek Oracles,' in *Essays*, 1883, and to the series of articles in *ERE* vi. 775 ff.

P. A. GORDON CLARK.

DIVINITY.—See CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY.

DIVISIONS.—The work of the Apostle Paul was much hindered by divisions in the Church. There are many passages in his Epistles which refer to this, but the subject cannot be better studied than in 1 Co $1^{10ff.}$. The Corinthian Church, though outwardly united, was divided in its allegiance to different teachers—'I am of Paul, and I of Apollos, and I of Cephas, and I of Christ.' Much ingenuity has been expended in sketching the characteristics of these four parties, but it is not easy to be certain of them. Apollos was a Jew of Alexandria (Ac 18^{24-28}), a disciple of the Baptist, who, being more fully instructed by Aquila and Priscilla, was baptized into the Christian Church. At Corinth his learning and eloquence made a great impression, and there might be many who would regard him as a leader in the faith; but there need not have been any serious division in the Church on this account. Far greater difficulty would be experienced between those who are generally known as the Judaizing party and those who accepted the teaching of the Apostle.

The question of Gentile converts being free from the yoke of the Law of Moses had been settled by the Council held at Jerusalem (Ac 15^{1-29}), but the Judaizing party had not acquiesced *ex animo* in that decision. The Epistle to the Galatians gives us an insight into their tactics then, and it is highly probable that in the 'Christ' party of 1 Co $1^{10ff.}$ we meet with the same line of action. In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians the Apostle defends his authority and apostolicity in much the same way as he does in the Epistle to the Galatians (2 Co 10. 11. 12, Gal 1^{11} 2^{21}).

This party would perhaps point to the obedience of Christ to the Law during His life, and would strongly advocate the position that Christianity was an outcome of Judaism, and that the Gentile in accepting Christ must bow his head to the yoke of the Law as well. In 1 Cor. we see this party in its infancy; but in 2 Cor. it has grown to much more dangerous proportions. From the internal evidence of the latter Epistle we may gather something of their claims. They were Hebrews; they claimed to be apostles; they preached another gospel and another Jesus (2 Co 11). Their insistence upon obedience to the ceremonial Law brought them into direct conflict with St. Paul's teaching on justification. They made many grievous and unjust charges against him, and sought in every way to discredit him and to belittle his authority. The Epistle makes it clear that they met with considerable success. The Corinthians were infatuated with their new teachers, and turned against the Apostle. In some way the news of the defection reached St. Paul, and led to his paying a visit to Corinth. This visit is not recorded in the Acts but is alluded to in this Epistle (2 Co 13). This was followed by a stern letter which some think is preserved in 2 Co 10–13; and finally, on receipt of the good news of their repentance, St. Paul wrote with thankfulness the Epistle which we have in 2 Co 1–9. MORLEY STEVENSON.

DIVORCE.—See MARRIAGE.

DOCTOR.—'Doctor' (Lk 2^{46} 5^{17}, Ac 5^{34}) = 'teacher.' The 'doctor' was a scribe. Till 40 years old he was *talmîd* ('scholar'). Probably after examination he became *talmîd ḥākhām* ('sage scholar'). On receiving a call from a particular community, he was solemnly ordained to office with laying on of hands, and became *rabbi* ('master'). Such was the process after A.D. 70. In the NT *rabbi* has not so specialized an application. The Law, especially the oral tradition, was

the great subject of study; it was learned by indefatigable memorizing. Discussions were held at which listeners might put questions (cf. Lk 2^{46}).

LITERATURE.—E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. § 25 (II.); W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im neutest. Zeitalter*, 1903, ii. 5, p. 147; art. 'Doctor' in *HDB*, *DCG*, and *CE*.

W. D. NIVEN.

DOCTRINE.—See TEACHING.

DOG (*κύων*, Ph 3^2, 2 P 2^{22}, Rev 22^{15}).—In Palestine the dog plays a very insignificant and contemptible part, and is in consequence the symbol for all that is ignoble and mean. The ordinary pariah street-dogs are from two to three feet long, tawny in colour, have small eyes, short fur, and comparatively little hair on the tail. They act as scavengers, clearing away carcases and offal, which form the staple of their food, and which, but for them, might create pestilence (cf. H. B. Tristram, *Natural History*[10], p. 78). They bark and howl all night (cf. Ps $59^{6.\ 14}$), but as a rule are afraid of men, though on occasions they attack travellers in lonely places. Sometimes they are trained to act as sheep-dogs (cf. Job 30^1), not, however, for driving the sheep, as with us, but for guarding them against the attacks of wolves and jackals at night. Dogs were seldom regarded or treated as pets; this was perhaps due to the fact that the Jews were not a hunting people. Tristram, however, informs us that he had no difficulty in making a pet of a puppy taken from pariah dogs (*op. cit.* p. 80), while we have clear evidence in Mt 15^{27} ‖ Mk 7^{27} that they sometimes became household pets; it is, however, noticeable that the term used in these two passages is the diminutive *κυνάριον*. The only other breed of dog known in Palestine is the Persian greyhound, which resembles our greyhound in general form and appearance, but is larger and stronger, though not so swift. This dog is used by shaikhs for hunting the gazelle.

When used as a personal epithet in OT and NT, 'dog' is a term of absolute contempt when applied to others, of extreme humility when applied to oneself. In Ph 3^2, St. Paul applies the term to his Judaizing opponents—'Look to, be on your guard against, *the dogs*, the workers of mischief, the concision' (cf. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 143)—a party, clearly, well-defined and well-known to the members of the Philippian Church. In 2 P 2^{22} the 'dog' is mentioned along with the 'sow' as in Horace (*Epp.* I. ii. 26)—the dog turning to his own vomit again, and the sow that hath bathed itself (in mud), to wallowing in the mire. The reference is to apostates—those who, after being converted to the way of righteousness and having abandoned the filth in which they had once so zealously 'bathed,' return again to wallow in the mire of their former delights. In Rev 22^{15}, the 'dogs' are those who are corrupted by the foul vices of the heathen world, many of whom were doubtless to be found within the pale of the Church (cf. $2^{14.\ 20}$f., 2 Co 12^{21}).

LITERATURE.—For the dog in Palestine see H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*[10], 1911, p. 78ff.; also *SWP*: 'The Fauna and Flora of Palestine,' 1884, p. 21; P. G. Baldensperger, 'The Immovable East,' in *PEFSt*, 1903, p. 73, 1904, p. 361; J. E. Hanauer, 'Palestinian Animal Folk-Lore,' in *PEFSt*, 1904, p. 265; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, new ed., 1910, pp. 178-179. On the texts see especially J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 143 f.; C. Bigg, *Epp. of St. Peter and St. Jude* (*ICC*, 1901), p. 287 f.; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1907, p. 308.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

DOMINION.—This word is used, though not invariably, in the translation of three Gr. expressions: (1) the verb *κυριεύειν*, 'to be lord of,' 'to have dominion over' (Ro $6^{9.\ 14}$ 7^1 AV and RV; 2 Co 1^{24} AV, where RV has 'have lordship'); (2) *τὸ κράτος*; (3) *κυριότης*.

τὸ κράτος is rendered thus in the doxologies in 1 P 4^{11} 5^{11}, Jude[25], Rev 1^6 5^{13} (RV). In the only other doxology where it occurs (1 Ti 6^{16}) RV strangely retains 'power' of AV. Lightfoot (on Col 1^{11}) says that 'the word *κράτος* in the NT is applied solely to God,' Thayer (*s.v. δύναμις*), more cautiously, that the word is used 'in the NT chiefly of God'; He 2^{14} is an exception.

κυριότης is found in four passages, viz. Eph 1^{21}, Col 1^{16} (plural), Jude[8], 2 P 2^{10}; RV in all cases gives 'dominion,' AV in the first three, and in the margin of 2 P 2^{10} (text, 'government'). In Eph. and Col. a class of angels is meant (Milton's 'Dominations') with which compare 1 Co 8^5, where angels are called *κύριοι* (Grimm-Thayer, *Lexicon*, *s.v. κυριότης*). The meaning of the word in Peter and Jude presents some difficulty. (*a*) Many suppose that here also angels are referred to, which 2 P 2^{11} and the reference to the sin of the Sodomites seem to support. Cremer (*Lexicon*, *s.v. κυριότης*) says that in Peter evil angels are implied from the context, though not in Jude. But, as Bennett (*Century Bible*: 'The General Epistles,' 1901, p. 334) points out, 'it does not seem likely that blasphemy against angels would be so conspicuous a sin of licentious men as to call forth this emphatic condemnation.' (*b*) *κυριότης* may be understood of the power and majesty of God (Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude* [*ICC*, 1901], p. 279), or the Lordship of Christ, in support of which 2 P $2^{1.\ 6}$, Jude $^{4.\ 15}$ may be quoted. (*c*) It may refer to authorities in the Church whose legitimate power these men despised and spoke against. Bennett inclines to this interpretation in Jude and regards it as included also in 2 Peter, where he gives the general principle of the argument thus: when good angels withstand dignities, *i.e.* evil angels, although the good are the more powerful, they do not abuse their opponents; how absurd and wicked for evil men to abuse good angels, or perhaps even the legitimate Church authorities. J. R. Lumby (in *Speaker's Commentary*: 'Heb. to Rev.,' 1881, p. 395) combines (*b*) and (*c*) above: 'the railing at dignities, though its first exhibition might be made against the Apostles and those set in authority in the Church, yet went further and resulted in the denial of our only Master, God Himself, whose dominion these sinners were disregarding, and our Lord Jesus Christ, whose glory these men speak evil of or rail at.'

In the RV of 1 Ti 2^{12} *αὐθεντεῖν ἀνδρός* is translated 'to have *dominion* over,' AV 'to usurp authority over.' See also art. PRINCIPALITY.

W. H. DUNDAS.

DOMITIAN.—Titus Flavius Domitianus, second son of Titus Flavius Vespasianus (Emperor A.D. 69-79; see VESPASIAN) and his kinswoman Flavia Domitilla, and brother of Titus Flavius Vespasianus (Emperor A.D. 79-81; see TITUS), was Roman Emperor from A.D. 81 to 96. He was born on 24 October A.D. 51 in Rome, during the principate of Claudius, almost twelve years after his brother Titus. He lost his mother and only sister in early life, and when his father and brother entered on the Jewish War in A.D. 66, Domitian was scarcely fifteen years old. When his father was called to the Imperial throne on 1 July 69, his sons received corresponding honours, each being named *Cæsar* and *princeps iuuentutis*. Domitian had a narrow escape at the hands of the Vitellians, being compelled to leave the Capitol in the robes of a priest of Isis, which a freedman had procured for him. On his father's accession Domitian received the prætorship, which he held from 1 January 70, but exercised for the most part by deputy. Following the fashion set by Augustus, he robbed L. Lamia Æmilianus of his wife Domitia Longina, and, after living with her for some time unmarried, finally married her. It was unfortunate for his future career that his father and elder brother

were absent for a lengthy period from Rome and Italy, being detained by the Jewish War. The sudden accession to power and influence of a youth of barely eighteen years of age ended, as might have been expected, in a disastrous perversion of character. The complaints against him served to hasten his father's return. Before 21 June 70, Domitian and Mucianus, the most prominent supporter of the Flavian house, left Rome for the Gallo-German war. A change in the situation caused Domitian to return. He lived for a period in his Alban villa in retirement from public life. On the return of his father he received much distinction, but so far as direct government of the Empire was concerned he was kept in the background. He was, however, six times consul before he became Emperor. On the death of Vespasian (79) Titus became Emperor; Domitian, though openly spoken of as *consors imperii*, was wisely kept in an inferior position.

On the death of Titus through fever, Domitian became Emperor (13 September 81). Henceforth his title was Imperator Cæsar Domitianus (Domitianus Cæsar) Augustus. The title *Germanicus* was conferred upon him in 84, and he became *censor perpetuus* (after 5 Sept.) in 85. Certain of the important events of his reign may be enumerated. It was probably very soon after the death of Titus that the decree for the construction of the arch in his honour, still standing at the *Summa Sacra Via*, was passed. On it are the famous representations of the Golden Candlestick, etc. (see art. ROME). His first year was also signalized by the victories of Cn. Iulius Agricola in Scotland and the establishment of fortified posts as far as the line of the Forth and Clyde. In 82 the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill, which had been destroyed by fire in 80, was completed. In the same year the roads in the Imperial provinces of Asia Minor were repaired, and Agricola carried out his fifth campaign, planning also an invasion of Ireland which never took place. In 83 an expedition to Germany took place as the result of which victories were gained over the Chatti. Territory was added to the Empire in the region of Taunus and Wetterau on the right bank of the Rhine, and secured by a fortified rampart (*limes*). This success brought the title *Germanicus* to Domitian on 3 September 84 (cf. Statius, *Silvæ* [*passim*] for the use of the name; passages in Klotz's index, p. 187). About this time Domitian also allowed himself to be appointed consul for ten years, and received the *censoria potestas* for life, and other honours. The pay of the soldiers was increased by a third. In 83, on his sixth campaign, Agricola had been able, with the co-operation of his fleet, to extend his hold over our island. He marched as far north as Inchtuthill near Dunkeld, and made a lasting camp there. In 84 occurred the battle of Mons Graupius (locality uncertain), by which the Caledonians received a crushing blow. Agricola left Britain in a pacified state, when Domitian's jealousy recalled him soon after this victory. In the period 85–87 Domitian led in person two expeditions against the Dacians, who had provoked war. They crossed the Danube and invaded the province of Mœsia. The governor of Mœsia, Oppius Sabinus, was defeated and killed. The Dacians thereupon ravaged the territory on the right bank of the Danube and destroyed towns and forts. About the end of January 86 Domitian himself took the field. Of the details of the war almost nothing is known. It appears that Domitian issued his commands for the most part from the Imperial camp in the province of Mœsia. The Decebalus was conquered, and Domitian took the credit of the victory to himself. He was back in Rome in the summer of 86, but the war was continued by Cornelius Fuscus, who appears to have suffered a heavy defeat.

About the same period the Romans were engaged in warfare against the Nasamones on the African coast, and against the Germans. It was in Domitian's reign that the custom of buying off the opposition of Rome's enemies began. During this period the Emperor became more and more a tyrant and less and less a constitutional prince. It is significant that he allowed himself to be called *dominus ac deus* (A.D. 85–86). Tyranny aroused the more republican of the senators, and many were condemned; a conspiracy against the Emperor was discovered and crushed. Probably about the end of 89 Domitian triumphed over the Dacians and the Germans, whose governor, L. Antonius Saturninus, sought to dethrone him. Domitian had taken part in both these wars himself. We learn also of an expedition against the Quadi, the Marcomani, and the Sarmatians, all of whom were allies of the Dacians. Domitian was recognized as victor, peace was made between the combatants, and large sums of money were sent by Domitian to the Decebalus. The year 89 was marked by further condemnations of distinguished persons and the confiscation of their property. Twenty years after Nero's death (9 June 68) a false Nero appeared, and caused an uprising among the Parthians which it was extremely difficult to quell. It is not impossible that some reference to this occurrence is latent in Rev 13^3. In the year 91 a Vestal virgin, charged with having broken her vow of chastity, was by the orders of the 'censor' Domitian subjected to the ancient penalty of being buried alive. In this year also was unveiled the great equestrian statue of Domitian in the Forum (celebrated by Statius in his *Silvæ*, i. 1), the base of which is still in position. In 92 (or, strictly, in the period Oct. 91 to Sept. 92) there was a good vine crop but a bad cereal crop. Domitian in consequence ordered that no new vineyards should be laid out in Italy and that the vines of the provinces should be reduced to one half their former number. This measure, intended to improve agriculture, was not carried out strictly. The provinces complained, among them Asia Minor. M. Salomon Reinach pointed out in 1901 (in *RA*, reprinted in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, ii. [1906] 356–380) that there is a reference to this edict latent in the difficult passage Rev 6^6 (see Sanday in *JThSt* viii. [1906–07] 488 f.). In the same year Domitian conducted war against the Sarmatians with success. Next year (93) was marked by more condemnation of the nobility, and among others the great Agricola fell a victim. Now began the reign of terror which ended only with the death of Domitian. Among those who suffered were some of the noblest Romans, men and women, that ever lived.

It was in the year Oct. 93 to Sept. 94, according to the *Chronicle* of Eusebius, as translated by Jerome, that the Domitianic persecution of the Christians began, and that the Apostle John, being banished to the island 'Pathmus,' saw the Apocalypse (cf. other ancient references recorded in the introductions to the Commentaries by Swete, Bousset, and Hort, to which add pseudo-Augustine, *Quæstiones Veteris et Novi Testamenti CXXVII*, lxxvi. [lxxii.] 2: 'ista Reuelatio eo tempore facta est, quo apostolus Iohannes in insula erat Pathmos, relegatus a Domitiano imperatore fidei causa'). For the difficulty in dating the Apocalypse see art. APOCALYPSE. There must have been a fierce persecution of Christians in Domitian's time, and the Apocalypse would seem to be the mirror of it. The Church always believed Domitian to have been the second great persecutor. The wonder is that the outbreak did not come earlier, in view of Domitian's assumption of the titles 'Lord and God' referred

to above. It has been usual to connect with this persecution the charge of 'atheism' (by which, of course, the Romans meant the worship of no god in visible form: they had long charged the Jews with the same [cf. Lucan, ii. 592–3: 'dedita sacris incerti Iudaea dei']) brought against two relations of the Emperor. These were Flavius Clemens, the consul of the year (95), first cousin of the Emperor, and his wife, Flavia Domitilla, niece of the Emperor. Clemens was beheaded, and Domitilla was banished to Pandateria. A grave in the catacombs near Rome belonged to the latter. Before the summer of this year 95 the *Via Domitiana* connecting Sinuessa and Puteoli was completed (celebrated by Statius, *Silvæ*, iv. 3). This meant a saving of time for journeys from Rome to Naples and beyond (see art. ROADS AND TRAVEL). In the year 96, on 18 Sept., the much-hated Emperor met his death at the hands of his friends, his freedman, and his wife.

LITERATURE.—Among the ancient authorities, his beneficiaries Statius and Martial say all and more than all the good there is to be said of Domitian; the part of Tacitus' *Hist.* dealing with him has perished; there are occasional references in contemporary authors, and there are the biography by Suetonius and parts of Dio Cassius, Orosius, etc. The best modern work is S. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien*, Paris, 1894; there is an excellent résumé with references and literature in Weynand's art. in Pauly-Wissowa, vi. [1909] 2541–2596; A. v. Domaszewski, *Gesch. d. röm. Kaiser*, Leipzig, 1909, vol. ii.; general histories of the Empire. On Domitian and Christianity see W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, chs. xii. and xiii.

A. SOUTER.

DOOR.*—The examples of the concrete use of θύρα, 'door,' are all found in Acts, and may be treated under three heads: (1) house doors, (2) prison doors, (3) Temple doors. The first two occur in the narratives of miraculous events.

1. In Ac 5[9] the feet of them that buried Ananias are said to be ἐπὶ τῇ θύρᾳ, nigh at hand, if not actually heard by those within. More vivid still is the instance of 12[13], where one required to knock at, or beat, the door, to make oneself heard within. (The presence of a knocker for the purpose is not to be inferred, for Jewish doors at least.) τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος (cf. Ezk 40[11] [LXX]) is best understood as a door abutting on the street or lane, which gave the entry to a covered passage communicating with the court of the house, in which the living rooms were situated (see GATE). Rhoda stood in this passage, hearing, but seeing not (besides, it was night), the Apostle Peter, who was without, and being in command of the way so long as the door, not the gate, remained locked or barred. ἀνοίξαντες (v.[16]) implies door, which is rightly not expressed in RV. For modern usage see Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 1898, p. 95.

2. With one exception (Ac 12[6]) the doors of prisons are found in the plural (Ac 5[19. 23] 16[26. 27]). The indications afforded by the narrative of Acts are too meagre to enable us to reconstruct the form of these places of detention, either in Jerusalem or at Philippi. Security seems to have been given by guards, chains, and stocks rather than by any peculiar strength of door. Of necessity the bolt or bar was attached to the outside, of cell doors at least. For the situation at Philippi, see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 220 f.

3. In Ac 3[2] the Beautiful Gate of the Temple (cf v.[10]) is described by the word for 'door,' which RV brings out. As in the private house, so here, the door forms part of the gate, the latter being in reality a portal. This particular gate of the Temple is now believed to be the Corinthian Gate, which is identical with the Nicanor Gate, on the east side of the Temple precincts. Its doors, and other parts, were of Corinthian brass (or bronze), probably solid, being shut with difficulty by twenty men (Josephus, *BJ* VI. v. 3; cf. *Ant.* XV. xi. 5, *BJ* II. xvii. 3, v. v. 3, *c. Ap.* ii. 10). They seem to have been double doors (*EBi*, art. 'Temple'), standing at the entrance to the portal. Compare, for Babylonian Temples, *PSBA*, 1912, p. 90 ff. For the Beautiful Gate of the Temple see the full and illuminating account by A. R. S. Kennedy in *ExpT* XX. [1908–09] 270 f.; also art. TEMPLE.

We read (Ac 21[30]) that the people laid hold on St. Paul, and dragged him out of the Temple, and straightway the doors were shut. Farrar (*Life and Work of St. Paul*, 1897, p. 532) locates this turmoil at the Beautiful Gate, but, considering the number of doors that gave access to the Temple precincts, there are other possibilities.

In Rev 21[25] we can picture the gates as provided with doors, although these were not in use.

The metaphorical use of θύρα in Acts, Epistles, etc., may be briefly noted. In this sense the word appears without the definite article, Ac 14[27] being no exception: 'a door of faith' (RV). In St. Paul's Epistles mention is made of a great door and effectual (1 Co 16[9]), a door being opened (2 Co 2[12]), a door for the word (Col 4[3]), all with the notion of opportunity and facility. The idea of the nearness of judgment is brought out by Ja 5[9] (cf. Mt 24[33]): 'The judge standeth before the doors,' where RV replaces the singular of AV by the plural, following the Greek.

In Rev 3[7. 8] a door is set or given, ἠνεῳγμένην (note peculiar verbal form), *i.e.* a door already opened, which none can shut (see KEY), and in 4[1] a door is already opened in the heavens at the moment the vision commences. In contrast to this is the closed door of Rev 3[20], a passage in which is concentrated great wealth of meaning.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

DORCAS.—This name occurs in the narrative of St. Peter's sojourn in the plain of Western Palestine after the dispersion of the Jerusalem Church on the martyrdom of Stephen (Ac 9[36-42]). It is given as a translation of the Aramaic proper name **Tabitha** ('Tabitha which is by interpretation Dorcas,' Ac 9[36]). The word *ṭᵉbîthā'* (טְבִיתָא) is Aramaic corresponding to the Heb. *ṣᵉbî* (צְבִי), and is either the term applied to an animal of the deer species, 'roebuck' or 'roe' in AV, 'gazelle' in RV, or a proper name borne by women. The word is translated in the LXX by the term δορκάς (δέρκομαι, 'see'—a reference to the large eyes of the animal). Both the Aramaic and the Greek terms were used as proper names for women, and the writer of the Acts gives the translation for the benefit of his Greek readers, though the woman was probably known as Tabitha.

The bearer of the name was a dweller in Joppa, a female disciple who had devoted herself to 'good works' and to 'almsgiving.' One feature of her benevolent activity was the making of garments which she distributed among the poor, a circumstance which is regarded as indicating special goodness, as a woman with means adequate to provide such benefactions might have been content with merely giving her money. This circumstance has in later Christianity given the inspiration and the name to the so-called Dorcas societies devoted to providing garments for the poor. There is no ground for concluding that Tabitha was a deaconess, nor can we tell whether she was one of the widows or married.

This disciple fell ill and died when St. Peter was in the neighbouring town of Lydda, nine miles distant. The believers in Joppa at once sent for the Apostle. Their motive for so doing is not apparent, but it is unlikely that they expected him to work a miracle. More likely the sorrowing

* This art. deals with 'door' as distinct from 'gate,' 'gateway,' or 'porch,' of which it forms a part (see GATE).

friends turned to St. Peter for comfort in their bereavement, and his proximity led them to send for him. On his arrival the mourners showed the Apostle the garments Dorcas had made and spoke of her alms. The narrative then tells how St. Peter put them all out of the room, knelt down and prayed, and turning to the woman said, 'Tabitha, arise!' when she opened her eyes, sat up, and was handed over to the widows. This raising of Tabitha is reported to have become widely known and to have led large numbers to attach themselves to the Church.

The account of the raising of Dorcas has obvious points of similarity to that of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9^{25}, Mk 5^{40-41}, Lk 8^{54}), but there is sufficient dissimilarity in details to cause us at once to dismiss the notion that the one is a mere imitation of the other. It is natural that St. Peter, who was present at the raising of Jairus' daughter, should follow the method of his Master, while we see how, with the humility of Elijah or Elisha (1 K 17^{20}, 2 K 4^{33}), he does not at first speak the word of power but kneels down in prayer. Holtzmann and Pfleiderer regard the raising of Tabitha as parallel to the restoration of Eutychus by St. Paul (Ac 20^{9-12}), but beyond the fact that these commentators suppose both Tabitha and Eutychus to have been only apparently dead, there is no similarity between the two cases.

LITERATURE.—R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 247f.; A. Edersheim, *Jewish Social Life*, 1908, p. 78; *HDB*, art. 'Dorcas'; Comm. of Holtzmann, Zeller, Meyer-Wendt, *in loco*.

W. F. BOYD.

DOXOLOGY (δοξολογία, only in eccl. Greek).—The name is given to brief forms of praise to God (or to Christ, or to the Trinity) used in early Christianity, the models of which were taken over from Judaism. They sometimes occur as a momentary interruption in the midst of a discourse, a sudden breaking forth of praise at the mention of the name of God, of which 2 Co 11^{31} is an example. We shall consider the most important of these in chronological order. **1. Gal 1⁵.**—The appropriate ascription of praise to the Father for His redemption of mankind according to His will, wherein is revealed His attributes of wisdom, holiness, love, in which for us His glory chiefly consists. **2. Ro 11³⁶.**—The 'all things' are the things which have to do only with the kingdom of grace to which He has invited Jew and Gentile, and the doxology is the natural climax of praise for such wisdom and love; the 'Him' refers to God, not to Christ; v.[34] is an echo of Is 40^{13}, and v.[35] of Job 41^{11}, and the first part of v.[36] cannot have Trinitarian reference, as the context does not suit. 'It is the relation of the Godhead as a whole to the universe and to created things. God (not necessarily the Father) is the source and inspirer and goal of all things.'* **3. Ro 16²⁷.**—While grammatically the 'to whom' (ᾧ, if it be retained) could refer to Christ, and while according to the spirit and even language of the NT there is no objection to such reference, it is quite certain that the pronoun refers to the 'only wise God,' as that is in accordance with the whole purpose of the writer. It is the most fitting close to the Epistle, as it embodies the faith from which its central chapters proceed.† The dislocation of the language is probably to be explained by the intense spiritual feeling of the writer, who, without waiting to clear the matter up, bursts out into the usual doxology to God. **4. Eph 3²¹.**—It is *the* glory which is due to God and befits Him. It is rendered 'in the Church' as the special domain where God is interested, viz. in a social brotherhood having organic life in Christ—the praise not being a thing of secular or voluntary ritual, but having its life and reason only in Christ and in a society redeemed and possessed by Him. **5. Ph 4²⁰.**—Notice here also the emphasis: *the* glory, that glory which is His attribute and element. **6. 1 Ti 1¹⁷.**—Here we find echoes of Jewish forms: To $13^{6.\ 10}$, *Enoch* ix. 4, Rev 15^{3}. The thought and phraseology are Hebraic. Bengel thought the æons had indirect reference to Gnosticism, but this is not necessary. **7. 2 Ti 4¹⁸.**—'The Lord' here refers to Christ (cf. 17), to whom this doxology is addressed.* **8. He 13²¹.**—This doxology may be to the 'God of peace' of v.[20], but it is both more natural and more grammatical to refer it to Christ, immediately preceding. Throughout the whole Epistle the latter has been constantly before the mind of the writer. **9. 1 P 4¹¹.**—Hart well remarks that the insertion of 'is' (ἐστὶν) changes the doxology to a statement of fact, and thus supports the interpretation of 'whose' (ᾧ) as referring to the immediate antecedent, Jesus Christ, which seems also otherwise required. The thought is: already He possesses the glory and victory; therefore (v.[12]) Christians endure joyfully their present suffering.† **10. 1 P 5¹¹.**—This refers to God, and 'dominion' is emphasized as a consolation on account of the persecution. **11. 2 P 3¹⁸.**—Here we have another doxology to Christ. 'For ever' signifies lit. 'unto the day of eternity,' and occurs only here. Cf. Sir 18^{10}. Bigg makes the point that εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας ('unto the ages') became so immediately the ruling phrase that this doxology cannot have been written after liturgical expressions became in any degree stereotyped. **12. Jude ²⁵.**—'Majesty' (elsewhere He 1^{8} only) and 'power' are unusual in doxologies. **13. Rev 1⁵· ⁶.**—'The adoration of Christ, which vibrates in this doxology, is one of the most impressive features of the book. The prophet feels that the one hope for the loyalists of God in this period of trial is to be conscious that they owe everything to the redeeming love of Jesus. Faithfulness depends on faith, and faith is rallied by the grasp not of itself but of its object. Mysterious explanations of history follow, but it is passionate devotion to Jesus, and not any skill in exploring prophecy, which proves the source of moral heroism in the churches. Jesus sacrificed himself for us; αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα. From this inward trust and wonder, which leap up at the sight of Jesus and His grace, the loyalty of Christians flows.'‡ **14. Rev 5¹³.**—God and Christ ('the Lamb') are linked together in this doxology, as often in thought among the early Christians (Jn 17^{3}, 1 Ti 2^{5}, Rev 7^{10}: 'salvation unto our God who sitteth on the throne, and unto the Lamb'). **15. Rev 7¹².**—It is a fine saying of Rabbi Pinchas and Rabbi Jochanan on Ps 100^{2}: 'Though all offerings cease in the future, the offering of praise alone shall not cease; though all prayers cease, thanksgiving alone shall not cease.'

A famous passage often interpreted as a doxology either to Christ or to God the Father is Ro 9^{5}. For referring *all* words after 'of whom' (or 'from whom,' ἐξ ὧν) to Christ it may be argued that: (*a*) it supplies the antithesis which 'according to the flesh' supports, and (*b*) it is grammatically better, for ὁ ὤν ('he being') naturally applies to what precedes: the person who is over all is naturally the person first mentioned. If we punctuate so as to read 'God who is over all,' there are objections: (1) ὤν would in that case be abnormal, and (2) 'blessed' would be unparalleled in position, as it ought to stand first in the sentence as in Eph 1^{3} and in the LXX. Besides, the doxology to God seems here without a motive, without either psychological or rhetorical reason, a solecism which jars on the

* Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), p. 340.

† See F. J. A. Hort in *JPh* iii. [1870] 56; and for a convincing discussion of the genuineness of this doxology see E. H. Gifford in *Speaker's Com.*, 'Romans,' 1881, pp. 22–27.

* See N. J. D. White, *EGT*, '2 Tim.,' 1910, p. 133.

† J. H. A. Hart, *EGT*, '1 Pet.,' 1910, p. 78.

‡ J. Moffatt, *EGT*, 'Rev.,' 1910, p. 339, also art. in *Expositor*, 6th ser., v. 302 ff.

harmonies of St. Paul's pen. Then almost all the ancient interpreters, whatever their views, referred the whole to Christ. From consideration of language Socinus consented. Against this Strömann argues* that (i.) 'God blessed for ever' occurs frequently in the OT (though that does not prevent the predicate from being also used for Christ in the NT); (ii.) 'blessed for ever' is used for God in Ro 1[25] (but similar expressions are also given to Christ in the NT [see above], and when once the possibility is granted, each case must be judged on its merits); (iii.) where 'blessed' is used in the NT it is always used of God (but exactly equivalent expressions are used also of Christ). It is true that the fact of St. Paul's not calling Christ 'God' outright, but even making a distinction (1 Co 8[6]), strikes Meyer and Denney† so strongly that they cannot allow the interpretation here. But to this theological argument it may be replied that passages like 2 Co 4[4] 13[14], Col 1[13-20], Ph 2[5-11] ascribe no less dignity to Christ than if St. Paul had used 'God' of Him. While, a Christian Jew would ordinarily use 'God' for the Father, and 'Lord' for Christ, he might also use 'Lord' for the Father (1 Co 3[5]) and 'Spirit' for Christ (2 Co 3[17]). As soon as the religious idea that meant the Divinity of Christ reacted in the use of names, the word 'God' would be used of Him, as we see in John, Ignatius, Ac 20[28] (the two oldest MSS), and Ti 2[13].‡ There is no impossibility in such a use here, therefore, and we are again driven back to the natural, and grammatical, interpretation.

In the sub-Apostolic Age we have in Clement of Rome (A.D. 97) 'to whom (God) be the glory for ever and ever,' chs. 38, 43, 45, 50 perhaps of Christ, 58 'through whom (Christ) is the glory, etc.,' and 65 'through whom (Christ) be glory and honour, power and greatness and eternal dominion unto him (God) from the ages past and for ever and ever. Amen.' Ignatius uses none of the doxologies. The *Didache* (*c.* A.D. 100 to 125) adds to the Lord's Prayer: 'For thine is the power and glory for ever and ever' (ch. 8); gives in the Eucharistic prayers twice: 'Thine is the glory for ever and ever,' and once: 'For thine is the glory and the power through Jesus Christ for ever and ever' (ch. 9). In the post-Eucharistic prayer it gives twice the same benediction again: 'Thine is the glory for ever and ever,' and once: 'Thine is the power and the glory for ever and ever.' The doxologies in the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* and in Justin Martyr are too late for this work.

LITERATURE.—Besides the books referred to above, see F. H. Chase, *The Lord's Prayer in the Early Church* (=*TS* i. 3 [1891]), 168–178; and, especially for liturgical use, Thalhofer in Wetzer-Welte[2], iii. 2006–10; P. Meyer in *PRE*[3] v. 593–4; H. Fortescue in *CE* v. [1909] 150–1; Wolff in *RGG* ii. (Tübingen, 1910] 930 ff.; G. Rietschel, *Lehrbuch der Liturgik*, Berlin, 1900, p. 355 f.

J. ALFRED FAULKNER.

DRAGON (*δράκων*).—The word is found in the NT only in Rev 12[3-17] 13[2. 4. 11] 16[13] 20[2]. In each case, with the exception of 13[11] ('as a dragon'), the reference is to the symbolical 'great red dragon' with seven heads and ten horns (12[3]) who is expressly identified with 'the old serpent, he that is called the Devil and Satan' (v.[9]; cf. 20[2]). When inquiry is made into the origin and meaning of the symbolism, it becomes evident that what we find in Rev. is an adoption and application to Christian purposes of certain conceptions that played a large part in the literature of pre-Christian Judaism, and had originally been suggested to the Jewish mind by its contact with the Babylonian mythology. The Apocryphal book of *Bel and the Dragon* testifies to the existence in Babylon of a dragon-worship that must have been associated with belief in the ancient dragon-myth which forms so important a feature of the Babylonian cosmogony. In the Creation-epic Tiāmat is the power of chaos and darkness, personified as a gigantic dragon or monster of the deep, who is eventually overcome by Marduk, the god of light. In the post-exilic Jewish apocalyptic literature a dragon of the depths becomes the representative of the forces of evil and opposition to goodness and God. But it was characteristic of Judaism, with its fervent Messianic expectations, that the idea of a conflict between God and the dragon should be transferred from the past to the future, from cosmogony to history and eschatology, so that the revolt of the dragon and his subjection by the Divine might became an episode not of pre-historic ages but of the last days (cf. Is 27[1], Dn 7[3]). In Rev. the visions of non-canonical as well as canonical apocalyptists have been freely made use of; and the Jewish features of the story of the dragon are apparent (cf. 12[7] with *Eth. Enoch*, xx. 5, *Assumption of Moses*, x. 2). But what is characteristic is that the figure and functions of the dragon are turned to Christian uses, so that they have a bearing upon Christ's earthly birth and heavenly glory (12[5]), upon the present conflict of Christianity with the world's evil powers and its victory over them by 'the blood of the Lamb' and 'the testimony of Jesus Christ' (vv.[11. 13. 17]), and above all upon the assurance of Christian faith that God will destroy the dragon's present power to accuse His people and persecute them even unto death (vv.[10. 11. 13. 17]), and will at the appointed time send forth His angel to subdue him utterly (20[1-3]).

LITERATURE.—H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, Göttingen, 1895; W. Bousset, *The Antichrist Legend*, Eng. tr., London, 1896; art. 'Dragon' in *EBi*.

J. C. LAMBERT.

DREAM.—'Dream' may be defined as a series of thoughts, images, or other mental states, which are experienced during sleep. The words that are most frequently translated 'dream' in the Bible are חֲלוֹם and *ὄναρ*. In the OT dreams are described somewhat in detail, especially those of Jacob (Gn 28[10-22]), of Joseph (Gn 37[5-10]), of Nebuchadrezzar (Dn 2 and 4), and of Daniel (Dn 7). In the NT, the only instances given are those of the appearance of the angel to Joseph (Mt 1[20-23] 2[13. 19. 20]), the dream of the Magi (Mt 2[12]), and the notable dream of Pilate's wife (Mt 27[19]). In spite of the fact that certain dreams are set out with considerable fullness of detail, the instances recorded are not numerous, which seems to indicate that God's revelations by this medium are to be regarded as exceptional and providential rather than as the usual means of communication of the Divine will. The Fathers were in the habit of warning the Christians against the tendency to consider dreams as omens in a superstitious sense.

The only references to dreams or dreaming in the apostolic writings are Ac 2[17] 'your old men shall dream dreams' (quoted from Jl 2[28]), and Jude[8] 'these also (the false teachers of v.[4]) in their dreamings defile the flesh': the reference is understood by Bigg (*Second Pet. and Jude* [*ICC*, 1901]), following von Soden and Spitta, to be to the attempt of the false teachers to support their doctrines by revelations.

The earliest theories present the dream-world as real but remote—a region where the second self wanders in company with other second selves. The next stage is that of symbolic pictures unfolded to the inner organs of perception by some supernatural being. The general depression of vital activities during sleep may produce complete unconsciousness, especially during the early part of the night, but portions of the brain may be in activity in dreaming, with the accompanying partial consciousness. It was asserted by the Cartesians and Leibniz, and as stoutly denied by Locke, that the soul is always thinking; but many modern writers consider that dreaming takes place only during the process of waking. It is generally admitted that, whilst for the most part the material of our dreams is drawn from our waking

* *ZNTW*, 1907, pp. 4, 319.

† Meyer, *Com. in loc.*; Denney, *EGT*, 'Rom.,' 1900, p. 658.

‡ See Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], pp. 233–238; Gifford, *Speaker's Com.*, 'Romans,' pp. 18, 168, 178–9. Lepsius, Bischoff, and Strömann (*ZNTW*, 1907, p. 319, 1908, p. 80) conjecture that the true reading is *ὢν ὁ* (instead of *ὁ ὤν*): 'i.e. 'of whom (of the Israelites) is God over all, blessed for ever.'

experiences, the stimuli, external or internal, acting upon the sense organs during sleep produce the exaggerated and fantastic impressions in the mind which are woven into the fabric of our dreams. On the other hand, F. W. H. Myers (*Human Personality*) regards dreams, with certain other mental states, as being 'uprushes' from the subliminal self, and sleep with all its phenomena as the refreshing of the soul by the influences of the world of spirit. This view, if correct, would afford scope for the revelation of God's will as narrated in the biblical accounts, if not in exceptional experiences of the present time. At any rate, there is nothing in modern psychology to preclude the possibility of Divine manifestations in dreams. Many recent writers enjoin the cultivation of restfulness and repose of the soul in order that sleep may be beneficial and may not be disturbed by unpleasant dreams. George Macdonald sings in his *Evening Hymn*:

> 'Nor let me wander all in vain
> Through dreams that mock and flee;
> But even in visions of the brain
> Go wandering toward Thee.'

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Dreams' in *HDB*, 'Dream' in *DCG*, and 'Dreams and Sleep' in *ERE*; J. Sully, *Illusions* (*ISS*, 1882); F. W. H. Myers, *Human Personality*, new ed., 1907; G. T. Ladd, *Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*, 1883, ii. 429–436; S. Freud, *Die Traumdeutung*, 1900 (Eng. tr., *The Interpretation of Dreams*, 1913). A full bibliography will be found in Baldwin's *Dict. of Philosophy and Psychology*, vol. iii. pt. ii. [1905] p. 1034.

J. G. JAMES.

DRESS.—See CLOTHES.

DRUNKENNESS.—It may be taken for granted that the wine of the Bible was fermented, and therefore, when taken in excess, intoxicating. Unfermented wine is a modern concept. The ancients had not that knowledge of antiseptic precautions which would have enabled them to preserve the juice of the grape in an unfermented state. It was the inebriating property of wine that constituted the sting of the calumny with which the sanctimonious tried to injure our Lord—'Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος οἰνοπότης (Mt 11[19], Lk 7[34]). There would have been no scandal in His habitually partaking of a beverage which was never harmful. Christ bade men take heed lest their hearts should be overcharged with surfeiting and drunkenness (κραιπάλῃ καὶ μέθῃ, Lk 21[34]), but He evidently regarded it as possible to draw the line between the use and the abuse of wine. He was not a Nazirite, Rechabite, or Essene. A Palestinian movement against wine and strong drink might conceivably have been begun by the Baptist (Lk 1[15]), but not by Christ. His religion was not in its essence a system of ascetic negations; it was much more than one of the 'creeds which deny and restrain.' In His time and country, drunkenness, however pernicious in individual cases, could not be regarded as one of the deadly national sins.

'Orientals are not inclined to intemperance. The warm climate very quickly makes it a cause of discomfort and disease' (Mackie, *Bible Manners and Customs*, 1898, p. 46). Moreover, 'the wines of Palestine may be assumed on the whole not to have exceeded the strength of an ordinary claret' (A. R. S. Kennedy, *EBi* iv. 5319).

It was Gentile rather than Jewish wine-drinking habits that Apostolic Christianity had to combat, and Bacchus (Dionysus) was notoriously one of the most powerful of the gods of Greece and Rome. The apostles did not fight against the social customs of pagan nations with a new legalism. It was not the Christian but the Judaizer or the Gnostic who repeated the parrot-cry, 'Handle not, taste not, touch not.' Christianity goes to work in a wholly different manner. It relies on the power of great positive truths. It creates a passion for high things which deadens the taste for low things. Its distinction is that it makes every man a legislator to himself. The inordinate use of wine and strong drink becomes morally impossible for a Christian, not because there is an external law which forbids it, but because his own enlightened conscience condemns it. St. Paul does not say to the Roman Christians, 'Let us walk lawfully, not in revelling and drunkenness,' but 'Let us walk becomingly' (εὐσχημόνως, Ro 13[13]). This means that there is a beautiful new σχῆμα, or ideal of conduct, of which every man becomes enamoured when he accepts the Christ in whom it is embodied. Thereafter he feels, with a shuddering repulsion, how ill it would *become* him to walk in 'revelling and drunkenness, chambering and wantonness.' He abjures the thought of being at once spiritual and sensual. Having put on the Lord Jesus Christ, he cannot continue to make provision for the flesh, to fulfil its lusts.

It is true that the moral verdicts of the Christian are not always immediate and sure. 'Manifest are the works of the flesh,' wrote St. Paul, naming among them 'drunkenness' (μέθαι, Gal 5[19. 21]), but they were far from being so manifest to all his converts. The Christian conscience needed to be educated, the spiritual taste to be cultivated. At Corinth the ἀγάπη, or love-feast, which ended in the Lord's Supper, all too readily degenerated into something not very unlike the banquets in the idol-temples. 'One is hungry, and another is drunken' (μεθύει, 1 Co 11[21]). 'Paul paints the scene in strong colours; but who would be warranted in saying that the reality fell at all short of the description?' (Meyer, *Com. in loc.*). It has always been one of the enchantments of Bacchus and Comus to make their devotees glory in their shame, so that they

> 'Not once perceive their foul disfigurement,
> But boast themselves more comely than before'
> (Milton, *Comus*, 74 f.).

That this is true of the vulgar and of the educated alike, both in pagan and in Christian times, is attested not only by a thousand drinking-songs but by the orgies of the 'Symposium' and the 'Noctes Ambrosianæ.' Yet even Omar Khayyam, after all his praise of the Vine, is obliged to confess that he has 'drowned his glory in a shallow cup'; and, in the light of Christianity, drunkenness stands condemned as a sin against the body which is a 'member of Christ.'

Christianity is a religion of principles, not of rules, and in Ro 14[21] St. Paul states a principle which justifies any kind and thoughtful man, apart from considerations of personal safety and happiness, in becoming an abstainer. In doing this the Apostle is far from imposing a new yoke of bondage. He does not categorically say to the Christian, 'Thou shalt not drink wine,' but he reasons that it is good (καλόν)—it is a beautiful *morale*—in certain conditions and from certain motives, to abstain. There was evidently a tendency among Christian liberals, who rightly gloried in their free evangelical position, to say, 'If men *will* pervert and abuse our example, we cannot help it; the fault is their own, and they must bear the consequences.' St. Paul, the freest of all, sees a more excellent way, and chooses to walk in it, though he does not exercise his apostolic authority to command others to follow him. What is his own liberty to drink a little wine in comparison with the temporal safety and eternal salvation of thousands who are unable to use the same freedom without stumbling? He cannot—no man can—live merely unto himself, and he would sooner be so far a Nazirite or an Essene than do anything to hurt a brother.

It is noticeable that there was never any organ-

ized movement in the Apostolic or post-Apostolic Church against the use of strong drink. Many of the Fathers, following the example of Philo—who wrote a book περὶ μέθης on Gn 9[21]—dealt with the subject at length. Clement, Cyprian, Chrysostom, Jerome, and Augustine all preached moderation to every one and abstinence to some. But neither the apostles nor the Fathers ever dreamed of seeking legislation for the prohibition or even the restriction of the sale and use of intoxicating liquors. Since their time two things—the discovery of distilled liquors in the 13th cent., and the trend of civilization northward—have greatly altered the conditions of the problem.

'Extremists now place all alcohol-containing drinks under the same ban, but fermented liquors are still generally held to be comparatively innocuous; nor can any one deny that there is a difference. It is safe to say that if spirits had never been discovered the history of the question would have been entirely different' (A. Shadwell, *EBr*[11] xxvi. 578). 'The evils which it is desired to check are much greater in some countries than in others. . . . The inhabitants of south Europe are much less given to alcoholic excess than those of central Europe, who again are more temperate than those of the north' (*ib.* xvi. 759).

Just where the temptations to drunkenness are greatest, the Apostle's principle of self-denial for the sake of others is evidently the highest ethic. No drunkard can 'inherit the Kingdom of God' (1 Co 6[10]), and the task of Christian churches and governments is 'to make it easy for men to do good and difficult for them to do evil.'

Since, however, it is notoriously impossible to make men sober merely by legislation, the main factors in the problem must always be moral and religious. The Apostolic Church found the true solution. The Christians who were filled with the Holy Spirit on the day of Pentecost were mockingly said to be filled with wine (γλεύκος, Ac 2[13], perhaps 'sweet wine'; not 'new wine,' as Pentecost took place eight months after the vintage). St. Peter tried to convince the multitude that it was not a sensual but a spiritual intoxication, and St. Paul gives to all Christians the remarkable counsel, 'Be not drunken with wine, wherein is dissoluteness (ἀσωτία; cf. ἀσώτως in Lk 15[13]), but be filled with the Spirit' (Eph 5[18]). It is presupposed that every man naturally craves some form of exhilaration, loving to have his feelings excited, his imagination fired, his spirit thrilled. And drunkenness is the perversion of a true instinct. It is the fool's way of drowning care and rising victorious over the ills of life. Intoxication is the tragic parody of inspiration. What every man needs is a spiritual enthusiasm which completely diverts his thoughts from the pursuit of sensuous excitement, on the psychological principle that two conflicting passions cannot dominate the mind at the same time. That enthusiasm is the gift of the Divine Spirit.

The injunction to Timothy to be no longer a water-drinker (μηκέτι ὑδροποτεῖ) but to use a little wine (1 Ti 5[23]) is now generally regarded as post-Pauline. It is 'evidently, in the context in which it stands, not merely a sanitary but quite as much a moral precept, and thus implies that Timothy had himself begun to abjure wine on grounds of personal sanctity' (F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, 1894, p. 144). The words were probably written about the time of the first appearance of the Encratites (*ERE* v. 301), who made abstinence from flesh, wine, and marriage the chief part of their religion, seeking salvation not by faith but by asceticism. Water-drinking thus for a time became associated with a deadly error. This was a situation in which Christians felt it to be their duty to assert their right to use what they regarded as the creature and gift of God (1 Ti 4[4. 5]). See, further, art. ABSTINENCE.

JAMES STRAHAN.

DRUSILLA (Ac 24[24]).—The youngest of the three daughters of Herod Agrippa I. She was but six years old when her father died in A.D. 44 (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. ix. 1). He had betrothed her to Epiphanes, son of the king of Commagene. This marriage did not take place, as Epiphanes refused to undergo the rite of circumcision (*Ant.* XX. vii. 1). Drusilla was given by her brother Agrippa II. to Azizus, king of Emesa. The marriage took place seemingly in A.D. 53. Very shortly afterwards the procurator Felix, who had lately come to Judæa, met the young queen and was captivated by her charms ('She did indeed exceed all other women in beauty' [*Ant.* XX. vii. 2]). Employing as his emissary one Simon, a Cypriote, he persuaded her to leave her husband and to join him as his third wife—and third *queen* ('trium reginarum maritum,' writes Suetonius of Felix [*Claud.* xxviii.]). Of this union there was issue a son, who was given the name Agrippa, and of whom Josephus (*Ant.* XX. vii. 2) records incidentally that he and his wife perished in the eruption of Vesuvius in the reign of the Emperor Titus, *i.e.* in A.D. 79. Of Drusilla herself nothing is recorded later than the statement in Acts, which permits us to assume that she was present when St. Paul had audience of Felix, and used the opportunity to reason 'of righteousness, and temperance, and the judgment to come.'

G. P. GOULD.

DYSENTERY (AV 'bloody flux'; Gr. δυσεντέριον, Ac 28[8]).—When St. Paul and his companions, on their way to Rome, were shipwrecked on the island of Malta, the father of Publius who was governor of the island was suffering from this malady in an aggravated form. The symptoms of the disease are inflammation of the mucous membrane of the large intestine, mucous, bloody, difficult, and painful evacuations, accompanied with more or less fever. Owing to Publius' kindness to the little group of delayed travellers, the Apostle visited his father, 'prayed, and laid his hands on him, and healed him.' This was evidently a case of mental healing, made effective by prayer and personal contact.

C. A. BECKWITH.

E

EAGLE (ἀετός, Rev 4[7] 8[13] 12[14]).—There can be but little doubt that the 'eagle' of the EV ought in most cases rather to be rendered 'vulture.' Both the Hebrew word נֶשֶׁר (in the OT) and the Greek word ἀετός (in the NT) are used to designate 'vulture' as well as 'eagle,' and it is a bird of this species rather than an eagle that is generally referred to both in the OT and the NT, though in the above-mentioned passages it is just possible that ἀετός may denote an eagle.

Four kinds of vultures are known in Palestine (cf. Tristram, *SWP*: 'The Fauna and Flora of Palestine,' 1884, p. 94), viz. (1) *Gypœtus barbatus*; (2) *Gyps fulvus*, or 'griffon'; (3) *Neophron percnopterus*, the 'Egyptian vulture'; (4) *Vultur monachus* (cf. Post in *HDB* i. 632). The *Gyps fulvus* or

'griffon' is supposed to be referred to in most of the passages in the OT and the NT.

There are said to be eight different kinds of eagle in Palestine: (1) *Aquila chrysætus*, or 'Golden Eagle.' This is seen in winter all over Palestine, but in summer it is only to be found in the mountain ranges of Lebanon and Hermon. (2) *Aquila heliaca*, or 'Imperial Eagle,' which is more common than the Golden Eagle, and does not leave its winter haunts in summer time. The Imperial Eagle prefers to make its nest in trees rather than cliffs, and in this respect differs from the Golden Eagle. (3) *Aquila clanga*, or 'Greater Spotted Eagle.' (4) *Aquila rapax*, or 'Tawny Eagle,' which is found fairly frequently in the wooded districts of Palestine. This bird breeds in the cliffs, and plunders other birds of their prey. (5) *Aquila pennata*, or 'Booted Eagle,' which is found chiefly in the wooded parts of Galilee, the Lebanon and Phœnicia. (6) *Aquila nipalensis*, or 'Steppe Eagle.' (7) *Aquila bonelli*, or 'Bonelli's Eagle,' which is not uncommon in the wādīs and rocky districts of Central Palestine. This bird is more like a falcon than an eagle. (8) *Circætus gallicus*, or 'Short-toed Eagle.' This is by far the commonest of all Palestinian eagles. They remain from early spring to the beginning of winter, when most of them migrate, probably to Arabia. This fearless and dignified bird is easily recognized by its large flat head, huge yellow eyes, and brightly spotted breast. Its short toes and tarsi are covered with scales which afford it protection against the serpents on which it preys. The abundance of this species is doubtless accounted for by the large number of lizards and serpents found in Palestine. It is found throughout Central Europe, but only rarely; on the other hand, it is seen fairly often in the countries bordering on the Mediterranean. It breeds in trees and not on rocks.

In Rev 4[7] the eagle plays a part in the vision of the throne in heaven: 'And the first creature was like a lion, and the second creature like a calf, and the third creature had a face as of a man, and the fourth creature was like a flying eagle.' These four forms, which suggest all that is strongest, noblest, wisest, and swiftest in animate nature, are the same as those in Ezekiel's vision (Ezk 1[10]), but here the order is different, and each 'living creature' has six wings, while in Ezekiel each has only four wings. Nature, including man, is thus represented before the Throne as consciously or unconsciously taking its part in the fulfilment of the will of the Divine.

In Rev 8[13]: 'And I saw, and I heard an eagle, flying in mid heaven, saying with a great voice, Woe, woe, woe, for them that dwell on the earth, by reason of the other voices of the trumpet of the three angels who are yet to sound,' the eagle appears as the herald of calamity. The first series of four trumpet-blasts have gone forth, and the forces of Nature have done their work ruthlessly, but the worst is yet to come. The eagle—which, it will be noted, was heard as well as seen—is chosen on account of its swiftness as a fitting emblem of the judgment about to fall upon the pagan population of the world.

In Rev 12[14] the eagle is the means whereby the woman—*i.e.* the Christian Church—is conveyed away from the dragon and his fury to a place of safety in the wilderness. The actual event alluded to was no doubt the escape of the Church of Jerusalem to Pella (cf. Mk 13[14] 'then let them that are in Judæa flee unto the mountains'), though the life of the Church and her members must always to some extent be a solitary life—*i.e.* in the world but not of it—and her vocation will, from one point of view, always be that of a 'voice crying in the wilderness.' Again, in the early days of Christianity persecution made secrecy necessary for the very existence of the Church. The figure in Rev 12[14] is paralleled in the OT. Thus in Ex 19[4] Jahweh is represented as saying, 'Ye have seen what I did unto the Egyptians, and how I bare you on eagles' wings, and brought you unto myself,' while in Dt 32[11] He is likened unto an eagle: 'As an eagle that stirreth up her nest, that fluttereth over her young, he spread abroad his wings, he took them, he bare them on his pinions.' Lastly, in Is 40[31] the promise to those who shall 'wait upon the Lord' is that 'they shall renew their strength,' and 'mount up with wings as eagles.' In all the passages in Revelation, it is probable that *ἀετός* denotes 'vulture' as elsewhere.

LITERATURE.—For the eagle in Palestine see H. B. Tristram, *SWP*, 'The Fauna and Flora of Palestine,' 1884, pp. 94-101, *Natural History of the Bible*[10], 1911, p. 172 ff.; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, new ed., 1910, p. 150 f.; E. W. G. Masterman, in *SDB*, 200; G. E. Post, in *HDB* i. 632; A. E. Shipley and S. A. Cook, in *EBi* ii. 1145. On the texts see especially H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, *ad loc.*

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

EAR.—The finer shades of biblical statement are discerned only as we succeed in placing ourselves at the contemporary point of view. This is particularly the case with references to personality and its elements or manifestations, since primitive or ancient psychology differs so greatly from the psychology of the present time. For example, primitive psychology, in its ignorance of the nervous system, distributes psychical and ethical attributes to the various physical organs. There are tribes that give the ears of a dead enemy to their youths to be eaten, because they regard the physical ear as the seat of intelligence, which thus becomes an attribute of the consumer (J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[3], 1900, ii. 357 f.). Though the Bible contains nothing so crude as this, yet the same idea of localized psychical function underlies its references to the ear. The high priest's ear is consecrated by the application of ram's blood, that he may the better hear God (Lv 8[23]); the slave's ear, on his renunciation of liberty, is pierced by his master, as a guarantee of his permanent obedience (Ex 21[6], Dt 15[17]). Such practices help to give the true line of approach to many biblical references to the ear, the full force of which might otherwise be missed. The 'peripheral consciousness' of the ear (cf. 1 S 3[11], Job 12[11], Ec 1[8], etc.) must be remembered in regard to phrases which have become to us simply conventional, such as the repeated refrain of the Apocalypse, 'He that hath an ear, let him hear' (Rev 2[7], etc.; *οὖς*). This greater intensity of local meaning gives new point to the Pauline analogy between the human body and the Church. Since 'the body is not one member, but many' (1 Co 12[14]), in a psychical and moral, as well as in a physical, sense, it is more readily conceivable that the ear might resent its inferiority to the eye (v.[16]). Its actual co-operation with the eye is therefore a more effective rebuke to the envy springing from Corinthian individualism.

Moral or spiritual qualities are assigned to the ear in several passages, according to the frequent OT usage (Pr 15[31], Is 59[1], etc.); one example is quoted from the OT and applied by St. Paul to the Jews of Rome: 'their ears are dull of hearing' (Ac 28[27]; cf. Ro 11[8]). The same charge is brought by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews against those to whom he writes (5[11]; *ἀκοαί*, not *οὖς*). This attribution of quality to the organ does not, of course, imply naturalistic determinism; the ear is part of the responsible personality. If men 'having itching ears, will heap to themselves teachers after their own lusts,' it is because 'they will turn away their ears from the truth' (2 Ti 4[3f.]; *ἀκοή*). The OT reference to the 'uncircumcised' ear (Jer 6[10])

is several times repeated (Ac 7^{51}; *Ep. Barn.* ix. 4, x. 12).

The only significant act named in this literature in reference to the ear is that of those who hear Stephen declare his vision of Jesus at the right hand of God: they stop their ears, that the blasphemy may not enter (Ac 7^{57}). Ignatius writes to the Ephesians (ix. 1), with reference to false teachers, 'ye stopped your ears, so that ye might not receive the seed sown by them.' Irenæus (*ap.* Eus. *HE* v. 20) says of Polycarp that 'if that blessed and apostolic presbyter had heard any such thing [as the Gnosticism of Florinus], he would have cried out, and stopped his ears.' The baptismal practice of a later age protected the ear of the candidate by the *Effeta* (*Ephphatha*), a rite based on the miracle recorded in Mk 7^{33}. The priest touched the ear with his finger moistened with saliva (Duchesne, *Origines du Culte Chrétien*[4], 1908, p. 311). The positive side of the baptismal anointing of the ear seems to be implied in the *Odes of Solomon*, ix. 1: 'Open your ears, and I will speak to you' (cf. J. H. Bernard, *TS* viii. 3 [1912] *ad loc.*). For the apostles, therefore, the ear forms the correlate to 'the word of faith which we preach' (Ro 10^{8-15}), which is conceived with equal pregnancy of meaning as the vehicle of the Spirit (E. Sokolowski, *Die Begriffe Geist und Leben bei Paulus*, 1903, pp. 263-267). Through the response of the conscious ear to the spoken word, an experience is begun which eventually passes into the realm of those 'things which ear heard not' (1 Co 2^{9}; cf. 1 Clem. xxxiv. 8, 2 Clem. xi. 7), and of those 'unspeakable words which it is not lawful for a man to utter' (2 Co 12^{4}). H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

EARNEST (ἀρραβών).—The word occurs three times in the NT, viz. 2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5} 'the earnest of the Spirit,' and Eph 1^{14} 'the earnest of our inheritance.' The word means 'pledge,' 'surety,' 'assurance,' and is taken from an old Hebrew term used in connexion with the transference of property. The Hebrew equivalent עֵרָבוֹן is found in Gn $38^{17.\ 18.\ 20}$ referring to the pledge of a staff and a signet-ring given by Judah to Tamar as an assurance that she would receive her hire. Probably the word came into Greek through Phœnician traders, and we find it in Latin in three forms: *arrhabo*, *arrabo* (*e.g.* Plautus, *Truc.* III. ii. 20), and *arrha* (*e.g.* Aulus Gellius, XVII. ii. 21). It is found in the form *arra* or *arrhes* in the languages most directly derived from the Latin. The Scotch word 'arles'—the coin given by a master to a servant on engagement as a pledge that the fee will be duly paid—is derived from the same source, and corresponds to the obsolete English word 'earlespenny.' The word signifies, not merely a pledge, but also a part of the possession. In the conveyance of property in ancient times it was usual for the seller to give the buyer a handful of earth or part of the thatch of the house as a token that the bargain would be binding, and that the whole property, of which the buyer thus received a part, would be delivered over in due course.

In Scripture the idea underlying this conception is frequently referred to. Thus in Gn $24^{22.\ 53}$ the earrings and the bracelets given by Eliezer to Rebecca are tokens of the wealth of his master and evidence of a comfortable home in Canaan. In the NT passages the Holy Spirit which is given to believers is regarded by the Apostle as both the pledge and the first-fruits of the inheritance that awaits them. In 2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5} 'the earnest of the Spirit' is the earnest which is the Spirit. The present possessions of Christian believers imparted by the Spirit are both pledge and foretaste of the future bliss that awaits them. They are the 'earnest' of the 'inheritance' (Eph 1^{14}). W. F. BOYD.

EARTH, EARTHEN, EARTHY, EARTHLY.—**Earth** (γῆ) is used in a variety of meanings, which may be distinguished as follows: (1) the dust or matter of which the first man was made (1 Co 15^{47}); (2) the fertile soil which yields grass and herbs and fruit (He 6^{7}, Ja 5^{7}, Rev 9^{4}); (3) the solid ground upon which men stand or fall (Ac $9^{4.\ 8}$); (4) the land in contrast with the sea (2 P 3^{5}, Rev 10^{5}); (5) the whole world as the abode of men (Ac 1^{8}, etc.; equivalent here to the more frequent οἰκουμένη) or beasts (Ac 10^{12} 11^{6}); (6) the earth in space, in contrast with the visible heavens—skies and stars (Ac 2^{19}, Rev 6^{13}); (7) the earth in contrast with the invisible heavens—the dwelling-place of God and Christ, of angels and perfected saints (Ac 7^{49}, 1 Co 15^{47}, Eph 3^{15}, He 8^{4}; cf. v.[1]); (8) the earth in contrast with the underworld (Ph 2^{10}, Rev $5^{3.\ 13}$); (9) the earth with a moral connotation, as the sphere of a merely worldly life to which is opposed the heavenly life with Christ in God (Col $3^{2.\ 5}$).

Earthen (ὀστράκινος, fr. ὄστρακον = 'burnt clay,' or anything made therefrom).—The Gr. word occurs twice in the NT, but in EV is only once translated 'earthen.' In 2 Ti 2^{20} the rendering is 'of earth,' and the reference is simply to the material of the earthen vessels in contrast with those of gold and silver and wood. In 2 Co 4^{7}, where 'earthen' is used, there appears to be a suggestion not only of the meanness of the earthen vessels in contrast with the preciousness of the treasure they contain, but of their frailty in contrast with the exceeding greatness of the Divine power of God who uses them as His instruments.

Earthy (χοϊκός, 'made of earth,' fr. χοῦς = 'earth,' 'dust,' by which in the LXX עָפָר is rendered in Gn 2^{7}, etc.; though in other passages γῆ is frequently employed for the same purpose, just as it is by St. Paul in 1 Co 15^{47}).—The only occurrence of the word is in 1 Co $15^{47.\ 48.\ 49}$, where Adam is called 'earthy,' *i.e.* consisting of earth-material, in contrast with Christ, the 'heavenly,' *i.e.* of heavenly origin. The meaning of 'earthy' here is thus suggested by (7) above as well as by (1).

Earthly (ἐπίγειος, 'upon the earth,' 'terrestrial,' 2 Co 5^{1}, Ph 3^{19}, Ja 3^{15}).—Outside of the Fourth Gospel 'earthly' occurs only 3 times in the NT, but ἐπίγειος is found also in 1 Co 15^{40}, where EV renders 'terrestrial,' and Ph 2^{10}, where EV gives 'things on earth.' In all these passages there is a contrast of the earthly with the heavenly. In 1 Co 15^{40}, 2 Co 5^{1} the contrast is that suggested under (7). In Ph 3^{19}, Ja 3^{15} it is that suggested under (9). In Ph 2^{10}, while 'things on earth' are contrasted with 'things in heaven,' the meaning of ἐπίγειος itself is that suggested by (5), the 'things on earth' being the inhabitants of the whole world; and there is a further contrast with the 'things under the earth,' the inhabitants of the under world (cf. (8)). J. C. LAMBERT.

EARTHQUAKE (σεισμός, from σείω, 'to shake').—In the ancient East all abnormal phenomena were regarded as supernatural, and any attempt to explain them by secondary causes was discouraged as savouring of irreverent prying into hidden things. Being at once so mysterious and so terrible, earthquakes and volcanoes were traced to the direct activity of One 'who looketh upon the earth and it trembleth; he toucheth the mountains and they smoke' (Ps 104^{32}). Minor tremors were not, indeed, always interpreted as signs of the Divine displeasure; sometimes quite the contrary. When a company of disciples were praising God and praying after the release of St. Peter and St. John from prison, the shaking of the room was regarded as a token that the Lord Himself was at hand to defend His cause. But

more severe shocks were always apt to cause a panic fear, which was naturally greatest in the breasts of those who were conscious of guilt. When St. Paul and Silas were praying and singing in a Philippian gaol, the place was shaken by an earthquake violent enough to open the doors and loose every man's bands (Ramsay's explanations [*St. Paul*, 1895, p. 221] are interesting); but terror prevented the prisoners from seizing the opportunity of escaping, and the chance was past before they had recovered their wits.

Earthquakes play a great rôle in prophetic and apocalyptic literature. God's last self-manifestation, like the first at Sinai, is to be in an earthquake, and His voice will make not only the earth but also the heaven tremble. While the things that are shaken will be removed, those that are unshaken (τὰ μὴ σαλευόμενα) will remain, the temporal giving place to the eternal (He 12^{26-28}; cf. Hag $2^{6f.}$). When the sixth seal of the Book of Destiny is opened, there is a great earthquake (Rev 6^{12}). When the censer filled with fire is cast upon the earth, there follow thunders and an earthquake (8^{5}). In another earthquake the tenth part of a great city falls (probably Jerusalem is meant, though some think of Rome) and 7000 persons are killed (11^{13}). When the last bowl is poured upon the air, the greatest earthquake ever felt cleaves Jerusalem into three parts, and entirely destroys the pagan cities ($16^{18f.}$).

The writer of the Revelation may himself have experienced many earthquakes, and at any rate he could not but be familiar with reports of such visitations, for in Asia Minor they were frequent and disastrous. In A.D. 17 'twelve populous cities of Asia'—among them Sardis and Philadelphia—'fell in ruins from an earthquake which happened by night' (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 47). In A.D. 60 'Laodicea, one of the famous cities of Asia,' was 'prostrated by an earthquake' (*ib.* xiv. 27). Palestine and Syria were very liable to similar disturbances; regarding earthquakes in Jerusalem see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, 1907-08, i. 61 ff.

The religious impression made by earthquakes in pre-scientific ages was profound (see *e.g.* Mt 27^{54}). They were regarded as judgments or warnings, it might be as signs of the approaching end of the world, 'the beginning of travail' (Lk 13^{8} = Mt 24^{8}). Even Pliny, the ardent student of Nature, asserts that they are invariably precursors of calamity (*HN* ii. 81-86). The just man of the Stoics was undismayed by them: 'si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient ruinae' (Hor. *Car.* III. iii. 7 f.). Jesus assured His disciples that amid all the 'Messianic woes' not a hair of their head should perish (Lk 21^{18}).

It was not till the middle of the 19th cent. that a careful investigation of the phenomena of earthquakes was begun. Seismology is now an exact science, in which remarkable progress has been made in Japan, a land of earthquakes. But while man rationalizes such calamities, and can no longer regard them as strictly supernatural, he is practically as helpless as ever in their presence. In the earthquake of 1908 which destroyed Messina and Reggio (the Rhegium of Ac 28^{13}) the loss of life was appalling.

JAMES STRAHAN.

EASTER.—See PASSOVER.

EBIONISM.—Ebionism is best understood as the generic name under which may be included a variety of movements, diverging more or less from Catholic Christianity, and primarily due to a conception of the permanent validity of the Jewish Law. Of these, some were merely tolerable and tolerant peculiarities; some were intolerable and intolerant perversions of Christianity.

As soon as Christianity became conscious of its world-wide mission, the problem arose as to its relation to the Judaism out of which it sprang. This produced what we might *a priori* expect—a difference within the primitive Christian community between a liberal and a conservative tendency. It was a liberalism which steadily advanced, a conservatism which as steadily hardened and became more intolerant, and drifted further out of likeness to normal Christianity. Jewish Christian conservatism in its different degrees and phases gives rise to the various species of Ebionism.

1. Characteristics.—All Ebionites are distinguished by two main and common characteristics: (1) an over-exaltation of the Jewish Law; (2) a defective Christology. We may take the first as fundamental. The second is deducible from it. To hold by the validity of the Law is obviously to find no adequate place for the work of a Redeemer (Gal 5^{4}). Christ tends to be recognized merely as a new prophet enforcing the old truth. And defective views of the work of Christ logically issue in, if they are not based upon, defective views of His Person. It is clear also, that those who hold the Law to be permanent, cannot consistently accept the authority of St. Paul, so we find that (3) hostility to St. Paul, involving the rejection of his Epistles, was a characteristic common, not to all, but to many, Ebionites.

2. Main groups.—There are three distinct classes of Ebionites. Ancient authorities speak of two sects of Ebionites, the more nearly orthodox of which they call Nazarenes. It is necessary, however, to add as a third group those Ebionites whose system results from a union of other elements with the original mixture of Judaism and Christianity. Our classification, therefore, of the Ebionite sects is: (1) Nazarenes, (2) Ebionites proper, (3) Syncretistic Ebionites.

The clear division into two sects, named Nazarenes and Ebionites, appears in the 4th cent. in Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx. 1) and Jerome (*Ep.* 112, *ad August.* 13). But in the preceding cent. Origen speaks of 'the two-fold sect of the Ebionites' (*c. Cels.* v. 61), though he has not the name Nazarene. In the 2nd cent. Justin Martyr divides Jewish Christians into two classes: those who, while they observed the Law themselves, did not require believing Gentiles to comply therewith, and who were willing to associate with them; and those who refused to recognize all who had not complied with the Law (*Dial. c. Tryph.* xlvii.). Justin has neither name. At the end of the same cent., we find the name Ebionite for the first time in Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* I. xxvi. 2, etc.). He has no distinction between Ebionites and Nazarenes, and in this Hippolytus and Tertullian follow him. It is *not* surprising that only writers who had special opportunity of familiarity with Palestinian Christianity should be aware of the distinction.

3. Name.—In all probability both names, Nazarenes and Ebionites, applied originally to all Jewish Christians. It was not unnatural that they should be called Nazarenes (Ac 24^{5}); it was not unnatural that they should call themselves Ebionites, a name signifying 'the poor' (Heb. אֶבְיוֹן, *'ebyōn*). We know that the Ebionites identified themselves with the Christians of Ac $4^{34f.}$, and claimed the blessing of Lk 6^{20} (Epiphan. xxx. 17). (Gal 2^{10} is an interesting verse in this connexion. It seems clear that 'the poor,' if not a name for the whole Christian community of Jerusalem, is to be understood at least of Jewish Christian poor.) Or, on the other hand, the name may have been attached to Jewish Christians in contempt. At all events, we may take it as highly probable that the two names were originally designations of Jewish Christians generally, and the

retention of those primitive names is in keeping with the essentially conservative character of Ebionism.

Some of the Fathers (the earliest of them Tertullian) derive the name Ebionite from a certain teacher, Ebion. In modern times Hilgenfeld is inclined to support this view (*Ketzergeschichte*, 1884, p. 422 ff.), but it is highly probable that this is a mistake, and that Ebion had no more existence than Gnosticus, the supposed founder of Gnosticism. Origen has another explanation of the name Ebionite as descriptive of the poverty of the dogmatic conceptions of the sect. This is but an interesting coincidence.

4. Nazarenes.— We begin with the Nazarenes, who came nearest orthodoxy, and are to be considered not as heretics, but as a sect of Jewish Christians. Our information regarding them is scanty, and several details are obscure. Our main and almost sole authorities are Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.* iii., and some references scattered in his Commentaries) and Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxix.). The latter, who on almost every subject must be used with the greatest caution, is in this particular case specially confused, but has the candour to admit that his knowledge of the Nazarenes is limited. Jerome had opportunity of gaining accurate acquaintance with their views, and unless we admit his authority, we have practically no knowledge of the sect at all.

Mainly from Jerome, then, we learn that the views of the Nazarenes on the three important points (bindingness of the Law, Christology, authority of St. Paul) were as follows:

(*a*) As to the Law, they held that it was binding on themselves, and continued to observe it. They seem, however, to have distinguished the Mosaic Law from the ordinances of the Rabbis, and to have rejected the latter (so Kurtz, *Hist. of Christian Church*, Eng. tr., 1860, vol. i. § 48, 1). They did not regard the Law as binding on Gentile Christians, and did not decline fellowship with them. They honoured the Prophets highly.

(*b*) As to Christ, they acknowledged His Messiahship and Divinity. They termed Him the First-born of the Holy Spirit from His birth. At His baptism the whole fount of the Holy Spirit (*omnis fons Spiritus Sancti*) descended on Him. They accepted the Virgin-birth. They looked for His millennial reign on earth. They mourned the unbelief of their Jewish brethren, and prayed for their conversion.

(*c*) They bore no antipathy to St. Paul, and accepted his Epistles. They used a Gospel according to Matthew in Hebrew (see below). We shall comment on these views below, in connexion with those of the Ebionites proper.

5. Ebionites proper.—In strong contrast to the Nazarenes stand the Ebionites proper, regarding whom our information is fuller and clearer. Our main authorities are Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* I. xxvi., III. xv., v. iii.), Hippolytus (*Hær.* vii. 22, x. 18), Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx.), and Tertullian (*de Præscr. Hær.* xxxiii.). Eusebius (*HE* iii. 27) and Theodoret (*Hær. Fab.* ii. 2) may also be mentioned. In the main these give a consistent account, which may be summarized as follows:

(*a*) The Ebionites not only continued to observe the Law themselves, but held its observances as absolutely necessary for salvation and binding on all, and refused fellowship with all who did not comply with it.

(*b*) As to Christ, their views were Cerinthian (see art. CERINTHUS). Jesus is the Messiah, yet a mere man, born by natural generation to Joseph and Mary. On His baptism, a higher Spirit united itself with Him, and so He became the Messiah. He became Christ, they further taught, by perfectly fulfilling the Law; and by perfectly fulfilling it they too could become Christs (Hippol. *Phil.* vii. 22). They agreed with the Nazarenes in expecting a millennial reign on earth. In their view, this was to be Christ's compensation for His death, which was an offence to them.

(*c*) The Ebionites denounced St. Paul as a heretic, circulated foolish stories to his discredit, and rejected all his Epistles as unauthoritative. They agreed with the Nazarenes in accepting a Hebrew gospel, and in addition had certain spurious writings which bore the names of apostles—James, Matthew, and John (Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 23). This Hebrew gospel used by Nazarenes and Ebionites was in all probability the *Gospel according to the Hebrews*, of which only fragments have survived. With this work we are not here concerned. It is in place to say that most likely it was a Nazarene production. In ancient writers it is sometimes attributed to the twelve apostles, more often to Matthew. The Ebionite version was accommodated to their peculiar views by both mutilation and interpolation; thus it omitted the first two chapters, and began the life of Jesus with the baptism. For full treatment of this subject see E. B. Nicholson, *The Gospel according to the Hebrews*, 1879.

From the information at our disposal we cannot say how rapidly Ebionism developed, nor estimate the position it had reached by the close of the 1st century. No doubt all the essential elements were active before then. In the NT itself we see the process well begun. Dating from the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15), we can see not only the possibility but the actuality of the rise of three distinct groups of Jewish Christians: (*a*) those who embraced Christianity in all its fullness, and developed with it; (*b*) those who accepted the indefinite compromise represented in the finding of the Council, and did not advance beyond it, which is essentially the position of the Nazarenes; (*c*) those who did not agree with the finding, and continued to protest against it, which is the starting-point of the Ebionites proper. We see them carrying on an active propaganda against the liberal school whose leader was St. Paul. The Epistle to the Galatians (*q.v.*) is St. Paul's polemic against them. In Corinth, too, they have been active (2 Co 10–13). After the Fall of Jerusalem, just as Judaism became more intolerant and more exclusive, so we may suppose this judaizing sect followed suit, and, retiring more and more from fellowship with the Church at large, and seeking to strengthen their own position, they by degrees formulated the system we have described.

In brief, then, while the Nazarenes are only Christians of a stunted growth, the Ebionites proper are heretics holding a system that is false to the real spirit of Christianity. While the Nazarenes are Judaistic, the Ebionites are Judaizers. Neither Nazarenes nor Ebionites seem to have been of great influence. The latter were the more wide-spread, and, we may suppose, the more numerous. While the Nazarenes were practically confined to Palestine and Syria, Ebionites seem to have been found in Asia Minor, Cyprus, and as far west as Rome.

6. Syncretistic Ebionites.—The most conservative movement could not escape the syncretistic tendencies of the age with which we are dealing. We have notices of several varieties which we class together as Syncretistic Ebionites.

(*a*) The first of these we may term the *Ebionites of Epiphanius*. Epiphanius agrees with Irenæus in describing the Ebionites as we have done above. But he adds several details of which there is no trace in Irenæus. Making all allowances for the generally unsatisfactory character of Epiphanius

as an accurate historian, we cannot set aside what he reports so clearly. The easiest explanation is that the Ebionites of Irenæus developed into the Ebionites of Epiphanius, *i.e.* Ebionism as a whole became syncretistic. The Ebionites of Epiphanius show traces of Samaritanism and an influence which we may with great probability term Essenic. The former is shown in their rejection of the Prophets later than Joshua, and of Kings David and Solomon (*Hær.* xxx. 18). The latter is manifest in their abstinence from flesh and wine, their rejection of sacrifices, their oft-repeated, even daily, baptism (xxx. 15, 16).

The siege and fall of Jerusalem were events of the greatest importance for Judaism (see art. PHARISEES) and Jewish Christianity alike. Jews and Christians, including Ebionites, settled east of the Jordan. There they came into close contact with a Judaism that was far from pure. The most important form of this was Essenism (see art. ESSENES). There were also the Nasaræans, who exhibited the very peculiarities described in the Ebionites by Epiphanius, except perhaps as regards the baptisms (Epiphan. *Hær.* xviii.). If, as seems probable, the Order of Essenes was broken up after the Fall of Jerusalem, it is very likely that many of them would associate with the Ebionites, who held the Law in such esteem, and would be able to impress their own customs on their associates.

(*b*) A still more pronounced Essenic influence is patent when we consider the *Elkesaites*. The *Book of Elkesai* was in great repute among Essenes, Nasaræans, and other trans-Jordanic sects, and Ebionites accepted it also (Epiphan. *Hær.* xxx. 3). The book appeared about A.D. 100. Hippolytus (*Phil.* ix. 8–12) gives details regarding it. Its main points are: bindingness of the Law; substitution of frequent baptisms for sacrifices; rejection of the Prophets and St. Paul; Christ's appearance in Adam and others; permissibility of formal idolatry in times of persecution; magic, astrology, prophecy. This is specially interesting because we trace here a germ of Gnostic doctrine.

Gnostic tendencies are still more pronounced in the Ebionism of the Clementine Literature, which, however, falls outside the period we are concerned with. Gnosticism has there advanced sufficiently to induce even a more favourable view of St. Paul. The union of Ebionism with Gnosticism is one of the strangest cases of extremes meeting. In most things the two movements are completely antithetical: one practically denied Christ's humanity, the other His Divinity; one made salvation depend on obedience to the Law, the other on speculative knowledge. Yet the two met in a strange amalgam. The explanation lies in the Essenism with which Ebionism entered into relation. It was already a Gnosticism of a sort. Ebionism ran its course till about the 5th cent., when in all its forms it was extinct. It was despised by Jews and Christians alike, and had no strength to maintain itself, as is shown by the unnatural union it entered into with its own antithesis.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned in the art., see F. C. Baur, *de Ebionitarum Origine*, 1831, and *Dogmengeschichte*, 1865–68; F. C. A. Schwegler, *Das nachapostol. Zeitalter*, 1846; A. Ritschl, *Die Entstehung der altkathol. Kirche*[2], 1857; A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*[3], 1893; G. P. Fisher, *Hist. of Christian Doctrine*, 1896; C. v. Weizsäcker, *Apostol. Age*, Eng. tr., ii. [1895] 27; E. Reuss, *Hist. of Christian Theol. in Apostol. Age*, i. [1872] 100; Church Histories of Neander, Kurtz, Schaff, and Moeller; artt. 'Ebionism' and 'Elkesaites' in *ERE*; 'Ebioniten' and 'Elkesaiten' in *PRE*[3]; 'Ebionites' in *JE*; 'Ebionism' in *DCG*; 'Ebionites' in *CE*.

W. D. NIVEN.

ECSTASY.—See RAPTURE and TONGUES, GIFT OF.

EDIFICATION.—The term (*οἰκοδομή*) means literally 'building up.' The figurative sense of building up *spiritually* has two applications in apostolic usage. (1) It signifies the spiritual advancement, in a general way, of the Church. (2) It is the special process or didactic means whereby the faith, knowledge, and experience of individuals were established and enlarged.

In AV *οἰκοδομή* and the cognate verb *οἰκοδομέω*, in the figurative sense, are translated 'edification' or 'edify' 19 times. The two meanings indicated above are more apparent in RV, where 'building up' is often employed to express the more general idea, especially where, as in Eph 4[12], 'the picturesqueness of the metaphor must be preserved' (Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903, p. 182), while 'edification' or 'edify' occurs 14 times. Half of these are found in 1 Co 14, where they bear the special meaning.

1. General.—The figurative use of the term *οἰκοδομή* for that which *builds up* generally the Church and the spiritual life of individuals within the Christian community is almost exclusively Pauline. The germ of the idea is probably to be found in the saying of Christ (Mt 16[18]) concerning the building of His Church (Lightfoot, *Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895, p. 191). But St. Paul frequently applies the metaphor of building to the structure and growth of the Christian life (1 Co 3[9f.], Eph 2[20f.], Col 2[7]; cf. 1 P 2[5]). Edification is the promotion of this *building up* process by speech (Eph 4[29]) or conduct (Ro 15[2]). Three elements in the Church contribute to it—*peace*, both external (Ac 9[31]) and internal (Ro 14[19]); *love* (Eph 4[15f.]), in contrast especially with boasted knowledge (1 Co 8[1]) or self-seeking (10[23f.]); and *service* (*διακονία*) wherein each may share in the ministering of all (Eph 4[11f.], 1 Th 5[11]).

2. Special.—In its specialized use, *οἰκοδομή* is a technical term for the exercise of 'spiritual gifts' (*χαρίσματα*) within the Christian congregation by its members, for the mutual 'edification' of individuals. St. Paul's description of the variety and exercise of these endowments in Corinth (1 Co 12 and 14) is probably true of most places in which the Church was established. There were evidently meetings held almost exclusively for 'edification,' to which unbelievers were admitted (1 Co 14[23f.]). It was not a formal service for Divine worship, but rather a fellowship meeting with the practical aim of affording members with a 'gift' an opportunity of using their supernaturally bestowed powers for the spiritual welfare of all present (1 Co 12[6]; cf. 1 P 4[10f.]). At such times the most notable contributions would be: (*a*) *teaching* (*διδαχή*), which included the 'word of wisdom' and the 'word of knowledge' (1 Co 12[8]); (*b*) *prophecy* (*προφητεία*), which dealt with future events (Ac 11[28]) or revealed an insight into the needs of those present (1 Co 14[3. 24f.]); (*c*) *glossolalia* or tongues (*γένη γλωσσῶν*), which were probably incomprehensible utterances expressive of prayer or praise (v.[13]).

Closely connected with prophecy was 'discerning of spirits,' and with glossolalia 'the interpretation of tongues' (1 Co 12[10] 14[27ff.]). In addition there would be prayer, the reciting or singing of hymns, the reading of Scripture, and the 'word of exhortation' (1 Co 14[26], Eph 5[19], Col 3[16], Ac 13[15]).

In order that genuine edification might result from such a variety of gifts, exercised often under stress of great excitement, two rules were laid down for the Corinthian Church: (1) the comparative value of *χαρίσματα* must be recognized—*e.g.* prophecy is superior to 'tongues' for purposes of edification (1 Co 14[1-25]); (2) there must be an observance of due order in the meetings (vv.[26-40]).

LITERATURE. — *HDB*, artt. 'Church,' 'Edification'; H. Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*, *s.vv.* *οἰκοδομέω*, *οἰκοδομή*; O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, Eng. tr.[2], 1891, i. 229–238; C. von Weizsäcker, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr.[2], ii. [1899] 246–279; A. C.

McGiffert, *History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897, pp. 520–535; E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., 1904, pp. 16–20; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*[3], 1907, pp. 41–50, 69–109.

M. Scott Fletcher.

EDUCATION.—1. Jewish.—The Jews from early times prized education in a measure beyond the nations around them. It was the key to the knowledge of their written Law, the observance of which was required by the whole people without respect of rank or class. They were the people of a Book, and wherever there is a written literature, and that religiously binding, elementary education, at least in the forms of reading and writing, is imperative and indispensable. The rise of the synagogue, and of the order of Scribes in connexion therewith, exercised a powerful influence upon the progress of education among the mass of the people. In the 4th cent. B.C. there was a synagogue in every town, and in the 2nd cent. in every considerable village as well. To the synagogues there were in all probability attached schools, both elementary and higher, and the *ḥazzān* ('the attendant,' Lk 4^{20} RV) may well have been the teacher. The value of education was understood among the Jews before the Christian era. In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* we read: 'Do ye also teach your children letters, that they may have understanding all their life, reading unceasingly the Law of God' ('Levi,' xiii. 2). In the *Psalms of Solomon* the frequent use of παιδεύειν, παιδευτής, and παιδεία (with the significant addition of ῥάβδος, vii. 8, and of μάστιξ, xviii. 8) points to the existence of schools and of a professional class of teachers. By the Apostolic Age there is abundant evidence of the general diffusion of education among the people. 'Our principal care of all,' says Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 12), comparing the Jews with other nations, 'is to educate our children well, and to observe the laws, and we think it to be the most necessary business of our whole life to keep this religion which has been handed down to us.' Among the Jews every child had to learn to read; scarcely any Jewish children were to be found to whom reading of a written document was strange, and therefore were there so many poor Jewish parents ready to deny themselves the necessaries of life in order to let their children have instruction (*c. Ap.* ii. 26; cf. B. Strassburger, *Gesch. der Erziehung bei den Israeliten*, 1885, p. 7). The result of instruction from the earliest years in the home, and of teaching received on the Sabbath, and on the frequent occasions of national festivals, is, according to the Jewish historian, 'that if anybody do but ask any one of our people about our laws, he could more easily tell them all than he could tell his own name. For because of our having learned them as soon as ever we became sensible of anything, we have them as it were engraven on our souls' (*c. Ap.* ii. 19).

Education began, as Josephus says, 'with the earliest infancy.' Philo speaks of Jewish youth 'being taught, so to speak, from their very swaddling clothes by parents and teachers and inspectors, even before they receive instruction in the holy laws and unwritten customs of their religion, to believe in God the one Father and Creator of the world' (*Legat. ad Gaium*, 16). 'From a babe thou hast known the sacred writings,' writes St. Paul to Timothy (2 Ti 3^{15}), recalling his disciple's early acquaintance with the OT Scriptures. At the age of six the Jewish boy would go to the elementary school (*Bêth ha-Sêpher*), but before this he would have received lessons in Scripture from his parents and have learned the *Sh'ma'* and the *Hallêl*. From the sixth to the tenth year he would make a study of the Law, along with writing and arithmetic. At the age of ten he would be admitted to the higher school (*Bêth ha-Midrāsh*), where he would make the acquaintance of the oral Law, beginning with the Mishna, 'repetition,' the oral traditions of the Law. At the age of thirteen he would be acknowledged by a sort of rite of confirmation as a 'Son of the Commandment' (*Bar-miṣvāh*), and from this point his further studies would depend upon the career he was to follow in life. If he was to become a Rabbi, he would continue his studies in the Law, and, as Saul of Tarsus did, betake himself to some famous teacher and sit at his feet as a disciple.

Although schools were thus in existence in connexion with the synagogues, it was not till comparatively late that schools, in the modern sense, for the education of children by themselves, seem to have been instituted (see art. 'Education' in *HDB*). They are said to have been first established by Simon bên-Shetach in the 1st cent. B.C., but this is disputed. However this may be, schools were placed upon a satisfactory and permanent footing by Joshua bên-Gamaliel, who is said to have been high priest from A.D. 63 to 65, and who ordained that teachers of youth should be placed in every town and every village, and that children on arriving at school age should be sent to them for instruction. Of him it is said that if he had not lived, the Law would have perished from Israel. The love of sacred learning and the study of the Law in synagogue and school saved the Jewish people from extinction. When Jerusalem had been destroyed and the Jewish population had been scattered after the disastrous events of A.D. 70, the school accompanied the people into the lands of their dispersion. Jamnia, between Joppa and Ashdod, then became the headquarters of Jewish learning, and retained the position till the unhappy close of Bar Cochba's rebellion. The learned circle then moved northwards to Galilee, and Tiberias and Sepphoris became seats of Rabbinical training. Wherever the Jews were settled, the family gathering of the Passover, the household instruction as to its origin and history, and the training in the knowledge of the Law, served to knit them together and to intensify their national feeling even in the midst of heathen surroundings.

While the great subject of school instruction was the Law, the work of the elementary school embraced *reading*, *writing*, and *arithmetic*. To make the Jewish boy familiar with the Hebrew characters in every jot and tittle, and to make him able to produce them himself, was the business of the *Bêth ha-Sêpher*, 'the House of the Book.' Reading thus came to be a universal accomplishment among the Jewish people, and it was a necessary qualification where the sacred books were not the exclusive concern of a priestly caste, but were meant to be read and studied in the home as well as read aloud and expounded in the synagogue. The case of Timothy already referred to is evidence of this; and the Scriptures which the Jewish converts of Berœa 'examined daily' were no doubt the OT in Greek which they were trained to study for themselves. Writing may not have been so general an accomplishment, but it must also have been in considerable demand. This can be inferred from the numerous copies of the Scripture books which had to be produced; and from the prevalence of *t'phillîn* ('phylacteries') and *m'zûzôth*, little metal cases containing the *Sh'ma'*, the name of God, and texts of Scripture, fastened to the 'doorposts' of Jewish houses, which were in use before the Apostolic Age. The simple rules of arithmetic would be wanted to calculate the weeks, months, and festivals of the Jewish year.

In the higher school, *Bêth ha-Midrāsh*, 'the House of Study,' the contents of the Law and the Books of Scripture as a whole were expounded by the authorities. It is said to have been a rule of

the Jewish schools not to allow all and sundry, without regard to age, to read all the books of Holy Scripture, but to give to the young all those portions of Scripture whose literal sense commanded universal acceptance, and only after they had attained the age of twenty-five to allow them to read the whole. Origen tells of the scruples of the Jewish teachers in regard to the reading of the Song of Solomon by the young (Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, 1912, p. 30 f.). But there was no lack of materials for reading and exposition. In course of time there grew up the great and varied literature now contained in the Talmud—the *Mishna*, the *Gemara*, and the *Midrāshic* literature of all sorts—narrative, illustrative, proverbial, parabolic, and allegorical (see I. Abrahams, *Short History of Jewish Literature*, 1906, ch. iv.; Oesterley and Box, *Religion and Worship of the Synagogue*[2], 1911, ch. v.).

In the school the children sat on the floor in a circle round the teacher, who occupied a chair or bench (Lk 2^{46} 10^{39}, Ac 22^{3}). The method of instruction was oral and catechetical. In the schools attached to the synagogues of Eastern Judaism to this day, committing to memory and learning by rote are the chief methods of instruction, and the clamour of infant and youthful voices is heard repeating verses and passages of Scripture the whole school day. This kind of oral repetition and committing to memory undoubtedly occupied a large place in the earliest Christian teaching, and had an important influence in the composition of the gospel narratives. The purpose of St. Luke in writing his Gospel was that Theophilus might know more fully the certainty of the things concerning Jesus wherein he had been instructed (*κατηχήθης*) (Lk 1^{4}). Apollos having been thus instructed in the way of the Lord (Ac 18^{25}) taught with accuracy the facts concerning Jesus. But whilst the method had great advantages, it had also great dangers, tending to crush out all originality and life, and to result in barren formalism.

In the education of the Jewish boy, *punishment*, we may be sure, was not withheld. The directions of the Book of Proverbs, which is itself a treasury of sound educational principles, were carried out not only in the home but in the school (Pr 12^{24} 19^{18} 23^{13}). St. Paul, addressing a self-righteous Jew, exposes the inconsistency of the man who professes to be a guide of the blind (*ὁδηγὸν τυφλῶν*), a corrector of the foolish (*παιδευτὴν ἀφρόνων*), and a teacher of infants (*διδάσκαλον νηπίων*), and yet does not know the inwardness of the Law (Ro $2^{19f.}$).

Games had some part in the life of Jewish schoolboys. One game consisted in imitating their elders at marriages and funerals (Mt $11^{16f.}$). Riddles and guesses seem to have been common, and story-telling, music, and song were not wanting. But when, under the influence of Antiochus Epiphanes, a *gymnasion* for the athletic performances of the Greeks was set up in Jerusalem and the youth of the city were required to strip themselves of their clothing, it became a grievous cause of offence to the pious among the people (1 Mac $1^{11ff.}$). See art 'Games' in *HDB*.

Whilst the education of Jewish youth on the theoretical side centred in the Law and was calculated to instil piety towards God, no instruction was complete without the knowledge of some trade or handicraft. To circumcise him, to teach him the Law, to give him a trade, were the primary obligations of a father towards his son. 'He that teacheth not his son a trade doeth the same as if he taught him to be a thief,' is a Jewish saying. Jesus Himself was the carpenter (Mk 6^{3}), and Saul of Tarsus, the scholar of Gamaliel, was a tent-maker (Ac 18^{3}). We hear of Rabbis who were needle-makers, tanners, and followed other occupations, and who, like St. Paul, made it their boast that their own hands ministered to their necessities and to them that accompanied them (Ac 20^{34}).

The education of the Jewish youth began at home, and the parents were the first instructors. Of a noted teacher of the 2nd cent. A.D. it was said that he never broke his fast until he had first given a lesson to his son. But in due course the children were sent to school, in Rabbinic times apparently under the protection of a *pædagogue*, better known, however, in Greek family life (Gal 3^{24}). The teacher was required to be a man of unblemished character, of gentle and patient disposition, with aptness to teach. Only married men could be employed as teachers. Women and unmarried men were excluded from the office. The office itself was full of honour: 'A city which neglects to appoint teachers ought to be destroyed,' runs the saying. One teacher was to be employed where there were 25 scholars (with an assistant where the number exceeded 25), and two where they exceeded 40. In the 2nd and 3rd centuries of the Christian era teachers received salaries, but the remuneration was in respect of the more technical part of the instruction. Nothing was to be charged for the *Midrāsh*, the exposition of Scripture.

The girls in Jewish families were not by any means left without instruction. The women of the household, like Eunice, the mother, and Lois, the grandmother, of Timothy (2 Ti 1^{5}), who at least influenced the boys, would have a more active part in the instruction of the girls. This means that they were not themselves left without education. The example of Priscilla, the wife of Aquila, shows that a Jewess (who did not owe all her training to Christianity) might be possessed of high gifts and attainments (Ac 18^{26}). In the Talmud similar instances of gifted and accomplished women are to be found. One of the most notable features in what is known as the Reform movement in modern Judaism is the earnestness with which its adherents insist upon the more general and the higher education of women.

LITERATURE.—Relevant articles in J. Hamburger, *Real-Encyclopädie für Bibel und Talmud*[2], 1884 ff.; S. S. Laurie, *Hist. Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 1895: 'The Semitic Races'; A. Büchler, *The Economic Conditions of Judæa after the Destruction of the Second Temple*, 1912; art. 'Education (Jewish)' by Morris Joseph in *ERE* v. [1912] 194, and Literature there cited.

2. Greek.—Among the Greeks education was the affair of the State. Its purpose was to prepare the sons of free citizens for the duties awaiting them, first in the family and then in the State. Whilst among the Jews education was meant for all, without respect of rank or class, among the Greeks it was intended for the few—the wealthy and the well-born. Plutarch in his treatise on the education of children says: 'Some one may object that I in undertaking to give prescriptions in the training of children of free citizens apparently neglect the training of the poor townsmen, and only think of instructing the rich—to which the obvious answer is that I should desire the training I prescribe to be attainable alike by all; but if any through want of private means cannot attain it, let them blame their fortune and not their adviser. Every effort, however, must be made even by the poor to train their children in the best possible way, and if this is beyond them to do it according to their means' (*de Lib. Educ.* ii.). Down to the Roman period at least, this educational exclusiveness was maintained, and only the sons of those who were full citizens were the subjects of education, although there were cases in which daughters rose to distinction in letters, and even examples of slaves, like the philosopher Epictetus, who burst the restraints of their position and showed themselves capable of rising to eminence in learn-

ing and virtue. We even read of bequests being made to provide free education to children of both sexes, but the rule was that women needed no more instruction than they were likely to receive at home. Being an affair of the State, education was under the control of officials appointed to superintend it. *Gymnastic*, for the training of the body, and *music* in the larger sense, including letters, for the training of the mind, were the subjects of instruction. These—athletics, literature, music—were regulated by a body of guardians of public instruction (παιδονόμοι). We hear of an *Ephebarch* at the head of a college of ἔφηβοι, or youths who have entered the higher school, and of a *Gymnasiarch* who superintends the exercises of the παλαίστρα and pays the training-masters.

The stages of education were practically the same in all the different branches of the wide-spread Grecian people. First, there was the stage of home education, extending from birth to the end of the seventh year, when the children were under parental supervision; second, the stage of school education, beginning with the eighth year and lasting to the sixteenth or eighteenth year; thirdly, there was the stage from the sixteenth or eighteenth to the twenty-first year, when the youths were ἔφηβοι, and were subjected to strict discipline and training. Before a youth was enrolled among the ἔφηβοι he had to undergo an examination (δοκιμασία) to make sure that he was the son of an Athenian citizen and that he had the physique for the duties now devolving upon him. This was really the university stage of his career, for he then attended the class of the rhetors and sophists who lectured in such institutions as the Lyceum and the Academy, and devoted himself to the study of rhetoric and philosophy (cf. Ac 19[9]). On the completion of this course he was ready to enter upon the exercise of his duties towards the State.

When the boy, at the age of seven, went to school—the grammar school and the gymnastic school—he was accompanied by a servant called a παιδαγωγός who carried his books and writing materials, his lyre and other instruments, and saw him to school and back (see SCHOOLMASTER, TUTOR). The school-rooms of ancient Athens seem to have been simple enough, containing little or no furniture—they were often nothing but porches open to wind and sun, where the children sat on the ground, or on low benches, and the teacher on a high chair. At first the child would be exercised in 'the rudiments,' τὰ στοιχεῖα (cf. Col 2[8] and Xen. *Mem.* II. i. 1). Great stress was laid upon reading, recitation, and singing. In particular, the memory was exercised upon the best literature, and cultivated to an extraordinary degree of retentiveness. The works of Æsop and Theognis were much in use in the class-rooms. Homer was valued not merely as a poet but as an inspired moral teacher, and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* were the Bible of the Greeks. Great pains were also taken with the art of writing. Tablets covered with wax formed the material to receive the writing, and the *stylus* was employed to trace the letters. By apostolic times papyrus or parchment was in use, written upon with pen (κάλαμος) and ink (μέλαν) (2 Jn [12], 3 Jn [13]; cf. 2 Co 3[3] and 2 Ti 4[13]). Sherds (ὄστρακα) were a common writing material—that used by the very poor in ancient Egypt. Exercises in writing and in grammar have been preserved to us in the soil of Egypt written on ostraca, on wooden tablets, on tablets smeared over with wax, and have now been recovered to let us see the performances of the school children of twenty centuries ago. Among them are school copies giving the letters of the alphabet, syllables, common words and proper names, conjugation of verbs, pithy or proverbial sayings as headlines, and there are even exercises having the appearance of being school punishments (E. Ziebarth, *Aus der antiken Schule*, 1910, in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*).

The mention of school punishments leads to the subject of school discipline. At home, at school, and in the palæstra, the rod and the lash were freely used. It is from school life, both Jewish and Greek, that St. Paul, as noted already, derives the imagery of a well-known passage in his Epistles (Ro 2[17-21]). In the *Psalms of Solomon*, a Jewish book written under Greek influence, there is reference both to the rod (ῥάβδος, vii. 8) and to the lash (μάστιξ, xviii. 8) as instruments of punishment; and 'chastening,' 'correction' (παιδεία), occurs again and again in this sense (Eph 6[4], 2 Ti 3[16], He 12[11]; cf. *Didache*, 4).

'We are given over to grammar,' says Sextus Empiricus (*adv. Math.* i. 41), 'from childhood, and almost from our baby-clothes.' Grammar was succeeded by rhetoric, which had accomplished its purpose when the student had acquired the power of speaking offhand on any subject under discussion. In addition to these subjects, philosophy was also taught, its technical terms being mastered and its various schools discriminated. Arithmetic, geometry, astronomy belonged to the programme of secondary education, and from Plato and Aristotle there have come down to us the seven liberal arts—the *trivium* and the *quadrivium* of the Middle Ages. All the while gymnastic training went hand in hand with the training of the intellect. The *gymnasion*, where the youths of Greece exercised themselves naked, was enclosed by walls and fitted up with dressing-rooms, bath-rooms, and requisites for running, leaping, wrestling, boxing, and other athletic exercises, and there were seats round about the course for spectators, and porticoes where philosophers gathered.

By the Apostolic Age it had become the practice for promising students to supplement their school education by seeking out and attending the lectures of eminent teachers in what we should call the great universities. Roman Emperors like Claudius and Nero had done much to encourage Greek culture and to introduce it into Rome itself, where the Athenæum was a great centre of learning. At this epoch Athens and Rome had famous schools, but even they had to yield to Rhodes, Alexandria, and Tarsus; and Marseilles, which had been from the very early days of Greek history a centre of Greek influence, was in the time of Strabo more frequented than Athens. The idea that Barnabas of Cyprus and Saul of Tarsus had met in early life at the university of Tarsus is by no means fanciful, and it was to his education at Tarsus that St. Paul owed the power to 'move in Hellenic Society at his ease' (W. M. Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, 1910, p. 346). That St. Luke had received a medical education and was familiar with the great medical writers of the Greek world is now almost universally admitted; his literary style and the frequent echoes of Greek authors, at least in the Acts of the Apostles, prove him to have been a well-educated and cultured Hellenist. Of the various philosophic schools then exercising an influence upon thought in the Greek world two are expressly mentioned in the Acts (17[18])—the Stoics and the Epicureans. St. Paul must have received Stoic teaching at Tarsus, where the school flourished, and he knew and quoted at least one Stoic poet (Ac 17[28]). A century later Marcus Aurelius endowed the four great philosophical schools of Athens—the Academic, the Peripatetic, the Epicurean, and the Stoic. Justin Martyr, a little earlier, in the account he gives of his conversion to Christianity (*Dial. cum Tryph.* 2 ff.), shows how the representatives of the Stoic, the Peripatetic, the Pythagorean,

and the Academic (Platonic) Schools in turn failed to satisfy his yearning after truth, and satisfaction came to him when he found Christianity to be the only philosophy sure and suited to the needs of man. Christianity, brought into contact with the society in which this philosophical habit of mind had established itself, modified, stimulated, and elevated it, and in turn was modified by the habit of mind of those who accepted it. 'It was impossible for Greeks, educated as they were with an education which penetrated their whole nature, to receive or to retain Christianity in its primitive simplicity. Their own life had become complex and artificial: it had its fixed ideas and its permanent categories: it necessarily gave to Christianity something of its own form' (E. Hatch, *Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church* [*Hibbert Lectures*, 1888], 1890, ch. ii. p. 48 f.).

LITERATURE.—T. Davidson, *Aristotle* (in *Great Educators*), 1892; S. S. Laurie, *Hist. Survey of Pre-Christian Education*, 1895: 'The Hellenic Race'; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Greek World under Roman Sway*, 1890; art. 'Education (Greek)' by W. Murison in *ERE* v. 185 and Literature there cited.

3. Christian. — The sentiment which caused education to be so prized among the Jews must in course of time have caused it to be greatly desired among the followers of Christ. To the first Christians, as to the Lord and His apostles, the OT Scriptures were the Bible, and, outside the Holy Land at least, the Bible in the LXX translation. No doubt it was a roll of this translation which the Ethiopian eunuch was carrying back with him to his home far up the Nile, when Philip the Evangelist joined him in his chariot on the Gaza road (Ac $8^{27ff.}$). It was the same Scriptures wherein the youthful Timothy was instructed from infancy in the home of his Greek father, under the guidance of Eunice and Lois (2 Ti 3^{15}). St. Paul, in the many quotations he makes from the OT, quotes from the LXX rather than from the Hebrew original. 'The LXX was to him as much "the Bible" as our English version is to us; and, as is the case with many Christian writers, he knew it so well that his sentences are constantly moulded by its rhythm, and his thoughts incessantly coloured by its expressions' (Farrar, *St. Paul*, 1879, i. 47). It was not till the second half of the 2nd cent. that most of the NT books were recognized in the Church as the Oracles of God, and on the same level of authority as the books of the OT. 'Among the Jewish Christians,' as Harnack points out, 'the private use of the Holy Scriptures simply continued; for the fact that they had become believers in the Messiahship of Jesus had absolutely no other effect than to increase this use, in so far as it was now necessary to study not only the Law but also the Prophets and the Kethubim, seeing that these afforded prophetic proofs of the Messiahship of Jesus, and in so far as the religious independence of the individual Christian was still greater than that of the ordinary Jew' (*Bible Reading in the Early Church*, p. 32).

That the private study which had been devoted to the OT came in due course to be given to the books of the NT may be seen from the use of them in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. The OT, the Gospels, and the Epistles of St. Paul had a wide circulation at an early period, in all the provinces of the early Church, and were perused and applied to their spiritual needs by multitudes of Christians, not clerical only, but lay; not men only, but women. 'Ye know the Holy Scriptures,' writes Clement of Rome to the Corinthian Christians (1 Clem. liii. 1), 'Yea, your knowledge is laudable, and ye have deep insight into the Oracles of God.' 'What are these articles in your handbag?' asks the proconsul Saturninus when examining Speratus, one of the band of Scillitan martyrs in N. Africa. 'The books and epistles of St. Paul,' was the reply (*TS* i. 2 [1891], p. 114). The feeling grew and spread that it was at once a privilege and a duty thus to make acquaintance with the meaning and teaching of Holy Scripture. In Asia Minor and in Gaul, in Syria and Egypt, this feeling prevailed. Men like Justin Martyr, Tatian, Theophilus of Antioch, became Christians —such is their own acknowledgment—by reading the Scriptures for themselves. By and by wealthy Christians had Bibles copied at their own expense to be given or lent to their poorer brethren. Pamphilus, the friend of Eusebius, whose library at Cæsarea was famous, had Bibles copied to keep in stock and to be given away as occasion demanded, 'not only to men but also to women whom he saw devoted to the reading of Scripture' (Jerome, *Apol. c. Rufin.* i. 9).

All this intellectual activity devoted to the study of the Scriptures implies throughout the early Church a considerable level of educational attainment. That many of the poorest and least educated found in Christ and His teaching the satisfaction of their deepest needs is manifest from the NT itself (1 Co $1^{26ff.}$), and Celsus sought to discredit the Christian system by aspersing the intellectual as well as the moral character of its adherents. Origen in answer points to the passages of the OT, especially in the Psalms, which the Christians also use, which inculcate wisdom and understanding, and declares that education, so far from being despised among the Christians, is the pathway to virtue and knowledge, the one stable and permanent reality (*c. Cels.* iii. 49, 72). We must not suppose, however, that the Church of the first days took any steps to provide schools and an educational system of her own. Members of the Christian community had no alternative but to send their sons to the schools of their localities to receive instruction along with scholars who were heathen and accustomed to the usages and customs, the superstitions and fables, often corrupt and unclean, of paganism. Although the Fathers of the Church did not permit their youth to become instructors in pagan schools, they did not consider it wise to deny them the advantages of a liberal education, even though associated with falsehood and idolatry. If they had forbidden their attendance they would have justly incurred the charges made by Celsus of hostility to learning. Christian parents made a virtue of necessity, which Tertullian approves, only recommending Christian pupils to accept the good and reject the bad (*de Idolatria*, x.).

Scarcely less pressing and even more difficult was the question of the propriety of studying the productions of the great pagan writers. Among those who took the liberal view was Justin Martyr, who held that 'those who lived with Logos are Christians, even if they were accounted atheists: of whom among Greeks were Socrates and Heraclitus' (*Apol.* i. 46). Clement of Alexandria was conspicuously broad in his Christian sympathies, and his quotations from classical writers have preserved to us fragments of authors whose works have otherwise perished. Others, like Cyprian, drew a sharp dividing line between pagan philosophy and Christian doctrine.

But though the circumstances of the times rendered separate Christian elementary instruction impossible and inadvisable in the early Church, the Church was not indifferent to the Christian instruction of her members. Foremost among the members belonging to the Body of Christ are 'teachers,' mentioned along with 'apostles' and 'prophets' (1 Co 12^{28}). Elsewhere they are classed with 'pastors' (Eph 4^{11}). Among the gifts that minister to the upbuilding of the social fabric of

Christianity is 'teaching' (Ro 12^7). Power to teach was a qualification which Timothy was charged to look for in the bishops whom he should appoint (1 Ti 3^2), and he was told that the servant of the Lord in any office must have aptness to teach (2 Ti 2^{24}). The teacher as a separate functionary seems early to have disappeared from the Church, his functions being absorbed by the more official presbyter or bishop (*q.v.*), who was always required to be able to teach (Charteris, *The Church of Christ*, p. 32). The need, however, for institutions for higher instruction in the things of Christ came to be felt early. Out of the training of the candidates for baptism grew the catechetical schools in great centres of pagan learning. The first and most notable of them was the catechetical school of Alexandria, of which Pantænus was the founder, and Clement and Origen were the most distinguished ornaments. This was the counterpart of the pagan university, offering to philosophic pagans an academic and articulated view of the Christian system, and to earnest Christians of intellectual gifts and tastes training for the offices of preachers and teachers. Gregory Thaumaturgus commends Origen as having taught him philosophy, logic, mathematics, general literature, and ethics as the ground-work of theological training, after which he proceeded to the exposition of the sacred Scriptures. Under Clement and Origen the school was great and prosperous, and schools at Cæsarea, Jerusalem, and elsewhere were founded upon its model.

The share which woman had in the work of Christian education apart from her influence and work in the home is not made clear in the records of Church history. In the Syriac *Didascalia Apostolorum*, however, translated by Mrs. M. D. Gibson (1903), we have an official document of the 3rd cent. directing the deaconesses to assist in the baptism of women, to teach and educate them afterwards, and to visit and nurse the sick.

LITERATURE.—A. Harnack, *Bible Reading in the Early Church*, 1912; A. H. Charteris, *The Church of Christ*, 1905, under 'Education' and 'Teachers'; P. Monroe, *Text-Book in the History of Education*, 1905; art. 'Bible in the Church' by E. von Dobschütz in *ERE* ii. 579. THOMAS NICOL.

EGYPT (Αἴγυπτος).—NT references to Egypt occur mostly in historical retrospects. As the land which was friendly and hospitable to the Hebrews in the time of Joseph, but cruel and oppressive in that of Moses, it is mentioned twelve times in Stephen's address before the Sanhedrin (Ac 7), once in St. Paul's speech at Lystra (13^{17}), and four times in Hebrews (3^{16} 8^9 $11^{26.27}$). There is a single allusion to contemporary Egypt in the account of the first Christian Pentecost: among the Jews and proselytes who were 'sojourning in Jerusalem,' and who formed St. Peter's audience, were 'the dwellers (οἱ κατοικοῦντες) . . . in Egypt' (Ac $2^{9.10}$).

Philo estimated that there were not fewer than a million Jews in Egypt in his time (*in Flaccum*, 6; see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. [1885] 229). The movement from Palestine into Egypt, partly by voluntary emigration and partly by forcible deportation, had been going on for six centuries. Aristeas (*Epist.* 13) states that Psammeticus (probably the Second, 594–586 B.C.) had Jewish mercenaries in his army. A company of Jews fled to Egypt after the Fall of Jerusalem in 586 B.C. (Jer 42–43). Some Aramaic papyri found at Assuan and Elephantinê show that a colony of Jews was settled at this garrison and trading post (590 miles S. of Cairo) in the 6th and 5th centuries B.C., and that they had built a temple to Jahweh. Many Jews were attracted to Alexandria at the time of its foundation by the offer of citizenship (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 4, *Ant.* XIX. v. 2). Ptolemy Lagi carried a vast number of Jews captive to Egypt (Aristeas, *Epist.* 12–14). Philo mentions that two of the five quarters into which Alexandria was divided were called 'the Jewish' (*in Flaccum*, 8). In no country were the Jews so prosperous, so influential, so cultured as they were in Egypt, where some of them held important offices of State under the Ptolemys (Jos. *c. Ap.* ii. 5, *Ant.* XIII. x. 4, xiii. 1, 2), and where an attempt was made to fuse Hellenic with Hebrew ideals.

History gives no trustworthy account of the evangelization of Egypt. The statement found in Eusebius (*HE* ii. 16) that St. Mark was the first missionary who went thither, and that he preached there the Gospel which he had written, is confessedly legendary, and the idea that Apollos had some share in the enlightenment of his native city is no more than a natural conjecture. There are few materials to fill the gap between apostolic times and the beginning of the 3rd cent., when Alexandria (*q.v.*), the home of Clement and Origen, became the intellectual capital of Christendom. Even till the days of Constantine the progress of Christianity in Egypt was almost confined to this one Hellenistic city.

'The great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt' (Rev 11^8) is probably Jerusalem, regarded as the latter-day enemy of righteousness and of God's people, such as Sodom and Egypt had been in ancient times. The alternative view is that Rome is the great city which is allegorically or mystically named. If the addition 'where also their Lord was crucified' were original, it would of course decide the point; but this may be a gloss.

LITERATURE.—A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*[2], Eng. tr., 1908; A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assouan*, Oxford, 1906; artt. in *SDB*, *DCG*, *EBi*, and *HDB*, with the Literature there cited. JAMES STRAHAN.

EGYPTIAN, THE.—See ASSASSINS.

ELAMITES.—Elamites are mentioned in Ac 2^9 among the sojourners in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost. Jews settled in Elam during the post-exilic period, whence they and their descendants came up to the Holy City for the annual religious festivals. Elam lay due east of Babylonia and the lower Tigris, and corresponds to the modern *Khuzistan*. Its ruling cities were Shushan (or Susa) and Ansan (or Anzan), and the earliest native rulers called themselves *patesis*, or 'viceroys,' in acknowledgment of dependence upon Babylonia. The native Elamites had been gradually encroached upon, from the west, by invading Semites, who brought their own system of writing with them. This system was adopted by the Elamite princes for many of their votive tablets and inscribed monuments. For a brief period after 2300 B.C. Elamite chieftains ruled in Babylonia, but their power was broken by Hammurabi, whose son Samsu-iluna finally restored Babylonian supremacy.

LITERATURE.—L. W. King and H. R. Hall, *Egypt and Western Asia in the Light of Recent Discoveries*, 1907, ch. v.; H. Winckler, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, Eng. tr., 1907, ch. ii.; artt. 'Elam' in *PRE*[3] and *JE*, and 'Elam, Elamites' in *HDB*. A. W. COOKE.

ELDER.—'Elder' preserves better than '**presbyter**' the history of the title, which goes back to the fact that tribes were governed by the heads of their component families. 'Elder' is probably the earliest name, after 'apostle,' for a Christian official (Ac 11^{30}). See BISHOP and CHURCH GOVERNMENT. A. PLUMMER.

ELECT LADY.—See JOHN, EPISTLES OF.

ELECTION.—1. Definition.— Election, in the teaching of the apostles, is the method by which God gives effect to His eternal purpose to redeem and save mankind; so that the elect are those who are marked out in God's purpose of grace from eternity as heirs of salvation.

2. Election in the OT.—The doctrine of a Divine election lies at the very heart of revelation and redemption. Abraham was chosen that in him all the families of the earth should be blessed (Gn 12^{3}). It was through the chosen people, the seed of Abraham, that God was pleased to make the clearest and fullest revelation of Himself to man and to prepare the way in the fullness of the time for the world's redemption. Through their patriarchs and their Divinely guided history, through the laws and institutions of the Mosaic economy, through tabernacle and temple, through prophets and psalmists, through their sacred Scriptures, and at length through the Incarnate Word, born of the chosen people, the world has received the knowledge of the being and spirituality of God, of the love and mercy and grace of our Father in heaven. To Israel their great legislator said: 'Thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God: the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself, above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth. The Lord did not set his love upon you, nor choose you, because ye were more in number than any people; for ye were the fewest of all peoples: but because the Lord loveth you' (Dt $7^{6f.}$). Israel was chosen to spread abroad the Divine glory, and God designates them by His prophet 'My chosen, the people which I formed for myself, that they might set forth my praise' (Is $43^{20.\ 21}$). They were taught, also, to realize how great were their privileges: 'Blessed is the nation whose God is the Lord; the people whom he hath chosen for his own inheritance' (Ps 33^{12}; cf. 135^{4}). Their very position on the face of the earth, placed in the midst of the nations, was chosen with a view to their discipline and sanctification, for thus the Maccabæan annalist puts it: 'Howbeit the Lord did not choose the nation for the place's sake, but the place for the nation's sake' (2 Mac 5^{19}). And the destiny of the elect people was to culminate in the Elect Servant of the Lord: 'Behold my servant whom I uphold; my chosen (בְּחִירִי, ὁ ἐκλεκτός μου) in whom my soul delighteth: I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgement to the Gentiles' (Is 42^{1} RV; 'the Elect one' appears as a Messianic designation in the *Book of Enoch*, xl. 5, xlv. 3, 4, 5, xlix. 2, 4, and is found applied to Christ in Lk 9^{35} 23^{35}). This conception of Israel as the people of God's election colours the whole of the teaching of the apostles and forms the subject of St. Paul's great discussion in the chapters where he deals with the problem of their rejection (Ro 9–11). That the Jewish people had come to attribute to it an exaggerated and erroneous value is clear not only from St. Paul's argument but also from the Rabbinical literature of the time (see Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], p. 248 *ff.*).

3. Biblical use of the word.—In biblical Greek the word ἐκλεκτοί (ἐκλέγεσθαι, ἐκλογή) is of frequent occurrence. In the OT we find ἐκλεκτός used in the sense of picked men (Jg 20^{16}, 1 S 24^{2}); of individuals chosen by God for special service (Moses, Ps 106^{23} [LXX 105]; David, Ps $89^{20.\ 21}$ [LXX 88]); of the nation Israel (Ps 106^{5} [LXX 105], Is 45^{4} $65^{9.\ 15}$); of the Servant of the Lord (Is 42^{1}; cf. 52^{13}). In the NT we find the verb used, always in the middle voice, of our Lord's choice of the Twelve from the company of the disciples (Lk 6^{13}, Jn 6^{70} 13^{18} 15^{19}, Ac 1^{2}); of the choice of an apostle in the place of Judas (Ac 1^{24}); of Stephen and his colleagues (Ac 6^{5}); of God's choice of the patriarchs (Ac 13^{17}); and of the choice of delegates to carry the decisions of the Apostolic Council to the Gentile churches (Ac $15^{22.\ 25}$). It is used of God's choice of the foolish things of the world to put to shame them that are wise, and the weak things to put to shame the things which are strong (1 Co 1^{27}); and of His choice of the poor to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom promised to them that love Him (Ja 2^{5}).

In the Gospels ἐκλεκτοί and κλητοί are distinguished: κλητοί, as Lightfoot puts it (*Colossians*[3], 1879, p. 220), 'being those summoned to the privileges of the Gospel, and ἐκλεκτοί those appointed to final salvation (Mt $24^{22.\ 24.\ 31}$, Mk $13^{20.\ 22.\ 27}$, Lk 18^{7}). But in St. Paul no such distinction can be traced. With him the two terms seem to be co-extensive, as two aspects of the same process, κλητοί having special reference to the goal, and ἐκλεκτοί to the starting-point. The same persons are "called" to Christ and "chosen out" from the world.' It is to be noticed in the Epistles that while ὁ καλῶν is used of God or Christ in the present tense (1 Th 2^{12} 5^{24}, Gal 5^{8}), ὁ ἐκλεγόμενος is never used, nor the present tense of any part, the aorist being employed to describe what depended upon God's eternal purpose (Eph 1^{14}, 2 Th 2^{13}). In St. Peter's Epistles κλητός is not found, nor ἐκλέγεσθαι, but the verbal adjective ἐκλεκτός is found four times, once of 'elect' people (1^{1}), once of Christians as an 'elect race' (2^{9}), and twice, following the OT, of Christ as the Living Stone, choice and 'chosen' to be the corner-stone ($2^{4.\ 6}$). ἐκλογή is found of the Divine act (Ac 9^{15}, Ro 9^{11} $11^{5.\ 28}$, 1 Th 1^{4}, 2 P 1^{10}), and once as the abstract for the concrete ἐκλεκτοί (Ro 11^{7}).

4. St. Paul's doctrine.—It is St. Paul who most fully develops the doctrine in its strictly theological aspects. His teaching, however, only expands that of our Lord on the same subject, as when He speaks of those whom the Father had given Him (Jn $6^{37.\ 39}$ $17^{2.\ 24}$), to whom He should give life eternal, and whom He should keep so that they would never perish (Jn 10^{28}). St. Paul from an early period of his missionary labours saw results which were recognized in his circle to be due to an influence higher than man's—to the predestinating counsel of God. For the historian tells how, on St. Paul's preaching for the first time to Gentiles at Antioch of Pisidia, 'as many as were ordained to eternal life believed' (Ac 13^{48}). This was on his first missionary journey. On his second he preached to the Thessalonians among others, and in the two Epistles written to them on that extended journey there is the clear recognition of the same influence. Giving thanks to God for them, St. Paul in the opening words of the First Epistle discerns in their experience, and sets forth for their comfort, the proofs of their 'election' (1 Th 1^{2-10}). From their response to the gospel call, their acceptance of the gospel message, their patient endurance of affliction, and the joy they had in their new spiritual life, a joy begotten in them of the Holy Spirit, St. Paul inferred and knew their election. And not long after, when he wrote the Second Epistle to correct misapprehensions produced by the First, he set before the Thessalonian Christians, in language still loftier and more explicit, this profound and encouraging truth of a Divine election (2 Th 2^{13-15}). God is here represented as taking them for His own (the verb is εἵλατο, not ἐξελέξατο), and it is 'from the beginning,' from eternity (there is a reading ἀπαρχήν, 'firstfruits,' instead of ἀπ' ἀρχῆς), that the transaction dates. It is not to religious privileges merely, nor even to a possible or contingent salvation, that they have been chosen, but to an actual and present experience of its blessings, felt in holiness of life and assurance of the truth. This was, indeed, what they were called

to enjoy through the gospel preached by St. Paul and his colleagues, so as at length to obtain the glory of the Lord Jesus Christ. In his Epistle to the Romans, written not long after, St. Paul, in ch. 8, rising to the loftiest heights of Divine inspiration, and penetrating, as it might seem, to the secret place of the counsels of the Most High, apprehends for himself, and makes known for the encouragement of faith, the links of the great chain of the Divine election by which the Church of believers is bound about the feet of God — 'foreknown,' 'foreordained,' 'called,' 'justified,' 'glorified' (Ro 8^{28-30}). Here 'they that love God' are co-extensive and identical with 'them that are called according to his purpose.' They are 'foreordained,' so that they may attain the likeness of God's Son, and, further, that He may be glorified in them and see of the travail of His soul and be satisfied. God's elect (Ro 8^{33}) may have the assaults of temptation and trial to face, and tribulation, anguish, persecution, famine, nakedness, peril, and sword to endure; but nothing can separate them from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus.

These disclosures regarding God's eternal purpose of grace are continued and extended by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Ephesians, where the spiritual blessings enjoyed in such abundance by them are traced up to their election by God—'even as he chose us in him (Christ) before the foundation of the world, that we should be holy and without blemish before him in love: having foreordained us unto adoption as sons through Jesus Christ unto himself, according to the good pleasure of his will, to the praise of the glory of his grace' (Eph 1^{4-6}). It is a further development of this when St. Paul says again in the same Epistle: 'We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus for good works, which God afore prepared that we should walk in them' (Eph 2^{10}). The unconditional character of the Divine choice, emphasized in these statements of the Apostle, is affirmed again when, writing to Timothy, he bids him suffer for the gospel 'according to the power of God, who saved us and called us with a holy calling, not according to our works, but according to his own purpose of grace which was given in Christ Jesus before times eternal' (2 Ti 1^{9}).

In a separate passage of the Epistle to the Romans (chs. 9–11) St. Paul deals with the mystery of the call of the Gentiles to take the place of gainsaying and disobedient Israel. In so doing he first vindicates God from the reproach of having departed from His ancient covenant—a reproach which would be well-founded if the covenant people were rejected and the Gentiles put in their place. Such a rejection, he contends, would not be altogether out of keeping with God's treatment of His people in the course of their history.

'There was from the first an element of inscrutable selectiveness in God's dealings within the race of Abraham. Ishmael was rejected, Isaac chosen: Esau was rejected and Jacob chosen, antecedently to all moral conduct, though both were of the same father and mother. Such selectiveness ought at least to have prevented the Jews from resting their claims simply on having "Abraham to their father"' (Gore, 'Argument of Romans ix.–xi.' in *Studia Biblica*, iii. 40; cf. A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 312 ff.).

'The election within the election' here, St. Paul argues, is the Christian Church—the Israel after the Spirit; and the reproach of the objector falls to the ground (Ro 9^{6-9}). Besides, the Apostle further maintains, God, in His electing purpose, is sovereign, as is seen in the difference between the two sons of Rebecca; in the Divine word to Moses: 'I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy'; and in the hardening of the heart of Pharaoh (Ro 9^{10-24}). And after all, if the election were cancelled, the blame would be Israel's own, because of unbelief and disobedience, such as Moses denounced, and Isaiah bewailed when he said: 'All the day long did I spread out my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people' (Ro 10^{21}).

But, despite appearances, Israel was not cast off. Their rejection was not final. There were believing Israelites, like St. Paul himself, in all the churches; and he could say: 'At this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace' (Ro 11^{5}). Meanwhile the problem of Israel's unbelief and of the passing over of spiritual privilege to the Gentiles (Ro 11^{11}) is to be solved by the Gentiles provoking Israel to jealousy—appreciating and embracing and profiting by the blessings of the Christian salvation to such an extent that Israel will be moved to desire and to possess those blessings for their own. When Jews in numbers come to seek as their own the righteousness and goodness which they see thus manifested in the lives of Christians, and are stirred up to envy and emulation by the contemplation of them, the time will be at hand when all Israel—Israel as a nation—shall be saved. Of that issue St. Paul has no doubt, for 'the gifts and calling of God are without repentance' (Ro 11^{29}).

To sum up St. Paul's teaching, election (1) is the outcome of a gracious purpose of the heart of God as it contemplates fallen humanity from all eternity (Ro $8^{28, 29}$; cf. Ro 5^{8-10}); (2) is a display of Divine grace calculated to redound to the glory of God by setting forth His love and mercy towards sinful men (Eph 1^{3-14}); (3) is not conditioned upon any good foreseen in the elect, nor in any faith or merit which they may exhibit in time (Ro 9^{11-13}), but is 'according to the good pleasure of his will' (Eph 1^{5}), 'according to his own purpose of grace' (2 Ti 1^{9}), of God's sovereign purpose and grace (Ro 9^{15} 11^{5-7}); (4) is carried out 'in Christ' (Eph 1^{4} 2^{10}) through the elect being brought into union with Him by faith, that they may receive forgiveness of sins and every spiritual blessing in the heavenly places (Eph $1^{3, 5}$); (5) issues in sanctification by the Spirit and assurance of the truth (2 Th $2^{13f.}$) and heavenly glory (Ro 8^{30}); and (6) is proved by acceptance of the gospel call and by the trust and peace and joy of believing and obedient hearts (1 Th 1^{4-6}).

5. St. Peter's doctrine.—If St. Peter's allusions to the subject of election are few they fully support the teaching of St. Paul. In his addresses at Jerusalem after Pentecost, he speaks of 'the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God' (Ac 2^{23}) with reference to Jesus. It is fitting that the Apostle of the Circumcision should speak of Him as 'a living stone, rejected indeed of man, but with God elect, precious' (1 P 2^{4}; cf. ἀποδεδειγμένον, 'approved,' Ac 2^{22}), and even quote concerning Him the prophetic Scripture: 'Behold I lay in Zion a chief corner-stone, elect, precious' (2^{6}; cf. Is 28^{16}). Of Christ he speaks, too, as 'foreknown' (1^{20}; Hort, *ad loc.*, 'designated afore') before the foundation of the world.

St. Peter gives manifest prominence to the doctrine of election when, in the opening words of his First Epistle, he addresses the Jewish Christians of Pontus and other Asiatic provinces as 'the elect who are sojourners' there (ἐκλεκτοῖς παρεπιδήμοις διασπορᾶς Πόντου, κτλ.). 'Elect' they are because their lot is cast in favoured lands where the messengers of the gospel have proclaimed the good tidings—still more because they have obeyed and believed the message, and have had experience of the blood of sprinkling and of the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit—yea, because they have been 'designated afore,' not to service as Christ was from the foundation of the world (1^{20}), but to blessing, even all the blessings of the Christian salvation by God the Father Himself ($1^{1, 2}$). Conceived of as the Christian Israel, the Israel after

the Spirit, these Jewish believers are, as St. Peter elsewhere calls them, 'an elect race, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a people for God's own possession' (2^9, where election is seen to be not simply to privilege, but to character and service, to holy living and the setting forth of the Divine glory). Although they are an 'elect race' they are also in the same context described as 'living stones' (2^5), and Hort is right when he says 'the whole spirit of the Epistle excludes any swallowing up of the individual relation to God in the corporate relation to Him; and the individual relation to God implies the individual election' (*First Epistle of St. Peter, I. 1–II. 17*, 1898, p. 14).

Few as are St. Peter's utterances regarding the doctrine, they entirely support St. Paul, even when, emphasizing the urgency of the matter as a part of practical religion, he bids his readers give diligence to make their 'calling and election sure' ($2\ P\ 1^{10}$).

6. St. John's doctrine.—It is from St. John that we have the record of our Lord's most impressive teaching on the subject of those whom the Father had given Him (Jn $6^{37.\ 39}$ $17^{2.\ 24}$). In his Gospel he uses ἐκλέγεσθαι, always, however, as employed in His discourses by the Lord Himself and with a definite reference to the Twelve, or to the company of the disciples. In his Second Epistle (vv.[1. 13]) he has ἐκλεκτή. Whether the word describes an individual or a society it is not easy to say, but at least it has the same theological signification as in St. Paul and St. Peter. In the Apocalypse (17^{14}) ἐκλεκτοί is used in a very significant connexion, where they that are with the Lamb in His warfare against the powers of evil, and in His victory over them, are 'called and chosen and faithful.' They are 'called' (κλητοί) in having heard and accepted the gospel message; 'chosen' (ἐκλεκτοί) as thus having given evidence of their Divine election; 'faithful' (πιστοί) as having yielded the loyal devotion of their lives to their Divine Leader, and persevered therein to the end. That 'the elect' are the same as 'the sealed' (Rev 7^4) may be inferred from the manner in which the 144,000 pass unscathed through the conflicts and terrors let loose upon them (14^1).

From this passage apparently comes the thought of the 'number' of the elect as in the *Book of Common Prayer* ('Order for the Burial of the Dead'): 'that it may please Thee to accomplish the number of Thine elect.' The thought appears early in the sub-Apostolic Church, for in Clement's *Epistle to the Corinthians* he urges them to 'pray with earnest supplication and intercession that the Creator of all would preserve unharmed the constituted number of His elect in all the world through His beloved Son, Jesus Christ, through whom He called us from darkness to light, from ignorance to knowledge of the glory of His name' (lix. 2; cf. ii. 4, lviii. 2; *Apostol. Const.* v. 15, viii. 22). No countenance is given in the Early Church to the idea that 'the elect' may live as they list and at last be saved. 'Let us cleave to the innocent and the righteous,' says Clement of Rome, 'for such are the elect of God' (*op. cit.* xlvi. 4). 'It is through faith,' says Hermas (*Vis.* III. viii. 3), 'that the elect of God are saved.' 'In love all the elect of God were made perfect,' says Clement again (xlix. 5), 'for without love nothing is wellpleasing unto God.'

LITERATURE.—C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, 1874, ii. 333 ff.; H. C. G. Moule, *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*, 1889, p. 37 ff.; C. Gore, in *Studia Biblica*, iii. [1891] 37 ff.; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), 248 ff.; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894, p. 310 ff.; Commentaries on passages noticed above, especially Lightfoot and Hort, *ad locc.*

THOMAS NICOL.

ELEMENTS (στοιχεῖα, *elementa*).—στοιχεῖον is properly a stake or peg in a row (στοῖχος); then, one of a series, a component part, an element. The special meanings of στοιχεῖα are: (*a*) the letters of the alphabet; (*b*) the physical elements or constituents of the universe; (*c*) the heavenly bodies; (*d*) the rudiments or *principia* of a subject; (*e*) the elementary spirits, angels, genii, or demons of the cosmos. Each of these meanings, with the exception of the first, has been found by exegetes in one or other of the NT passages in which στοιχεῖα occurs. In one case (He 5^{12}) the interpretation (*d*) is beyond dispute; the others have given rise to much discussion.

From Plato downwards στοιχεῖα frequently denotes the elements of which the world is composed. Empedocles had already reckoned four ultimate elements—fire, water, earth, and air—but called them ῥιζώματα (ed. Sturz, 1805, p. 255 ff.). Plato preferred to speak of the στοιχεῖα τοῦ παντός (*Tim.* 48 B; cf. *Theæt.* 201 E). In the Orphic Hymns (iv. 4) the air (αἰθήρ) is called κόσμου στοιχεῖον ἄριστον. Aristotle distinguished στοιχεῖα from ἀρχαί (though the terms were often interchanged) as the material cause from the formal or motive (*Metaph.* IV. i. 1, iii. 1). The Stoic definition of a στοιχεῖον is 'that out of which, as their first principle, things generated are made, and into which, as their last remains, they are resolved' (Diog. Laert., *Zeno*, 69). στοιχεῖα has this meaning in Wis 7^{17}: 'For himself gave me an unerring knowledge of the things that are, to know the constitution of the world, and the operation of the elements' (καὶ ἐνέργειαν στοιχείων; cf. 19^{18}). In 2 Mac 7^{22} a mother says to her seven martyr sons: 'It was not I that brought into order the first elements (στοιχείωσιν) of each one of you.'

This is probably the meaning of the term in $2\ P\ 3^{10}$: 'The day of the Lord shall come as a thief; in which . . . the elements shall be dissolved with fervent heat' (στοιχεῖα δὲ καυσούμενα λυθήσεται [or λυθήσονται]); and v.[12]: 'the elements shall melt (τήκεται) with fervent heat.' Here RVm gives the alternative 'heavenly bodies,' which is a meaning the word came to have in early ecclesiastical writers. The stars were called στοιχεῖα either as the elements of the heavens, or—a less likely explanation—because in them the elements of man's life and destiny were supposed to reside. Justin speaks of τὰ οὐράνια στοιχεῖα (*Apol.* ii. 5). Theoph. of Antioch has στοιχεῖα θεοῦ (*ad Autol.* i. 4), and the word bears the same meaning in *Ep. ad Diog.* vii. 2. In $2\ P\ 3^{10}$ the situation of στοιχεῖα between οὐρανοί and γῆ favours this interpretation; the universe seems to consist of the vault of heaven, the heavenly bodies, and the earth. But as the writer of the Epistle is not methodical, and as, in painting a lurid picture of final destruction, he evidently uses the strongest language at his command, it is probable that the στοιχεῖα whose burning he contemplates are the elements of the whole universe.

The Gr. word frequently denoted the rudiments or *principia* of a science, art, or discipline. The στοιχεῖα of geometry, grammar, or logic are the first principles; στοιχεῖα τῆς λέξεως are the parts of speech (Aris. *Poet.* XX. 1); στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρετῆς, the elements of virtue (Plut. *de Lib. Educ.* xvi. 2). The word unquestionably has this meaning in He 5^{12}, 'the rudiments of the first principles (τὰ στοιχεῖα τῆς ἀρχῆς) of the oracles of God'—the ABC of Christian education, what is milk for babes but not solid food for men (v.[13]).

The phrase in regard to which there is most division of opinion is τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου (Gal 4^3, Col $2^{8.\ 20}$; τοῦ κόσμου is clearly implied in Gal 4^9). (i.) Many take στοιχεῖα in the intellectual sense: 'the elementary things, the immature beginnings of religion, which occupy the minds of those who are still without the pale of Christianity' (Meyer

on Gal 4[3]); 'the elements of religious training, or the ceremonial precepts common alike to the worship of Jews and of Gentiles' (Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.*). To this view there are strong objections. Those who are in bondage to the στοιχεῖα of the world are compared with heirs who are still under guardians and stewards (Gal 4[2. 3]), where the parallel suggests the personality of the στοιχεῖα. To serve the στοιχεῖα is the same thing as serving them that by nature are no gods (4[8])—a statement by no means evident if the στοιχεῖα are the rudiments of religious instruction. The relapse from God to the στοιχεῖα (4[9]) can scarcely be a return to a mere abstraction. The observance of times and seasons is according to the στοιχεῖα of the world, not according to Christ (Col 2[8])—a contrast which suggests that the στοιχεῖα and Christ are personal rivals. When men died with Christ from the στοιχεῖα of the world (v.[20]), this was more than a death to rudimentary teaching. The στοιχεῖα are apparently identical with the principalities and powers of which Christ is Head and over which He triumphs (vv.[10-15]). Finally, a man's knowledge of the στοιχεῖα is not approved as his beginning of religious education, but condemned as his 'philosophy and vain deceit' (v.[8]).

(ii.) Those interpreters come nearer the facts of the case who suggest that the στοιχεῖα to which the Galatian and Colossian Christians were reverting were the heavenly bodies conceived as animated and therefore to be worshipped. Such worship was certainly common enough among the Gentiles. 'They say that the stars are all and every one real parts of Jove, and live, and have reasonable souls, and therefore are absolute gods' (Aug. *de Civ. Dei*, iv. 11). Nor was the belief in astral spirits confined to pagans. In the *Prædicatio Petri* (*ap.* Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 5) the Jews are represented as λατρεύοντες ἀγγέλοις καὶ ἀρχαγγέλοις, μηνὶ καὶ σελήνῃ, and this worship is classed with that of the heathen. Clear evidence of this belief is found in Philo (*de Mundi Op.* i. 34) and in the *Book of Enoch* (xli. xliii.). The animated heavenly bodies, however, would rather be described as τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, and the στοιχεῖα of the 'cosmos' must include those of earth as well as those of heaven.

(iii.) Many recent expositors therefore maintain that the στοιχεῖα are the angels or personal elemental spirits which were supposed to animate all things. There is evidence that this view was wide-spread. The *Book of Enoch* (lxxxii. 10 f.) speaks of the angels of the stars keeping watch, the leaders dividing the seasons, the taxiarchs the months, and the chiliarchs the days. Stars are punished if they fail to appear when due (xviii. 15). The *Book of Jubilees* (ch. ii.) refers to the creation of the angels of the face (or presence), and the angels who cry 'holy,' the angels of the spirit of wind and of hail, of thunder and of lightning, of heat and of cold, of each of the seasons, of dawn and of evening, etc. The same species of animism is found in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (iv. 18), 2 Es 8[21f.], *Sibyll. Orac.* (vii. 33-35). In the *Testament of Solomon* (Migne, *Patr. Gr.* cxxii. 1315) the spirits who come before the king say: 'We are the στοιχεῖα, the rulers of this under world' (οἱ κοσμοκράτορες τοῦ σκότους τούτου). The belief survives in modern Greek folk-lore, in which the tutelary spirit who is supposed to reside in every rock, stream, bridge, and so forth, is called a στοιχεῖον.

Not a few passages in the NT indicate the prevalence of this conception. The four winds have their four angels (Rev 7[1. 2]), and the fire has its angel (14[18]). Each of the Seven Churches has its angel (2. 3). Angels take the form of winds and fire (He 1[7] || Ps 104[4]). The inferiority of the law to the gospel is due to its administration by angels (Gal 3[19]). The belief in a world of intermediate spirits is the basal thought of Gnosticism, which St. Paul encounters in its incipient forms. 'Jewish worship of law and pagan worship of gods are for him fundamentally the same bondage under the lower world-powers which stand between God and men.' Grant that this language is paradoxical, 'it is still extremely significant that Paul dares to speak in this way of the law' (Bousset in *Die Schriften des NT*, ii. 62).

Even in 2 P 3[10. 12] it is possible that the στοιχεῖα which are to be 'dissolved,' or 'melted,' are elemental spirits. 'This may or may not seem strange to us, but we must ever learn anew that bygone times had a different conception of the world' (Hollmann in *Die Schriften des NT*, ii. 594). Schœttgen quotes the Rabbinical words: 'No choir of angels sings God's praises twice, for each day God creates new hosts which sing His praises and then vanish into the stream of fire from under the throne of His glory whence they came.' A closer parallel is found in *Test. of the XII. Patr.*, 'Levi,' 4, where it is said that on the Judgment Day all creation will be troubled and the invisible spirits melt away (καὶ τῶν ὁράτων πνευμάτων τηκομένων).

LITERATURE.—Hermann Diels, *Elementum: Eine Vorarbeit zum griechischen und lateinischen Thesaurus*, 1899; E. Y. Hinks, 'The Meaning of the Phrase τὰ στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου' in *JBL*, vol. xv. [1896], p. 183 ff.; artt. by G. A. Deissmann in *EBi*; by M. S. Terry in *SDB*; by J. Massie in *HDB*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ELIJAH (Ἠλίας).—One incident in the life of Elijah is recalled by St. Paul (Ro 11[2-4]) and another by St. James (5[17f.]).

(1) Much is to be learned from a great man's mistakes; the memory of his lapses may save others from falling. In a mood of despair Elijah imagined that the worst had happened to Israel, and that the worst was likely to overtake himself. The prophets were slain, the altars were digged down, he was left alone, and his enemies were seeking his life. Ahab and Jezebel and the false prophets had triumphed; it was all over with the cause of righteousness and truth for which he had laboured. Seeing that all Israel had proved unfaithful to God, there was nothing for the lonely, outlawed prophet to live for, and he requested that he might die. But the answer—ὁ χρηματισμός, the Divine oracle—proved him to be the victim of a morbid fancy, and brought him back to facts. Among the faithless many others were as faithful as he. God had reserved for Himself seven thousand men who had not bowed the knee to Baal. All Israel had not forsaken Him, and—what was still more important—He had in no wise forsaken Israel. There is but one thing that could ever conceivably justify pessimism—*the* failure of Divine power or love; and the fear of that calamity is but a human weakness. Now St. Paul could not help seeing the close analogy between the conditions of Elijah's critical time and those of his own. Israel as a whole seemed once more to have forsaken God, in rejecting the Messiah. In certain moods St. Paul might be tempted to compare himself—lonely, hated, hunted—to the sad prophet. But did the 'great refusal' of the majority prove either that all Israel was unfaithful or that God had cast off His people? No, for (*a*) now as in Elijah's time there were splendid exceptions, forming a remnant (λεῖμμα=שְׁאֵרִית) which was the true Israel; and (*b*) God's immutable faithfulness made the idea of a rejection incredible and almost unthinkable.

(2) St. James (5[17f.]) takes an illustration from the story of Elijah, and in doing so reminds his readers that, though so great in life and so remote from ordinary humanity in the manner of his exodus from the world, the prophet was yet a man of like passions (or 'nature,' RVm) with us—ἄνθρωπος ὁμοιοπαθὴς ἡμῖν—so that his experiences

may serve as a help to weak, ordinary mortals. The success of his prayer for a time of drought, and again for rain in a time of famine, is cited as an evidence of the fact that 'the prayer of a righteous man availeth much in its working.' It has to be noted, however, that the OT narrative (1 K 17) contains no reference whatever to the former petition, while the latter is scarcely deducible from 1 K 18[42], where it is only stated that the prophet bowed himself down upon the earth and put his face between his knees. Sirach (48[2. 3]), however, affirms that he 'brought a famine,' and 'by the word of the Lord he shut up the heaven.' In *4 Ezra* (vii. 109) Elijah is cited as an example of intercession *pro his qui pluviam acceperunt.*

JAMES STRAHAN.

ELYMAS.—See BAR-JESUS.

EMERALD (σμάραγδος).—The emerald is a mineral of the same species as the beryl. It owes its value as a gem to its extremely beautiful velvety green colour, which is ascribed to the chromium it contains. The primary form of its crystal is a hexagonal prism variously modified. It is electric by friction, and frequently transparent, but sometimes only translucent. Flinders Petrie (*HDB* iv. 620) suggests that the σμάραγδος with which the rainbow (ἶρις) round about the throne is compared (Rev 4[3]) was rock-crystal, as only a colourless stone could throw prismatic colours. But the nimbus or halo may have been emerald in colour and only like a rainbow in form. The fourth foundation of the wall of the New Jerusalem is emerald (Rev 21[19]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

EMPEROR.—See AUGUSTUS.

EMPEROR-WORSHIP.—One of the most interesting and important facts in the inner history of the Roman Empire prior to the adoption of Christianity as the State-religion was the rise of Emperor-worship. Only in recent years have the facts regarding it been adequately investigated, and their importance for the early history of Christianity recognized and appreciated.

1. Origin and development.—Emperor-worship, like many other strange phenomena, was first of all a product of the contact and fusion of Orientalism and Hellenism, which for all practical purposes may be dated from the conquests of Alexander the Great. In each of these modes of thought it had a root; and, before the advent of Roman power, the reigning monarch had been regarded as divine in those regions where Greek and Oriental thought had blended. In Oriental societies generally—*e.g.* Egypt, Babylon, Persia, China—it was the custom from early times to speak of the ruler as 'son of God,' and in other ways to pay him divine honour—a custom which may easily be derived from the general tendency there to cringing adulation and extravagant flattery on the part of the subject (in Ac 12[22] we have a good example), and from a natural desire on the part of the monarch to confirm so useful a sanction of his authority. In the Hellenic world an approach to this is found in the custom of raising to divine rank after death those who in their lifetime had been pre-eminent for bravery or other qualities of great service to the community. To such men sacred rites and festivals were decreed, and in one formula used in inscriptions they are spoken of as 'gods and heroes' (E. Rohde, *Psyche*[2], Tübingen, 1903, ii. 353). As noted above, in the kingdoms formed out of the Empire of Alexander in which Orientalism was hellenized, the deification of the monarch was definitely carried out. An inscription of Halicarnassus, *c.* 306 B.C., describes Ptolemy I. as Σωτὴρ καὶ Θεός, 'Saviour and God' (Dittenberger, *Orient. Gr. Inscr. Selectæ*, 1903–05, xvi. 2, 3). The Syrian kings named *Antiochus* are termed Θεός (God), the infamous Antiochus IV. being designated on his own coins as Θεὸς Ἐπιφανής ('the God who has appeared among men').

It was in hellenized Asia that the deification of the Roman power began. In 195 B.C. Smyrna instituted the worship of the power of Rome, and from 95 B.C. onwards we find in Asia the worship of various beneficent Roman officials, *e.g.* Scævola, Q. Cicero (cf. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 117). Julius Cæsar was honoured in his lifetime in an Ephesian inscription as 'the God descended from Mars and Venus, who has appeared in human form, and the universal Saviour of the life of men' (Dittenberger, *Sylloge Gr. Inscript.*[2], Leipzig, 1898, 347, l. 6 [vol. i. p. 552]). Upon his successor, the great Augustus, the East showered divine honours in profusion. A temple was dedicated at Pergamum to Rome and Augustus with a gild of choristers 'for the God Augustus and the Goddess Rome.' A similar temple rose at Ancyra in Galatia, and the recognition of the deity of Cæsar became widespread in the Orient.

It is to be noted that it was no mere flattery that was expressed in this deification. It was a sincere sentiment of gratitude that led the East to confer on Cæsar the highest honour conceivable. The *pax Romana* which he gave them and preserved for them was an inestimable boon. He did for them what their gods seemed unable to do: he put an end to their constant dread and frequent experience of warfare, tyranny, injustice. He gave them security of life and goods, kept safe the highways, fostered their commerce, and developed their resources. And all those benefits were safeguarded to them by a might which seemed invincible and irresistible. Viewed through a medium of Eastern poetic emotion, Cæsar easily appeared invested with essential qualities of godhead—limitless power wielded for the good of the subject. Many inscriptions might be quoted which show that the Eastern pagan world found its Messiah in Cæsar, the language in some cases bearing a resemblance to Jewish Messianic psalms and prophecies. The following will serve as illustration. It is an inscription of date 9-4 B.C. (Ramsay) in honour of the birthday of Augustus, and is a decree of the commune of Asia, instituting the Augustan era, and ordered to be put up in all the leading cities (Ramsay, *op. cit.* 436). We give only an extract:

'This day has given the earth an entirely new aspect. . . . Rightly does he judge who recognises in this birthday the beginning of life and of all the powers of life, now is the time ended when men pitied themselves for being born. . . . All-ruling Providence has filled this man with such gifts for the salvation of the world as designate him the Saviour for us and for the coming generations, of wars will he make an end, and establish all things worthily. By his appearing are the hopes of our forefathers fulfilled. . . . The birthday of God has brought to the world glad tidings. . . . From his birthday a new era begins.'

(For whole inscription see *Mitteilungen Inst. Athen.* xxiv. [1899] 275 ff.)

Nor was it only in the Orient that Cæsar appeared a being worthy of divine honour. The establishment of his power meant the restoration of tranquillity and security to Italy after a reign of terror. The last two centuries of the Republic were marked by a constant succession of revolutions, each of which drenched Rome with Roman blood, and none of which could produce a just or stable government. The patience with which the tyrannies and cruelties of the bad Emperors were endured is eloquent testimony to the lasting impression of horror which the nightmare of the expiring Republic had produced. And the early years of the Empire seemed full of promise. A new era seemed begun in Italy no less than in the East. Vergil wrote his well-known 'Messianic' fourth Eclogue predicting the birth of a son who should 'put an end to the age of iron, and cause

the age of gold to arise for the whole world,' the reference being, according to the most probable view, to a son of Augustus whose birth was expected A.D. 40. The Senate decreed that the birthplace of Augustus was a holy place (Suet. *Cæsar Octav. Aug.* 5). Stories of portents and miracles at his birth grew with the years. The new name *Augustus* borne by Octavian and his successors connoted from the first something of superhuman dignity. Thus Rome was prepared for the deification of the reigning Cæsar; in fact, it was reluctance on the part of Augustus to accept it that somewhat retarded the process. He limited the worship of Romans to the dead Julius Cæsar who had received apotheosis in 42 B.C. under the title *Divus*. As early as A.D. 14, however, Augustus accepted deification from Beneventum.

Thus we see that deification was an honour spontaneously offered to Cæsar by grateful, enthusiastic, and devoted subjects. What was the attitude of the Roman Government towards it? Not too much weight is to be laid on the reluctance with which Augustus accepted the dignity. Reluctance in accepting offices and honours offered was his settled policy. On the other hand, it may be that the practical mind of a Roman did honestly feel that there was something embarrassing, ludicrous, or even impious in his own deification. But the same practical mind, with its genius for government, soon perceived that in Cæsar-worship the Empire would secure what it lacked—a bond of unity and a powerful safeguard of loyalty. In the East especially this was eminently desirable and conspicuously lacking. We must simply refer the reader to Ramsay's demonstration (*op. cit.* pp. 115, 127) of the place filled by Cæsar-worship as the great bond of Empire in that region. It was because of this special need of the Eastern provinces that Augustus accepted deification from them, while ostensibly refusing it from Italy. But the principle once adopted as part of Roman statecraft could not be limited spatially as matter of practice, still less as matter of theory. Cæsar could not be a god in one province if he were mere man in another. Hence Cæsar-worship rapidly became organized and highly developed as the State-religion of the Empire; the Cæsars so far conquered their reluctance to pose as gods that Domitian proudly designated himself as *Dominus et Deus*, 'Lord and God' (Suet., *Domitian*, 13). Cæsar-worship was enforced by the whole might of the State; refusal to worship the Emperor was high treason. The Jews alone were exempt. For details as to the organization of the new religion, its priesthood, the pomp of its ritual, etc., we must refer the reader to Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*; and Lightfoot, *Apostol. Fathers*, pt. ii.: 'Ignatius and Polycarp.'

2. Cæsarism and paganism.—It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the new religion to the old paganism, because in sermons and other popular treatments of the subject the facts are often mis-stated. In no sense was the worship of Cæsar either enforced or adopted as a substitute for other religions. It did not displace or quarrel with any of them. The old gods did not leave the stage to make room for Cæsar. Contrary to what is often asserted, the old religions were very far from having lost their power. The satirical strictures of Juvenal and Martial on Roman city-society are no proof that the old Roman religion was powerless. The fact that several of the Emperors acted munificently towards the temples of the old gods shows two things—that the old religion was still in force and far from negligible, and that the new religion was not at all a rival to it (cf. S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, London, 1904, bk. iv. ch. 3). Indeed, the very Augustus who was the first, and remained the ideal, Emperor-god, was also the restorer to the ancient Roman religion of the dignity it had lost in the troublous times of the dying Republic.

But a further stage was reached, and first of all in Asia, at which the new religion became conscious that it could maintain itself only by closely allying itself with other religions, by associating Cæsar with the local divinities. How Cæsarism came to need this buttress is intelligible enough. It was only one or two generations that could have adequate experience of the vast benefit that Cæsar's rule brought with it. The previous state of social misery became more and more a dim memory as time passed, and the fervour with which Cæsar was greeted as divine could not and did not last. Hence, while during the 1st cent. the State-religion was simply the worship of Rome and Cæsar, in the 2nd cent. a modification was necessary; and, as indicated, this consisted in associating Cæsar with a local god who could call forth a genuine religious feeling. On coins we find Rome and Augustus associated with Diana, Persephone, etc. (see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 123 f.). Thus it is entirely erroneous to say that the new religion owed any of its strength to the decay of the old paganism; it was only in close alliance with the old that Cæsarism as a religion could continue in existence.

3. Cæsarism and Christianity.—It will be convenient to treat of this under three heads: (*a*) the antagonism; (*b*) the resemblances; (*c*) Cæsarism in the NT.

(*a*) *The antagonism.*—This is the most obvious and familiar point in the relation of Cæsarism to Christianity. It is known to all that Rome persecuted Christianity. What needs to be noted is that persecution was not a spasmodic thing due to the whim and caprice of specially 'bad' Emperors, as has sometimes been represented. Persecution of Christianity was the deliberate and settled policy, not of this or that tyrant, but of the Roman State. From the time that Christianity attained any great dimensions to the day of Constantine's Edict of Toleration, there existed between it and the Roman power a relation of antagonism; and a condition of persecution resulted for the Church. The persecution might be wide-spread or local, few or many Christians might be involved: that depended entirely on the diligence and zeal of Roman officials. From what has been said above, the reason for this state of matters is quite plain. Rome had no option but to persecute. Cæsar-worship was the bond of Empire, the test of loyalty, and Christians refused to worship Cæsar. They were, therefore, a danger to the State. Other charges were preferred against them, but this came to be the one capital charge—treason to the State manifest in refusing to worship Cæsar. The story of persecution, of course, is a varied one; we cannot trace its development here. But we have indicated its *rationale*—the principle which from the first underlay it, and gradually became explicit.

With Christianity as one religion among others Rome would not have concerned herself. Because Christianity threatened what had been adopted as a political safeguard of the first importance for the coherence of the Empire, Rome, without a reversal of her adopted policy, could do nothing else than attempt to extirpate this dangerous sect.

'The Christian who refused this sacrifice (to the image of Cæsar) fell automatically under the charge of *majestas*, i.e. of mortal insult or treason to the Emperor, who represented in his own person the majesty, wisdom, and beneficent power of Rome' (Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, p. 101).

Thus the fact that the great and good Marcus Aurelius was a persecutor of Christians does not

require the laboured explaining away it has often received, *e.g.* from Farrar in *Seekers after God*, 1891, p. 257 ff. The fact may be fully accepted and easily explained. Just because of his goodness as a ruler, he was a persecutor. His first duty was to suppress anarchy, and in the view of the Roman Government Christians were anarchists.

We do not need to expound here the inner, inherent antagonism of the two religions. It was that of the material and the spiritual, the seen and the unseen, the temporal and the eternal, the glorification of success and the exaltation of service even when it meant renunciation, loss, and self-sacrifice; the one boasted of a throne, the other of a Cross.

(*b*) *Resemblances.*—The opposition of Christianity and Cæsarism becomes more marked when we consider their resemblances. (*a*) Both were universal religions; we do not need to dwell on that. (*β*) Each proclaimed and honoured a 'Messiah.' As noted above, Cæsar's praise was celebrated in phrases closely parallel to the praises of Messiah in Isaiah or the Psalms. The prosperity and peace of Messiah's reign as pictured in Isaiah have been regarded by many as the basis of Vergil's *Eclogue*, though there is no probability in the view. Similar 'Messianic' passages are by no means rare in the Latin literature of the period. Throughout the world, indeed, there was an expectancy of some great deliverer. The Church proclaimed Jesus, the pagan world acclaimed Cæsar. (*γ*) All the great designations by which Christians expressed the dignity of Christ had already been used of Cæsar. This is the most striking, as it is the least familiar, thing to be noted. 'Lord,' 'our Lord,' 'Saviour,' 'Son of God,' 'Image of God,' 'God manifest'—precisely the greatest names applied to Christ in the NT—were all familiar, throughout the East at least, as usual terms in which to speak of the Emperor (for details see H. A. A. Kennedy, in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vii. [1909] 289 ff.). While some of the terms, *e.g.* 'Son of God,' certainly had a root quite independent of Cæsarism, and all as applied to Christ and Christians had a different content from the same terms applied to Cæsar by pagans, the parallelism is too complete to be pure coincidence. To seize as eminently suitable for their own purpose the whole vocabulary of Cæsar-adoration was a bold and brilliant stroke of policy on the part of the preachers of Christianity. The humble missionaries, speaking of Jesus as the Emperor was spoken of, must have made a startling and very profound impression. On the one hand, keen hostility would be aroused, but on the other, in many cases an eager curiosity and interest would be awakened. Any religiously-minded pagan must have felt the difficulty of the real godhead of Cæsar. Cæsarism after all could not satisfy any religious instinct. To any deep reflexion it must appear in reality the negation of religion.

> 'It was only a sham religion, a matter of outward show and magnificent ceremonial. It was almost devoid of power over the heart and will of man, when the first strong sense of relief from misery had grown weak, because it was utterly unable to satisfy the religious needs and cravings of human nature' (Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 123).

The proclamation of a spiritual Kingdom with a King to whom all the highest titles borne by Cæsar really applied cannot but have made a strong appeal to the interest of many of the more serious in pagan cities (cf. Kennedy, *loc. cit.*). From another point of view this strange parallelism may be regarded as one among many aspects of a providential preparation of the pagan world for Christianity. Men were familiar with its greatest conceptions before it appeared; their conceptions required only to be spiritualized.

(*c*) *NT references.*—Outside the Apocalypse there is only one clear reference to Cæsarism, and it is slight, viz. the mention in Ac 19[31] of the 'Asiarchs' who were friends of St. Paul. The provinces were united in communes for Cæsar-worship, and the president or high priest of the commune of Asia was termed 'Asiarch.' So in Galatia there was the 'Galatarch,' in Bithynia the 'Bithyniarch,' etc. The Asiarch held office for a limited period, but retained the honorary title, hence there might be several Asiarchs in Ephesus (see *EGT in loc.*). Cf. art. ASIARCH.

It is scarcely too much to say that in Cæsarism we have a key to the Apocalypse. With that key many obscurities disappear, and the value of part of the book as a sober historical document becomes plain. Knowledge of the history of Cæsarism makes it clear why Pergamum is described as 'Satan's seat' (Rev 2[13]). At Pergamum, the administrative capital of the province, the first temple to Augustus was built. For 40 years it was the sole centre of Cæsarism for the province; and, after other temples were established, it retained its primacy. 'Satan' is a symbolic expression for whatever was the great obstacle and hostile influence to Christianity; hence Pergamum was Satan's seat *par excellence* (see Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 294). We cannot here deal with the whole subject of Cæsarism in the Apocalypse. We must be content to refer briefly to ch. 13, which Cæsarism explains, and which makes a contribution to our knowledge of Cæsarism. The 'first Beast' is the Imperial power, the 'second Beast' is the government of the Province of Asia, with its 'two horns,' proconsul and commune. The chapter proceeds to record how the commune maintained the Imperial religion, the worship of 'the first Beast.' 'It maketh all to worship,' and orders images of Cæsar to be made (vv.[12-14]). Verses 13-15 add to our knowledge the fact that pseudo-miracles were practised by the priests of Cæsarism. The miracles in question were the familiar accomplishments of the priests of many faiths—fire-producing and ventriloquism; and, as Ramsay shows (*op. cit.*, p. 99 ff.), there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the account here given, though it is our sole authority on the point. Verses 16-17 indicate a policy of 'boycott' against Christians. This might quite possibly be not ordered by the proconsul, but recommended by the commune. Other points in this interesting chapter deserve notice; every phrase is significant; but the reader must be referred to Ramsay's exposition (*op. cit.* ch. ix.).

LITERATURE.—The general reader will find the following sufficient: W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, London, 1893, *The Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, do. 1904; H. A. A. Kennedy, art. 'Apostolic Preaching and Emperor Worship' in *Expositor*, 7th ser., vii. 289 ff.; T. R. Glover, *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*, London, 1909; J. Iverach, art. 'Cæsarism' in *ERE* iii. [1910] 50 ff. For further study may be mentioned: T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Rom. Empire*[2], Eng. tr., London, 1909; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*[2], pt. ii.: 'S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp,' do. 1889; B. F. Westcott, 'The two Empires: the Church and the World,' in *Epistles of St. John*, do. 1883, p. 237 ff.; C. J. Neumann, *Der römische Staat und die allgemeine Kirche*, Leipzig, 1890; C. Bigg, *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1905; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, London, 1905; H. B. Workman, *Persecution in the Early Church*, do. 1906.

W. D. NIVEN.

ENLIGHTENMENT (*φωτισμός*).—Enlightenment is the intellectual and moral effect produced in the spiritual experience of believers by the reception of the Christian revelation. Objectively, it is called 'the light (*φωτισμός*, RVm '**illumination**') of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Co 4[6]). The gospel is God calling us 'out of darkness into his marvellous light' (1 P 2[9]). In the Fourth Gospel Christ claims to be 'the light of the world,' *τὸ φῶς τοῦ κόσμου* (Jn 8[12] 9[5]). Even before His Incarnation, as the

Divine Logos, He is said to have been the informing principle of both life and truth within humanity, 'the true light which lighteth (*φωτίζει*) every man' (Jn 1^{9}). Subjectively, specific Christian enlightenment arises in the consciousness of those who actually embrace the truth revealed in the person, teaching, and work of the historic Christ. It is no mere intellectual illumination whereby abstract or doctrinal truth is understood. St. Paul regards it as a gift of spiritual insight into the Divine nature and redemptive purposes. It is God's bestowal of 'a spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of him'; it is 'having the eyes of your heart enlightened (*πεφωτισμένους*) that ye may know' (Eph $1^{17f.}$). This spiritual insight manifests itself in action. It has ethical as well as intellectual results. 'The fruit of the light (*ὁ καρπὸς τοῦ φωτὸς*) is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth;' hence the enlightened 'walk as children of light' (Eph $5^{8f.}$). St. Paul calls his early converts 'sons of light,' *υἱοὶ φωτός*, and concludes, 'Let us, since we are of the day, be sober' (1 Th $5^{5.\ 8}$).

Two passages in Hebrews (6^{1-5} 10^{32}), which presuppose this enlightenment, call for special attention because they have been thought to contain reference to baptism on the one hand, and to the pagan Mysteries on the other. That there is some allusion to baptism in 6^{4} is quite probable, for the two expressions, 'once enlightened,' and 'made partakers of the Holy Ghost,' correspond respectively to the preceding expressions in v.^{2}, 'teaching of baptisms' and 'laying on of hands.' As instruction in Christian truth formed part of the preparation of catechumens for baptism, the rite itself attested the enlightenment resulting therefrom. It is a well-known fact that the terms 'baptism' and 'enlightenment' soon after apostolic times became synonymous. Syriac versions of the NT render the word 'enlightened' in both 6^{4} and 10^{32} by 'baptized.' As early as Justin Martyr (150) 'enlightenment' had become a recognized term for baptism. In his *Apology* (i. 61), after speaking of baptism as a 'new birth' (*ἀναγέννησις*), Justin says: 'And this washing is called enlightenment (*καλεῖται δὲ τοῦτο τὸ λουτρὸν φωτισμός*) because those who learn these things [*i.e.* the Christian teaching] have their understanding enlightened.' He also, in the same passage, calls the recently baptized 'the newly enlightened.' Later patristic writers, understanding 'enlightened' in He 6^{4} to mean 'baptized,' inferred from the expression, 'those who were once (*ἅπαξ*, 'once for all') enlightened . . . it is impossible to renew,' that it was inadmissible to rebaptize, while the Montanists and Novatians went so far as to deny the possibility of absolution for those who sinned after baptism, holding that baptism in the blood of martyrdom alone would avail in the case of flagrant sin.

In reference to the Mysteries, it may be said to be probable that the term 'enlightened,' occurring in these two passages, is one of the many NT words which reproduce the phraseology made current by these pagan cults. In He 6^{1-5} 'enlightened' occurs among quite a number of other terms or ideas which were current in connexion with the Mysteries. For instance, 'perfection' (*τελειότης*), or 'full growth' (RVm), was the technical term for the state of the fully initiated (*οἱ τέλειοι*) into one or other of these cults. The mention of 'baptisms' in this connexion reminds us that the Mysteries also had lustrations among their initiatory rites. The twice-mentioned 'tasting' suggests the symbolic tasting and eating in the pagan ceremonies. The expressions 'made *partakers* of the Holy Ghost' and tasting 'the powers of *the age to come*' recall the fact that the ideas of a possible participation in the Divine nature and a future life were central in the symbolism of all the Mysteries, however crudely or even repulsively set forth. A. S. Carman draws attention (*Bibliotheca Sacra*, vol. l. [1893]) to the use made by the NT of terminology drawn from the Mysteries. G. Anrich contends (*Das antike Mysterienwesen*, 1893) that no direct dependence of Christianity upon the Mysteries could be established. A more complete knowledge of the nature and diffusion of mystery-cults in apostolic times, together with the recognition of additional terms in the NT vocabulary drawn from them, makes it easier to accept the recent opinion of Clemen (*Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, 1912, p. 345) concerning He 6^{4} that 'the expression *φωτίζειν*, which also occurs in 10^{32} and then in Eph 1^{18} 3^{9}, 2 Ti 1^{10}, is borrowed from the language of the Mysteries: and this is the more probable seeing that in the Mysteries there was also a sacred meal, and in He 6^{4} "tasting" and "enlightened" are associated.'

In relation to the dependence which the NT shows in this subject, as in others, upon both the phraseology and religious ideas of earlier and lower cults, it must be borne in mind that a richer and fuller content has been poured by Christianity into those pagan forms of expression, and that here, as in the case of the Jewish Law, Christ came 'not to destroy, but to fulfil.'

LITERATURE.—On the relation of enlightenment to baptism in He 6^{4} 10^{32} see Comm. of B. F. Westcott, F. W. Farrar, A. B. Davidson, A. S. Peake, E. C. Wickham, and art. 'Baptism (Early Christian)' by Kirsopp Lake in *ERE*. On the connexion between Christianity and the Mysteries generally see, in addition to works mentioned above, S. Cheetham, *The Mysteries, Pagan and Christian*, 1897; R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, 1910; P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of Saint Paul*, 1911, ch. iv. on 'The Pauline Mystery'; H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions*, 1913; artt. by W. M. Ramsay on 'Mysteries' in *EBr*^{9} and 'Religion of Greece and Asia Minor' in *HDB*, vol. v. p. 109; artt. on 'Mystery' by A. Stewart in *HDB*, by G. A. Jülicher in *EBi*, and by B. W. Bacon in *DCG*. See also A. Loisy's art. 'The Christian Mystery' in *HJ*, Oct. 1911.

M. SCOTT FLETCHER.

ENMITY (*ἔχθρα*).—Human life is disquieted and embittered by enmities, active and passive. (1) Men are enemies of God in their mind (*τῇ διανοίᾳ*) by their wicked works (Col 1^{21}). This is not to be taken in a passive sense, which would imply that they are hateful to God (*invisos Deo*, says Meyer, *ad loc.*). Their enmity is active. The carnal mind (*φρόνημα*), caring only for the gratification of the senses, is hostility to (*εἰς*) God (Ro 8^{7}). The friendship (*φιλία*, which implies 'loving' as well as 'being loved') of the world, which loves its own (Jn 15^{19}), is enmity with God (Ja 4^{4}, Vulg. *inimica est dei*). Some who profess Christianity are sadly called enemies of the Cross (Ph 3^{18}); and a man may so habitually pursue low ends as to become an enemy of all righteousness (Ac 13^{10}). It is the work of Christ to subdue this active inward enmity to God and goodness, and thus to undo the work of the Enemy who has sown the seeds of evil in the human heart (Mt 13^{28}). While sinners are reconciled to God, it is nowhere said in the NT that God, as if He were hostile, needs to be reconciled to sinners. 'It is the mind of man, not the mind of God, which must undergo a change, that a reunion may be effected' (J. B. Lightfoot, *Col.*^{3}, 1879, p. 159).

(2) The enmity of Jew and Gentile was notorious. After smouldering for centuries, it finally burst into the flames of the *Bellum Judaicum*. The contempt of Greek for barbarian was equally pronounced. Christ came to end these and all similar racial antipathies. By His Cross He 'abolished' and 'slew' the enmity (Eph $2^{15.\ 16}$), creating a new manhood which is neither Jewish, Greek, nor Roman, but comprehensive, cosmopolitan, catholic, fulfilling the highest classical ideal of human

fellowship—'humani nihil a me alienum puto' (Terence, *Heaut.* I. i. 25)—all because it is Christian.

(3) The Christian, however, cannot help having enemies. Just because he is not of the world, the world hates him (Jn $15^{18ff.}$). But the spirit of Christ that is in him constrains him to feed his enemy when hungry, give him drink when thirsty (Ro 12^{20}), and so endeavour to change him into a friend.

(4) Every preacher, because he is bound to be a moralist and reformer, runs a special risk of being mistaken for an enemy. Truth, though spoken in love, may arouse hatred: *ὥστε ἐχθρὸς ὑμῶν γέγονα ἀληθεύων ὑμῖν;* (Gal 4^{16}). Yet a moment's thought would make it clear that the aim is not to hurt but to heal, and the surgeon who skilfully uses the knife is ever counted a benefactor.

(5) The courageous faith of the early Church assumed that Christ would put all His enemies under His feet (1 Co 15^{25}; cf. He 1^{13} 10^{13}), *i.e.* that every form of evil, moral and physical alike, would finally be subdued. 'The last enemy that shall be destroyed is death' (1 Co 15^{26}).

(6) A single passage seems, *prima facie*, to imply that men may sometimes be enemies of God *sensu passivo*. To the Romans St. Paul says of the Jews, 'They are enemies for your sake' (Ro 11^{28}). They are *treated* as enemies in order that salvation may come to the Gentiles. But the enmity is far from being absolute; they are all the time 'beloved' (*ἀγαπητοὶ διὰ τοὺς πατέρας*, 11^{28}).

JAMES STRAHAN.

ENOCH (Ἐνώχ).—Enoch (along with Elijah) was regarded as having a unique destiny among the saints of the OT, in that when his earthly life was ended he was taken directly to heaven. Gn 5^{24} is referred to (1) by the writer of Hebrews (11^{5}), who gives Enoch the second place in his roll of the faithful. Instead of the Hebrew text ('and Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him'), the writer had before him the LXX version: *καὶ εὑηρέστησεν Ἐνὼχ τῷ θεῷ· καὶ οὐχ ηὑρίσκετο, διότι μετέθηκεν αὐτὸν ὁ θεός.* The phrase 'he pleased God'—which is used in other places (Gn 17^{1} 24^{40} 48^{15}, etc.) where the original has 'he walked with (or before) God'—is regarded by the author of Hebrews as a testimony to Enoch's faith. To the statement that 'God took (or translated) him' the writer adds the explanatory words 'that he should not (or did not) see death.' The idea of immortality has rather to be imported into the original words, which, as Calvin saw, might imply no more than 'mors quaedam extraordinaria.' But the thought that Enoch escaped death had already been suggested by Sirach (49^{14}) in his eulogy of famous men: 'No man was created upon the earth such as was Enoch; for he was taken up (*ἀνελήμφθη*) from the earth.' In *4 Ezr.* vi. 26, Enoch and Elijah are spoken of as men 'who have not tasted death from their birth.' Josephus preserves the ambiguity of the original in a characteristic phrase, 'he departed to the deity' (*ἀνεχώρησεν πρὸς τὸ θεῖον*), but instead of venturing to infer that this implies actual deathlessness, the historian merely adds: 'whence it is that his death is not recorded' (*Ant.* I. iii. 4). The 'two witnesses' in Rev 11^{3} are generally regarded as Enoch and Elijah.

(2) In later Judaism the words 'and Enoch walked with God' were interpreted as meaning that he was made the recipient of special Divine revelations. In the recovered Hebrew text of Sir 44^{16} he is described as 'an example of knowledge' (changed in the Greek into *ὑπόδειγμα μετανοίας ταῖς γενεαῖς*), and the *Book of Jubilees* says, 'He was the first among men . . . who learned writing and knowledge and wisdom. . . . And he was with the angels of God these six jubilees of years, and they showed him everything which is on earth and in the heavens' (ch. iv. [Charles, *Apoc. and Pseudepig.*, 1913, p. 18 f.]). Enoch the saint was thus transformed into the patron of esoteric knowledge, and became the author of apocalyptic books. In Jude [14] he is designated 'the seventh from Adam,' a phrase taken from the *Book of Enoch* (lx. 8, xciii. 3), and a passage is quoted in which he is represented as threatening judgment upon the false teachers of the early Christian Church.

'The extraordinary developments of the Enoch-legend in later Judaism could never have grown out of this passage [Gn 5^{21-24}] alone; everything goes to show that the record has a mythological basis, which must have continued to be a living tradition in Jewish circles in the time of the Apocalyptic writers. A clue to the mystery that invests the figure of Enoch has been discovered in Babylonian literature' (Skinner, *Genesis* [*ICC*, 1910], p. 132). He is there identified with Enmeduranki, who is described in a ritual tablet from the library of Asshurbanipal as a favourite of the gods, and is said to have been initiated into the mysteries of heaven and earth, and instructed in certain arts of divination which he handed down to his son.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ENOCH, BOOK OF.—*Introductory.*—The Ethiopic Book of Enoch (or *1 Enoch*, as it is now more conveniently denominated) is the largest, and, after the canonical Book of Daniel, the most important of the Jewish apocalyptic works which have so recently come to be recognized as supplying most important data for the critical study of NT ideas and phraseology. The Book—or rather the Books—of Enoch the reader will find to be a work of curious complexity and unevenness. It is a wonderful mass of heterogeneous elements; in fact, it is quite a cycle of works in itself—geographical, astronomical, prophetic, moral, and historical. In this medley we find certain recurring notes. The temporary success and triumph of the wicked, idolaters, luxurious, rich, oppressors, rulers, kings, and mighty ones, and the present sufferings of the righteous, are continually contrasted with their future destiny—after death or after judgment, according to the views of the particular author as to the moment at which moral discrimination will begin. Another recurring note is the subservience of natural phenomena to spiritual and quasi-personal forces, which in turn are responsible and as a rule obedient to God. Repeatedly and with dramatic force the unfailing order of Nature is contrasted with the disobedience of man. Yet another recurring feature, and one common to this apocalyptic literature, is the reserving of the visions and the books of Enoch for the last days, for the elect to read and understand. On the other hand, there is ever and anon a baffling change in the presentation of ideas about the Kingdom, the Messiah, the form of the future judgment and life after death. The pictures of the Messianic Kingdom take on a shifting, ever-changing form, in accordance with the views of the author and the particular tribulations under which each individual writer was labouring. Judgment is mediated now by angels of punishment, now by the archangels, or the sword of the righteous or internecine strife, or by the Son of Man, or exercised immediately by God Himself. Darkness and chains and burning fire, valleys and the abyss, loom large in all descriptions of the place and mode of punishment. There is a highly developed angelology, in keeping with the general conception of God's transcendence, and an equally developed demonology, which is connected with the interest of the various authors in the problem of the seat and origin of evil. The power of prayer—whether that of the angels, the departed holy ones, or the righteous on earth—is recognized, especially in the bringing in of judgment. The space devoted to the calendar, however, and the movements of the heavenly bodies, and the secrets of natural forces, stands in sheer contrast to the NT silence on those subjects.

We cannot close without quoting Charles's words in his introduction (*Book of Enoch*, 1912, p. x):

'In the age to which the Enoch literature belongs there is movement everywhere, and nowhere dogmatic fixity and finality. And though at times the movement may be reactionary, yet the general trend is onward and upward.' This work is the most important historical memorial 'of the religious development of Judaism from 200 B.C. to 100 A.D., and particularly of the development of that side of Judaism, to which historically Christendom in large measure owes its existence.'

We have only to take the single example of the unique portrait of the 'Son of Man' in the Parables—eternally pre-existent with God, recognized now by the righteous, and hereafter to be owned and adored by all, even His foes—to be assured of the truth of this verdict.

1. Contents.—SECTION I.: chs. i.–xxxvi.

i.–v.—Enoch takes up his parable: God's coming to judgment to help and bless the righteous and destroy the ungodly (i. 1–9); Nature's unfailing order (ii. 1–v. 3) contrasted with sinners' disobedience; a curse on them, but forgiveness, peace, and joy for the elect (v. 4–9).

vi.–xi. (*Noachic fragment*).—Fall of certain angels, through union with women (vi. 1–vii. 1); birth of giants who devour mankind and drink blood (vii. 2–6). Knowledge of arts, magic, and astronomy imparted by fallen angels (viii. 1–4). Cry of souls of dead for vengeance (viii. 4, ix. 3, 10) heard by the four archangels, who bring their cause before God (ix. 1–11). God sends Uriel to Noah to warn him of approaching Deluge (x. 1–3). Raphael is to bind Azazel in desert in Dudael till judgment day, and heal the earth (x. 4–7); Gabriel to destroy giants by internecine strife (x. 9–10, 15), Michael to bind Semjaza and his associates for seventy generations in valleys of the earth (x. 11–14). All evil is to cease, and the plant of righteousness (*i.e.* Israel) to appear (x. 16). All the righteous are to escape and live till they beget thousands of children (x. 17), the earth is to yield a thousandfold, all men are to become righteous and adore God (x. 21). Sin and punishment will cease for ever (x. 22). Store-chambers of blessing in heaven will be opened (xi.).

xii.–xvi.—*A Dream Vision of Enoch.*—Enoch is hidden from men (xii. 1) and is sent to the fallen angels ('Watchers') with the message: 'no peace nor forgiveness' (xii. 4–6), which he delivers to Azazel (xiii. 1, 2) and the others (xiii. 3); they beseech Enoch to write a petition for them (xiii. 4–6); as he reads it he falls asleep and sees visions of chastisement, which he recounts to them (xiii. 7–10). The message of the vision is given in xiv. 1–7; the manner of it in xiv. 8–xvi. 4. He ascends in the vision to heaven, past crystal walls into a crystal house and a greater house beyond, to the blazing throne of the Great Glory (xiv. 20), whom no angel can behold. He entrusts Enoch with the message to the Watchers; they had sinned in taking wives (xv. 3–7); from the dead giants' bodies proceed evil spirits which, remaining on earth, do all harm with impunity till the Great Judgment (xv. 8–xvi. 1); the Watchers' doom is repeated (xvi. 2–4).

xvii.–xxxvi.—*Enoch's two journeys*: through the earth and to Sheol.—(*a*) xvii.–xix.—Enoch is brought to the ends of the earth and views treasuries of stars, and the winds that uphold heaven (xvii. 1–xviii. 3), and seven mountains of precious stones (xviii. 6), and beyond, a deep abyss of fire (xviii. 11), and further, an utter waste (xviij. 12) with seven stars like burning mountains, bound for ten thousand years for not observing their appointed times (xviii. 13–16). Here stand the fallen angels, whose spirits seduce men to idolatry (xix. 1) and their wives, turned into sirens (xix. 2).—(*b*) xx.–xxxvi.—The seven archangels—Uriel, Raphael, Raguel, Michael, Saraqael, Gabriel, Remiel—and their functions (xx.). Enoch proceeds to chaos and the seven stars and the abyss of xviii. 12–16 (xxi. 1–7), which is the final prison of the fallen angels (xxi. 8–10). Elsewhere in the west he sees a great mountain with three ('four' in text) hollow places (=Sheol), to contain men's souls till the Great Judgment—one for martyrs like Abel and other righteous men, with a bright spring of water (xxii. 5–9), one for unpunished sinners (xxii. 10, 11), one for sinners (who suffered in life), who never rise (xxii. 12–13). Thereafter, still in the west, he sees the fire of the heavenly luminaries (xxiii.), and elsewhere again, beyond a mountain range of fire, seven mountains of precious stones, the central one to be God's throne on earth, with the tree of life (xxiv. 1–xxv. 3) to be transplanted after the judgment to the holy place, where the righteous shall eat of it and live a long life on earth (xxv. 4–6). In the middle of the earth Enoch sees a holy mountain (Zion) with its surrounding summits and ravines (xxvi.), and the accursed valley (of Hinnom) which is to be the scene of the Last Judgment (xxvii.). Thence he goes east (xxviii.–xxxiii.), past fragrant trees and mountains, over the Erythræan Sea and the angel Zotiel (xxxii. 2), to the garden of the righteous, and the Tree of Wisdom, which is fully described (xxxii. 3–6). Thence to the earth's ends whereon heaven rests, with three portals for the stars in east and west (xxxiii. 3, xxxvi. 2, 3) and three in north and south for the winds (xxxiv. 1–3, xxxvi. 1).

SECTION II.: chs. xxxvii.–lxxi.—*The Parables.*—xxxvii. 1 commences 'the second vision . . . of wisdom'; till the present day such wisdom has never been given as is embodied in these three Parables recounted to those that dwell on the earth (xxxvii. 4, 5).

xxxviii.–xliv.—*The First Parable.*—When the Righteous One appears, where will the sinners' dwelling be? Then shall the kings and mighty perish and be given into the hands of the righteous and holy (xxxviii.). [Descent of the Watchers—*an interpolation* (xxxix. 1, 2).] A whirlwind carries off Enoch to the end of the heavens; he views the dwelling-places of the holy who pray for mankind, and the Righteous One's abode under the wings of the Lord of Spirits (xxxix. 3–14); an innumerable multitude, and four presences (=archangels)—Michael, Raphael, Gabriel, and Phanuel—and their functions (xl.); heaven's secrets and weighing of men's actions (xli. 1, 2); secrets of natural phenomena and sun and moon; their chambers and weighing of the stars (xli. 3–9, xliii. 1, 2, xliv.); the stars stand for the holy who dwell on the earth (xliii. 4). *A fragment.*—Wisdom goes forth, and finds no dwelling-place among men, so returns to heaven; while unrighteousness is welcomed and remains with men (xlii.).

xlv.–lvii.—*The Second Parable.*—The lot of the apostates: the new heaven and earth. Those who deny the name of Lord of Spirits are preserved for judgment (xlv. 1, 2). 'Mine Elect One' on throne of glory shall try men's works; heaven and earth transformed (xlv. 3–6). The Head of Days and Son of Man (xlvi. 1–4) shall put down the kings and the mighty; they have no hope of rising from their graves (xlvi. 5–8). 'In those days' the prayer of the righteous united with angelic intercession was heard (xlvii. 1, 2); the Head of Days on the throne of His glory, books of the living opened, vengeance of righteous at hand (xlvii. 3, 4). Enoch sees the inexhaustible fountain of righteousness: 'at that hour' the Son of Man was 'named' in the presence of the Lord of Spirits; he is a staff to the righteous, the light of the Gentiles: in His name the righteous are saved; kings and mighty are to burn like straw (xlviii.); infinite wisdom and power of the Elect One (xlix.). [l.—*An interpolation*?—In those days the

holy become victorious; the others (*i.e.* Gentiles) witness this and repent—they have no honour, but are saved in the name of the Lord of Spirits.] In those days earth, Sheol, and Abaddon give up what they hold. The Elect One arises, sits on God's throne, and chooses out the righteous amid universal rejoicing (li.). Enoch sees seven metal mountains (symbols of world-powers): they will serve the Anointed's dominion (lii. 4), and melt before the Elect One (lii. 6). Next he sees a deep valley with open mouths, and angels of punishment preparing instruments of Satan to destroy the kings and the mighty (liii. 1–5); after this the Righteous and Elect One shall cause the house of His congregation to appear (liii. 6). In another part he sees a deep valley with burning fire; here the kings and the mighty are cast in (liv. 1, 2), and iron chains made for Azazel's hosts, whom four archangels will cast into the burning furnace on that great day (liv. 3–6), after judgment by the Elect One (lv. 3, 4); angels of punishment with scourges are seen proceeding to cast the Watchers' children into the abyss (lvi. 1–4). [*Fragments.*—(*a*) liv. 7–lv. 2 (Noachic).—Punishment by waters impending, promise of non-recurrence. (*b*) lvi. 5–8.—The angels are to stir up the Parthians and Medes to tread upon the land of God's elect, but 'the city of my righteous' shall hinder their horses; they shall slay one another, and Sheol shall devour them in presence of the elect. (*c*) lvii. 1–3.—A host of wagons is seen, earth's pillars are shaken by the noise (return of Dispersion).]

lviii.–lxxi.—*The Third Parable.*—Endless light and life for righteous (lviii.). [Secrets of lightnings, *an intrusion* (lix.).] [*Noachic fragment* (for 'Enoch' read 'Noah' in lx. 1).—The Head of Days on the throne of glory announces the judgment (lx. 1–6, 25); Leviathan a female monster, and Behemoth a male, parted, one in the abysses of the ocean, the other in the wilderness to the east of the garden (Eden) where Enoch was taken up; they shall feed . . . (presumably till given as food to the elect as in *2 Bar.* xxix. 4; *4 Ezr.* vi. 52) (lx. 7–10, 24); chambers of winds, secrets of thunder, spirits of the sea, hoar-frost, snow, mist and rain (lx. 11–23).]

Third Parable resumed.—The angels are seen with long cords; they go to measure Paradise (lxx. 3) and recover all the righteous dead from sea or desert (lxi. 1–5); the Lord of Spirits places the Elect One on the throne of glory to judge (lxi. 6–9); all the heavenly hosts, Cherubim, Seraphim, and Ophannim, angels of power and of principalities, the Elect One, the powers on earth and over water, the elect who dwell in the garden of life, and all flesh shall join in praising God (lxi. 10–13). The kings and the mighty are called upon to recognize the Elect One, now seated on the throne; pained and terrified, they glorify God (lxii. 1–6) and adore the Son of Man; but are delivered to the angels for punishment (lxii. 9–12); the righteous had previously known the Son of Man, though hidden from the beginning, and shall eat and lie down and rise up for ever with Him, and be clothed with garments of glory and of life (lxii. 7, 8, 13–16); unavailing repentance and confession of the kings and the mighty (lxiii.); vision of fallen angels in prison (lxiv.). [*Noachic fragment* (lxv.–lxix. 25).—Noah calls on Enoch at the ends of the earth; he is told judgment is imminent because of sorcery and idolatry, and the violence of the Satans; Noah is to be preserved: from him shall proceed a fountain of righteous and holy (=Israel) for ever (lxv.); the angels of punishment hold the Flood in check (lxvi.); Noah is told that the angels are making an ark for him (lxvii. 1–3); God will imprison the angels, who had taught men how to sin, in the burning valley, which Enoch had shown Noah; thence proceed waters which now heal the bodies of the kings and the mighty (lxvii. 8), but it will one day become a fire ever-burning (lxvii. 13). Enoch gives Noah these secrets in the book of Parables (lxviii. 1). Michael and Raphael are astonished at the sternness of the judgment upon the fallen angels (lxviii. 2–5); the names of the fallen angels and Satans who led them astray and taught men knowledge and writing (lxix. 1–13); the hidden name and oath which preserve all things in due order (lxix. 14–25).]

Close of Third Parable.—Universal joy at the revealing of the Son of Man, who receives 'the sum of judgment' (lxix. 26–29). [*Two fragments* belonging to Parables: (*a*) lxx.—Enoch finally translated on the chariots of the spirit, and set between the north and the south (*i.e.* in Paradise). (*b*) lxxi.—'After this' he is translated in spirit; he sees the sons of God, the secrets of heaven, the crystal house, and countless angels and the four archangels, the Head of Days, the Son of Man, who brings in endless peace for the righteous.]

SECTION III.: chs. lxxii.–lxxxii.—*The Book of the Courses of the Heavenly Luminaries.*—The sun (lxxii.), the moon and its phases (lxxiii.), the lunar year (lxxiv.), the stars, the twelve winds and their portals (lxxvi.), the four quarters of the world, the seven great mountains, rivers, islands (lxxvii.), the moon's waxing and waning (lxxviii.), recapitulation (lxxix., lxxx. 1), perversion of Nature and the heavenly bodies owing to man's sin (lxxx. 2–8). Enoch sees the heavenly tablets containing men's deeds to all eternity, and is given one year to teach them to Methuselah (lxxxi.); his charge to Methuselah to hand on the books to the generations of the world; blessing on the observers of the true system of reckoning—year of 364 days (lxxxii. 1–9); stars which lead the seasons and the months (lxxxii. 10–20).

SECTION IV.: chs. lxxxiii.–xc.—*Two Dream Visions*: (*a*) lxxxiii., lxxxiv.; (*b*) lxxxv.–xc.—(*a*) Vision of earth's destruction: Mahalalel bids Enoch pray that a remnant may remain (lxxxiii. 1–9); prayer of Enoch for survival of plant of eternal seed (=Israel) (lxxxiii. 10–lxxxiv. 6). (*b*) Second dream, in which Enoch sees Adam and other patriarchs under symbolism of bulls, etc. (lxxxv.); stars (=angels) fall from heaven, and unite with cattle (lxxxvi., lxxxvii.); the first star is cast into the abyss; evil beasts slay one another (lxxxviii.). In symbolism Enoch sees the history of Noah and the Deluge; Israel at the Exodus, crossing the Jordan, under the Judges; the building of the Temple; the two kingdoms; the Fall of Jerusalem (lxxxix. 1–67). Israel is entrusted to the Seventy Shepherds (=angelic rulers) from the Captivity to the Maccabæan revolt (lxxxix. 68–xc. 12); the enlightened lambs (=Chasids) and the great horn (=Judas Maccabæus) (xc. 6–12). The final assault of the heathen; a great sword is given to the sheep (=Jews); the Lord of the sheep intervenes (xc. 13–19); a throne is erected in the pleasant land for Him; the sealed books are opened; the sinning stars are cast into the abyss of fire, also the Seventy Shepherds; the blinded sheep into the abyss in the midst of the earth (=Gehenna) (xc. 20–27); the old house (=Temple) is removed; the Lord of the sheep brings a new house, greater and loftier; the sword is sealed up; all the sheep 'see' (*i.e.* are enlightened); a white bull (=Messiah) is born, and is adored by all; the others are all transformed into white bulls, and the Lord of the sheep rejoices over them all alike; Enoch awakes and weeps (xc. 28–42).

SECTION V.: chs. xci.–civ.—(*a*) *Enoch's Book for his Children* (xcii. 1).—God has appointed days for all things; the righteous are to arise from sleep and walk in eternal light, and sin is to disappear (xcii.). Methuselah and his family are summoned

and exhorted to love righteousness; violence must increase, but judgment will follow; idols will fail, and the heathen be judged in fire for ever; the righteous are to rise again (xci. 1–11).

(*b*) *Apocalypse of Weeks.*—1st week: Enoch born. 2nd: the first end; Noah saved. 3rd: Abraham elected as the plant of righteous judgment. 4th: the law for all generations made. 5th: house of glory . . . built. 6th: all Israel blinded; Elijah ascends to heaven; the Dispersion. 7th: general apostasy; the elect righteous elected to receive seven-fold instruction concerning all creation (= Enoch's revelations). 8th: week of righteousness and of sword; Temple rebuilt for ever; all mankind converted. 9th: righteous judgment revealed to the whole world; sin abolished. 10th: great eternal judgment on angels; new heaven; thereafter weeks without number for ever (xciii., xci. 12–17).

(*c*) *Warnings and woes.*—Warnings against paths of unrighteousness (xciv. 1–5); woes against oppressors and rich (xciv. 6–11) and sinners (xcv. 2–7); hope for righteous (xcvi. 1–3); their prayer heard (xcvii. 5); woes against the luxurious and the rich (xcvi. 4–8, xcvii. 1–10). Warnings against indulgence; sin is of man's own devising, and every sin is every day recorded in heaven (xcviii. 1–8); sinners are prepared for the day of destruction; they will be given into hands of righteous (xcviii. 9–16). Woes on godless and law-breakers (xcix.); the righteous are to raise prayers and place them before the angels, who are to place the sin of sinners for a memorial before the Most High (xcix. 3). Sinners are to destroy one another (c. 1–3); angels descend into secret places and gather all who brought down sin (*i.e.* fallen angels); the righteous and holy receive guardians till an end is made of sin; though the righteous sleep long, they have nothing to fear; angels, sun, moon, and stars will witness to the sins of sinners (c. 4–13); God is obeyed by all Nature, therefore His law should be observed by men (ci.). Terrors of the judgment-day; the righteous who died in misery are not to grieve but await judgment (cii. 1–5). Taunts of sinners—after death we and the righteous are equal (cii. 6–11). Enoch knows a mystery from the heavenly tablets—the spirits of the righteous dead shall live and rejoice (ciii. 1–4); woes of sinners who died in honour—their spirits descend into darkness, chains, and burning flame (ciii. 5–8); woes of the righteous (ciii. 9–15); yet in heaven the angels remember them for good, and their names are written; they shall shine as lights of heaven (civ. 1, 2); 'cry for judgment, and it shall appear' (civ. 3). The writings of Enoch are to be given to the righteous—they give joy, uprightness, and wisdom (civ. 9–13).

[*Messianic fragment* (cv.).—God and the Messiah to dwell with men.] [*Noachic fragment* (cvi.–cvii.).—Lamech has a wondrous son; Methuselah inquires of Enoch at the ends of the earth about him; Enoch replies that a Deluge is to come because of sin introduced by the fallen angels; this son shall alone be saved—sin will arise again after him till the final annihilation of evil.] *An independent addition* (cviii.).—Another book written by Enoch 'for his son and those who keep the law in the last days'; the righteous are to wait for the destruction of the ungodly, whose spirits suffer in fire (cviii. 1–6); the spirits of the humble who lived ascetic lives and belonged to the generation of light shall God bring forth in shining light and seat each on the throne of his honour in never-ending splendour (cviii. 7–15).

2. Title.—The work is referred to under several titles. Of these the oldest are (*a*) *the Books of Enoch* (*Test. Jud.* xviii. 1, *Test. Lev.* x. 5 [A]; Origen, *c. Celsum*, v. 54, *in Num. Hom.* xxviii. 2—this title is implied in the division of the work into books; *1 En.* xiv. 1, lxxii. 1, lxxxii. 1, xcii. 1, cviii. 1; Syncellus, *Chronographia* [ed. Dind., 1829, i. 20, etc.]); (*b*) *the Words of Enoch* (*Jub.* xxi. 10; *Test. Benj.* ix. 1; cf. *1 En.* i. 1, xiv. 1). Other titles are (*c*) *the Book of Enoch* (*Test. Lev.* x. 5 [*a*]; Origen, *de Princ.* I. iii. 3, etc.); (*d*) *the Writing of Enoch* (*Test. Lev.* xiv. 1; Tertullian, *de Cultu Fem.* i. 3); (*e*) *Enoch* (Jude[14]; *Ep. Barn.* iv. 3; Clem. Alex., *Eclog. Proph.* [ed. Dind., 1869, iii. 456, 474]; Origen, *in Ioannem*, vi. 25, *c. Celsum*, v. 54; Tertullian, *de Cultu Fem.* ii. 10, *de Idol.* iv., xv.).

3. Canonicity.—That the work was recognized as inspired in certain Jewish circles appears from the above references in *Jubilees* and the *Test. XII. Patriarchs.* St. Jude quotes a passage from it as an authentic prophecy of Enoch. The *Epistle of Barnabas* (xvi. 5) refers to it in the words λέγει γὰρ ἡ γραφή; Athenagoras (*Leg. pro Christianis*, 24) as ἃ τοῖς προφήταις ἐκπεφώνηται; Tert. (*de Idol.* xv.), 'Spiritus . . . prececinit per . . . Enoch'; (*de Cultu Fem.* i. 3), 'scio scripturam Enoch . . . non recipi a quibusdam, quia nec in armarium Judaicum admittitur . . . cum Enoch eadem scriptura etiam de Domino praedicarit, a nobis quidem nihil omnino rejiciendum est, quod pertineat ad nos. . . . A Judaeis potest jam videri propterea relecta, sicut et cetera quae Christum sonant.' Origen, however, in *c. Celsum*, v. 54, says: ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις οὐ πάνυ φέρεται ὡς θεῖα τὰ ἐπιγεγραμμένα τοῦ Ἐνὼχ βιβλία. Chrysostom (*Hom. in Gen.* vi. 1), Jerome (*Com. in Ps.* cxxxii. 3), and Augustine (*de Civ. Dei*, XV. xxiii. 4) denounce the work as apocryphal, and this opinion henceforward prevails.

4. Critical structure and dates.—That the work was composite might be inferred from the external evidence of the titles, 'Books' or 'Words of Enoch,' under which the work is quoted in other writings. But internal evidence is more decisive. The frequent headings, such as 'the book written by Enoch' (xcii. 1), 'another book which Enoch wrote' (cviii. 1), and the divergence of historical outlook, of method of treatment, of ideas and phrases, in the various parts, point even more clearly to the fact that the work in its present form is a redaction of several of the more prominent writings belonging to a diffuse and varied cycle of literature passing under the name of Enoch. The work as we have it falls naturally into five quite distinct main sections as shown in 1 above:

SECTION I.: *Visions and journeys* (for contents see above).—xii.–xxxvi. belong to the earliest Enochic portion of this section; they are pre-Maccabæan, as, unlike lxxxiii.–xc., they make no reference to Antiochus' persecution. They fall into subsections: xii.–xvi. (out of their original order), xvii.–xix., xx.–xxxvi. Chs. vi.–xi. belong to the earlier Book of Noah (see below). Chs. i.–v. appear to be an introduction written by the final editor of the entire work. The problem in this section is the origin of evil, which is traced to the fall of the Watchers. There is no Messiah; God Himself is to abide with men (xxv. 3); all the Gentiles will become righteous and worship God (x. 21); the righteous are admitted to the tree of life and live patriarchal lives with very material joys and blessings.

SECTION II.: *The Parables* (formerly known as 'the Similitudes').—There are three Parables (xxxviii.–xliv., xlv.–lvii., lviii.–lxix.), while xxxvii. forms an introduction, and lxx. a conclusion to them. Ch. lxxi. belongs to the Third Parable. There are many interpolations. Some are from the Book of Noah—lx., lxv.–lxix. 25 confessedly, and probably xxxix. 1–2, liv. 7–lv. 2 as well. Behind the Parables proper lie two sources, as Beer (Kautzsch's *Apok. und Pseud.* ii. 227) has shown: one deals with the 'Son of Man'—xl. 3–7, xlvi.–xlviii. 7, lii. 3–4, lxi. 3–4, lxii. 2–lxiii., lxix. 26–29,

lxx.–lxxi., and has 'the angel who went with me' as Enoch's interpreter; the other deals with 'the Elect One'—xxxviii.–xxxix., xl. 1–2, 8–10, xli. 1–2, 9, xlv., xlviii. 8–10, l.–lii. 1–2, 5–9, liii.–liv. 6, lv. 3–lvii., lxi. 1–2, 5–13, lxii. 1, and has the 'angel of peace' as interpreter of the vision (so Charles, *Enoch*, p. 65). Only the former source attributes pre-existence to the Son of Man (xlviii. 2). This section is full of peculiar features, *e.g.* 'Lord of Spirits' as a Divine title; Phanuel replaces Uriel as the fourth archangel. The angelology is more developed: besides Cherubim, we have Seraphim, Ophannim, angels of power and of principalities. And so is the demonology: the origin of evil is traced back to the Satans and an original evil spirit-world. The Messiah is eternally pre-existent, and all judgment is committed to Him. The date of this section appears to lie between 95 and 64 B.C. and probably between 95 and 79. 'The kings and the mighty' are evidently the later Maccabæan princes and their Sadducæan supporters. The mighty cannot refer to the Romans; it must refer to the Sadducæan nobles, who did not support the Herods. The problem is the oppression of the righteous by the kings and mighty, and the solution consists in a vision of the coming liberator and vindicator, the Messiah of supernatural power and privilege.

SECTION III.: *The Book of the Heavenly Luminaries.*—Chs. lxxii.–lxxviii., lxxxii., lxxix. are original to this section; lxxx. and lxxxi. are interpolations. The conceptions at times approach those of i.–xxxvi., but the points of divergence are very numerous. The date is not ascertainable. The object is to establish the solar year of 364 days as a Divine law revealed as early as the time of Enoch (lxxiv. 12 as emended. Cf. *Jub.* vi. 32–36).

SECTION IV.: *The Dream Visions.*—There is only one interpolation—xc. 14[b]. xc. 13–15 and xc. 16–18 are doublets. There is close agreement with and evident knowledge of vi.–xi., but no dependence on them. The conceptions are more spiritual and developed. The date would be before 161 B.C., as Judas Maccabæus is still warring (xc. 13); the end is expected to be about 140 B.C., as the fourth period of twelve shepherds would end then. The problem is the continued depression of Israel after the Return, which is attributed to the neglect of its seventy angelic guardians.

SECTION V.—This section really commences with xcii. 1 (see heading), and the original order of the first four chapters was xcii., xci. 1–10, 18–19, xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17, xciv.; of these xciii. 1–10, xci. 12–17 form the short 'Apocalypse of Weeks.' There is a close resemblance throughout xci.–civ. to i.–xxxvi., in phrases, references, and ideas, but the divergences are not less numerous (see Charles, p. 219 ff.). The righteous alone rise, and in spirit only, not in body, to walk in eternal light in heaven. Contrast the crude materialism of i.–xxxvi. The date is determined by the interpretation we put on ciii. 14, 15—'the rulers . . . did not remove from us the yoke of those that devoured us and dispersed us and murdered us.' If the massacre of the Pharisees by John Hyrcanus is meant, the date must be later than that year—94 B.C. (cf. *Parables*). Otherwise, 104–95 B.C. (so Charles). The problem is ethical (the seeming impunity of the prosperous wicked—who, however, at death descend to Sheol and the flame for ever), not national, as in lxxxiii.–xc.

cv.—An independent Messianic fragment; cvi.–cvii.—part of the earlier Book of Noah; cviii. presupposes i.–xxxvi. and xci.–civ., and is later in date, and strongly ascetic, if not Essene, in tone.

Book of Noah.—Scattered through the work we find a series of more or less fragmentary passages —vi.–xi., liv. 7–lv. 2, lx., lxv.–lxix. 25, cvi.–cvii., and probably xxix. 1, 2[a])—which generally refer to Noah and the Deluge. Their inclusion appears to be due to the final editor, who forced into what are often awkward contexts fragments of this earlier work, or series of works, which we also know from *Jub.* vii. 20–39, x. 1–15, xxi. 10.

5. The text.—The text is not extant in the original Semitic form, but we possess a Greek translation of a part, and an Ethiopic version of the whole.

(1) *The Greek version* exists in duplicate to some extent. (*a*) The superior in point of text is to be found in Syncellus (*Chronographia*, ed. Dind. i. 20–23, etc.), who quotes vi.–x. 14, xv. 8–xvi. 1, and also gives viii. 4–ix. 4 in variant form. He also gives a quotation 'from the first book of Enoch concerning the watchers' (ed. Dind. i. 47) which does not occur in our present text. (*b*) The longer but less accurate text for i.–xxxii. (and xix. 3–xxi. 9 in duplicate) was discovered in 1886–7 at Akhmîm, and published by Bouriant in 1892. Another fragment, in tachygraphic characters, exists in a Vatican Greek MS—no. 1809 (see at end of this art.).

(2) *The Ethiopic version*, which is a translation from the Greek, is known in 29 MSS, of which 15 are in England. The best are numbered *gg*$_1$*mqtu* in Charles's Ethiopic text (*q.v.*). This text is inferior to that of the Syncellus Greek and is much nearer to that of the Akhmîm Fragment (known generally as the 'Gizeh Greek').

(3) *The Latin version* is a mere fragment, cvi. 1–18, discovered in 1893 by M. R. James in the British Museum and published by him in that year in *TS* ii. 3.

(4) The quotations, both Greek and Latin, except for those in Syncellus, add little to the restoration of the true text. See Lawlor, art. in *Journal of Philology*, xxv. [1897] 164–225, and Charles's Introductions under 'Influence on Patristic Literature' in his two recent editions.

6. Original language.—The original language is now admitted to be Semitic—either Hebrew or Aramaic. Chs. vi.–xxxvi. were almost certainly in Aramaic. The transliterations *φουκά* (xviii. 8), *μανδοβαρά* (xxviii. 1), and *βαβδηρά* (xxix. 1), all show the Aramaic termination; while in vi. 7 and viii. 3 the proper names are only appropriate in Aramaic. To the rest of the book (except lxxxiii.–xc., which was possibly in Aramaic) Charles unhesitatingly assigns a Hebrew original. In xxxvii.–lxxi. Schmidt (*OT and Semitic Studies*, 1908, ii. 336–343) argues for Aramaic, but is answered by Charles.

7. Poetical element.—This bulks largely in *1 Enoch*, but was first recognized by Charles, who prints it in verse form in his two recent editions. Its recognition is of use in helping at times to restore the true order, and at times to excise dittographs.

8. Influence on NT.—(1) DICTION AND IDEAS.—(*a*) The Epistle of *St. Jude* is remarkable for containing, with the possible exception of 2 Ti 3[8], the only two direct citations from pseudepigraphs in the NT. And of these two citations the only one made by name is from the *Book of Enoch*, which is quoted as though it possessed much the same authority as a canonical book of prophecy. It may be instructive to compare the words in Jude with the text of Enoch as restored by Charles:

Jude 14. 15—'Ιδοὺ ἦλθεν Κύριος ἐν ἁγίαις μυριάσιν αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐλέγξαι πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς περὶ πάντων τῶν ἔργων ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.	*1 En.* i. 9—*Ἰδοὺ ἔρχεται σὺν ταῖς μυρίασιν ἁγίαις αὐτοῦ, ποιῆσαι κρίσιν κατὰ πάντων, καὶ ἀπολέσαι πάντας τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς καὶ ἐλέγξαι πᾶσαν σάρκα περὶ πάντων ἔργων τῆς ἀσεβείας αὐτῶν ὧν ἠσέβησαν καὶ σκληρῶν ὧν ἐλάλησαν λόγων κατ' αὐτοῦ ἁμαρτωλοὶ ἀσεβεῖς.

For the *σκληροὶ λόγοι* cf. *1 En.* v. 4, xxvii. 2. Further, St. Jude's description of Enoch as 'the

seventh from Adam' is identical with that in the Noachic interpolation in the *Parables* (lx. 8).

The Epistle is full of reminiscences of *Enoch*. Cf. Jude[4], 'denying our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ,' with *1 En.* xlviii. 10, 'they have denied the Lord of Spirits and His Anointed'; Jude[6], 'angels which . . . left their proper habitation,' with *1 En.* xii. 4, 'the Watchers . . . who have left the high heaven,' and xv. 7, 'as for the spiritual ones of the heaven, in heaven is their dwelling'; Jude[6], 'kept in everlasting bonds under darkness unto the judgment of the great day,' with *1 En.* x. 4–6, 'Bind Azazel . . . and cast him into the darkness . . . and cover him with darkness, and let him abide there for ever . . . and on the day of the great judgment he shall be cast into the fire,' and x. 11, 12, 'Bind Semjaza . . . bind them fast for seventy generations . . . till the judgment that is for ever and ever is consummated'; Jude[13], 'wandering stars,' with *1 En.* xviii. 15, xxi. 2, 3, 6.

(*b*) *2 Peter* is closely related to Jude, and 2 P 2[4] is more than an echo of Jude[6]. The fuller details, indeed, may be due to *1 Enoch*, while the juxtaposition of the first judgment on the angels in 2 P 2[4] with the Deluge in 2 P 2[5] is characteristic of *1 Enoch* as it stands, especially in its Noachic interpolations, *e.g.* x. 1–16, lxv. 1–lxvii. 4. As Noah is called 'a preacher of righteousness' in 2 P 2[5], we might venture to assume that this title implies that he, and not Christ, was taken to be the preacher to the spirits in prison in 1 P 3[19] by the author of 2 Peter. If this be admitted, 1 P 3[19. 20] might possibly be claimed as witnessing to the original form of the Noah Apocalypse in which it was not Enoch but Noah who was sent to reprimand the Watchers (see *1 En.* xii. 1–4, 'Enoch was hidden . . . and his activities had to do with the Watchers. . . . "Enoch, thou scribe of righteousness, go declare to the Watchers"'). In support of this view we may note (*a*) that the references to the sin of the angels are all (except lxxxvi. 1) in Noachic passages; (*β*) that in defiance of chronology and the context the name 'Noah' has been altered to 'Enoch' in lx. 1; that 'the longsuffering of God waited' in 1 P 3[20] seems to echo *1 En.* lx. 5, 'until this day lasted His mercy; and He hath been merciful and longsuffering. . . .' Cf. too lxvi. 2 and lxvii. 2, where angels hold the waters in check and other angels are constructing the ark, with 1 P 3[20], 'while the ark was a-preparing.' On the other hand, of course, there are great exegetical difficulties in 1 P 3[19. 20] in the way of this view, though 'the spirits . . . which aforetime were disobedient' suggests angelic and not human offenders, and the prison of the angels is a commonplace in *1 En.* (x. 4, 12, xix. 1, xxi. 10, lxvii. 4, etc.).

(*c*) In *St. John's* First Epistle we have the frequent contrast between light and darkness so characteristic of *1 Enoch*: *e.g.* 1 Jn 1[7] 'walk in the light' ‖ *1 En.* xcii. 4; 1 Jn 2[8] 'the darkness is passing away' ‖ *1 En.* lviii. 5. The warning in 1 Jn 2[15], 'love not the world, neither the things that are in the world,' has a close parallel in *1 En.* cviii. 8, 'loved not any of the good things which are in the world,' and in xlviii. 7.

(*d*) For *St. James's* woes against the rich (5[1-6]), only paralleled in the NT by our Lord's words on the danger of trusting to wealth, cf. *1 En.* xlvi. 7, lxiii. 10, xciv. 8–11, xcvi. 4–8, xcvii. 8–10.

(*e*) The *Book of Revelation* is naturally full of Jewish apocalyptic phraseology and imagery, and parallels are abundant with *1 Enoch*. (*α*) *Angelology.*—'Seven (arch)angels' (Rev 8[2] and ? 1[4] 4[5]) ‖ *1 En.* xx. 1–8, xc. 21; 'four living creatures' (Rev 4[6]) ‖ 'four presences' (*1 En.* xl. 2–9); 'have no rest day and night' (Rev 4[8]) ‖ *1 En.* xxxix. 13; angels offer men's prayers to God (Rev 8[3. 4]; cf. 5[8]) ‖ *1 En.* ix. 1–3, xlvii. 2, xcix. 3; angels of winds (Rev 7[1]) and of waters (16[5]) ‖ *1 En.* lxix. 22. (*β*) *Demonology.*—'A star from heaven fallen unto the earth' (Rev 9[1])—for phrase cf. *1 En.* lxxxvi. 1; 'Satan . . . accuser of our brethren . . . before our God' (Rev 12[9. 10]) ‖ 'Satans . . . before the Lord of Spirits . . . to accuse them who dwell on the earth' (*1 En.* xl. 7); the false prophet 'deceiveth them that dwell on the earth' (Rev 13[14]) ‖ the 'hosts of Azazel . . . leading astray those who dwell on the earth' (*1 En.* liv. 56); idolatry as demon worship (Rev 9[20]) ‖ *1 En.* xix. 1, xcix. 7. (*γ*) *Boasting of rich.*—'I am rich and have gotten riches' (Rev 3[17]) ‖ 'we have become rich with riches and have possessions' (*1 En.* xcvii. 8). (*δ*) *Stages of judgment.*—Prayer of saints for vengeance (Rev 6[10]) ‖ *1 En.* xlvii. 2, etc.; terror of the kings and the great at the sight of 'him that sitteth on the throne' and at 'the wrath of the Lamb' (Rev 6[16]) ‖ 'when they see that Son of Man sitting on the throne of His glory' (*1 En.* lxii. 5); the sinners' blood rises to the horses' bridles (Rev 14[20]) ‖ to the horses' breasts (*1 En.* c. 3); books opened (Rev 20[12]) ‖ *1 En.* xc. 20; book of life (Rev 20[12]) ‖ books of the living (*1 En.* xlvii. 3); Satan bound for a thousand years (Rev 20[2]) and then cast into lake of fire (20[10]) ‖ Semjaza and his associates bound for seventy generations (*1 En.* x. 12) and then led off to the abyss of fire (x. 13). (*ε*) *Resurrection.*—The sea, death, and Hades give up their dead (Rev 20[13]) ‖ the earth, Sheol, and hell (*1 En.* li. 1), the desert and the sea (lxi. 5) restore their dead. (*ζ*) *The future rewards of the righteous.*—'Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord' (Rev 14[13]) ‖ 'Blessed is the man who dies in righteousness' (*1 En.* lxxxi. 4); saints in white raiment (Rev 3[5]) ‖ angels clothed in white (*1 En.* xc. 31) and saints (clad) in shining light (cviii. 12); 'fountains of waters of life' (Rev 7[17]) ‖ a 'bright spring of water' (*1 En.* xxii. 9; cf. xlviii. 1); eat with Christ (Rev 3[20]) ‖ 'with that Son of Man shall they eat and lie down and rise up for ever' (*1 En.* lxii. 14); sit on throne with Christ (Rev 3[21]; cf. 20[4]) ‖ 'I will seat each on the throne of his honour' (cviii. 12); Christ will spread His tabernacle over them (Rev 7[15]) ‖ 'I will cause my Elect One to dwell among them' (*1 En.* xlv. 4); 'no curse any more' (Rev 22[3]) ‖ 'no sorrow or plague,' etc. (*1 En.* xxv. 6).

(*f*) In *Acts* we have a parallel with *1 Enoch*: Ac 10[4] 'thy prayers . . . are gone up for a memorial before God' ‖ *1 En.* xcix. 3 'raise your prayers as a memorial. . . before the Most High.'

(*g*) *Hebrews.*—With He 4[13] cf. *1 En.* ix. 5 'all things are naked and open in thy sight, and thou seest all things and nothing can hide itself from thee'; cf. also He 11[10] 12[22] (the heavenly Jerusalem built by God Himself) with *1 En.* xc. 29; 11[5] refers to the translation of Enoch and understands 'walked with God' in Gn 5[24] as 'pleased God.' Cf. *1 En.* xv. 1.

(*h*) *St. Paul's Epistles.*—1 Th 5[3] ‖ *1 En.* lxii. 4 'then shall pain come upon them as on a woman in travail'; Ro 8[38] (cf. 2 Th 1[7], Eph 1[21], Col 1[16]) ‖ *1 En.* lxi. 10 'angels of power and . . . of principalities.' With 2 Co 4[6] cf. *1 En.* xxxviii. 4 'the Lord of Spirits has caused his light to appear (so Charles) on the face of the holy, righteous, and elect'; 2 Co 11[31] ‖ *1 En.* lxxvii. 1 'He who is blessed for ever'; Gal 1[4] ‖ *1 En.* xlviii. 7 'this world of unrighteousness'; Ph 2[10] ‖ *1 En.* xlviii. 5 'shall fall down and worship before him (=Son of Man)'; Col 2[3] ‖ *1 En.* xlvi. 3 'the Son of Man . . . who revealeth all the treasures of that which is hidden'; 1 Ti 1[9] ‖ *1 En.* xciii. 4 'a law shall be made for the sinners'; 1 Ti 1[15] ‖ *1 En.* xciv. 1 'worthy of acceptation'; 1 Ti 5[21] ‖ *1 En.* xxxix. 1; 1 Ti 6[16] ‖ *1 En.* xiv. 21 'none of the angels

could enter and could behold his face by reason of the magnificence and glory, and no flesh could behold him.'

(*i*) *NT in general.*—Phrases which recur in the NT are 'Lord of lords and King of kings' (*1 En.* ix. 4, Rev 17[14]; cf. 1 Ti 6[15]); 'holy angels' (*1 En.* lxxi. 1, etc., Rev 14[10], etc.; cf. Ac 10[22]); 'the generation of light' (*1 En.* cviii. 11): cf. Eph 5[8] 'children of light,' 1 Th 5[5] 'sons of light' (so Lk 16[8], Jn 12[36]).

(2) THEOLOGY.—(*a*) *The Messiah.*—The 'Son of Man' in the *Parables* is *pre-existent*: 'before the sun and the signs were created, before the stars of the heaven were made, his name was named before the Lord of Spirits' (xlviii. 3), 'for this reason hath he been chosen and hidden before him, before the creation of the world and for evermore' (xlviii. 6), 'for from the beginning the Son of Man was hidden, and the Most High preserved him in the presence of his might, and revealed him to the elect' (lxii. 7; cf. xxxix. 6, 7, xlvi. 1–3). For 'before the creation' cf. Col 1[17], and for 'from the beginning' cf. Jn 1[1], 1 Jn 1[1], Rev 1[17] 21[6] 22[13], and for 'revealed' cf. 1 Ti 3[16], 1 Jn 3[5. 8], and esp. 1 P 1[20]. He is a *supernatural being*. In Dn 7[13] the 'one like unto a son of man' is brought before God and dominion is bestowed on him. In *1 En.* xxxix. 6, 7, xlvi. 1, 2, lxii. 7 the 'Son of Man' is with God (cf. Jn 1[1]) and will sit on His throne (li. 3). He is the ideally *Righteous* One (xxxviii. 2)—'the Righteous and Elect One (liii. 6; cf. xlvi. 3); cf. Ac 3[14] 7[52] 22[14] 1 Jn 2[1]. He is the *Elect* (xl. 5, xlv. 3, 4, xlix. 2, 4, etc.); cf. Lk 9[35] 23[35]; the *Anointed* or *Christ* (xlviii. 10, lii. 4). He has all *knowledge* (xlvi. 3, xlix. 2, 4), all *wisdom* (xlix. 1, 3, li. 3), all *dominion* (lxii. 6; cf. Mt 28[18]). 'The sum of *judgment*' is 'given unto the Son of Man' (lxix. 27; cf. Jn 5[22. 27]). God 'appoints a judge for them all and he judges them all before Him' (xli. 9; cf. Ac 17[31]). He judges both men and angels (li. 2, lv. 4, lxi. 8, lxii. 2, 3). He is *Vindicator* of the righteous (but not redeemer of mankind). He has 'preserved the lot of the righteous' (xlviii. 7) and will be 'the hope of those who are troubled of heart' (xlviii. 4). He has been revealed to the righteous (lxii. 7) and in due time will 'cause the house of his congregation to appear' (liii. 6). Outside the *Parables* God Himself is the Judge (cf. 1 P 1[17], Rev 20[12]); in the *Parables* it is the Son of Man (cf. 1 P 4[5], Rev 6[16. 17] 22[12], etc.). It is an unforgivable sin to deny the Anointed One (xlviii. 10). The words 'in his name they are saved' in xlviii. 7 must refer to the Lord of Spirits, not to the Son of Man, as Charles takes it. For the phrase, however, cf. Ac 4[12], 1 Co 6[11].

(*b*) *Messianic Kingdom.*—Whereas in i.–xxxvi. there is a very sensuous conception of Messianic bliss, and the scene of the Kingdom is the existing Jerusalem and Holy Land purified from sin, in lxxxiii.–xc. we find a more advanced conception. The centre of the Kingdom is now to be a new Jerusalem brought to earth by God Himself (cf. He 12[22], Rev 3[12] 21[2]), and the citizens of it are to be transformed after the likeness of the Messiah, whose origin is, however, natural and human. In xci.–civ. we have a Kingdom of limited duration, followed by the last judgment (cf. Rev 20[4. 5. 11–15]). In the *Parables* we have a new heaven and a new earth, under a supernatural head, the fount of wisdom, righteousness, and power.

(*c*) *The Resurrection* in i.–xxxvi. is of soul and body to a limited life in an eternal Messianic Kingdom on earth. In the *Parables* the resurrection is to a spiritual Kingdom, in which the holy are clothed with a spiritual body, 'garments of life . . . of glory' (lxii. 16; cf. 1 Co 15[53. 54], 2 Co 5[1–4]). In xci.–civ. there is a resurrection of the spirit only.

(*d*) *The Judgment* in *1 Enoch* precedes the Kingdom, except in xci.–civ. (for which cf. Rev 21[11–15]). See under 8 (2) (*a*) above.

(*e*) *Sheol* or *Hades* in *1 En.* xxii. is a place of souls, good and bad, in the intermediate state, in *1 En.* lxiii. 10, xcix. 11, ciii. 7 of wicked souls in their final state of woe; cf. Rev 20[13. 14] (of wicked only (?) in intermediate state).

(*f*) *Retribution and salvation.*—In xci.–civ. the tone is extremely 'other-worldly,' and the contrast between the present prosperity of the wicked and the sufferings of the righteous and their future destinies is emphasized throughout. Judgment will be according to works, which 'the Son of Man will try' (xlv. 3) and judge, 'and in the balance shall (men's) deeds be weighed' (lxi. 8; cf. xli. 1). These works, however, are the outcome of faith on the part of 'the righteous whose elect works,' as also they themselves, 'hang upon the Lord of Spirits' (xxxviii. 2; cf. xl. 5, xlvi. 8). The 'elect' is a frequent title of the righteous, and implies dependence upon God's grace.

(*g*) *Sin and repentance.*—Man's will is free, and the two ways of righteousness and violence lie before him for his choice (xci. 18, xciv. 3). Though sin goes back in origin to the fallen angels and the Satans, 'man of himself has created it' (xcviii. 4; cf. Ja 1[13–15]). *1 En.* xl. 9 assigns to Phanuel the oversight of 'repentance unto hope of those who inherit eternal life.' On the other hand, repentance will be unavailing for men after the manifestation of the Son of Man on the throne of glory (lxiii. 1–11), and at all times for fallen angels (xii. 6, xiv. 4, lxv. 11).

(*h*) *Angels.*—Marriage is forbidden to them (xv. 7; cf. Mt 22[23–33]); 1 Co 11[10] possibly refers to the seduction of angels by women, which, however, agrees with the narrative of the angels' fall in *Jubilees* rather than in *1 Enoch*.

(*i*) The *conversion of the Gentiles* is expected generally in *1 Enoch*, *e.g.* x. 21, l. 2, xc. 30, 33, xci. 14.

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A. LL. DAVIES.

ENVY.—Envy is the feeling of mortification or ill-will occasioned by the contemplation of the superior advantages of others.

> 'Base envy withers at another's joy,
> And hates that excellence it cannot reach'
> (Thomson, *Seasons*, 'Spring,' 283).

In the NT the word is used to translate two Gr. terms, *φθόνος* and *ζῆλος*, the former of which is invariably (with the possible exception of Ja 4[5]) taken *in malam partem*, while the latter is frequently used in a good sense.

(1) Those who are given up to a reprobate mind are 'full of envy' (*μεστοὺς φθόνου*, Ro 1[29]), and the character of the word is strikingly indicated by the company it keeps, *φθόνος* and *φόνος* ('murder') going together. Among the works of the flesh are 'envyings' (Gal 5[21]), such as are occasioned by quarrels about words (1 Ti 6[4]). Christians can recall the time when they were 'living in malice and envy' (Tit 3[3]); and even now they need the injunction to 'put away all envies' (1 P 2[1]); it ill becomes them to be seen 'provoking one another, envying one another' (Gal 5[26]). In Rome St. Paul found, with mingled feelings, some men actually preaching Christ from envy, moved to evangelical activity by the strange and sinister inspiration of uneasiness and displeasure at his own success as an apostle (Ph 1[15]) (see FACTION). If the RV of Ja 4[5] is correct, *φθονέω* has its usual evil sense, and this difficult passage means, 'Do you think that God will implant in us a spirit of envy, the parent of strife and hate?' But it may be better to translate, either, 'For even unto jealous envy ('bis zur Eifersucht' [von Soden]) he longeth for the spirit which he made to dwell in us,' or 'That spirit which he made to dwell in us yearneth for us even unto jealous envy.' If either of the last two renderings is right, *φθόνος* is for once ascribed to God, or to a spirit which proceeds from Him, and the word has no appreciable difference of meaning from the *ζῆλος* ('jealousy') which is so often attributed to Him in the OT (*θεὸς ζηλωτής*, Ex 20[5], etc.). He longs for the devotion of His people with an intensity which is often present in, as well as with a purity which is mostly absent from, our human envy. Very different from this passion of holy desire was the *φθόνος* of the pagan gods (*τὸ θεῖον πᾶν ἐστι φθονερόν*, says Solon, Herod. i. 32; cf. iii. 40)—that begrudging of uninterrupted human happiness which Crœsus and Polycrates had so much reason to fear.

(2) In the RV of Ac 7[9] 13[45] 17[5], Ro 13[13], 1 Co 3[3], Ja 3[14. 16] 'jealousy' is substituted for AV 'envy,' in Ac 5[17] for 'indignation,' and in 2 Co 12[20] for 'emulation.' In all these instances the word is *ζῆλος* (vb. *ζηλόω*), used in a bad sense, though in many other cases it has a good meaning and is translated 'zeal' (Ro 10[2], 2 Co 7[7. 11] 9[2], Ph 3[6]). In 2 Co 11[2] *ζήλῳ θεοῦ* means a zeal or jealousy like that which is an attribute of God, most pure in its quality, and making its possessor intensely solicitous for the salvation of men.

In 2 Co 9[2] the RVm suggests 'emulation of you' as the translation of *ὁ ὑμῶν ζῆλος*. William Law, who calls envy 'the most ungenerous, base, and wicked passion that can enter the heart of man' (A. Whyte, *Characters and Characteristics of William Law*[4], 1907, p. 77), denies that any real distinction can be drawn between envy and emulation.

> 'If this were to be attempted, the fineness of the distinction would show that it is easier to divide them in words than to separate them in action. For emulation, when it is defined in its best manner, is nothing else but a refinement upon envy, or rather the most plausible part of that black and poisonous passion. And though it is easy to separate them in the notion, yet the most acute philosopher, that understands the art of distinguishing ever so well, if he gives himself up to emulation, will certainly find himself deep in envy.'

If this were the case, there would be an end of all generous rivalry and fair competition. But it is contrary to the natural feeling of mankind. Plato says, 'Let every man contend in the race without envy' (Jowett[2], 1875, v. 75), and St. Paul frequently stimulates his readers with the language of the arena. The distinction between *φθόνος* and *ζῆλος* (in the good sense) is broad and deep. The one is a moral disease—'rottenness in the bones' (Pr 14[30]), 'aegritudo suscepta propter alterius res secundas' (Cicero, *Tusc.* iv. 8); the other is the health and vigour of a spirit that covets earnestly the best gifts. Nothing but good can come of the strenuous endeavour to equal and even excel the virtues, graces, and high achievements of another. Ben Jonson has the line, 'This faire æmulation, and no envy is,' and Dryden 'a noble emulation heats your breast.' *ζῆλος* (from *ζέω*, 'boil') is, in fact, like its Hebrew equivalent קִנְאָה ('heat,' 'ardour'), an ethically neutral energy, which may become either good or bad, according to the quality of the objects to which it is directed and the spirit in which they are pursued. It instigated the patriarchs (*ζηλώσαντες*, Ac 7[9]) to sell their brother into Egypt, and the Judaizers (*ζηλοῦσιν*, Gal 4[17]) to seek the perversion of St. Paul's spiritual children. Love (*ἀγάπη*) has no affinity with this base passion (*οὐ ζηλοῖ*, 1 Co 13[4]). Love generates a rarer, purer zeal of its own, and 'it is good to be zealously sought in a good matter at all times' (*καλὸν δὲ ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῷ πάντοτε*, Gal 4[18]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

EPÆNETUS (Ἐπαίνετος, Ro 16[5]—a Greek name).—Epænetus is saluted by St. Paul and described as 'my beloved' and as 'the firstfruits of Asia unto Christ' (*τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου, ὅς ἐστιν ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀσίας εἰς Χριστόν*). The only other persons described in Ro 16 as 'my beloved' are Ampliatus (*τὸν ἀγαπητόν μου ἐν κυρίῳ*, v.[8]) and Stachys (v.[9]). Persis, a woman, is saluted perhaps with intentional delicacy as 'the beloved' (v.[12]). Epænetus was probably a personal convert of the Apostle's, and as such specially dear to him. He was the first to become a Christian in the Roman province of Asia (the TR reading Ἀχαΐας must be rejected in favour of *Ἀσίας*, supported by the overwhelming authority of ℵABCD). Assuming the Roman destination of these salutations, Epænetus must have been at the time of writing resident in or on a visit to Rome. (The discovery of an Ephesian Epænetus on a Roman inscription is interesting but unimportant [Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), p. 421].) But the reference to Epænetus, together with the salutation of Prisca and Aquila (v.[3]), who appear in 1 Co 16[19] and again in 2 Ti 4[19] as living in Ephesus, has given rise to the suggestion that this section of Romans was originally addressed to the Church of Ephesus. Epænetus, however, is not said to have

been an Ephesian (see Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, p. 301).

For the designation 'firstfruits' we must compare the description of the 'household of Stephanas' (1 Co 16[15])—'the firstfruits of Achaia' (*ἀπαρχὴ τῆς Ἀχαΐας*)—and note the suggestion that ministry in the Church was connected at first with seniority of faith, a suggestion more than supported by Clement of Rome, *Ep. ad Cor.* xlii. Nothing could be more natural than that the work of superintending the local Christian communities should be entrusted to those among the first converts who were found capable of undertaking it. The term 'firstfruits' had a special religious significance—that of dedication to God—and this idea must have been present when the original nucleus of a church was so called. Epænetus, as the senior Christian, had a position of responsibility; and that he was actually a leader would appear from his place in these salutations—second only to 'Prisca and Aquila my fellow-workers' (Ro 16[3]). Cf. also Andronicus and Junias (or Junia), who are said to 'have been in Christ' before St. Paul, and the possibility that they were known as apostles (v.[7]); also the prominence given to Mnason as an 'original' disciple in Ac 21[16]. The position thus given to the earliest converts of the missions and the services demanded from them may have been analogous to the privileges and obligations of the relations of the Lord. Blood-relationship with Jesus gave to those who could claim it an official status in the Church which was handed on to their descendants (see A. Harnack, *Constitution and Law of the Church*, Eng. tr., 1910, pp. 32–37).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

EPAPHRAS (shortened probably from *Epaphroditus*, but not to be identified with the evangelist so named).—Epaphras was a native or citizen of Colossæ (Col 4[12]), the founder, or at least an early and leading teacher of the Church there (Col 1[7], where *καί*, 'also,' is omitted in the oldest MSS), who had special relations with the neighbouring churches of Laodicea and Hierapolis (4[13]). St. Paul had not yet visited this community when he wrote Col.; but if the reading *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* ('on our behalf,' 'as our delegate') be accepted in 1[7] (as by RV on the authority of the three oldest MSS), the Apostle, during his long residence at Ephesus, when 'all who dwelt in Asia heard the Word' (Ac 19[10]), must have specially commissioned Epaphras to evangelize Colossæ in his (St. Paul's) name (Col 4[12. 13]). Epaphras' intimate association with St. Paul is shown by the designations 'beloved fellow-bondsman' (1[7]) and 'fellow-captive' (Philem[23]). The latter word (cf. Col 4[10], Ro 16[7]), if it be not here used metaphorically, suggests either that Epaphras' friendship with St. Paul created suspicion and thus led to his arrest, or that he voluntarily shared the Apostle's captivity (Lightfoot, *Colossians*[3], 1879, p. 34 f.).*

When Col. was written, Epaphras had recently arrived in Rome, and had given St. Paul a report of the Church of Colossæ. The Apostle assures the Colossian Christians of Epaphras' great zeal as well as fervent prayers for them; and he conveys to them the friendly greeting of their townsman, who remained in Rome with St. Paul (Col 4[12. 13]). The report about the Church of Colossæ was on the whole favourable. Epaphras testifies to the spiritual life and fruitfulness of its members; to their conspicuous faith, hope, and charity (1[4-6]). There was, however, a disquieting account of a peculiar heresy, which had broken out in the community—a combination of Judaistic formalism with Oriental theosophy (see COLOSSIANS). Epaphras, filled with anxiety, had wrestled (*ἀγωνιζόμενος*) in prayer for his converts 'that they might stand fully assured in all the will of God' (4[12]). Probably one reason of his visit to Rome was to consult St. Paul about this new peril. The solicitude of Epaphras was shared by the Apostle, who, amid thanksgiving for the spiritual progress of the Colossians, admonishes them (1[23]) to abide in the truth, 'grounded and stedfast.' Epaphras sends salutations to the household of Philemon, the letter to whom was dispatched along with the Epistle to the Colossians. Thenceforth Epaphras disappears from reliable history; later traditions represent him as 'bishop' of Colossæ, as suffering martyrdom, and eventually having his bones interred under the Church of Sta. Maria Maggiore in Rome.

* Jerome (*Com.* on Philem[23]) mentions, without endorsing it, a tradition that St. Paul and Epaphras, in boyhood, were carried together as captives in war from Judæa to Tarsus.

LITERATURE.—J. D. Strohbach, *de Epaphrâ*, 1710; Commentaries of Lightfoot, Ellicott, Eadie, Abbott, Wohlenberg, Maclaren, Haupt, etc., on Colossians; F. Vigouroux, *Dict. de la Bible*, 1891–99; art. 'Epaphras' in *HDB*, *SDB*, and *EBi*.

HENRY COWAN.

EPAPHRODITUS (='favoured by Aphrodite [Venus],' 'comely').—Epaphroditus was a leading member and delegate or messenger of the Philippian Church, mentioned only in Ph 2[25] and 4[18]. He arrived in Rome during St. Paul's earlier imprisonment with a substantial 'gift' (presumably of money) from the Philippian Christians to the Apostle, of whose impoverishment they had heard. After fulfilling his commission, and strengthening, through his own warmly affectionate personality, the bond of communion between the Apostle and his 'dearly beloved' Philippian converts, Epaphroditus remained in Rome partly to render personal service to St. Paul, as the representative of the devoted Philippians, and partly to take a share in the 'work of Christ' as the Apostle's colleague in missionary ministry. St. Paul describes him as 'my brother, and fellow-worker, and fellow-soldier,' implying at once 'common sympathies, labours undertaken in common, and community in suffering and struggle' (J. S. Howson, *Companions of St. Paul*, p. 235). The 'true yoke-fellow,' also, of Ph 4[3] is believed by Lightfoot (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 158) to be most probably Epaphroditus, since 'in his case alone there would be no risk of making the reference unintelligible by the suppression of the name.' His evangelistic zeal, however, combined with devotion to St. Paul, over-taxed his strength, and became the occasion of severe illness which almost issued in death (2[27. 30]). It is notable that St. Paul, whose power of working miracles is frequently referred to (Ac 14[10] 28[8], 2 Co 12[12]), did not exercise it in the case of Epaphroditus. It was a power which, 'great as it was, was not his own, to use at his own will' (Barry in Ellicott's *Com. on NT*, 1884, Ph 2[27]). Some inner voice doubtless enabled apostles to know when the time for working a miracle had come. But 'the prayer of a righteous man availeth much'; and earnest supplications were doubtless offered up in Rome by St. Paul and the Church there for the recovery of Epaphroditus. These prayers were heard. 'God had mercy upon him, and not on him only but on me also, lest I should have sorrow on sorrow' (Ph 2[27]).

Meanwhile the Philippians had heard of their delegate's illness, and by and by their anxiety became known at Rome. Partly to relieve that solicitude and to satisfy the 'longing' of Epaphroditus; partly to convey the Apostle's grateful acknowledgment of the recent gift; partly also, we may presume (although with delicate consideration this reason is not expressly stated), in order that the invalid's health may be fully restored through entire rest such as he would not take in Rome, the Apostle sends him back to Philippi with a cordial testimony to his zealous labours and chivalrous service. Epaphroditus thereafter dis-

appears from NT history, leaving behind him the fragrant memory of self-forgetful and self-sacrificing devotion at once to the person of St. Paul and to the cause of Christ.

Theodoret (*Com.* on Ph 2^{25}) represents Epaphroditus (with some hesitation) as 'bishop' of Philippi. Pseudo-Dorotheus includes him (without probability, however, since nothing suggests that he was a Hebrew) among the Seventy of Lk 10^{1}; and he calls him 'bishop' of Andriace, the port of Myra in Lycia. In virtue of the designation ἀπόστολος (Ph 2^{25}) the Greek Church places Epaphroditus in the same rank with Barnabas, Silas, and others; but the context suggests the original meaning, 'messenger.'

LITERATURE.—**H. S. Seekings**, *Men of Pauline Circle*, 1914; **J. S. Howson**, *Companions of St. Paul*, 1871; **E. B. Redlich**, *St. Paul and his Companions*, 1913, p. 230; **J. A. Beet**, in *Expositor*, 3rd ser. ix. [1889] 64 ff.; Commentaries of **Ellicott**, **Eadie**, **Lightfoot**, **Vincent**, **Weiss**, **von Soden**. See also artt. in *HDB*, *SDB*, and *EBi*.

HENRY COWAN.

EPHESIANS, EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Date and place of writing.—From internal evidence, there is little difficulty in determining the circumstances under which Ephesians was written. St. Paul is a prisoner at the time (3^{1} 4^{1} 6^{20}), and writes from prison to 'the saints which are in Ephesus.' His imprisonment has lasted long enough to give rise to grave anxiety among the Christian communities (3^{13} 6^{22}). He speaks of himself as 'the prisoner' (3^{1} 4^{1}), as though that were a title of honour consecrated by long use. This in itself makes it natural to date the Epistle from Rome rather than from Cæsarea. Other internal evidence, though slight, points in the same direction. St. Paul's captivity permits at least some liberty in preaching ($6^{19.20}$; cf. Ac $28^{30.31}$, Ph $1^{13.14}$). The phrase 'I am a chained ambassador' (6^{20}) certainly has more point after the appeal to Cæsar, and suggests that St. Paul has reached Rome to bear witness for the gospel 'before kings.' And the grand, almost imperial, width of outlook which the Epistle shows may well have been inspired in the provincial citizen from Tarsus when he came at last to see with his own eyes the city which ruled the world, with its centralized authority and its citizenship open to every land and race (cf. Lock, art. 'Ephesians' in *HDB*). It is thus natural to date the Epistle *c.* A.D. 60.

This result would be quite inevitable if it could be maintained that Eph. is a later work than Phil., which must certainly have been written from Rome (Ph 1^{13}, etc.). This has been argued by such writers as Bleek, Lightfoot (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 30 ff.), Sanday (Smith's *DB*[2] i. [1893] 627), Hort (*Judaistic Christianity*, 1894, p. 115 f.), Lock (*loc. cit.*). It is true that Phil. resembles the earlier Epistles in style and manner more than do the other Captivity Epistles. But it is impossible to postulate an orderly development in these things in such a writer as St. Paul. There is nothing in Eph. or Col. more startling as a development of Pauline doctrine than Ph 2^{5-11}. And the note of urgency and anxiety in Phil. marks it out as dating from the last days of the captivity at Rome (cf. Moffatt, *LNT*, pp. 168-170; Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 357 f.).

A more certain result as to Eph. is given by its relation to Col. and Philemon. The three Epistles are all sent by the hand of Tychicus to the same district. Col. and Philem. at least were sent together, and the literary connexion between Col. and Eph. is so close that it seems inevitable to associate Eph. with the other two. Philem. at least must have been sent from Rome, despite the arguments of Reuss and Meyer; and this carries with it the conclusion that Eph. was sent from the same place (see art. COLOSSIANS).

2. Occasion and purpose.—This Epistle stands alone among the Pauline literature. The other twelve writings ascribed to St. Paul have all some special and more or less urgent occasion and purpose, whether personal or controversial. Here neither purpose nor occasion can be clearly traced. The writer is not concerned to press his claims against rivals or opponents. The bitter controversy with Judaizing teachers lies in the past, and only faint echoes of the battle can be heard ($2^{11.14.17}$). The troubles at Colossæ are in the background ($1^{10.21}$ $2^{2.8}$ 3^{10} 6^{12}), but do not ruffle the serenity of the writer's mind. No special dangers seem to lie before the readers. Apart from the address, indeed, it would be difficult to see that any special readers are intended, though in the main the Epistle is addressed to Gentile converts (1^{13} $2^{11.11.13}$ etc.). Some danger of false teaching is perhaps suggested in $4^{14.18}$, but the references are quite general in character. Controversy is laid aside for the time being, and the writer deals with the problems of the Gentile Church in a spirit at once detached and lofty. Two special points emerge, half the Epistle being devoted to each. Chs. 1-3 deal with the respective positions of Jew and Gentile in the unity of the Church, from which we may conjecture that this was one of the main difficulties in the churches founded by St. Paul. It was, indeed, inevitable that it should be so, as the controversies of a few years before had shown. But now the position is changed. The danger is no longer that of the Judaizing teacher, but rather lest the growing Gentile communities should tend to despise the Jewish Christians in their midst ($2^{11.8.11-15}$; cf. 1^{12-14}). Chs. 4-6 deal with the most constant danger of the Gentile convert—the danger of relapse into the vices of paganism.

But neither of these dangers has come to the front in any special form, and the dominant note of the Epistle is not one of warning, but one of praise and thanksgiving. The writer's mind is full of one great theme—the unity of the Church in Christ, predestined from all eternity to all eternity, bound together in faith and love. And, as he takes up his argument, the style rises in dignity and strength until we seem to be listening to a Eucharistic hymn. Against the dangers of the hour he sets the inspiration of a great ideal, the One Body of Christ who died for Jew and Gentile alike, the One Church, ordered by Christ Himself, in which every man, if he will, may lead the life of the Spirit.

3. Analysis.—(A) Chs. 1-3. The unity of the Church, regarded as that in which Jew and Gentile are at last one. The whole of this section is an expansion of the typical thanksgiving and prayer with which St. Paul usually opens his letters.

(1) $1^{1.2}$. Salutation.

(2) 1^{3-14}. Thanksgiving for the privileges bestowed in Christ upon the Church. This section falls into three strophes, marked by the refrain 'unto the praise of his glory,' and corresponding to the three Persons of the Trinity.

(*a*) vv.3-6. Thanksgiving for the 'adoption as sons,' predestined by the Father before the foundation of the world.

(*b*) vv.7-12. Thanksgiving for the revelation of God's good pleasure in Christ, in whom we have redemption from sin, grace to live anew, and knowledge of our place in God's purpose to sum up all things in Him.

(*c*) vv.13.14. Thanksgiving that in the Holy Spirit both Jew and Gentile have even here and now an earnest of that great heritage.

(3) 1^{15-23}. Prayer that the readers may grow to a fuller understanding of the work of Christ.

(*a*) vv.15-19. Prayer that they may realize more fully the threefold blessing of vv.3-14—their adoption as sons, their heritage in Christ, their new life in the Spirit.

(*b*) vv.20-23. Prayer that they may come to see Christ as He really is, the consummation of all things in heaven and earth, and supreme Head of His Church.

(4) 2[1-22]. A further thanksgiving for all that is implied in this conception of the Church, worked out especially in relation to the position of Jews and Gentiles therein.

(*a*) vv.1-10. The power of God which was shown in Christ has been shown too upon all individual Christians, whether Gentile (vv.1. 2) or Jew (v.3), raising them from the death of sin (v.5; cf. 1[20]), causing them to ascend with Christ into the heavenly sphere (v.6; cf. 1[20]), and giving them a place in the Church, through which God has purposed to work (vv.7-10; cf. 1[21-23]).
(*b*) vv.11-22. Thus the divisions of humanity are healed. The Gentile who was once far off is 'made nigh in the blood of Christ' (vv.11-13). The barriers set up by the Jewish Law are broken down (vv.14. 15). Jew and Gentile now stand together in one fellowship, both having their access to the Father through Christ in one Spirit (vv.16-18). So is the Temple of God built, with Christ as its chief corner-stone (vv.19-22).

(5) 3[1-21]. A further prayer that the readers may apprehend the fullness of this great life in Christ, in which all the saints join (vv.1-19), and a doxology, closing this section of the Epistle (vv.20. 21).

This section is interrupted by a passage (vv.2-13) in which the writer dwells upon his own position as the 'chosen vessel' through whom this mystery of the Church was to be preached to the Gentiles. The appointed time and means had been fixed by the purpose of God, and the revelation given in the Church affected not only earth but also all heaven. The sufferings of the writer are thus no cause for discouragement. They too lie in the purpose of God.

(B) Chs. 4-6. The unity of the Church, regarded as a principle of conduct, enabling all to lead the higher life.

(1) 4[1]–5[2]. A general appeal addressed to the whole Church.

(*a*) 4[1-3]. Exhortations to lead the life of love, which is the life of the Spirit.
(*b*) vv.4-16. The unity of the Church, upon its practical side, which rests upon the unity of God (vv.4-6). It is by God's gift that the organization of the Church exists in diverse ministries (vv.7-11). And the purpose of it all is 'the perfecting of saints,' that each may take his place in the living whole of the Body of Christ, perfect in faith and knowledge and love (vv.12-16).
(*c*) vv.17-24. The old Gentile life, based upon ignorance and resulting in impurity, contrasted with the new life, based upon knowledge of Christ and resulting in 'righteousness and holiness of truth.'
(*d*) 4[25]–5[21]. A more detailed description of the Christian life as it should be lived by members of the Church.
(i.) 4[25]. Truthfulness—a lie to another Christian is a lie to oneself.
(ii.) vv.26. 27. Control of temper, for fear of the accuser, *i.e.* either of the Satan in heaven, or of calumniators on earth.
(iii.) v.28. Honesty, as the basis of right giving.
(iv.) vv.29. 30. Pure conversation, lest others be injured, and the Holy Spirit be grieved.
(v.) vv.31. 32. Gentleness, as God was gentle in Christ.
(vi.) 5[1-2]. Love, as Christ loved.
(vii.) vv.3-14. Purity of speech and action, even to the avoidance of the foolish word and jest, as unworthy of our calling (vv.3. 4), as incurring God's wrath (vv.5. 6), as wholly foreign to the life of light in Christ (vv.7-14).
(viii.) vv.15-17. Wise use of time, since the days are evil.
(ix.) vv.18-21. Temperance and orderly thanksgiving in public worship, and in particular at the love-feasts (in the spirit of 1 Co 11-14).

(2) 5[22]–6[9]. An exhortation to members of Christian families. The writer takes the family as the type of the Church (cf. 3[15]), and applies the general principles of the unity of the Spirit to the details of family life.

(*a*) 5[22-24]. Wives are to recognize the position of the husband as head of the family, as Christ is head of the Church.
(*b*) vv.25-33. Husbands are to love their wives, with whom they have been made one, as Christ loves the Church, with which He is one.
(*c*) 6[1-3]. Children must obey their parents, as is naturally right, and as God has commanded.
(*d*) v.4. Parents ought to train their children wisely.
(*e*) vv.5-8. Slaves are to obey loyally, since their obedience is to God Himself.
(*f*) v.9. Masters must treat their slaves justly, since they themselves are but slaves of a Master in heaven.

(3) 6[10-24]. A general exhortation to all Christians to fight God's battle in His strength (v.[10]) and clad in His armour (vv.[11. 13-17]), seeing that the enemy is more than man (v.[12]). The section passes into a request for prayer for the writer in prison (vv.[19. 20]), and thus it naturally leads up to a commendation of Tychicus, the bearer of the letter, and then to a final greeting.

4. Authorship.—The above analysis will make it clear how carefully constructed and worked out Ephesians is. The long sentences, cumbrous and difficult to follow as they are, are yet almost rhythmic in their balance. Everything is connected and co-ordinated with the one great idea, and the result is a composition quite unlike any other writing assigned to St. Paul. Yet the claim to Pauline authorship is quite explicit. It not only occurs in the address (1[1]) and in the final messages (6[20]), but is woven into the very structure of the Epistle in 3[1] and 4[1]. Either we have a genuine work by the Apostle or else a pseudonymous writing, composed at a very early date by a disciple upon whom had fallen a double portion of the Apostle's spirit. And of such a disciple we have no other trace.

(1) *Internal evidence.*—The very simplicity of the references to St. Paul is a strong argument for the authenticity of the Epistle. There is a great contrast between Eph. and 2 Pet. in this respect. The laboured allusions of the latter to St. Peter's life are not convincing; but could even a close disciple have coined the beautiful and simple phrase, 'I Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus'? Or would he have been likely to refer to his great master as 'less than the least of all saints' (3[8]) even with 1 Co 15[9] before him? On the other hand, there are one or two phrases, apart from questions of style and doctrine, which will be discussed later, which seem to some critics to be 'watermarks of a later age' (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 386). Such is the phrase, 'built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets' (2[20]), an expression not very suspicious in itself, but rendered suspect by the phrase 'his holy apostles and prophets' (3[5]). Such language would certainly be natural at a later date, and it is hardly like St. Paul to include himself under the term 'holy apostles.' Two explanations have been given. (*a*) It is suggested that the word ἁγίοις is not part of the original text. It is true that Origen and Theodoret show traces of a text which omitted the word, but this is not very strong evidence. Yet it might easily have been added at an early date by a reverent scribe, or have crept in by dittography from ἀποστόλοις (ΤΟΙCΑΓΙΟΙCΑΠΟCΤ . . .), or by confusion with Col 1[26]. (*b*) It is pointed out, *e.g.* by Salmond ('Ephesians' in *EGT*, pp. 223 and 304), that ἅγιος does not mean 'holy' in our modern sense, but simply 'consecrated to God's service.' This is its sense in the Pauline salutations and in 3[8], and it is thus possible to conceive St. Paul including himself under the phrase in 3[5]. But (*c*) it is not obvious that he does do so. St. Paul had always stood apart from the original Twelve, and though sometimes, as in Gal. and 2 Cor., he is concerned to defend his commission, he was fully aware of a real difference of position (1 Co 15[9]). Here some real point seems to lie in the distinction. St. Paul

is arguing that he was specially chosen of God for this ministry. Humble though he was, he had shared the revelation given to the Twelve (cf. St. Peter and Cornelius), and he, and not they, had been called to proclaim the mystery of the Church to the Gentiles (3^8). The words in $3^{7.8}$ seem to distinguish him from the 'holy apostles' of 3^5, where St. Paul is not thinking of himself at all. If this is so, 3^5, though certainly unique, is not unnatural. In any case, whatever be the explanation of 3^5, 3^8 remains a 'watermark' of St. Paul himself, as indeed does the whole passage, $3^{2\text{-}14}$, in its abrupt intrusion into the sequence of thought. The passage 'whereby, when ye read, ye can perceive my understanding . . .' (3^4) also sounds to Moffatt characteristic of a disciple of St. Paul rather than of St. Paul himself, but the conclusion is not at all necessary.

(2) *External evidence.*—This preliminary investigation, then, rather favours the authenticity of the Epistle than otherwise, and this result is entirely borne out by the external evidence of early writers. Ephesians is one of the best-attested books of the NT. By the middle of the 2nd cent. it was widely known. Both the Old Latin and the Syriac Versions had it. The evidence of Hippolytus shows that it was used by the Ophites (*Philosophoumena*, v. 8), the Valentinians (vi. 34, 35), and perhaps by Basilides (vii. 25, 26). Marcion included it in his Pauline Canon, under the title 'to the Laodiceans' (see below). It seems to be quoted by Hermas (cf. 4^4 with *Sim.* ix. 13). Earlier still Polycarp quotes $2^{8.9}$ in *Phil.* i. 3, and, still more definitely, 4^{26} in *Phil.* xii. 1 (Lat.). The evidence of Ignatius is almost equally certain: *Polyc.* v. 1 is a definite quotation of 5^{25}, and allusions may be seen to 1^{23} and 2^{16} in *Smyrn.* i. 4, to $4^{2.3}$ in *Polyc.* i. 2, to 5^1 in *Eph.* i. 1, x. 3. The passage in *Eph.* xii. 'Paul . . . ὃς ἐν πάσῃ ἐπιστολῇ μνημονεύει' cannot be translated as a definite reference to our Epistle, and is indeed evidence (see below, § 5) that the traditional address is in error. Traces of Eph. have been found in Clement of Rome and in the *Didache*, but they cannot be called certain.

This evidence is sufficient to throw the Epistle into the 1st cent., and provides at least a strong presupposition that it is Pauline.

5. Destination.—An immediate difficulty arises with the acceptance of Eph. as the work of St. Paul. He was very well known in Ephesus. He had spent over two years of his ministry there (Ac $19^{8\text{-}10}$). The leaders of the Church there had been his close friends, and had parted from him at Miletus with every display of affection ($20^{36\text{-}38}$). And yet Eph. conveys no personal greetings. There is no hint that St. Paul was known to the readers, or they to him. All that we can gather from the letter is that they are Gentile Christians (Eph 1^{13} $2^{11.\ 13.\ 17}$ 3^1). St. Paul has heard of their faith in Christ (1^{15}). He does not seem certain whether they all know how definitely and specially he had been commissioned to preach to the Gentiles (3^2, and hence the whole digression $3^{2\text{-}13}$). If the letter was actually sent to Ephesus (so Schmidt in Meyer[8]; Alford), this is incredible. And even if the Pauline authorship is given up it remains quite impossible to think that a disciple of St. Paul should have written in his master's name so cold a letter to St. Paul's friends. The evidence of Ignatius raises a further difficulty, since he definitely writes to Ephesus about 'all the letters' of St. Paul (*Eph.* xii.), without any hint that the most sublime of them all had been definitely addressed to the Ephesians themselves.

This being so, it is a relief to find that the address is very doubtful. The title 'to the Ephesians,' though known to Tertullian (*adv. Marc.* v. 11) and given in the *Muratorian Canon*, does not go far back into the 2nd century. There is very little doubt that the original text of 1^1 had no allusion to Ephesus at all. The vast majority of MSS have τοῖς ἁγίοις τοῖς οὖσιν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ πιστοῖς ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ, but the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ are absent in the first hand of ℵ and B. They are cancelled by the corrector of 67, who had access to very good textual material. The more ancient copies known to Basil omitted the words. Origen evidently did not read them in his text, since he translates τοῖς οὖσιν 'those that have real existence,' illustrating the meaning from the use by Christ of the phrase 'I am.' Jerome and others repeat this interpretation, which was also known to Basil. Most important of all, Marcion's copy evidently lacked the words, since he regarded the Epistle as addressed to the Laodiceans. And that Tertullian's text was the same is shown by the fact that Tertullian only abuses Marcion for changing the title, but says nothing about corruption of the actual text (*adv. Marc.* v. 11, 17).

This evidence makes it almost impossible to think that any place-name, whether Ephesus, or Laodicea, or another, stood in the original text of 1^1, since no reason is apparent for its wide-spread omission and corruption. The evidence of Basil shows that our present reading grew up only shortly before A.D. 370. And in any case it is most unnatural Greek. Harnack (*Die Adresse des Epheserbriefs des Paulus*, 1910) has recently argued that Eph. was originally addressed to Laodicea, being in fact the letter 'from Laodicea' of Col 4^{16}. He conjectures that the change in the address took place about the beginning of the 2nd cent., with the decline of the Church of Laodicea (Rev $3^{14.\ 15}$), on the grounds that such a church had no claim to own a Pauline letter. The conjecture is certainly brilliant, but there is no parallel for such treatment of the NT books, and the MSS with no place-name at all remained unexplained (see Moffatt, *Expositor*, 8th ser. ii. [1911] 193 f.). What then may be inferred from the textual evidence? Three alternatives are possible.

(*a*) It is suggested that the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ should be omitted, and that our present text is then correct (so *e.g.* Moffatt, and the majority of those who reject the Pauline authorship). Unfortunately, as indeed Origen's attempt at explanation shows, the reading so obtained gives rather poor sense. The translation 'the saints who are also believers . . .' (Meyer) is hardly possible, and 'the saints who are also faithful . . .' (Lightfoot, Salmond) is still difficult. It is very hard to suppose that St. Paul would make so pointed an allusion at this stage to 'saints' who were unfaithful. The difficulty arises not so much from the meaning of ἁγίοις, which here, as in 3^8, has the Jewish sense of 'consecrated,' as from the general force of the passage.

(*b*) Again, omitting the words ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, we may suppose that a blank was left after οὖσιν in which Tychicus could insert the names of different churches. This view presupposes, with Beza, that Eph. was sent not to any one church, but to the group of churches in Asia founded, like Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis, not by St. Paul, but by such agents as Epaphras. This would account for the impersonal tone of the Epistle, and for the absence of any clear trace of special local problems. The view that Eph. is such a Pastoral, with a blank left for the address, is due to Archbishop Ussher, and has been held by most conservative critics (*e.g.* Hort). In its broad outline this theory is probably right. The whole character of the Epistle shows that it is addressed to a wide circle of readers, and not to any one church. That the readers addressed lived in the neighbourhood of

Ephesus is suggested (1) by the relations, especially in thought, with Col.; (2) by the fact that Eph. is sent by the hand of Tychicus; and above all (3) by the tradition associating it with Ephesus, where the original was probably preserved (Haupt and Zahn). This view relieves the difficulty as to the Pauline authorship due to the impersonal tone of the letter.

It does not, however, solve the problem of 1^1 (see Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, i. 479-483, 488 f.), for (1) there is no parallel for such a method of correspondence; (2) if the blanks had been filled in with different names in different copies, we should not have had MSS with no name at all; (3) the order in the Greek is unnatural. The place-name should come elsewhere (cf. Col 1^1, Ph 1^1).

(*c*) These difficulties have driven many scholars to think that the text of 1^1 is unsound, whether, as P. Ewald suggests, through the wearing of the papyrus or otherwise. Ewald himself suggests τοῖς ἀγαπητοῖς οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς, 'those who are beloved and faithful.' Zahn prefers to follow the reading of D, τοῖς ἁγίοις οὖσιν καὶ πιστοῖς, 'those who are holy and faithful.' This is at least easy, but hardly accounts for the corruptions (though dittography might have brought in the second τοῖς). Others think that St. Paul, in accordance with his general custom, must have mentioned some definite destination. The most ingenious conjecture of this kind is that of R. Scott (*The Pauline Epistles*, p. 182)—ἐν ἔθνεσιν for ἐν Ἐφέσῳ, *i.e.* 'the saints among the Gentiles.' This, however, is not free from some of the above objections, and is wholly without supporting evidence.

Holtzmann's effort to explain 1^1 as a bungling attempt by the writer to adapt Col 1^1 to his more general purpose is effectively refuted by Zahn (*op. cit.* p. 517 f.).

As a result of the above discussion, 1^1 remains an unsolved problem, but it is clear that the traditional address of Eph. is no part of the text of the Epistle. Its existence is best explained on the hypothesis of a circular letter, sent by the hand of Tychicus to the churches in the neighbourhood of Ephesus. To explain the early title 'to Ephesians,' as does Baur, from 6^{21} and 2 Ti 4^{12} ('Tychicus have I sent to Ephesus') is far-fetched. Whether, as Harnack thinks, Eph. should be identified with the letter 'from Laodicea' to be brought, presumably, by Tychicus to Colossæ, must remain doubtful (see art. COLOSSIANS). Whatever be the exact facts, no objection to the Pauline authorship of Ephesians remains on the score of the destination of the Epistle.

This view of Ephesians as a Pauline pastoral has been held (with varying theories of 1^1) by, *e.g.*, Bengel, Reuss, Lightfoot, Hort, Weiss, Abbott, Salmond, Zahn, Peake. Nevertheless, its authenticity has been widely disputed since the time of Schleiermacher, on three main grounds: (*a*) the doctrinal standpoint; (*b*) the vocabulary and style; (*c*) the connexion with Col. and with other NT writings.

6. The doctrine of the Epistle.—Few scholars still support the view of the Tübingen School that Eph. shows traces of both Montanism and 2nd cent. Gnosticism. Schwegler saw Montanism in the emphasis on the Holy Spirit (*e.g.* 1^{13} 2^{18}, and especially 3^5 4^4), and in the position given to the prophets (2^{20} 3^5 4^{11}). Gnosticism was said to be the source of such terms as 'pleroma' and 'æon.' Baur argued that Eph. was not written against Gnosticism, but that it showed signs of its early phases. As we now know, the date (A.D. 130–140) which he gave on this hypothesis would be much too late. Gnosticism was fully developed before the middle of the century. Hilgenfeld and O. Pfleiderer see in both Eph. and Col. a polemic against Gnosticism. Pfleiderer, *e.g.*, sees in $4^{20f.}$ an allusion to 'a Gnostic theory which separated the Christ of speculation from the Jesus of the evangelical tradition' (*Primitive Christianity*, iii. 303). He finds that the quotation of Ps 68^{18} in $4^{8f.}$ depends on the 'Gnostic myth of the victorious descent to hell and ascent to heaven of the Saviour-god to which allusion is also made in Col 2^{15}' (p. 311). He traces the use of 'pleroma' to Gnosticism, ignoring the fact that it was a good Pauline word (*e.g.* Ro 11^{25}), and that it is certainly not used in any Gnostic sense.

The external evidence alone is sufficient to rule out such theories, throwing the Epistle back to a date before the technicalities of Valentinianism had been developed. More plausible is the view of Holtzmann, who regards Ephesians as written at about the end of the 1st cent., in view of incipient Gnosticism and of ecclesiastical needs. He thinks that an old letter to Colossæ by St. Paul existed and that Eph. and Col. were composed by a single writer, in the one case using its ideas and in the other expanding it. The proof, however, that there is nothing necessarily un-Pauline in Col. (see art. COLOSSIANS) does away with the need for this theory, which is in any case hampered by two difficulties: (*a*) that of finding a writer capable of composing such a work and at the same time of being so servile in his adherence to the language of Colossians; and (*b*) that of finding a historical setting for the Epistle. There must surely be a greater gulf between it and Ignatius with his violent attacks on Judaizers and Docetists and his emphasis on the monarchical episcopacy.

It is, therefore, more common nowadays among those who find difficulties in the Pauline authorship to assign Eph. to a Paulinist writing quite soon after St. Paul's death (see *e.g.* Moffatt, *op. cit.* p. 388). It is argued that the theology of the Epistle marks a transition stage between St. Paul and the Johannine literature.

'This does not involve the assumption that Paul was not original enough to advance even beyond the circle of ideas reflected in Colossians, or that he lacked constructive and broad ideas of the Christian brotherhood. It is quite possible to hol that he was a fresh and advancing thinker, and yet to conclude, from the internal evidence of Ephesians, that he did not cut the channel for this prose of the spiritual centre' (Moffatt, *op. cit.* p. 389).

Upon this view, the theology of Eph., though quite continuous with that of St. Paul, is a later development, under the influence of Johannine, and possibly Lucan, ideas.

Such a view is too intangible to admit of very easy refutation. At the same time, it should be noted that it provides very little ground for disputing the strong and early tradition of the Pauline authorship of the Epistle. A discussion of the doctrinal standpoint of Eph. will serve to put the matter in a clearer light.

(*a*) *The Church.*—The whole Epistle turns upon the doctrine of the unity of the Church. This is made the key both to the relations of Jew and Gentile (2^{11-22}) and to the problems of the Christian life (4 and 5). Its unity is not merely that of any human organization, but rests directly upon the unity of God—Father, Son, and Holy Spirit (4^{4-6}). That unity is derived from the Father (3^{15}), by whom it was fore-ordained in Christ ($1^{4.\ 9f.}$). It is ideally complete in Christ and in Him is to become actually complete ($1^{9.\ 22.\ 23}$ 2^{15} 4^{12-16}). Even now it has as its principle of life the One Spirit (1^{14} 2^{18} 3^{16} 4^3). In some sense it is the completion of the Incarnation (1^{23}; cf. Armitage Robinson, 'On the meaning of πλήρωμα' in *Ephesians*, p. 255 ff.), for in it Christ comes into all the saints (3^{17}) and all the saints into Him ($2^{6.\ 13}$ 4^{12-16}). The organization of the Church is simply the expression of this unity, and the means, given by Christ Himself,

whereby it is being actualized (4^{7-12}). Baptism is the door of the Church (4^5 5^{26}), faith its bond of union (4^5), love the expression of that union (4^2 5^2, etc.). The unity even extends beyond this earth into the heavenly regions (2^6; cf. 1^{20} 3^{10}).

Such an emphasis upon the Church is certainly not found elsewhere in St. Paul. Yet there is no one feature which is specifically un-Pauline, and no reason can be given why St. Paul should not in a time of leisure, undisturbed by the clash of controversy, have set down for the churches he had founded those principles which had underlain all his ministry.

It has been urged that St. Paul dealt only with individual churches, and that the use of the term 'church' (ἐκκλησία) in Eph. is foreign to his writings. But as a matter of fact the idea of one Church Universal underlies all St. Paul's thought. Especially in 1 Cor. he appeals throughout to general church practice (*e.g.* 1 Co 10^{32} 11^{16} $14^{33.\ 36}$). He speaks of the churches as a whole (Ro 16^{16}, 1 Co 4^{17} 7^{17}). They are 'one body in Christ,' with an articulated, organized membership (Ro 12^5), and this conception is expanded in 1 Co $12^{12ff.}$. They form one Church (ἐκκλησία, in the singular; cf. 1 Co 12^{28}, Gal 1^{13}). The same conception and usage are repeated in the later Epistles (Ph 3^6, Col $1^{18.\ 24}$). The statements in Col. are, indeed, quite as full in idea as those in Ephesians. The conception of Christ as awaiting 'fulfilment' or completion in some sense in His Body, the Church, is present in Col 1^{24}. The organic unity of Christ with the Church as its Head is in Col 1^{18}. The conception of the Church as extending into the heavenly regions is directly involved in St. Paul's answer to the Colossian heretics (Col $1^{19.\ 20}$). This adaptation of his thought is quite natural, though its first clear formulation in his mind may have been due to the troubles at Colossæ, leading him to correlate his views on angelology (see art. COLOSSIANS) with his views on Christ and the Church. The thought is present, in an unapplied form, in Ph 3^{20} (with which also cf. Eph 2^{19}, Ph 1^{27}).

It is urged that it is new in St. Paul to find the unity of the Church traced back to Christ's cosmic position (Moffatt, *op. cit.* p. 393). But this is really rather a question of Christology than of the doctrine of the Church. Solidarity in Christ is the most characteristic part of St. Paul's teaching. The thought of the early chapters of Romans is simply its application to anthropology, the problem of sin. In Eph., with a wider purpose in view, it is applied to the problems of humanity regarded as a whole in its relation to God. The cosmological form which the argument takes is doubtless due in part to the situation at Colossæ. But Ro $8^{20.\ 21}$ is a hint that there were similar elements in St. Paul's thought at an earlier date.

The fact that in Eph. the writer seems to pose as the defender of Jewish against Gentile Christians has been regarded as proof that he is not the St. Paul of the Galatian controversy. But it may well have been that by A.D. 60 there was danger that the Gentile Christians in the churches of Asia might outnumber and tend to despise their Jewish brethren. St. Paul's concern was always to secure the position of both Jew and Gentile in the Church. His argument in Eph. is really exactly like that in Romans. Both Jew and Gentile are brought down to one level by sin (Ro 3^{9-20}, Eph 2^{1-5}; cf. Gal 3^{22}), and are therefore joined in one redemption (Ro 10^{12} 11^{32}, Eph 2^{16-18}). In Ro 11 we find the same attitude of apology for the Jews as in Eph 2 (cf. also Ro 7^7 $9^{ff.}$). Gal 3^{23-28} also gives an argument practically identical in substance with that of Ephesians.

Some have thought that the interest in church organization is un-Pauline, and that the details mentioned involve a later date. It would be possible to argue that the very reverse is the case. The mention of 'apostles and prophets' as foremost in the ministry of the Church (4^{11}) is exactly paralleled by 1 Co 12^{28}. Thus there is nothing unnatural in the special position given to them in 2^{20} 3^5. From the earliest days the ministry of prophets had existed in the Church, and it is very doubtful whether by the end of St. Paul's life the beginnings of the organization which superseded them were not beginning to appear. By the time the *Didache* was written the position of the prophet was becoming equivocal, and the allusions in Eph. could hardly have been written. The mention of 'evangelists' (4^{11}) is no mark of a later date, since no such office became definitely established. The general interest in church order shown in Eph. is no greater than in 1 Cor. (especially 1 Co 12).

It has been noted as curious, in the light of 1 Co 10^{17}, that the Eucharist is not mentioned in connexion with church unity. The reference to 1 Cor., however, is not quite in point, since the passage is concerned not with unity but with the dangers of idolatry. And there is no other hint either in St. Paul or in Acts that the Eucharist was regarded as a bond of union among the churches.

(*b*) *God the Father.*—This doctrine receives no peculiar expansion in Eph., though it is certainly emphasized, the title 'Father' occurring eight times as against four in Romans. It is brought into direct connexion with the ideal unity of the Church (4^6), which springs from the eternal purpose of the Father acting through and in the Son ($1^{4.\ 5.\ 22.\ 23}$ $2^{10.\ 11}$). The unique Fatherhood of God is the principle underlying all human or angelic solidarity (3^{15}), and it is for this reason that St. Paul treats the family, in which this solidarity is exhibited on a small scale, as an exemplar of the Church itself. There is no real inconsistency, as has been alleged, between the view of family life in $5^{22.\ 23}$ and the personal preference for celibacy expressed in 1 Co 7^8.

The emphasis on God's eternal purpose is also found in Romans. Its effect in the ultimate restoration of all creation appears in Ro $8^{18ff.}$, its effect in uniting Jew and Gentile in Ro 9–11.

(*c*) *Christology.*—The Christology of Eph. is closely akin to that of Colossians. In both Christ is presented as being, in the eternal purpose of God, the bond of union for a divided creation, including within His unity heaven and earth alike, which were created not only in Christ but also for Him (1^{10}, Col $1^{16.\ 17}$). This consummation and restoration of all things, including the angelic world, in Christ is to come about through the restoration of man in the Church, which is His Body, His fullness ($1^{4.\ 21-23}$ 3^{9-11}, Col 1^{18-20}). The emphasis on Christ's pre-existence is much more clearly marked in Col. ($1^{15(9).\ 16.\ 17}$), though in Eph. it is perhaps implied in God's purpose 'in him' ($1^{4.\ 11}$ 3^{11}; cf. also 2^{12} $4^{9(10)}$), and in the title 'Beloved' (1^6). In this, however, there is nothing really new, except that the Pauline angelology, of which traces appear in the earlier Epistles, is here clearly correlated to the doctrine of Christ. It was at Colossæ that the angels were being exalted almost to the position of Christ Himself, and it is in Col. that the statements of Christ's eternal supremacy take their highest form. But the restoration in Christ of the dislocated creation appears in Ro $8^{18ff.}$ The share of the angels in this is alluded to in 1 Co $6^{3.\ 4}$ 15^{24}. The pre-existence of Christ finds expression in Ro 8^3 9^5 (probably), 1 Co 10^4 15^{47} (and context), 2 Co 8^9, and is clearly connected with His relation to the Creation in 1 Co 8^6, where the emphasis on unity closely resembles the thought of Ephesians. At a slightly later date, almost every point in

the Christology of Col. and Eph. is embodied in Ph 2^{5-11}.

It has been noted as un-Pauline that the result of the Cross should be seen in the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile rather than in relation to sin. But this objection is due to imperfect exegesis. It is because the Cross frees all, both Jew and Gentile, from sin that they are able to come into the unity of Christ. The emphasis on individual redemption is just as much present in Eph 2^{1-10} as in Ro 1–7. The Pauline doctrine is stated directly in 1^{7} (cf. 2^{13}). The annulling of the Law by the Cross (2^{15}) is the very point of St. Paul's argument in the Galatian controversy (Gal 3^{13}, etc.; cf. also the parallel passage in Col 2^{14}). The thought in Ephesians may be carried rather further, but it is wholly Pauline. That there is no definite allusion to expiation or propitiation is not of any real significance. The idea was unnecessary to the purpose of Ephesians.

Again it is said that there is in Eph. no hint of the Parousia, the coming of Christ in the near future, and that the idea is replaced, on Johannine lines, by a vista of long ages before the final judgment (2^{7} 3^{21}). But the reference in 2^{7} is probably to ages *after* the Second Coming, as is perhaps shown by the parallel in 1^{21} (see § 3 above), and this may also be the meaning in 3^{21}. In any case, the same language occurs in Ro 1^{25} 9^{5} and in Gal 1^{5}, a close parallel to 3^{21}. References to the Parousia may perhaps be seen in 4^{30} 5^{6}. It is true that there is no emphasis on the doctrine, but St. Paul was never a fanatic about it, as 2 Thess. shows (cf. Ro 11^{25}).

Other points which are said to be rather Johannine than Pauline also find parallels in the earlier Epistles. Love is emphasized as the relation of Christ to us (2^{4} $5^{2.\ 25}$; cf. Gal 2^{20}, Ro $8^{35.\ 37}$), as our relation to Christ (6^{24}; cf. 1 Co 16^{22}) and to one another ($4^{2.\ 15}$ $5^{2.\ 25}$; cf. 1 Th 5^{13}). Cf. the Hymn to Love in 1 Co 13. The emphasis on the light of Christ amid the darkness (5^{8-14}; cf. 4^{18}), while typical of St. John, is found in 1 Th $5^{4.\ 5}$, 2 Co 6^{14}, Ro 13^{12}.

(*d*) *The Holy Spirit.*—Great stress is laid in Eph. upon the Holy Spirit as inspiring the life of the Church (1^{13} 2^{18} $3^{5.\ 16}$ $4^{3.\ 4.\ 30}$ 5^{18} 6^{17}). This is quite Pauline (cf. $1^{13.\ 14}$ with 2 Co 1^{22}, $4^{3.\ 4}$ with 1 Co 12^{4-13}; see also Gal 5^{16-24}, Ro 15^{13}).

(*e*) *Man and sin.*—This is the special subject of Rom. and not of Ephesians. Yet the hints in Eph. are quite in accordance with St. Paul's earlier teaching. The doctrine of the σάρξ, the root-idea in the conception of original sin, appears in 2^{3}. The characteristic emphasis on the grace of God which saves man by faith and not by works is found in 2^{5-8} (cf. 3^{12}). Predestination to life is the theme of $1^{4.\ 11-14}$, though the problem of free-will is not raised, being unessential to the matter in hand.

It has been suggested that there is an un-Pauline emphasis on knowledge, more on the lines of the Fourth Gospel (*e.g.* Jn 17^{3}), in $1^{8.\ 17}$ 4^{13}. But this does not really conflict with St. Paul's opposition to the wisdom of this world in 1 Co 1–4, from which the knowledge alluded to (ἐπίγνωσις; cf. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, p. 248 ff.) is a very different thing. Cf. also Ro 10^{2}, 1 Co 1^{24} $2^{6.\ 7}$, Ph 1^{9}, Col $1^{9.\ 10}$ 2^{2} 3^{10}.

This sketch of the doctrine of Eph. will serve to show how closely it resembles in most of its details the doctrine not only of Colossians, but of the earlier Pauline Epistles. It is only in emphasis and in the sustained, almost lyrical, exposition that there is any real contrast. And this may well be explained by a difference of circumstances both in St. Paul's own position and in the audience to which he is writing.

7. Style and language.—(1) *Language.*—The vocabulary as a whole presents phenomena very similar to those of the other Pauline letters. There are 37 words not used elsewhere in the NT (as compared with 33 in Gal., 41 in Phil., 95 in 2 Cor.), and 39 which occur elsewhere, but not in the recognized Pauline writings (Holtzmann, *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe*, p. 101 f., whose list is critically discussed by Zahn, *op. cit.* pp. 518–522; cf. also Moffatt, *op. cit.* p. 385 f.). This number is not in itself suspicious, and Zahn's analysis has shown that the majority of the words are of little significance. Some are due to the occasion and the turn of the metaphor, *e.g.* those that occur in the account of the Christian armour. Some—*e.g.* ἄνεμος (4^{14}), ὕδωρ (5^{26})—are terms for which no synonym was readily available. Some are cognate to forms used elsewhere by St. Paul, *e.g.* καταρτισμός (4^{12}), προσκαρτέρησις (6^{18}), ἄγνοια (4^{18}). And against these are to be set about 20 words found only, outside Eph., in the earlier Pauline Epistles.

Some special cases have been thought suspicious The phrase 'holy apostles' (3^{5}) has been dealt with above (§ 4). The use of διάβολος (4^{27} 6^{11}; cf. 1 Ti 3^{6}, 2 Ti 2^{26}) is curious, as St. Paul elsewhere employs the name 'Satan' (also in the Pastorals, 1 Ti 1^{20}). But there is no reason why he should not have varied in his usage in this way (as happens in 1 Tim.). And, indeed, the reference in 4^{27} may not be to Satan but to human calumniators; or perhaps both ideas may be present, and the usage here may also have affected 6^{11}. The phrase 'in the heavenlies,' which occurs 5 times, is curious, but might well have been coined by St. Paul in working out the theme of Eph. (cf. 1 Co $15^{40.\ 48.\ 49}$). The word 'mystery' is difficult in 5^{32}, but is used in the ordinary Pauline manner in 1^{9} $3^{3.\ 4.\ 9}$. οἰκονομία has a somewhat changed sense in 3^{9}. The unique use of περιποίησις in 1^{14} is paralleled by other transferences of words from an abstract to a concrete sense. On the whole, then, the peculiarities of language are no more than might be expected in any one short document.

(2) *Style.*—This problem presents more difficulty. The sentences are unusually long and cumbrous, subordinate clauses being strung together in a loose connexion which is frequently difficult to analyze, *e.g.* 1^{3-14} 2^{1-7} 3^{2-7}. Yet they are most carefully wrought and in places are almost poetical in form and balance (esp. 1^{3-14}, which falls into three 'stanzas'). There are one or two elaborate parentheses ($2^{11.\ 12}$ 3^{2-13}). These features are only partially paralleled in Col., and present a wide contrast to the impassioned rhetoric of the earlier letters. In this respect Eph. stands by itself. To many critics the general impression produced by the style and tone of the letter is the strongest argument against its authenticity. Yet it is very rash to make assumptions as to the possibilities of so mobile and powerful an intellect as that of St. Paul. In none of his other writings is the clash of controversy or the appeal of friendship wholly absent. At leisure in his prison he may well have looked back over the triumphs of his life and have sat down to write in a mood of quiet yet profound thanksgiving for which his earlier career had seldom given opportunity.

8. Relation to other NT writings.—(*a*) *Relation to Colossians.*—The relation of Eph. to Col. is, from the point of view of literary criticism, its most striking feature. It has been estimated that 78 out of the 155 verses of Eph. contain phraseology which occurs in Colossians. This is not merely due to the connexion of ideas, which is also close (see above), but is of a character to show that the two Epistles are closely connected in their composition. The details have been elaborately worked

out by Holtzmann, De Wette, and others (for a good summary of the facts see Moffatt, *op. cit.* pp. 375–381; Holtzmann's results are criticized by Sanday, art. 'Colossians' in Smith's *DB*[2] and by von Soden in *JPTh*, 1887; cf. his *Hist. of Early Christian Literature. The writings of the NT*). Results differ widely. Holtzmann's discussion went to show that neither Epistle could be regarded as wholly prior, and therefore he postulated a Pauline Col., expanded at a later date by a writer who also composed Eph. upon its basis. But the evidence for the division of Colossians has very largely broken down, with the wider view of the Pauline angelology (see art. COLOSSIANS). The tendency among scholars is now to assert the authenticity of Col. (so, among those who reject Eph., von Soden [in the main], Klöpper, von Dobschütz, Clemen, Wrede, Moffatt). This, if Holtzmann's results are accepted, proves the authenticity of Eph. also. The two Epistles must have been written by one author at about the same time. The alternative is to regard Eph., with De Wette, as a weak and tedious compilation from Col. and the earlier Epistles—a position which will appeal to few—or, more sympathetically, with Moffatt, 'as a set of variations played by a master hand upon one or two themes suggested by Colossians' (*op. cit.* p. 375). But this does no justice to the real independence of thought in Ephesians. The two main themes—the reconciliation of Jew and Gentile in the Church, and the fact of the Church as influencing Christian life—do not appear in Colossians at all, or only by allusion. The theology is the same, the application very different. Further, it is hard to think that so original a writer would have followed the very structure of Colossians. The rules for family life, *e.g.*, are an integral part of Eph., but have no very clear connexion with the rest of Colossians. It is most natural to suppose, *e.g.* in Col 3[18-21], that the writer is summarizing what he has written in Eph 5[22]–6[4], even at the risk of some obscurity. So, too, Col 2[19] has no clear connexion with its context, and must depend upon the fuller Eph 4[15, 16] for its explanation.

No parallel for the curious inter-connexion of language is to be found in the employment of sources by Matthew and Luke or of Jude by 2 Peter. There we have frank copying. Here there is nothing of the kind. Again and again phrases are used in Eph. to express or illustrate ideas with which they are not connected at all in Col. (cf. Eph. 2[15, 16] ‖ Col 2[14] 1[20], Eph. 3[19] 4[13] ‖ Col 2[9], Eph 2[16] 1[4] 5[27] ‖ Col 1[22]). The writer's mind is steeped in the language and thought of Col., but he is writing quite independently. The only probable psychological solution of the problem is that one writer wrote both Epistles, and at no great interval. And if so, that writer must have been St. Paul. It is quite likely, indeed, that Col. was composed while Eph. was still unfinished, since the latter is clearly the careful work of many hours, perhaps of many days.

(*b*) *Relation to 1 Peter.*—There is a considerable amount of resemblance of thought, structure, and language between Eph. and 1 Peter. This is especially obvious in the directions for family life (note the curious phrase 'your own husbands' in 1 P 3[1], which seems to depend on Eph 5[22]). Other parallels quoted are 1[3] with 1 P 1[3], 3[5f.] with 1 P 1[10f.] (where it is quite unnecessary to argue that 1 Pet. is prior: the two passages may be independent), 1[4] with 1 P 1[19-20], 2[21] with 1 P 2[4], 1[14] with 1 P 2[9] (the use of περιποιησις in Eph. is not dependent on that in 1 Pet., being quite different; the former is concrete, the latter not), 1[20f.] with 1 P 3[22]; 6[10f.] with 1 P 5[8, 9]; 4[9] with 1 P 3[19] 4[6]. These analogies are not unnatural, on the assumption that St. Peter knew Eph., and certainly do not demand the priority of 1 Pet., as Hilgenfeld and others have argued.

(*c*) *Relation to the Lucan and Johannine writings.*—Numerous analogies, mainly of thought, have been found in Eph. to almost every book of the NT, but especially to those connected with the names of St. Luke and St. John. Parallels of language and idea have been seen in the farewell address at Miletus (Ac 20[18-35]; cf. Moffatt, *op. cit.* p. 384); and Lock (*loc. cit.*) draws out the parallels of thought with the Eucharistic prayer in Jn 17. It is true that many of the conceptions of Eph. are found in the Fourth Gospel, but this is not at all unnatural. The parallels of language are by no means striking. The connexion with Rev., emphasized by Holtzmann, is very slight, and that with Heb. is not much more definite (details in Salmond, 'Ephesians,' in *EGT*, p. 212 ff.).

The general impression made on the present writer by the study of these various affinities is the outstanding resemblance in general thought, and even in expression, between Eph. and Romans—a resemblance which the difference of style does not obscure. This in itself is a strong witness to the authenticity of the Epistle.

LITERATURE.—The following is only a small selection from a very voluminous literature. I. *Commentaries.*—Besides the older Commentaries, such as E. W. E. Reuss (1878), H. Alford (⁷1874), and C. J. Ellicott (³1864), the most notable are those of A. Klöpper (1891), G. G. Findlay (*Expos. Bible*, 1892), H. von Soden (*Hand-Kommentar*, 1893, also artt. in *JPTh*, 1887, and *Hist. of Early Christian Literature. The Writings of the NT*, Eng. tr., 1906), T. K. Abbott (*ICC*, 1897, largely linguistic), E. Haupt (in Meyer's *Krit.-exeg. Kommentar über das NT*, 1902, very valuable exegetically), J. Armitage Robinson (1903, exegetical and philological, no introduction), S. D. F. Salmond (*EGT*, 1903), B. F. Westcott (1906), P. Ewald (in Zahn's *Kommentar zum NT*, 1910). Fundamental for modern critical studies is H. J. Holtzmann's *Kritik der Epheser- und Kolosserbriefe*, 1872.

II. *Against Pauline authorship.*—Besides Baur, Schwegler, Hitzig, are S. Davidson, *Introd. to NT*[3], 1894; C. v. Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., 1894–95; E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., 1904; O. Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, Eng. tr., 1906–11; R. Scott, *The Pauline Epistles*, 1909; J. Moffatt, *LNT*[2], 1912.

III. *For Pauline authorship.*—F. J. A. Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, 1895; A. Robertson, art. 'Ephesians' in Smith's *DB*[2], 1893; W. Lock, art. 'Ephesians' in *HDB*; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., 1909 (a storehouse of facts); A. S. Peake, *Crit. Introd. to NT*, 1909.

L. W. GRENSTED.

EPHESUS (Ἔφεσος, a græcized form of a native Anatolian name).—The town of Ephesus was a little south of latitude 38° N., at the head of a gulf situated about the middle of the western coast of Asia Minor. It lay on the left bank of the river Cayster, at the foot of hills which slope towards the river. In ancient times the river reached to the city gates, but its mouth has gradually silted up so that the city is now some four to six miles from the sea. The effect of the river's action has been to raise the level of the land all over. The ruins, the most extensive in Asia Minor, give an idea of how large the ancient city was. The extent of the area covered by it cannot now be exactly estimated; but, as the population in St. Paul's time was probably about a third of a million, and in ancient times open spaces were frequent and 'sky-scrapers' unknown, the city must have been large, even according to our standards. The temple of Artemis (see DIANA), the ruins of which were discovered by Wood, lies now about five miles from the coast, and was the most imposing feature of the city. Its site must have been sacred from very early times, and successive temples were built on it. Other notable features of the city were the fine harbour along the banks of the Cayster, the aqueducts, and the great road following the line of the Cayster to Sardis, with a branch to Smyrna. The heat in summer is very great, and fever is prevalent. The harvest rain-

storms are violent. The site was nevertheless so attractive that it must have been very early occupied. The ancients dated the settlement of Ionian Greeks there early in the 11th cent. B.C., and the city long before St. Paul's time had become thoroughly Greek, maintaining constant intercourse with Corinth and the rest of Greece proper.

The history of the city, with its changing government, need not be traced here. It fell under Roman sway, with the rest of the district, which the Romans called 'Asia' (*q.v.*) by the will of Attalus III. (Philometor), the Pergamenian king, in 133 B.C. In 88 B.C. the inhabitants sided with Mithridates, king of Pontus, and slaughtered all resident Romans. They were punished in 84 by Sulla, who ravaged the city. During the rule of Augustus the city was embellished by a number of new buildings.

When Ephesus came into contact with Christianity, it still retained all its ancient glory. With its Oriental religion, its Greek culture, its Roman government, and its world-wide commerce, it stood midway between two continents, being on the one hand the gateway of Asia to crowds of Western officials and travellers, as Bombay is the portal of India to-day, and on the other hand the rendezvous of multitudes of Eastern pilgrims coming to worship at Artemis' shrine. Traversed by the great Imperial highway of intercourse and commerce, it had all nationalities meeting and mingling in its streets. No wonder if it felt its ecumenical importance, and believed that what was said and done by its citizens was quickly heard and imitated by 'all Asia and the world' (ἡ οἰκουμένη, Ac 19[27]).

In Ephesus a noble freedom of thought and a vulgar superstition lived side by side. The city of Thales and Heraclitus contained many men of rich culture and deep philosophy, who were earnest seekers after truth. Prominent citizens like the Asiarchs (*q.v.*), who were officially bound to foster the cultus of Rome and the Emperor, yet regarded St. Paul and his message with marked friendliness (Ac 19[31]). Nothing but a wide-spread receptivity to fresh ideas can account for the wonderful success of the first Christian mission in the city, and for the reverberation of the truth 'almost throughout all Asia' (v.[26]). The best mind of the age was wistfully awaiting a new order of things. Having tried eclecticism and syncretism in vain, it was 'standing between two worlds, one dead, the other powerless to be born.' When, therefore, the startling news came from Syria to Ephesus that the Son of God had lived, died, and risen again, it ran like wildfire; its first announcement created another Pentecost (v.[6]); and in two years 'all they who dwelt in Asia heard the word of the Lord, both Jews and Greeks' (v.[10]).

Every spiritual revival has ethical issues, and Ephesus quickly recognized that the new truth was a new 'Way' (v.[23]). The doctrine now taught in the School of Tyrannus, formerly the home of one knows not what subtle and futile theories, had a direct bearing upon human lives. That was why it made 'no small stir' (v.[23]). The message which St. Paul delivered 'publicly and from house to house' (20[20]), admonishing men 'night and day with tears' (v.[31]), was morally revolutionary. It was a call to repentance and faith (v.[21]); and, though no frontal attack was made upon the established religion of Ephesus, and no language used which could fairly be construed as offensive (19[37]), yet it soon became apparent that the old order and the new could not thrive peacefully side by side. The gospel of mercy to all was a gage of battle to many. St. Paul, therefore, found that, while Ephesus opened 'a door wide and effectual' (ἐνεργής) there were 'many adversaries' (1 Co 16[9]). This did not surprise or disappoint him. The fanatical hatred of Ephesus was better than the polite scorn of Athens. As the city of Artemis lived largely upon the superstition of the multitude, not only the priests who enjoyed the rich revenues of the Temple, but also the artisans who made 'shrines' for pilgrims, felt that if Christianity triumphed their occupation would be gone. Religion was for Ephesus a lucrative 'business' (ἐργασία, Ac 19[24. 25]), and the 'craft' (τὸ μέρος, this branch of trade) of many was in danger. Indeed, the dispute which arose affected the whole city, being regarded as nothing less than a duel between Artemis and Christ. If He were enthroned in the Ephesian heart, she would be deposed from her magnificence, and the greatest temple in the world 'made of no account' (19[27]). The situation created a drama of real life which was enacted in and around the famous theatre of Ephesus. The gild of silversmiths, led by their indignant president Demetrius (*q.v.*); the ignorant mob, excited to fanatical frenzy; the crafty Jews, quick to dissociate themselves from their Christian compatriots; the brave Apostle, eager to appear before 'the people' (τὸν δῆμον) of a free city; the friendly Asiarchs, constraining him to temper valour with discretion; the calm, dignified, eloquent Secretary (γραμματεύς), stilling the angry passions of the multitude; and behind all, as unseen presences, the majesty of Imperial Rome, the sensuous charm of Artemis, the spiritual power of Christ—these all combined to give a sudden revelation of the soul of a city. The practical result was that a vindication of the liberty of prophesying was drawn from the highest municipal authority, who evidently felt that in this matter he was interpreting the mind of Rome herself. To represent Christianity as a *religio licita* was clearly one of the leading aims of St. Luke as a historian.

The fidelity of St. Luke's narrative in its political allusions and local colour has received confirmation from many sources. As the virtual capital of a senatorial province, Ephesus had its proconsuls (ἀνθύπατοι, Ac 19[38]), but here the plural is merely used colloquially, without implying that there could ever be more than one at a time. As the head of a *conventus iuridicus*, Ephesus was an assize town, in which the judges were apparently sitting at the very time of the riot (v.[38]). Latin was the language of the courts, and ἀγοραῖοι ἄγονται is the translation of *conventus aguntur*. As a free city of the Empire, Ephesus had still a semblance of ancient Ionic autonomy; her affairs were 'settled in a regular assembly' (v.[39]), *i.e.* either at an ordinary meeting of the Demos held in the theatre on a fixed day, or at an extraordinary meeting called by authority of the proconsul. Irregular meetings of the populace were sternly prohibited (v.[40]); and, indeed, the powers of the lawful assembly were more and more curtailed, till at last it practically had to content itself with registering the decrees of the Roman Senate. The proud claim of Ephesus to be the temple-warden (νεωκόρον, lit. 'temple-sweeper') of Artemis (v.[35]) is attested by inscriptions and coins (W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 1895, i. 58; *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 232). The Asiarchs who befriended St. Paul had no official connexion with the cult of Artemis; they were members of the Commune whose function it was to unite the Empire in a religious devotion to Rome.

St. Paul's pathetic address at Miletus to the elders of Ephesus (Ac 20[18-35]), in which he recalls the leading features of his strenuous mission in the city—his tears and trials (v.[19]), his public and private teaching (v.[20]), his incessant spiritual and manual toil (vv.[31-34])—and declares himself pure from the blood of all men (v.[26]), presents as high

an ideal of the ministerial vocation as has ever been conceived and recorded. There is no reason to doubt that it gives an approximate summary of his original words (cf. J. Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 306).

With the religious history of Ephesus are also associated the names of Priscilla and Aquila (Ac 18[18]), Apollos (18[24], 1 Co 16[12]), Tychicus (Eph 6[21]), Timothy (1 Ti 1[3], 2 Ti 4[9]), and especially John the Apostle and John the Presbyter. After the departure of St. Paul the Ephesian Church was injured by the activity of false teachers (Ac 20[29. 30], Rev 2[4]), but the Fall of Jerusalem greatly enhanced its importance, and the influence of the Johannine school made it the centre of Eastern Christianity. In the time of Domitian it had the primacy among the Seven Churches of Asia (Rev 2[1]). The Letter to the Church of Ephesus is on the whole laudatory. The Christian community commanded the writer's respect by its keen scrutiny of *soi-disant* apostles, by its intolerance of evil, and its hatred of the libertinism which is the antithesis of legalism. But it had declined in the fervent love which alone made a Church truly lovable to the Apostle. A generation later, however, Ignatius in his *Ep. to the Ephesians* uses the language of profound admiration:

'I ought to be trained for the contest by you in faith, in admonition, in endurance in long-suffering' (§ 3); 'for ye all live according to the truth and no heresy hath a home among you; nay, ye do not so much as listen to any one if he speak of aught else save concerning Jesus Christ in truth' (§ 6); 'you were ever of one mind with the Apostles in the power of Jesus Christ' (§ 11).

Ephesus had a long line of bishops, and was the seat of the council which condemned the doctrine of Nestorius in A.D. 431. The ruins of the ancient city, on Coressus and Prion, are extensive and impressive. The theatre in which the riot (Ac 19) took place is remarkably well preserved, and in 1870 the foundation of the Temple of Artemis was discovered by J. T. Wood. The modern village lying beside the temple bears the name of *Ayasoluk*, which is a corruption of ἅγιος θεολόγος, the title of St. John the Divine which was given to the Church of Justinian.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904; Murray's *Handbook to Asia Minor*, 1895; G. A. Zimmermann, *Ephesos im ersten christl. Jahrhundert*, 1874; art. 'Ephesus' in Pauly-Wissowa, *v.* [1905]; J. T. Wood, *Discoveries at Ephesus*, 1876; E. L. Hicks, *Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the Brit. Museum*, iii. 2 [1890]; D. G. Hogarth, *Excavations in Ephesus: the Archaic Artemisia*, 2 vols., 1908.

ALEXANDER SOUTER and JAMES STRAHAN.

EPICUREANS.—The Epicurean philosophers are mentioned only once in the NT, viz. in Ac 17[18]. During his second missionary journey St. Paul met with them in Athens. Though he stayed there not more than four weeks, the Apostle was deeply moved by the sight of so large a number of statues erected in honour of various deities. Not content with preaching in the synagogue to Jews and proselytes, he sought pagan hearers in their famous market-place, thus imitating Socrates 400 years before. The market-place was 'rich in noble statues, the central seat of commercial, forensic, and philosophic intercourse, as well as of the busy idleness of the loungers' (Meyer, *Com. on Acts*, Eng. tr., 1877, ii. 108). As the 'Painted Porch' in which the Stoics taught was situated in the market-place, and the garden where the Epicureans gathered for their fraternal discussions was not far away, it is not surprising that some members of these two schools of philosophy were among the Apostle's listeners. Athens was the home and centre of the four great philosophies founded by Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurus. The two first, however, had at this time been supplanted by the two last; thus, in encountering the Stoics and Epicureans, St. Paul was face to face with the most influential philosophies of the day. Unfortunately, we know but little of the character of the interview or its results. The discussion was probably not hostile on the part of the philosophers, though Cheyne seems to incline to this view (*EBi*, vol. ii. col. 1323 n.). That St. Paul's teaching must have been antagonistic to theirs seems obvious.

1. Epicurus and the Epicureans.—(1) *Epicurus.*—Epicurus was born in 341 B.C., probably at Samos, an island off the coast of Asia Minor, and lived about 70 years. His father Neocles was an Athenian, who had gone to Samos as a colonist after the Greeks had expelled a large number of the natives. His occupation was that of a humble schoolmaster, and his son is said to have assisted him for some time. At the age of 18 Epicurus left for Athens, returning home a year later to Colophon, where his father now lived. Of the beginnings of Epicurus' acquaintance with philosophy our knowledge is slight and uncertain. Two of his teachers were Nausiphanes, a disciple of Democritus, and Pamphilus, a Platonist. But, as the former owed much to Pyrrho, the well-known Sceptic, it is hardly likely that Epicurus failed to share in that obligation. He claims to have been his own teacher, and this is true to the extent that he rejected the prevalent philosophies of his time and turned to such predecessors as Democritus, Anaxagoras, and Archelaus. It was at Mitylene that he began to teach philosophy, and at Lampsacus his position as the head of a school was recognized. He returned to Athens in 307 B.C., and settled there for the remainder of his life. There he purchased a house and garden, the latter becoming famous as the home of a large band of men and women who became his devoted disciples and friends. He died in 270 B.C. He had never enjoyed robust health, and his general feebleness and ailments were the ground upon which his enemies based charges of evil living.

(2) *The Epicureans.*—The community lived its own separate life. The calls and claims of public life were ignored and the usual ambitions of men stifled. From all the political upheavals through which Athens passed the Epicureans held strictly aloof, exemplifying their principles by indifference to environment and the endeavour to extract the maximum of tranquil gratification from life by the prudent and unimpassioned use of it. They passed their time in the study of Nature and Morality, and their friendly intercourse with each other supplied the necessary human elements. Most serious charges were made from time to time against both Epicurus himself and the community, but the accusers were generally either disaffected ex-disciples or rivals, and their motives were malicious. One cannot but admit that the ideal of 'pleasure' was well calculated to produce the most disastrous results except in the case of the noblest of men; and it is hard to believe that the garden contained only such. Yet consideration must be given to the extraordinary devotion of the brotherhood towards their head, in whom they recognized their deliverer from the worst fears and desires of life. An example of their unceasing allegiance to their master may be found in the statues erected in Epicurus' honour after his death. Simplicity was the note of the community's life. For drink they had water with a small quantity of wine on occasion, and for food barley bread. In a letter Epicurus writes: 'Send me some Cynthian cheese, so that, should I choose, I may fare sumptuously.' And during the severe famine which afflicted Athens, Plutarch informs us that the Epicureans lived on beans which they shared out from day to day (*Demetrius*, 34). But the bond

which held this remarkable company together was the personality of Epicurus, who regarded his followers not only as disciples but as friends.

2. Teaching.—Epicurus is said to have written 300 books, but all have disappeared, and we are dependent for our knowledge on writers two centuries later. This misfortune is probably due to the teacher's habit of summarizing his system so that the disciples might commit it to memory. His reputed lack of style may have contributed to the same end. Nevertheless, the main outlines of his teaching are clear enough, though on important details uncertainty prevails. Epicurus had no interest in theories, except as they aided practical life. Mere knowledge was worthless, and culture he despised. His theoretical teaching treated of Man and the Universe (his *Physics*); his practical teaching used the knowledge so gained for the regulation of human conduct (his *Ethics*). Underlying these was his peculiar *Logic*. Real Logic of the Aristotelian type he could not tolerate. All he wanted was a criterion of truth, or to ascertain the grounds on which statements of fact could be based. This is usually called the *Canonic*.

(*a*) *Canonic.*—The criteria of truth or reality according to Epicurus may be grouped under two heads.—(1) *Sensation*. Every sensuous impression received by the mind is produced by something other than itself, and is infallibly true. When these feelings are clear, distinct, and vivid, the knowledge they afford is real. Even the sensations of the dreamer and lunatic are true, since they are caused by some other object operating on the mind. Any error arising from sensations is due not to the sensations themselves but to the mind's misinterpretation of them. But Epicurus does not make clear what that vividness is which is reliable and incapable of misinterpretation. (2) *Conceptions* or *pre-conceptions*, *i.e.* ideas which have been left in the mind by preceding sensations. Here memory, which recalls past impressions, and reasoning, which interprets them, have been active, with the result that the mind unconsciously confronts every new sensation with impressions which may modify any effect it may make. These conceptions, the repetition of earlier observations, are true. But it is well that they should be brought from time to time into immediate connexion with the sensation itself. Thus, if a distant square tower appear round, closer examination will discover the error and modify the impression for the future. It is difficult to see how Epicurus would apply this admirable criterion to his theory of the 'atoms' and the 'void.'

(*b*) *Physics.*—Epicurus relied on the senses alone as the true basis of knowledge, and they reveal only matter in motion. Consequently, matter is the only reality. The incorporeal is the same as the non-existent, *i.e.* void, and this applies even to mind. When Epicurus explains the nature of matter, the influence of Democritus is at once evident. The immediate impression of the senses suggests large masses of matter, but this is not reliable. In reality the apparent masses are composed of extremely minute, invisible particles or atoms which differ only in weight, size, and shape, and, though near to each other, do not touch. Around each is a void. By analogy he argues that this is true not only of the nearer world but also of that which is most distant. He reaches this explanation by the elimination of all other possible theories. Atoms then being presumed, in what way do they move? Aristotle had taught that celestial bodies move in a circular manner, and fire upwards. But Epicurus claimed that the only movement of which we are aware is that of the fall of bodies to the earth—downward movement. All atomic movement then is eternally straight downward. But this brings us to the conception of relative stagnation, as every body is moving in the same direction and at the same rate. To avoid this difficulty, Epicurus fell back upon our individual experience of power to resist forces and cause them to deviate from their original direction. He then claimed for atoms something of the same power. How, where, and when this strange power operates we are not informed; but, by assuming it, Epicurus arrives at an explanation of those vast aggregates of apparently concrete combinations of which our senses are conscious. The only difference between mind and matter is that the former is composed of minuter and rounder particles which pervade the body like a warm breath. To explain our consciousness of taste, colour, sound, etc., Epicurus resorts to a curious theory. In addition to the primary particles which each body possesses, there are secondary particles which vary in each case. These 'thin, filmy images, exactly copying the solid body whence they emanate,' are continually floating away from it; and when they reach the various human organs, they produce within the mind the sensations of which we are conscious. This theory also accounts not only for our visions of the ghosts of departed friends, whose secondary particles may float about long after their death, but also for our perceptions of the gods; for, though they are composed of much finer particles than mortals, their 'films' may fall with impact upon the human organism.

Though charged with atheism, Epicurus never questioned the existence of the gods, though he taught their remoteness from, and indifference to, human concerns. He ridiculed ancient mythology, whose effect on men had been wholly injurious, and explained such portents as eclipses, thunder, etc., on purely natural grounds. He likewise denounced the belief in fate—a belief he considered even more hurtful than the belief in Divine intervention. His teaching being frankly materialistic, Epicurus naturally disbelieved in immortality. For these reasons, he argued, man need have no fear: the gods do not concern themselves with him; there is no such thing as fate; and death is nothing but the end of all.

(*c*) *Ethics.*—Passing by the idealism of Plato and Aristotle, Epicurus had recourse to the doctrine of Aristippus of Cyrene, who taught that 'pleasure' is the supreme good and 'pain' the sole evil. Socrates, while admitting the importance of pleasure, regarded the pleasures of the mind as greater than those of the body. Aristippus preferred the latter because of their greater intensity. His ideal was the intensest pleasure of the passing moment, entirely undisturbed by reason, its greatest foe; not merely the absence of pain, but pleasure that was active and positive. The difficulty he found in attaining this ideal led him to allow some value to prudence as an aid thereto.

Epicurus differed from Aristippus in the following respects: men should consider less the fleeting pleasure of the moment and aim at that of the whole life; intense, throbbing ecstasy is less desirable than a tranquil state of mind which may become perpetual; indeed, at times, the highest possible pleasure may be merely the removal of pain; the pleasures and pains of mind are more important than those of body, because of the joy or distress which may be accumulated by memory and anticipation. Much greater emphasis is likewise laid on the virtue of prudence, which he calls 'a more precious thing even than philosophy.' Prudence is in fact the chief virtue of all. By its means rival pleasures are judged; and even momentary pain may be chosen, that a tranquil life may be furthered.

Epicureanism does not indulge in high moral

ideals or insist upon any code of duties, whether public or private, save as these may minister to one's own pleasure, but neither does it inculcate (in theory) low, sensual delights. These have their place, but what that place is must be decided by prudence, with a view to securing a complete life of tranquil pleasure. Epicurus is to be regarded as the founder of Hedonism.

LITERATURE.—Lucretius, *de Rerum Natura*; Diog. Laert. *de Vitis Philosophorum*, bk. x.; Cicero, *de Finibus*, *de Natura Deorum*, *Tusculanæ Disputationes*; Plutarch, *Disputatio qua docetur ne suaviter quidem vivi posse secundum Epicuri decreta, adv. Colotem*; E. Zeller, *Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*, Eng. tr., London, 1880; W. Wallace, *Epicureanism*, do. 1880; J. Watson, *Hedonistic Theories*, Glasgow, 1895; artt. in *EBr*[11], *HDB*, *EBi*; *Histories of Philosophy*, by Ritter, etc.

J. W. LIGHTLEY.

EPIMENIDES.—See QUOTATIONS.

EPISTLE.—In dealing with ancient literature we have become accustomed to make a distinction between the *epistle* and the *letter*. In that sphere we frequently meet with a so-called letter, which, from the purely external point of view, shows all the characteristics of a genuine letter, and yet is in no sense designed to serve as a vehicle of tidings and ideas between one person and another, or between one person and a definite circle of persons, but on the contrary has been written in the expectation, and indeed with the intention, of gaining the notice of the public. Now, in designating such a document an 'epistle,' and reserving the term 'letter' for a letter in the true sense, we must remember that, while the distinction itself was quite familiar to the ancients, our terminology is modern. By 'epistle' we mean, accordingly, a letter expressly intended for the general public. Yet it must be admitted that, in the sphere of ancient literature, it is not always easy to decide whether a particular document is a letter or an epistle, as will appear from the following considerations. (1) In many such compositions there is nothing to indicate whether the writer desired to address the general public or not. (2) The art of the epistle-writer consisted very largely in his ability to personate a true letter-writer, so that the reader should never have the faintest suspicion that the writing in his hands was anything but a genuine letter. (3) Even in letters properly so called the writer did not always allow his words and thoughts to flow freely and spontaneously, but sometimes—and especially in the latter part of the ancient era, when rhetoric prevailed everywhere—as we find even in correspondence whose private and confidential nature is beyond doubt, invested the structure and style of his letter with rhetorical features such as we might expect to meet with in writings designed to influence the public mind, and therefore of necessity far removed from the free and easy prattle of a letter. (4) Finally, it is not easy to specify the point of transition between the limited circle to which the private letter may be addressed and the general public to which the epistle makes its appeal. In most cases, no doubt, it is possible to decide whether an epistle is meant for the public eye, but it is frequently far from certain whether a particular letter addressed to a limited public, as *e.g.* a church or a group of churches, or, say, the bishops of a metropolitan province, has not lost all claim to be regarded as a real letter. Notwithstanding these considerations, however, the distinction between epistle and true letter has every right to be retained. Like all such distinctions, it doubtless fails to make due allowance for the living current of literary development, but it teaches us to keep an open eye for the diversities and gradations of literature, and thus also, when rightly used, helps us to define more accurately the character of the epistolary writings in the NT.

Now, as the Christian writers of the Apostolic Age adopted the 'epistle,' and, we may even say, made use of it with a zest that may be inferred, in particular, from the fact that they enriched the literary side of the Gospel and the Apocalypse by means of the epistolary form (cf. Lk 1[1ff.], Rev 1[4ff.]), it is necessary to give due weight to the following points: (1) that in this as in other respects the Apostolic Age was embedded in the same literary tradition of later antiquity as we are able to trace in various Greek and Latin prototypes of non-Christian origin; (2) that, nevertheless, the structure, style, and diction of the primitive Christian epistles nearly always carry us into a different sphere of culture from that associated with the extant post-classical epistolary literature composed on classical models; and, finally, (3) that the influence of the hortatory addresses of Christian preachers in the primitive Church is clearly traceable in these Christian epistles.

Among the 'epistles' of the Apostolic Age the present writer would include the following: James, 1 Peter, Jude, Hebrews, 1 John, and Barnabas. These for the most part differ in no essential point from hortative addresses to a congregation, and the epistolary form, where it is present at all, or where, as in Hebrews, it is no more than suggested, is merely a form, which, in fact, is completely shattered by the contents. Among these Epistles there is not one which in virtue of a refined or even well-schooled art could claim to be considered a true letter. But this is itself a striking evidence of the significant fact that the Christian writers of the Apostolic Age, greatly as they had been affected by the stream of literary activity in the grander style of the ancients, were now feeling their way towards new forms in which to communicate their religious ideas to a wider public. With this end in view, therefore, they had recourse to the epistle, as the literary *eidos* at once of the simplest character and lying closest to their hands; but here—even in the case of a writer like the author of Hebrews, who has obviously been powerfully influenced by the elements of Greek rhetoric—the substance of the message was for them of much greater importance than the form. The fictitious, pseudonymous epistle is a literary phenomenon that first makes its appearance in the post-Apostolic Age.

LITERATURE.—R. Hercher, *Epistolographi Græci*, Paris, 1873 (a collection of Greek letters); H. Peter, *Der Brief in der römischen Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1901; E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa*[2], do. 1909; G. A. Deissmann, *Bibelstudien*, Marburg, 1895, pp. 187–225 (Eng. tr., 1901, pp. 1–59); C. F. G. Heinrici, *Der litterarische Character der neutest. Schriften*, Leipzig, 1908, p. 56 ff.; J. Weiss, 'Literaturgesch. des NT,' in *RGG* iii. [1912] 2175–2215; H. Jordan, *Gesch. der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 123 ff. (containing also a history of the Christian Epistle till A.D. 600); P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur in ihren Beziehungen zu Judentum und Christentum*, 'Die urchristliche Literaturformen,' Tübingen, 1912, pp. 342–381.

H. JORDAN.

ERASTUS (Ἔραστος).—**1.** In Ro 16[23] Erastus is 'the treasurer of the city' (ὁ *οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως*, *arcarius civitatis*) of Corinth, who sends salutations with 'Quartus the brother.' His office was an important one. He stands almost alone in the NT as a convert of position and influence.

2. In Ac 19[22] the name is given to one of two—Timothy being the other—who 'ministered' to St. Paul in Ephesus, and who were sent by him on some errand into Macedonia.

3. In 2 Ti 4[20] Erastus is a companion of St. Paul, said to have remained in Corinth, *i.e.* during the interval between the first and second imprisonments.

Are these three to be identified? It is possible

that 2 and 3 are the same man, but on account of the nature of the office held by 1 it seems unlikely that he could have been a missionary companion and messenger of the Apostle. To meet this difficulty, it might be suggested that he had resigned the treasurership on becoming a Christian. Again, if 1 and 3 are identical, there would seem to be little point in St. Paul's informing Timothy that an important city official 'abode at Corinth.' It is held by some scholars that these salutations from Corinthian Christians in the postscript of the 'Roman' Epistle point to an Ephesian destination of the passage. It is easier to believe that the members of the Church at Corinth had friends at Ephesus than at Rome; but, as Lightfoot reminds us, personal acquaintance was not necessary in the Apostolic Church to create Christian sympathy. Also, 'the descriptive addition "the steward of the city" is much more appropriate if addressed to those to whom his name was unknown or scarcely known, than to those with whom he was personally acquainted' (Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, p. 305). If we could accept the theory of the Ephesian destination, we should be more inclined to identify all three names. T. B. ALLWORTHY.

ESAU (*Ἠσαῦ*).—(1) St. Paul (Ro 9^{10-13}) uses the pre-natal oracle regarding Esau and his brother (Gn $25^{22.\ 23}$) as an illustration of the principle of Divine election. Before they were born, when neither had any merit or demerit, the elder was destined to serve the younger. As the prophet Malachi ($1^{2.\ 3}$) has it, 'Jacob I loved, but Esau I hated.' In both of the OT passages quoted there was a reference not merely to the children but to their descendants. The first part of the oracle runs, 'Two nations are in thy womb, and two peoples shall be separated from thy bowels' (Gn 25^{23}); and the Prophet's words are, 'Was (or 'is,' RVm) not Esau Jacob's brother? saith the Lord: yet I (have) loved Jacob; but Esau (have) I hated, and made his mountains a desolation, and gave (given) his heritage to the jackals of the wilderness. Whereas Edom saith,' etc. (Mal $1^{3.\ 4}$).

St. Paul is engaged in proving that the Divine promise has not failed though the majority of the children of Abraham have been excluded (or have excluded themselves by unbelief) from a share in its fulfilment in Christ. His purpose is to sweep away a narrow, particularistic doctrine of election, according to which God's action ends in Israel, and to replace it by a grand universalistic conception, according to which the world, or all humanity, is the end of the Divine action, and election itself is controlled by an all-embracing purpose of love. He accomplishes his purpose partly by a very effective *argumentum ad hominem*. The Jews so little understood the humbling principle of election, which ascribes all the merit of salvation to God, that they prided themselves on having been chosen, while their neighbours, Ishmael and Edom, had been rejected. Since Jacob—in the prophetic words which were so dear to them—had been loved and Esau hated, it was clear to them that they were the objects of a peculiar Divine favour. To turn the edge of this argument, St. Paul had only to remind them that many of the rejected—*e.g.* Esau and all his descendants—were children of Abraham. If God could make a distinction in the chosen family in former times, without being untrue to His covenant, He might do so again. A whole nation might lose its birthright like Esau.

(2) The writer of Hebrews (12^{16}) instances Esau as a profane person, who for a single meal (*ἀντὶ βρώσεως μιᾶς*) sold his birthright. 'Profane' (*βέβηλος*), when applied to things, means 'unconsecrated,' 'secular.' The word occurs in the LXX of Lv 10^{10}, 'ye shall put difference between the holy and the common (*τῶν βεβήλων*).' It was the fault of Esau, who was not without admirable qualities, that he made no such distinction. To him the most sacred things were common, because he had no spiritual discernment. He despised 'this birthright' (Gn 25^{32}) as a thing of no worth. He did not despise the blessing which had material advantages attached to it, and he imagined he could retain it even after he had sold the birthright. But the poignant moment of disillusionment came, when he realized that the blessing was gone beyond recall. His regrets were vain: 'he found no place for repentance.' This signifies that there was no means of undoing what he had done; the past was irreparable. JAMES STRAHAN.

ESCHATOLOGY.—

I. *THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY.*
1. Sources.
2. The Jewish background of ideas.
3. The new Christian message.
4. The chief doctrines of the Last Things.
5. Extent and importance of the apocalyptic element.
6. Relation to the teaching of our Lord.
7. Decline of the earliest type of Christian eschatology.
II. *THE CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.*
1. Revelation of St. John.
2. Non-canonical Christian apocalypses.
III. *THE JOHANNINE TYPE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY.*
1. 'Spirituality' of the teaching.
2. The place of the sacraments.
3. Later history of this type of eschatology.
IV. *THE PAULINE TYPE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY.*
1. Eschatology of St. Paul.
2. Eschatology of early Gentile-Christian churches.

Scope of the article.—Our subject is the eschatology of the Apostolic Church down to A.D. 100. By 'eschatology' we understand (1) the doctrine of a certain series of events associated with the end of this world-era and the beginning of another; and (2) the destiny of the individual human soul after death. We shall deal first with the earliest type of Christian eschatology, as it was taught by the first disciples of our Lord, in the primitive Judæo-Christian communities; and then we shall endeavour to trace the various lines along which this primitive teaching was developed and modified.

I. *THE EARLIEST CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY.*—**1. The sources.**—In studying the characteristics of the earliest Christian doctrine of the Last Things, it seems not unreasonable (in view of the trend of recent scholarship) to base our conclusions with some confidence upon the Acts of the Apostles, as a history 'which in most points, and those essential points, stands the test of reliability' (Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 303). The evidence from the speeches must, perhaps, be used with a little more reserve, but even here there appears to be a growing tendency to recognize a real historical value. Evidence supplementing that of Acts may be drawn from the Epistles of the NT, particularly James, Hebrews, and 1 Peter, all of which belong to a Judæo-Christian type of thought, though somewhat later in date than the earliest preaching recorded in Acts (see artt. on JAMES, EP. OF; HEBREWS, EP. TO; PETER, EP. OF). From these NT writings it is possible to gain a fairly clear and definite conception of the earliest Christian eschatology.

2. The Jewish 'background of ideas.'—The type of thought reflected in these early Christian writings is thoroughly and distinctively Jewish. Especially is this the case in the *earlier* chapters of Acts, where the ideas of Jewish apocalyptic form the 'background' of the preaching—a background so familiar that it never needs to be explained or expounded in detail, but yet never allows itself to be altogether forgotten. The men who preached the earliest Christian doctrine of the Last Things had for the most part been brought up in a religious

atmosphere impregnated with eschatological ideas. The Judaism in which they were living was the Judaism which produced apocalyptic writings such as the *Book of Jubilees*, the *Assumption of Moses*, the *Apocalypse of Baruch*, *4 Ezra*, etc.; and they were accustomed to think and speak of their religious hopes in the terms of Jewish apocalyptic. Now, although the details of apocalyptic eschatology vary from book to book (see *e.g.* R. H. Charles in *HDB* i. 741–749), yet a few fixed points stand out in every case, arranged according to a scheme which had become almost stereotyped in the apocalypses, and which is accepted as axiomatic in the apostolic preaching. This scheme is as follows: (1) the signs foreshadowing the end, (2) the Coming of the Messiah, (3) the resurrection of the dead, (4) the Last Judgment, (5) the inauguration of the Kingdom of God. The NT passages in which this 'eschatological scheme' is implied are too numerous to be cited; for typical examples, see Ac 2^{17-36} $3^{20f.}$ 4^{2} 10^{42} 15^{15-18} 17^{31}, Ja 5^{3-9}, He 1 and 2, 1 P $4^{5.7.17}$, 1 Th 4 and 5, 2 Th 2^{1-12}, etc.

The comparative uniformity with which these 'fixed points' recur in the Jewish apocalyptic eschatology may be traced in part to the *Jewish idea of predestination*. The events were conceived of as already fixed in the mind of God, and (in a sense) already pre-existent in heaven; so that the progress of history may be regarded as an 'apocalypse' or unveiling of the Divine plan which is even now 'ready to be revealed in the last times.' It is necessary to realize this if we would understand the force of the Judæo-Christian appeal to the Old Testament. Modern writers generally hold that the value of prophecy consists primarily in its *insight* into spiritual truths, and only indirectly in its *foresight* into the future; but to the Jew, a coincidence between a prophetic prediction and a subsequent event was a signal proof of Divine inspiration, for it showed that God had 'unveiled' before the vision of His prophet some detail of that future which was already predestined and lying spread out before His all-seeing eyes (cf. Ac $1^{16ff.}$ 2^{17-34} 3^{18-22} 4^{25-28} 11^{28} 13^{32-41} $17^{3.11}$ 18^{28} $26^{22f.}$ etc., He 4^{3} 9^{23}, and esp. 1 P 1^{1-5}).

But, while emphasizing the background of ideas common to primitive Christianity and Jewish apocalyptic, we must not ignore the distinctiveness of the former; and this now claims our attention.

3. The new Christian message.—(1) *The Messiah has come, in the Person of Jesus.*—The belief that Jesus of Nazareth was and is the Christ, and that His life fulfilled the Scriptural prophecies, is the central truth of the apostolic preaching (Ac 2^{36} 3^{22} 5^{42} $17^{2f.}$, Ja 2^{1}, He 1, 1 P 3^{22} 4^{5}, etc.). In the Jewish apocalypses, two Messianic ideals are manifested. On the one hand, there was the old prophetic expectation of a warrior-king of David's line, raised up from among God's people to rule them in righteousness and truth (*Pss.-Sol.* xvii. 23–51, etc.). On the other hand, there was the purely apocalyptic conception of a heavenly Being descending, like Daniel's Son of Man, from the clouds of heaven, endowed with supernatural powers, and presiding as God's viceroy at the Great Judgment. It is to be noticed that the NT conception of our Lord's Messiahship, while higher than any previously set forth, is much more nearly related to the Danielic 'Son of Man' than to the political type of Messiah (Ac 3^{21}, 1 Th 4^{16}, 2 Th 1^{7}, etc.). Now, if Jesus was the Messiah, then, since He had actually come, and had been rejected by His people, several consequences seemed (to Jewish minds) to follow inevitably, viz.:

(2) *The Last Days are now in progress.*—In Jewish apocalyptic, the coming of the Messiah is invariably associated with the end of this world and the beginning of the New Era. So, when the apostles proclaimed that the Messiah had come, they thereby conveyed to their Jewish hearers the impression that the Last Days had also come—not merely that they were at hand, but that they had actually begun and were in progress. And in fact this belief is implied in many NT passages, the full meaning of which often escapes the notice of the casual reader, who is full of modern ideas. But if once this eschatological outlook is realized, the early narratives of Acts are filled with new meaning. In particular, it will be noticed that the 'appeals to prophecy,' which occur so frequently in Acts, are often connected with the desire to prove that the Last Days have at length come; *e.g.* the outpouring of the Spirit at Pentecost is hailed by St. Peter as the fulfilment of Joel's prophecy, which expressly referred to 'the Last Days' (Ac 2^{16-33}; cf. Jl 2^{28-32}). His argument is that, since the prophecy has been fulfilled, it follows that the 'Last Days' foretold therein must have come. Similarly, the *charismata*, and the gifts of healing and of tongues, which were prevalent in the early Church, lent themselves readily to the view that they were a part of the miraculous 'signs of the end' foretold by prophets and apocalyptists (Ac $2^{18.33.43}$ $4^{30ff.}$ 5^{12-16} 16^{18} 19^{6} 21^{9}). Again, the Death, Resurrection, and Ascension of our Lord were proclaimed by the apostles, not merely as interesting historical events, but as part of the miraculous portents which were to form the 'birth-pangs of the Kingdom of God' (Ac 2^{24-36} 3^{14-26} 26^{8}). All these things combined to deepen in the minds of the first disciples of our Lord the conviction that 'it was the last hour.'

(3) *The Messiah is immediately to return as Judge.*—Jesus, the Messiah, has been rejected by His people, but there remains yet another act in the great drama of the Last Things. His life on earth has fulfilled some of the Messianic prophecies; but others (*e.g.* Daniel's vision of the Son of Man) are still awaiting fulfilment. So the Messiah is about to come again immediately in glory on the clouds of heaven to judge all mankind (Ac 1^{11} 10^{42} 17^{31} 24^{25}, Ja $5^{8.9}$, 1 P 4^{5}) and to destroy the apostate city of Jerusalem and the inhabitants thereof (Ac 6^{14}). Thus the apostolic preaching was in part a stern denunciation and a warning of judgment to come. But it did not end here.

(4) *God is granting one more opportunity.*—Herein lay the 'good tidings' of the apostolic preaching. Although the Jews had incurred the severest penalties of the Divine judgment by crucifying the Messiah (Ac $3^{14f.}$), yet another opportunity is being offered, by which all men may escape 'the wrath to come,' and receive the Divine forgiveness. The only conditions demanded by God are (*a*) belief in Jesus as Lord and Messiah (Ac $16^{30f.}$; cf. $2^{37ff.}$, etc.), and (*b*) repentance (Ac 2^{38} 3^{19} 20^{21}). Those who 'believe' and 'repent' will be saved in the Judgment from the condemnation which is impending over all the world (Ac 2^{40} $3^{19.23-26}$), and will be forgiven by the Lord Jesus, who, as Messianic Judge, alone has the authority to grant such pardon (Ac 5^{31} 10^{43}). Thus it will be seen that 'salvation' and 'forgiveness,' as terms of Christian theology, are in their origin eschatological, though they have been found capable of development along non-eschatological lines (see below). And it was just because of this eschatological background that the apostolic 'gospel' was so intensely fervent and urgent; for there was not a moment to spare; 'the Judge was standing before the doors' (Ja 5^{9}; cf. 1 P $4^{5.7.17}$), and every convert was indeed a brand plucked from the burning (Ac $2^{38-40.47}$ 3^{19-26}). So the apostolic preaching was transformed from a denunciation and

a warning of impending judgment into an evangel of salvation and forgiveness.

(5) *The free gifts of God.*—To describe the apostolic gospel simply as a promise of escape from the wrath to come would be inadequate; it was a promise rich with new gifts and blessings—*e.g.* the outflowing of the Divine Spirit (Ac $2^{33.\ 38f.}$ 5^{32}), and the 'seasons of refreshing,' which would sustain the elect until the return of the Messiah and the 'restoration of all things' (Ac 3^{19-21}; see below, I. 4 (5)). And these blessings were not to be laboriously earned, but were freely offered to all who would 'repent' and 'believe.'

4. The application of the apostolic message to the chief doctrines of the Last Things.—The ideas underlying the most primitive Christian eschatology, as we have outlined it above, are so unfamiliar to us that their bearing upon the great problems of the future life is not at first sight evident, and requires a brief consideration.

(1) *The Second Coming of our Lord.*—Most early Christians doubtless conceived of this in the traditional dramatic form, in accordance with the teaching of *Enoch* and other Jewish apocalypses. On the other hand, it should be remembered that (*a*) the 'unearthly' conception of the Messiah set forth in the Enochic 'Son of Man' would be modified by the recollection of the historical human personality of Jesus the Messiah; and (*b*) the apocalyptic idea of Messiahship, though one-sided, and therefore inadequate for a satisfactory Christology, was yet a high and transcendent ideal—one which needed to be supplemented and enlarged, rather than corrected. It formed a good foundation, upon which Christian thought and experience were able to build a fuller and truer doctrine of our Lord's Person and Second Coming.

(2) *The Last Judgment.*—This also was, in primitive Christian thought, closely linked with the Person of our Lord as Messianic Judge. It was thought of as limited in time to a date in the near future, and probably localized at some place on the earth (perhaps Jerusalem; cf. Ac 6^{14}, 1 P 4^{17}). Such ideas, however crude, were capable of being 'spiritualized' in course of time, without any breach in the continuity of Christian teaching. A more serious problem is raised by the difficulty of reconciling the doctrine of a *universal Judgment* (Ac 17^{31}, 1 P 4^{5}) with the doctrine of *forgiveness*, by which some men are 'acquitted' beforehand in anticipation of the Judgment. This is a hard, perhaps an insoluble, problem; but it is not peculiar to eschatology; for it confronts us wherever the ideas of forgiveness and justice are placed side by side.

(3) *The Intermediate State.*—So long as the Return of the Lord was expected to occur immediately, there was little room for any speculations with regard to the state of those who had 'fallen asleep in Christ.' The 'waiting-time' seemed so brief that it did not invite much consideration. To expect to find in the NT authoritative statements either for or against prayers for the dead, or formal distinctions between an intermediate state of purgation and a final state of bliss, is to forget the peculiar eschatological outlook of primitive Christianity, and to look for an anachronism. The beginnings of Christian speculation concerning the Intermediate State come before us at quite an early stage (*e.g.* in 1 Thess.); but they do not belong to the earliest stage of all.

The case was somewhat different with regard to the faithful who had died *before* Christ came. Christians naturally wished to know how these would be enabled to hear the 'good tidings,' and share in the forgiveness and salvation now offered by Christ. Two well-known passages in 1 Peter bear upon this point: the 'preaching to the spirits in prison' (1 P 3^{19}), and the 'preaching to the dead' (1 P 4^{5}). A detailed discussion is impossible here; see the Commentaries *ad loc.* In the present writer's *Primitive Christian Eschatology*, p. 254 ff., it is contended that the passages should be interpreted in accordance with the methods of Jewish apocalyptic; and that their main purpose is to teach that the 'good tidings' have been proclaimed by Christ to those who had died before His Coming, so that at His Return they may have the same opportunities of repentance as those who are alive at the time. Broadly, too, we may see in these passages Scriptural warrant for the view that there may be opportunities for repentance after death.

(4) *The Resurrection.*—Questionings with regard to the nature and manner of the resurrection are scarcely seen at all in the earliest eschatology as reflected in Acts and the Judæo-Christian Epistles (see Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 91 f.). Generally the references apply to *our Lord's* Resurrection, and even where the *general* resurrection is implied (Ac 23^{6-8} 24^{15} 26^{6-8}) no details as to the manner thereof are forthcoming. In Ac 24^{15} its universal scope ('both of the just and unjust') is asserted; and in He $6^{1.\ 2}$ *ἀνάστασις νεκρῶν* is included among 'the principles of Christ' which are too well known to need a detailed exposition. But we find nothing corresponding to the Pauline discussion as to the nature of the resurrection-body. In the Jewish apocalypses, the doctrine fluctuates from an extremely material conception to one which is purely spiritual; and probably the early Christians inherited various views on this point. The idea that our Lord's Resurrection was a 'first-fruits' of the general resurrection is implied in Ac 26^{23}, and this was destined in time to influence the Christian doctrine of the resurrection.

(5) *Final destinies.*—Here again, no detailed scheme of doctrine is yet put forward. Broadly, it is implied that supreme joy will be the reward of the 'believers,' and that a dreadful fate awaits unbelievers (Ac 3^{23}). The phrase 'restoration of all things' (Ac 3^{21}) might be taken to imply a 'universalistic' view of future destinies, or even some idea of 'world-cycles' by which the eras that are past are brought back in course of time; but a similar phrase is found in Mal 4^{5} (LXX), and may be no more than a general term for the perfection of the Messianic Kingdom.

5. The extent and importance of the apocalyptic element in the earliest Christian eschatology.—Until recent years, the apocalyptic element in the NT received but scant notice; but of late a new theory as to the teaching and 'tone' of apostolic Christianity has been put forward (see *e.g.* Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, or Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*). It is contended that the 'gospel' of primitive Christianity was exclusively an eschatological message, foretelling, in terms of current Jewish apocalyptic, the approaching end of this world-era and the beginning of the next. If the interpretation given above be correct, there is a measure of truth in this 'Consistent Eschatological' view of apostolic eschatology; for the new faith did not at once sweep away the old methods of thought, and we should miss the force and full significance of NT eschatology unless we interpreted it in the light of Jewish apocalyptic.

On the other hand, the 'Consistent Eschatologists' do not appear to give sufficient place to other factors: *e.g.* (1) the 'political' type of Jewish thought, in which the Messiah is conceived of as an earthly Monarch, and the Kingdom of God as an extensive Jewish Empire. Some such political ideas were clearly in the minds of the apostles at the first (Ac 1^{6}), and they may well have existed in the primitive Church side by side with the purely

apocalyptic eschatology. And (2) the 'Consistent Eschatologists' under-rate the importance of the new and distinctively *Christian* element in the apostolic eschatology. Also (3) a study of the NT shows that, from the very first, *moral* teaching held a place second to none in the apostolic preaching. In view of these facts, it would appear to be an exaggeration to speak of the primitive apostolic 'gospel' as though it were exclusively, or even predominantly, an eschatological message.

6. The relation of the primitive apostolic eschatology to the teaching of our Lord.—It was from the teaching and work of our Lord that the apostolic preaching derived its primary inspiration, and hence it is evident that the apostolic doctrine of the Last Things was intended to be founded upon His. And since recent study of the NT seems to have shown that eschatology held an important place in our Lord's teaching, we may not regard the eschatological 'tone' of the primitive apostolic message as an element foreign to the mind of Christ, or one invented by the apostles merely to satisfy their own predilections. It does not follow, however, that the apostolic teaching coincided precisely with that of our Lord. It was only natural that the apostles should tend to emphasize those aspects of His teaching which were most full of meaning to themselves, and to lay but little stress upon whatever appeared to them unfamiliar or incomprehensible. And so the proportions of the message undergo some modification: for instance, in the apostolic preaching, the expectation of the Second Coming is set forth more definitely than in the words of the Master Himself.

But in one point the community of spirit between the eschatology of Christ and His followers is most noteworthy: the close link between the eschatology and practical morality. From the first, the call to repentance always accompanies the eschatological message (Ac 2^{38}, etc.); and the 'repentance' of the primitive Christians involved a very real change of life. Herein, from the very first, lay a difference between Jewish and Christian eschatology: the former was often only a comfortable theory, to give encouragement in times of trouble; the latter was always an inspiring call to a new life of faith and love. This was an essential element of the apostolic eschatology, destined to survive when the forms and phrases of Jewish apocalyptic gave way under the trials of the long delay in the Master's Return.

7. The decline of the earliest type of Christian eschatology.—The form of the earliest Christian doctrine of the Last Things, as we have estimated it above, was congenial only to Jewish surroundings, and it soon began to undergo some modification. Some of these lines of development may be traced to the influence of Gentile thought, as reflected, *e.g.*, in St. Paul's Epistles; to the deepening of the spiritual ideas underlying the dramatic eschatology, as we see in the Johannine writings; and to the rise of the Christian apocalyptic literature, with its close resemblance to Jewish apocalyptic. For the present, our consideration of these may best be deferred. But in certain quarters the primitive Judæo-Christian eschatology appears to have been but little modified by external influences; only it shows a steady decline and a gradual loss of its original vitality and power. The beginnings of this decline may be seen even in the NT writings which we have already been considering, viz. Acts, James, Hebrews, 1 Peter; its later stages are reflected chiefly in Jude, 2 Peter, the *Didache* (if the early date be accepted), and some of the Apostolic Fathers. The Johannine and Pauline writings also indirectly throw light upon this subject.

(1) *Causes of the decline.*—(*a*) *The recollection of our Lord's teaching.*—If, as we have contended, the eschatology of our Lord was wider and deeper than the apostolic interpretation of it, it was natural that some of the half-understood sayings of the Master—particularly the parting commissions, Mt 28^{20}, Ac $1^{7.8}$, which are so notably *non*-eschatological—should remain in the memory of the apostles, and that in course of time a fuller meaning should dawn upon their minds. So it would come to pass that the moral and spiritual aspects of the gospel, and the world-wide scope of its mission, would claim an increasing pre-eminence in the apostolic preaching. (For the influence of our Lord's teaching on St. Paul, see Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, pp. 96–101.)

(*b*) *A keen sense of moral values.*—'Practical morality' was from the first held in the highest esteem in the Judæo-Christian communities (see, *e.g.*, the Epistle of James), and this tended to draw the centre of Christian interest away from eschatology to morality. It is difficult to illustrate this by detailed quotations; perhaps the best proof may be obtained by a rapid perusal of Acts, by means of which the steady diminution of the eschatological expectation as the narrative proceeds is readily noticed. In the later speeches of St. Paul, at Miletus (Ac 20^{18-35}) or at Jerusalem (Ac 22), eschatology is almost ignored; and St. Paul before Felix reasons of 'righteousness and temperance' as well as of 'judgment to come' (Ac 24^{25}). Also the teaching of 1 Peter, and most of all of James, suggests that moral and spiritual values are far more esteemed than eschatological problems.

(*c*) *The charismata.*—The spiritual gifts, *e.g.* of healing or of tongues, while originally regarded by Jewish Christians as 'signs of the end' (see above, I. 3 (2)), soon began to acquire an intrinsic value of their own in the eyes of the Christian community. Men knew, as a fact of Christian experience, that they had been freed from the power of sin and from the sense of guilt before God; and so they began to use the terms 'salvation,' 'justification,' etc., to describe their own spiritual experiences rather than purely eschatological hopes. (In Ac 16^{31}, *e.g.*, 'salvation' scarcely seems eschatological; and in Ac 10^{38} our Lord is described simply as 'one who went about doing good and healing.')

It will be noticed that the influences we have been considering tended to alter the proportions of Christian teaching by emphasizing *non*-eschatological factors at the expense of eschatology. But there were also other influences at work, directly tending to break up the primitive doctrine of the Last Things.

(*d*) *The delay in the Return.*—This was the most potent of all the factors which changed the 'tone' of Christian eschatology. As the days and months passed, and the Son of Man did not appear on the clouds of heaven, it was impossible to repeat with the same assurance the old message: 'The time is at hand.' Yet the old hope persisted long in Judæo-Christian circles, not only in the earlier writings, *e.g.* Ja 5^{9}, 1 P 4^{7}, but until the close of the 1st cent., *e.g.* 1 Jn 2^{18}, *Didache* 16, and even in the *Apology* of Aristides.

But we see the change of 'tone' in St. Paul's charge to the Ephesian elders (Ac 20^{28-32}), which, so far from anticipating an immediate Return of the Lord, looks forward to a period of apostasy, and to an extended ministry in the Church. We see it even more plainly in 2 P $3^{4ff.}$, where the mocking question, 'Where is the promise of His coming?' is met by the old answer of Jewish apocalyptists: 'One day is with the Lord as a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day' (2 P 3^{8}; cf. *Slavonic Enoch*, § 32). Such an argument virtually implies that the primitive confidence in an immediate Return had been surrendered. The gradual

weakening of that confidence will come before us again in St. Paul's Epistles [see below]. In *Didache*, 16, the Return, though near, is to be preceded by the rule of Antichrist; and the rise of 'Chiliasm' in the 2nd cent. thrust the final consummation still further into the future.

(*e*) *The problem of sin in the Christian community.*—This, though not at first sight an eschatological question, indirectly helped to modify the primitive doctrine of the Last Things. The early Christian conception of final destinies was simple and consistent: those who believed and repented would be saved; those who believed not would be condemned. This view assumed that Christian practice would always be in complete accord with Christian profession; and, so long as this was the case, it was not open to objection. But in practice it was soon found that professing Christians were not always consistent in their lives (Ja 3^{1} $4^{1.2}$; cf. Ac 20^{30}). So the simple two-fold division of mankind into 'saved' and 'not-saved' became unsatisfactory to man's sense of justice, for it did not correspond to the facts of experience; and similarly the two-fold division of final destinies into 'eternal bliss' and 'eternal woe' became open to the charge that it imputed to God a line of action not wholly just.

This difficulty was met in two ways. (*a*) The stricter minds insisted that post-baptismal sin forfeited the right to salvation, and incurred condemnation (He 6^{4-6}). By this means all Christians guilty of sin were classed among the 'not-saved,' and the two-fold division of retribution could logically be maintained. (*β*) A more lenient view admitted the possibility of a second repentance after post-baptismal sin, at least if the sin were atoned for by penance. Soon after the year A.D. 100 we find this view prevalent (2 Clem. 7; *Shepherd* of Hermas: *Vis.* iii., *Sim.* vi., etc.). This view, while rich in charity, surrendered the ideal of a consistent Christian life, and is far removed from the logical simplicity of primitive Christian eschatology. A further application of the idea of 'penance' to the future life resulted in the doctrine of purgatory, whereby the primitive two-fold division of the other world becomes three-fold. (For the beginnings of the doctrine of purgatory, see *Shepherd* of Hermas: *Vis.* iii. 7; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* vi. 14; and some of the Christian apocalypses.)

(*f*) *The influence of Jewish apocalyptic.*—We have already referred in general terms to this influence under 'the Jewish background of ideas' (see above, I. 2), and its full results will come before us at a later stage, under II. At this point, however, it is worth noting that a deliberate imitation of the Jewish apocalypses in writings not themselves apocalyptic marks the decline of the Judæo-Christian type of eschatology. Jude and 2 Peter are the most notable instances in the NT. Although the language is at first sight that of primitive Christianity, there is a real difference. Instead of the bold outlines of the good tidings concerning Jesus the Messiah, we find a mass of detailed revelations about angels, and fallen stars, and cosmic convulsions (Jude $^{6-16}$, 2 P 2^{4-11} 3^{5-13}), such as the Jewish apocalyptists delighted to describe, but which had ceased to attract the first generation of Christians, because of the all-absorbing interest of the 'good tidings.' The general tone of these Epistles is also far more pessimistic than that of the earliest Christian preaching, and reflects the position of men conscious of a reaction after a great spiritual revival (Jude $^{3f.\ 17ff.}$, 2 P $2^{1ff.}$ 3^{1-3}). This again agrees with the normal characteristics of Jewish apocalyptic. It should be noted also that Jude $^{14f.}$ is a direct quotation from *Enoch* i. 9.

A still later stage in the decline of the primitive Judæo-Christian eschatology under apocalyptic influence is seen in Papias, where the apocalyptic details have become simply puerile, and the old virility and strong moral associations of eschatology have practically vanished (see, *e.g.*, the quotation from Papias in Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. xxxiii. 3 f.).

(2) *Results of the decline.*—A number of causes, some of which we have briefly considered above, slowly but surely modified the primitive doctrine of the Last Things, as preached in Judæo-Christian circles. The expectation of an immediate Return of the Messiah, which had been its main inspiration, died away; and nothing replaced it. The result was that this type of eschatology ceased to be a living force in the Christian Church. Where it was elaborated by apocalyptic details, it continued for a time (as we shall see in the case of the Christian apocalypses) to enjoy some measure of popular favour; or again, where it was interpreted and re-stated by master-minds, such as St. Paul and St. John, its abiding value was revealed, and has never ceased to be recognized by thoughtful minds. But in its original form it was not fitted to survive, and so, unless it was transformed, it slowly expired.

II. *THE CHRISTIAN APOCALYPTIC LITERATURE.*—So far, we have been considering what appears to have been the 'normal' type of early Christian eschatology; and we have seen that the ideas and phraseology of the Jewish apocalypses often occur in Christian literature which is not properly 'apocalyptic' in its literary form (*e.g.* Acts, 2 Peter, etc.). In these cases the apocalyptic influence may be called indirect or incidental. But there are other Christian writings in which the literary form of Jewish apocalyptic is deliberately imitated in detail; and in these writings—especially those of later date—we see a distinct modification of the earliest type of Christian eschatology, such as we have considered above.

1. The Revelation of St. John.—(1) *General scheme of the book.*—This, the greatest, and perhaps the earliest, of the Christian apocalypses, contains such a wealth of material bearing upon eschatology that a detailed treatment is here impossible. If (as the majority of scholars hold) the book belongs to the times of Nero, Vespasian, or Domitian (*c.* A.D. 65–70, or 95), it is an extremely important witness to the history of early Christian eschatology, whatever be the final decision with regard to its authorship.

Various attempts have been made to dissect the book into strata of different dates; but, viewed as a whole, the book conveys a strong impression of literary unity. In particular, with regard to the eschatology, the various parts resemble each other in tone far more nearly than they resemble any other known apocalypse. Also, the book, if regarded as a whole, offers an intelligible scheme: (*a*) the Introduction (1^{1-8}); (*b*) the letters to the Seven Churches (1^{9}–3^{22}), which show the *immediate* purpose for which the author wrote the book; (*c*) the vision of the *opening* of the Sealed Book (4^{1}–11^{19}), which enforces the general message that 'the end is at hand' (see below); (*d*) the vision of the Fall of Rome (12^{1}–18^{24}), which sets forth in detail the particular element of the last great crisis which for the moment seemed the most important; (*e*) the vision of the Last Judgment (19^{1}–20^{15}); and (*f*) the vision of the new City of God. These may be regarded as component parts of one great apocalypse. It will be seen that they form, broadly, an intelligible and progressive narrative, on the lines of normal Jewish apocalyptic; and though it may be that in parts the visions are 'concurrent rather than successive' (MacCulloch in *ERE* v. 387), there seems no sufficient reason to postulate a 'literary patchwork.'

(2) *The book as a type of apocalyptic literature.*—

The writer is steeped in apocalyptic thought and language, to a greater extent than any other NT writer. To the average modern reader the book appears strange and unintelligible; but to those familiar with Jewish apocalyptic there is scarcely a phrase altogether new or without parallel. From this, two important consequences follow. (*a*) The interpretation of the details should accord with the methods of interpretation applied to apocalyptic literature in general. It should be remembered, *e.g.*, that the apocalyptists were in the habit of 'heaping up' details in their description of the Messianic woes and the last catastrophe, rather with a view to creating a vivid picture of chaos and terror than with the intention of depicting some definite event by each separate illustration. So it is probable that many of the details of the NT Apocalypse are not intended to bear a too careful analysis or interpretation. (*b*) If the author of the Apocalypse be identified with the author of the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Epistles, it is clear that the primitive Christians were able to 'put aside' their apocalyptic language and ideas at will, and to see behind the dramatic imagery to the underlying spiritual truths thus symbolized. And, conversely, in early Christian writings which are apparently non-apocalyptic, it is likely that eschatological ideas are never far absent from the mind of the writer, and may appear incidentally at any point.

(3) *The writer's hope of an immediate Return of the Lord.*—The writer begins by claiming to reveal 'the things which shall *shortly* come to pass' (Rev 1^{1}), and closes with the Divine promise: 'I come *quickly*' (Rev 22^{20}). Clearly, then, the hope of the Second Coming in the near future had not yet faded from his mind. Indeed, the main purpose of the book is similar to that of all apocalypses—viz. to encourage the faithful in times of trouble with the assurance that the hour of deliverance is at hand. In particular, this may be seen in the vision of the opening of the Sealed Book (chs. 4–11). We read that the opening of the first five seals is followed by victory ($6^{1, 2}$), war (vv.$^{3, 4}$), famine (vv.$^{5, 6}$), death (vv.$^{7, 8}$), and the cry of martyred saints (vv.$^{9-11}$). So far, the vision may well be taken as describing the position of the Church at the close of the 1st cent. A.D., when Rome's victories had brought famine, war, death, and persecution in their train. But when we pass to the opening of the sixth and seventh seals, we are at once confronted with cosmic convulsions and miraculous portents, which form the 'birth-pangs' of the New Era (6^{12-17} 8. 9). If we interpret this vision as we interpret other apocalypses, we shall conclude that the writer was living in the times of the breaking of the fifth seal, so that the vision up to that point is an apocalyptic retrospect of history, and after that point is an apocalyptic prediction of the 'Messianic woes,' which were about to begin immediately. This leads on to the vision of the two witnesses, their destruction by the Beast, their resurrection (11^{1-13}; probably a picture of the last great struggle with Antichrist), and the inauguration of the Kingdom of God (11^{15-19}). In other words, the gist of these chapters is a message of encouragement, assuring the persecuted Christians that the time of their redemption has come.

(4) *The political element in the eschatology.*—The Roman Empire was, to the mind of the writer, the greatest enemy of Christ—almost, indeed, the Antichrist himself. So he devotes seven chapters (12–18) to a vision of the Fall of Rome, which forms a kind of supplement to the vision of the opening of the Sealed Book, and deals with the political aspect of the Last Things. The details offer many difficult problems for solution; we find a medley of ideas, mainly from Jewish apocalyptic, blended perhaps with the popular expectation that 'Nero' would return once more as a great world-ruler (13^{11-18}; see Swete's *Apocalypse*, Introduction, ch. vii.). The political outlook of these chapters, with their intense hostility to the Roman Empire, is widely different from that of most NT writers (*e.g.* St. Paul in 2 Th $2^{6f.}$ or Ro 13^{1-2}). In so far as the spirit of opposition to Christ was at that time bound up with the policy of the Empire, the vision is true to deep principles of Christian eschatology; but some of the passages have lent themselves to political or ecclesiastical bias and party-spirit.

(5) *The doctrine of the Millennium.*—The vision of the Last Judgment in chs. 19 and 20 contains a doctrine of the Millennium. There is to be a first resurrection of the faithful dead, who will 'reign with Christ a thousand years,' during which time 'the rest of the dead live not till the thousand years are finished' ($20^{4, 5}$). Then follows a second resurrection, and a second judgment of all mankind, when the assignment of final destinies is made to each soul (vv.$^{11-15}$).

The idea of a Millennial reign of the Messiah on earth is found in Jewish apocalypses (*e.g.* cf. *4 Ezra* vii. 28–31; *Slav. Enoch*, 33); but there is no authority for it in the teaching of our Lord. It seems difficult to attach to it any meaning of permanent spiritual value; moreover, in its materialistic forms it has been a source of weakness rather than of strength to Christian eschatology. For the later history of Chiliasm, see *Didache*, 16 (closely based on Rev 19 and 20); Papias (quoted Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. xxxiii.); *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. 5; *Ep. Barnabas*, 15; Justin, *c. Tryph.* 80; Iren. *adv. Hær.* v. xxxiv. f., etc. Justin, while holding strongly to a belief in the Millennium on earth, admits that the belief was not held 'ubique et ab omnibus' in the Church.

(6) *The distinctiveness of the Johannine Apocalypse.*—The resemblance between the NT Apocalypse and other apocalypses is, as we have seen, striking; but not less striking are the *distinctive* features of the former.

(*a*) Alone of all the apocalypses, Jewish or Christian, it is given under the name of the writer, and not under an assumed name of some great hero of the past. This is most significant; for it shows the prophetic character of apostolic eschatology. Unlike apocalyptists in general, the writer did not shelter himself under the authority of the past; but he dared to speak boldly in his own name, under a strong conviction that he had a new message from God to deliver.

(*b*) The central position given to the Person of Jesus the Messiah is also of importance. The writer seems to feel that no language is too lofty to describe the Person of our Lord. At the very outset, the Danielic vision of the Almighty is applied to our Lord without the least hesitancy; and throughout the book the Christology, though apocalyptic in form, implies the most exalted conception of Messiahship (Rev $1^{5-7. 17f.}$ $5^{5. 9-14}$ 19^{11-16}, etc.). This is the more noteworthy when we remember that in many of the Jewish apocalypses, especially those contemporary with primitive Christianity (*e.g. 4 Ezra* and *Apocalypse of Baruch*), the figure of the Messiah plays but an insignificant part.

(*c*) The lofty spirituality of the book is another distinctive feature. No book of the NT has given more noble expression to the highest aspirations of man for the future life than the Apocalypse of St. John. Certainly no other apocalypse offers anything to rival its masterly word-pictures of the Kingdom of God (see, *e.g.*, Rev 7 21^{1-7} 21^{22}–22^{7}). Such passages show us the heights to which the

apocalyptic type of Christian eschatology could attain in the mind of an inspired master-thinker.

2. The non-canonical Christian apocalypses.—(1) *The chief writings of this type.*—The Apocalypse of St. John stands as the only representative of Christian apocalyptic in the NT; but one or two other Christian apocalypses appear to belong—at least in part—to the 1st cent. A.D. The determination of their dates is, however, a difficult matter, and by no means established beyond doubt. Such are:

(*a*) Parts of the *Sibylline Oracles* (*e.g.* the Prœmium, bk. iv. and bk. viii. 217–429; see *HDB* v. 68).

(*b*) Parts of the *Ascension of Isaiah*. Charles (Introd. to *Asc. Is.*) assigns chs. iii.–v. and vi.–xi. to the close of the 1st. cent. A.D.; but Armitage Robinson (*HDB* ii. 500[b]) assigns the Christian element in *Asc. Is.* to the middle of the 2nd cent. A.D.

(*c*) *The Epistle of Barnabas*, though not strictly an apocalypse in form, is apocalyptic in tone, and has been assigned to the times of Vespasian (so Lightfoot), Nerva, or Hadrian. There are also several Christian apocalypses which probably contain elements belonging to the 2nd. cent. A.D.—*e.g.* the *Apocalypse of Peter*, the *Testament of Abraham*, the *Testament of Isaac*, the *Vision of Paul*, etc. These help us to realize more clearly the distinctive features of the Christian apocalyptic literature, as it developed in later times.

(2) *The eschatology of these writings.* — The Christian apocalypses, like most of the Jewish apocalypses, were probably designed for circulation among the less educated sections of the community. The average tone is puerile and petty; we find a mass of trivial details and crude dramatic colouring, but an entire absence of deep or illuminating thoughts. Nearly all these books bear the marks of Egyptian or Alexandrian origin; and it would seem that the religious atmosphere of these parts was favourable to the growth of 'apocalyptic' (cf. many of the Jewish apocalypses —*Slav. Enoch*, parts of *Sib. Or.*, etc.). The most noteworthy features of the eschatology are:

(*a*) *The profusion of detailed 'revelations.'*—While the normal Jewish scheme of eschatology is retained, the broad outlines are almost obscured by the mass of detailed description and prophecy; and the result is a type of eschatology very far removed from that of our Lord, or of the majority of NT books. In *Asc. Is.* we find graphic descriptions of the Seven Heavens (*Asc. Is.* iii. and iv.) and of the manner of the resurrection, which is apparently to be bodiless (iv. 14 f.). In the later apocalypses these details become more and more profuse: the conditions of the Intermediate State, the punishments of the wicked, the geography of the other world, are expounded with minute precision. But a full discussion of these does not properly belong to 'apostolic eschatology.'

(*b*) *The prevalence of foreign ideas.*—In these apocalypses Babylonian, Egyptian, and Zoroastrian legends are found strangely mingled with Christian ideas, just as they were doubtless mingled in the minds of the cosmopolitan populace of Alexandria.

(*c*) *The coming of Antichrist.*—This is a feature far more prominent in these apocalypses than in any other known group of writings. The idea seems derived from various sources: *e.g.* the Jewish expectation of a last leader of the hosts of evil (Ezk 38. 39, Dn 11[36], *Apoc. Bar.* xxxix., *4 Ezra* v. 6, *Pss.-Sol.* ii. 33, etc.); the Zoroastrian 'Satan,' chief of the evil spirits (of *Asc. Is.* ii.); the Babylonian Dragon-myth (see Bousset, *Antichrist Legend*, 1896); and, in particular, the expectation of Nero's return to resume the sovereignty of the world (see Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 78 ff.). This dread of Nero's return seems to have been an outstanding feature of Christian eschatology as reflected in these apocalypses—see, *e.g.*, *Asc. Is.* iii. and iv., *Sib. Or.* iv. 117–122, 137 ff., v. 138–141, 413–422, viii. 88–90, 169–213, etc. For other early Christian conceptions of Antichrist cf. 2 Th 2[3, 4] (see below, and article MAN OF SIN), 1 Jn 4[3] 2 Jn[7] (see below); *Didache*, 16 (where he is to appear 'as Son of God,' *i.e.* as a pseudo-Messiah); *Ep. Barn.* 4. The conception (like the corresponding one of the Messiah) varies from that of a human monarch to that of a supernatural being, sometimes closely akin to 'Satan.' Various titles are used—*e.g.* 'Beliar' (*Asc. Is.*), 'the World's Deceiver' (*Didache*), 'the Black One' (*Ep. Barn.*), 'the Man of Sin' (2 Thess.); but in all cases the destruction of Antichrist is set forth as one of the last and greatest acts of the true Messiah. The idea of a coming *reign* of Antichrist tended to 'throw back' the Second Coming of the true Messiah into a somewhat less immediate future than it occupies in the earliest Christian message.

(*d*) *The allegorical interpretation of Scripture.*—By allegorizing the narratives of Scripture, some of the Christian apocalyptists were able to find prophecies of the Last Things in unpromising fields of study. In *Ep. Barn.* 15, *e.g.*, we find Gn 1 interpreted as an 'apocalypse' of the world's history, in a manner that reminds us of both the Alexandrian-Jewish apocalypses (*e.g. Slav. Enoch*) and the Christian Fathers of Alexandria.

(3) *Value of the Christian apocalypses.*—These Christian writings are valuable, because they show us one of the lines along which the primitive Judæo-Christian eschatology developed and decayed. The primitive enthusiasm for the few great truths of the gospel faded away, and it was replaced by a dilettante curiosity about the things of the other world, which ran riot in extravagant superstition, and eventually died—as it deserved to die. In these writings we may also see the beginnings of doctrines absent from primitive Christian eschatology, but prevalent in later ages of the Church, *e.g.* purgatory (*Vis. Pauli*, 22), or prayers for the dead (*Test. Abr.* 14). But these, again, scarcely fall within our present scope.

III. *THE JOHANNINE TYPE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY.*—The Gospel and Epistles traditionally ascribed to St. John so far resemble each other in their eschatological outlook that for our purpose it seems best to consider them together, as expressing a distinctive type of eschatology (see A. E. Brooke, *The Johannine Epistles* [*ICC*, 1912], Introd., p. xxi). As illustrations of the history of Christian doctrine, the Johannine Epistles are easier to interpret than the Gospel, because in the latter it is often exceedingly difficult to differentiate between the purely historical element, based upon the teaching of our Lord Himself, and the 'Johannine' element, due to the Evangelist. But since the eschatology in both Gospel and Epistles partakes of the same 'tone,' which is not found (to the same extent) elsewhere in the NT, it seems reasonable to attribute this *distinctive* element to the writer in both cases, although not therefore denying the likelihood that it may be indirectly due to our Lord's own teaching and influence. The chief points to note are:

1. The 'spirituality' of the teaching.—'Spirituality' is perhaps the best word to describe the distinctive characteristic of the Johannine eschatology. It bears the impress of a mind retentive of traditional forms of belief, but not content with the surface-meaning of current teaching. The old phraseology is not rejected; but it is regarded as a parable, half concealing and half revealing the deep spiritual truths over which the writer had pondered in the hours of meditation. The signs of foreign influence in the Johannine writings are very slight; the signs of the inner working of the writer's mind are very marked indeed. Hence we find the following characteristics:

(*a*) *The Jewish phraseology retained.*—The 'dramatic setting' of Jewish eschatology is as vividly

displayed in the Johannine writings as in any part of the NT. Our Lord is portrayed as the Messianic 'Son of Man,' who has 'descended out of heaven' (Jn 3^{13} $6^{38.42}$ $8^{23.58}$); who is the Messianic Judge (Jn $5^{22.27}$); who has returned to heaven (Jn 6^{62} 20^{17}), and thence as glorified Messiah pours out the Spirit on His disciples (Jn 7^{39}); and who will one day come again (Jn 21^{22}). His Return will be preceded by the Messianic woes (Jn 15^{20} $16^{2.33}$, etc.), by the Coming of Antichrist (1 Jn 2^{22} 4^{3}, 2 Jn ^{7}), and by the general Resurrection (Jn 5^{28}); and will be followed by the Last Judgment (Jn 12^{48}). The writer of the Epistles believes he is living in 'the last hour'—*i.e.* the 'interim' between the First and Second Comings of the Lord (1 Jn 2^{18}). In the Gospel the time of the Return seems more distant; *e.g.* in Jn 14 and 15 the instructions given do not suggest a very *brief* 'interim' on earth.

(*b*) *The inner meaning of eschatology emphasized.*—Although the Johannine eschatology so far agrees with the normal Jewish doctrine, there is a difference. The writer does not seem to regard this 'dramatic eschatology' merely as a prediction of coming events, but rather as a parable or illustration of great spiritual principles, which are continuously at work in all history, albeit specially manifest in the spiritual experiences of Christians. In this sense, the Johannine eschatology may be called 'timeless'; the Resurrection, the Judgment, the Coming, are always taking place, though they will attain their consummation at the Last Crisis (cf. Brooke, *The Johannine Epistles*, p. 37). Speculations regarding the time of the Second Coming are discouraged (Jn 21^{22}). The gift of eternal life in the present (Jn 3^{36} $11^{25f.}$; cf. 1 Jn 3^{24} 4^{13}) tends to displace the dramatic picture of 'entering into the Kingdom' at the Last Day, while spiritual union with Christ at once endows the believer potentially with the resurrection-privilege, which, to the Jew, was as yet in the unexperienced future (Jn $6^{39\text{-}54}$ $7^{37f.}$ 11^{25} 17^{3}).

Again, while the *word* 'Antichrist' (1 Jn 2^{22}, etc.) is taken from Jewish apocalyptic, the *idea* is completely 'spiritualized'—so much so that commentators have found it most difficult to be certain what the writer himself intended to signify by the term. Broadly, it appears here to designate the spirit of evil in its most dangerous form, and, in particular, the danger which came from perverted ideas concerning the Person of our Lord (1 Jn 2^{22} $4^{2f.}$, 2 Jn ^{7}). Throughout, the writer makes us feel that, while he uses Jewish phraseology, he is not enslaved to it. He realizes the folly of idle speculations regarding the future (cf. Jn 21^{22}); he feels the need for reverence and restraint; yet he is sure that Heaven will not fall short of our deepest spiritual experiences, nor of the highest ideals we have known—'Beloved, it is not yet made manifest what we shall be. We know that, if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him; for we shall see him even as he is.'

(*c*) *Apparent paradoxes.*—Hence the paradoxical nature of the Johannine eschatology; the writer feels that the whole truth is beyond the grasp of the human mind, and he sets forth first one aspect, then another, prepared to appear inconsistent rather than one-sided. Our Lord's First Coming, *e.g.*, was *not* for the Judgment (Jn 3^{17}), yet it *was* a judgment (Jn 3^{18} 9^{39} 12^{31}); the hour of the general resurrection is still to come (Jn $5^{28f.}$ 6^{40}), yet the resurrection is a fact of Christian experience in the past (Jn $5^{21.24}$), and this latter is the more important of the two truths (Jn $11^{23\text{-}26}$).

2. The place of the sacraments in the Johannine doctrine of salvation.—Schweitzer has recently maintained that in the Fourth Gospel the sacraments are regarded as the normal channel by which eternal life is bestowed on the believer (*Paul and his Interpreters*, pp. 200–203). 'The elements of the Lord's Supper, . . . being the flesh and blood of the Son of Man, possess the capacity of being vehicles of the Spirit. As a combination of matter and Spirit which can be communicated to the corporeity of men, they execute judgment. The elect can in the sacrament become partakers of that spiritual substance, and can thus be prepared for the resurrection' (p. 200). And Christ, we are told, taught 'that in the future, water, in association with the Spirit, would be necessary to life and blessedness. . . . Jesus came into the world to introduce the era of effectual sacraments' (p. 202 f.). This theory, if true, would introduce into the scheme of Johannine eschatology a factor which has commonly been supposed to be of later origin in the history of the Church.

Certain passages may seem to lend themselves conveniently to this theory: *e.g.* Jn 3^{5} $6^{41\text{-}59}$, 1 Jn 5^{8}, and the use in the Johannine Epistles of phraseology suggestive of the Mysteries (*e.g.* χρίσμα in 1 Jn $2^{20.27}$; ἁγνίζω in 1 Jn 3^{3}); but they are far from conclusive. On the other hand, we find many passages where the gift of 'eternal life' is described simply as a free gift received by faith, without any mention of a sacramental medium (Jn $1^{12f.}$ 3^{36} 6^{47}); and the idea that eternal life is normally bestowed by sacraments seems distinctly contrary to such passages as Jn 3^{8}: 'The wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the voice thereof, but canst not tell whence it cometh, and whither it goeth; so is every one that is born of the Spirit'; or Jn 6^{63}: 'the *words* that I speak unto you are spirit and are life' (cf. 1 Jn 1^{1} 'the word of life'). In these passages the gift of eternal life is conveyed through the influence of Christ's *personality* upon the human mind, either by the spoken word or by some unseen method, not through a visible ceremonial act. And in the Johannine Epistles 'eternal life' has a strong ethical content (1 Jn 3^{14}); it is 'in Christ' (1 Jn $5^{11.20}$; cf. 2^{25}), but no reference is made in this connexion to the sacraments.

Under the circumstances, it seems that Schweitzer's theory of 'eschatological sacraments' in the Fourth Gospel is not supported by the evidence.

3. The later history of the Johannine type of early Christian eschatology.—Just as there is no real parallel in the sub-apostolic literature to the Johannine books of the NT, so there is no real parallel to the Johannine eschatology—at least, none worthy to be compared with it for width of outlook and depth of feeling. Generally, the traditional eschatology is interpreted very literally, even prosaically. But the emphasis on the spiritual significance of eschatology recurs wherever the writers show signs of deep meditation on the problems of life. In the Pauline Epistles we shall meet with a similar tendency in places. In the *Odes of Solomon* it is very noticeable (see *e.g.* Odes iii. and xv.), and in the Alexandrian Fathers an allegorical interpretation of eschatology is found (*e.g.* Clement, *Exhort. ad Gentes*, 9), which, though widely different from the Johannine doctrine, resembles it in so far as it seeks to go behind the purely chronological aspect of eschatology.

IV. *THE PAULINE TYPE OF EARLY CHRISTIAN ESCHATOLOGY, AND THE ESCHATOLOGY OF THE GENTILE-CHRISTIAN CHURCHES.*—**1. The eschatology of St. Paul.**—In view of the trend of recent criticism, it seems reasonable to accept as a working hypothesis the view that all the 'Pauline' Epistles of the NT are genuine letters of the Apostle, though in the case of the Pastoral Epistles the verdict can hardly be regarded as decisive. This long series of letters is of unique value as an illustration of the history of early Christian doctrine, as taught by one of its greatest exponents. Several problems of considerable im-

portance demand consideration in connexion with St. Paul's eschatology.

(1) *The development of thought in St. Paul's Epistles.* — Several recent writers, approaching the subject from widely different standpoints, have urged that the supposed change in St. Paul's outlook as time went on is mainly a phantom of the critical imagination (*e.g.* Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, p. 75 f.; S. N. Rostron, *The Christology of St. Paul*, 1912, pp. 23–28). To the present writer, however, the signs of a real development of doctrine are unmistakable, if the Epistles are studied broadly in their generally accepted chronological order. The divergence of opinion regarding the date of Galatians—before or after the Thessalonian Epistles—does not seriously affect the problem, because Gal. is dominated by one problem of immediate urgency, and does not deal at length with other topics, such as eschatology. In Gal. the supreme emphasis is laid on moral virtues, faith and love (5^6; cf. 2^{10} $3^{2.26}$); neither 'dramatic eschatology' nor 'eschatological sacraments' receive any detailed notice. But if we study the rest of the Pauline Epistles under the four main groups—(*a*) 1 and 2 Thess.; (*b*) 1 and 2 Cor., Rom.; (*c*) Col., Eph., Phil.; (*d*) 1 and 2 Tim., Tit.—the outlines of St. Paul's change of standpoint seem clear beyond doubt.

(*a*) *1 and 2 Thessalonians.*—In these Epistles the outlook is as purely and consistently Judæo-Christian as in the earlier chapters of Acts. The hope of an immediate Second Coming of the Lord holds the front place in the interests of both St. Paul and his readers. The 'wrath' of the Last Crisis is impending (1 Th 1^{10} 2^{16}); the Christians are waiting for the Son of Man to descend on the clouds of heaven, while they are yet alive on earth (1 Th 1^{10} 4^{13-18} $5^{1-11.23}$, 2 Th 1^{5-10} 2^{1-11}). The language which St. Paul uses in these Epistles to describe the Second Coming is such as any Jewish apocalyptist who accepted the Messiahship of Jesus might have used; there is no trace of Gentile influence, and he himself expects to be 'in the body' at the time of the Return (1 Th 4^{17}; cf. 5^{23}). Again, the eschatological problems discussed in these Epistles are such as would present themselves to Jewish minds; and St. Paul answers the difficulties as a Jew speaking to Jews. The problem of the faithful departed (1 Th 4^{13-18}) was one that inevitably arose as soon as some of the 'brethren' had died before the Lord returned. How would they be enabled to share in the joy of the Parousia? St. Paul's answer is that they will be raised in time to join in the Lord's Coming (1 Th 4^{16}). That such a question should have already come to the front is significant, because it marks perhaps the earliest of the many perplexities which arose in the minds of the faithful when the Lord did not return at once, and when consequently the simple scheme of the primitive Christian eschatology no longer sufficed to solve every difficulty. The gradual change of doctrinal outlook which resulted from this affected the whole Church, and there is no reason to doubt that St. Paul himself was influenced by it.

In 2 Thess. the perplexity caused by the delay has become much graver, and St. Paul counsels patience. Again he adopts a thoroughly Jewish line of argument; his language still implies that the Return will be comparatively soon; but he reminds his readers that certain of the 'signs of the end' have not yet been fulfilled; and these must precede the final consummation. The 'signs' which he mentions are: (*α*) the falling away (*ἡ ἀποστασία*, 2 Th 2^3), (*β*) the revealing of the Man of Sin (2 Th $2^{3f.\ 7-9}$), (*γ*) the taking away of 'the Restrainer' (*ὁ κατέχων*, or *τὸ κατέχον*, 2 Th 2^6). St. Paul implies that he is speaking of ideas familiar to his readers (2 Th $2^{5f.}$), and similar phrases are found in the descriptions of the signs of the end in the Jewish apocalypses; *e.g.* an 'apostasy' is part of the Messianic woes in *Jubilees*, 23; *Test. XII. Patr.* (Levi 10, Dan 5), etc. Again, the description of the 'Man of Sin' offers close parallels to the figure of Antichrist (*alias* 'Beliar' or Satan) in many of the apocalypses (*e.g.* in the contemporary writings of the *Ap. Bar.* xxxix. and *4 Ezra* v. 6, and also in the later Christian apocalypses, notably *Asc. Is.* iii. and iv., and *Sib. Oracles* [see above]). (For fuller details, see article MAN OF SIN, and Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, pp. 207–221.) For the 'taking away of the Restrainer' it is not easy to find an exact parallel in Jewish apocalyptic; but from Daniel onwards we find that the close of a dynasty is often regarded as one of the signs of the end; and so the use of *ὁ κατέχων* might well suggest to St. Paul's readers the idea of Imperial Rome, whose downfall would surely mark the close of a world-epoch. The important point to realize is that in this passage, so obscure to us, St. Paul is not inventing a new doctrine of the Last Things, but is taking familiar phrases and ideas and applying them to the problems which were then confronting the Christian community.

Thus the characteristic of 1 and 2 Thess. is that the eschatology is the 'central' theme, and is completely Judæo-Christian in form. At the same time, it is closely linked with moral teaching (1 Th 3^{13} 4^{3-8}, etc.); and this practical aspect of St. Paul's eschatology (which in this respect is in complete accord with that of our Lord) remains unchanged throughout all his writings.

(*b*) *1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans (and perhaps Galatians).*—In these Epistles, which form the second group of Pauline writings, the Jewish form of eschatology is still prominent, especially in 1 Corinthians. The Christians addressed are 'waiting for the apocalypse of our Lord' (1 Co 1^7), which is near at hand (Ro 13^{11}, 1 Co $7^{29.31}$), and will be associated with the Resurrection (Ro 8^{23}) and the Judgment (1 Co 4^5 6^2, Ro 2^{16}). All this resembles 1 and 2 Thess.; yet the eschatology no longer occupies the centre of interest in these Epistles; other themes receive a larger share of attention. The spiritual gifts which the Christians possessed, and the spiritual power which had transformed their lives, begin to claim a pre-eminent place; and phrases originally eschatological are adopted to describe spiritual experiences in the past and present; *e.g.* 2 Co 1^{10}, *ὃς . . . ἐρρύσατο ἡμᾶς, καὶ ῥύσεται* (cf. 3^{18} $4^{16f.}$ 5^{17}). And in Romans we see how 'justification,' which is properly an eschatological term (signifying the act by which the Messianic Judge pronounces the believer 'not guilty' at the Great Judgment [Ro 2^{13-16}]), is becoming weaned from its old associations. For St. Paul teaches that the believer who has faith is pronounced 'not guilty' here and now, in anticipation of the final verdict; and so 'justification' becomes severed from eschatology, and linked with the spiritual experience known to Christians as 'the sense of forgiveness' or 'assurance' (cf. Ro 5^1, etc.).

In this group of Epistles we also see signs of Gentile influence, modifying the Jewish methods of thought. In dealing with the Resurrection, St. Paul uses a distinctly non-Jewish line of argument (see below), and his vision of the final consummation (Ro $11^{25f.}$, etc.) is far wider than that current in Jewish circles. Moreover, in 1 Co 15^{22-28} St. Paul teaches that a 'kingdom of Christ' on earth must precede the final consummation when 'he shall deliver the kingdom to God, even the Father' (15^{24}; cf. the Parable of the Tares, Mt 13^{41-43}). Such a conception implies *that* the certainty of an immediate coming of the end is being abandoned.

(*c*) *Colossians, Ephesians, Philippians.*—In this group of St. Paul's letters we find the modifying tendencies noted above still further developed. The 'dramatic' eschatology, though still present (Col 1^5 3^4, Ph $1^{6.\ 10}$ 3^{20}, Eph 4^{30}), has receded still further from the central position it held in 1 and 2 Thess., and the use of eschatological terms in a non-eschatological sense becomes more and more frequent (Col 1^{13}, Ph 3^{10}, Eph 1^3 $2^{5f.}$, etc.). There is no distinct assertion that the Return is near at hand (it *may* be implied, Ph 3^{20}); and some passages suggest that a prolonged future lies before the Church on earth (*e.g.* 'the building up of the body of Christ,' Eph 4^{11-15}, and the ingathering of the Gentiles, Eph 2 and 3). In such passages St. Paul's thoughts seem to be far from the normal tone of Jewish apocalyptic.

(*d*) *The Pastoral Epistles.*—Here eschatology appears to rise once more into greater prominence; but it is not quite the same as before. The earlier Christian eschatology had sprung from enthusiastic hopes: 'The Last Days have come, because Messiah has appeared.' But in the Pastoral Epistles the message is sadder, and more like that of the Jewish apocalyptists: 'The Last Days are at hand, because the times are evil' (1 Ti 4^1, 2 Ti 3^{1-5} 4^{1-3}). There is a note of disappointment, as the Apostle speaks of prevalent apostasy (2 Ti 2^{16}), which accords well with the supposition that these Epistles were written in a period of spiritual reaction, when the early hopes were being strained by the prolonged delay. Under such circumstances, it was necessary to guard against one-sided doctrines of the resurrection (2 Ti 2^{18}) and to emphasize the objectivity of the Last Things (1 Ti 6^{14}, 2 Ti 4^{1-8}, Tit 1^2).

A broad survey of the Pauline Epistles thus shows that the Apostle's eschatological teaching underwent considerable modification in the course of time, from the somewhat conventional Jewish outlook of 1 and 2 Thess. to the broad and deep spiritual teaching of Eph.; and finally, in the Pastoral Epistles, we see signs of a renewed emphasis upon old truths which were in danger of being obscured.

(2) *St. Paul's doctrine of Judgment, Intermediate State, Resurrection, Final Destinies.*—(*a*) *Judgment.*—The 'dramatic' conception of the Judgment recurs frequently in the Pauline Epistles (2 Th $1^{7ff.}$, Ro $2^{5.\ 9-16}$, 1 Co 4^5), but there are very few signs of the Johannine idea of a continuous judgment-process being worked out in history. The Judgment is to be universal (1 Co 6^2, 2 Co 5^{10}); but the Christian is free from condemnation (Ro 8^{1-33}), and indeed has already been 'justified' (see above).

(*b*) *The Intermediate State.*—As long as St. Paul expected the Return in the immediate future, there was no logical place for any thought of the Intermediate State of the 'dead in Christ.' Probably St. Paul, like many Jews, believed in a 'waiting-place' for the faithful souls of former generations, who had been evangelized by the 'Descent into Hell' (Eph 4^9; cf. 1 P 3^{19} 4^6). But the Christian, when he departs, will be 'with Christ' (Ph 1^{23})—a phrase scarcely applicable to an 'Intermediate State' (cf. 2 Co 5^{1-10}). If (as seems most probable) Onesiphorus was dead when 2 Ti 1^{18} was written, St. Paul did not scruple to pray for the dead. Yet such a prayer is but the instinctive act of a spiritually-minded man, to whom friendship is a bond too strong to be severed by death; and it would be unwise to deduce from it that St. Paul held a reasoned-out theory concerning the possibility of moral change in the life to come, to say nothing of a clear-cut doctrine of 'purgatory.'

(*c*) *The Resurrection.*—To the Jews a doctrine of the resurrection did not appear strange, though the question 'In what shape shall the dead rise?' is found, *e.g.* in *Apoc. Baruch*, xlix. 2. But among the Gentiles, even where a belief in *immortality* was present, a *resurrection* was incredible (Ac 26^8). So, as long as St. Paul 'spake as a Jew,' he simply affirmed the resurrection without comment (*e.g.* 1 Th $4^{16f.}$); but, when he had to commend the gospel to educated Gentiles, a new line of argument became necessary, such as we find in 1 and 2 Corinthians. A brief outline of the famous passages 1 Co 15, 2 Co 4 and 5 is all that can be attempted here. The chief points to note are: (*α*) he bases the Christian hope on the historical fact of Christ's Resurrection (1 Co 15^{4-11}); (*β*) he argues from the analogy of the seed (1 Co $15^{36ff.}$)—an argument which would appeal to the Gentile no less than to the Jew; (*γ*) he teaches an upward movement in history (1 Co 15^{46}), implying that the resurrection-life will be no mere replica of this life, but something higher and greater; (*δ*) the resurrection-body will not be 'flesh and blood' (1 Co 15^{50}), but a 'spiritual' body (1 Co 15^{44}). Herein St. Paul differs alike from the materialistic conception of the resurrection and from the Gentile idea that the soul at death is freed from the encumbrance of a body. In some passages St. Paul does indeed seem to disparage the body (2 Co 5^6); but he clearly teaches that the highest ideal is not to be stripped of the body, and lead a bodiless existence (which would render self-expression unthinkable), but rather to be 'clothed upon' with a higher type of body, adapted to be the organ through which the 'ego' may fully express itself in the 'spiritual' sphere of existence (2 Co 5^{2-4}; cf. 1 Co 3^{21}). This 'transformation' of our mode of life is to take place at the Last Day (1 Co $15^{51f.}$); yet the spiritual transformation of the believer in this present life is described in similar language (2 Co 3^{18}); and indeed the two are not irreconcilable, for the last-named is an 'earnest' of the future resurrection (cf. Ph $3^{10.\ 11}$, 2 Ti 2^{18}).

The Chiliastic doctrine of a reign of Christ on earth, in an intervening period between a 'first' and 'second' Resurrection (cf. Rev 20^{5-15}), does not appear in St. Paul; the 'reign of Christ' in 1 Co 15^{25} is far more applicable to the working of Christ through the Church, which was in progress when St. Paul wrote.

Whether St. Paul believed in a *general* resurrection of all men seems doubtful; some passages (*e.g.* Ro 8^{11}) suggest that the resurrection is *conditional* upon the possession of the Spirit of Christ; but since he taught that the judgment is to be universal, we may perhaps infer that the scope of the resurrection will be co-extensive.

(*d*) *Final destinies.*—Normally St. Paul adopts the usual view that the wicked go to 'eternal destruction' and the believers to 'eternal life' (2 Co $2^{15f.}$, etc.); but the latter aspect receives much greater emphasis than the former. The thought of the 'unendingness' of final destinies is not prominent in the Pauline Epistles; sometimes the word *αἰώνιος* seems used to express *intensity* rather than interminable duration (*e.g.* 'eternal destruction,' 2 Th 1^9, or 'an eternal weight of glory,' 2 Co 4^{17}). There are some passages where St. Paul's words suggest the hope of the final salvation of all men (1 Co 15^{28}; cf. Ro 11^{36}). Such a conclusion seems naturally to follow from the infinite love of God; but it is hard to reconcile with the fact of human sin.

(3) *The influence of Gentile thought upon St. Paul's eschatology.*—(*a*) *Greek influence.*—On this subject various views are held: some contend that 'the eschatological views of Paul mark a transition from purely Jewish to Hellenistic notions' (P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 126); others will scarcely admit

the possibility of any Gentile influence, and maintain that St. Paul, from first to last, lived and spoke and wrote as a Jew (Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, pp. 94, 227, 240, etc.). On the whole, the change which came over St. Paul's theology seems explicable simply as the natural development of an active mind constantly reconsidering the problems of Christian experience. On the other hand, St. Paul's avowed championship of the rights of Gentile Christianity may well have led him to be favourably inclined to Gentile ideas, and to loosen his affection for purely Jewish methods of thought. But the actual proofs of non-Jewish ideas are to be seen in the gradual modification of his teaching to which we have referred above, rather than in the presence of distinctively Hellenic language. The latter may perhaps be seen in the depreciation of the body (2 Co 5^{2-6}), in the description of transformation (2 Co 3^{18} 5^{4}; cf. Seneca, *Ep.* vii. 1, 'non emendari tantum, sed transfigurari'), in the comparison of the body to an earthen vessel (2 Co 4^{7} 5^{1}), and in the distinction between the ἔξω ἄνθρωπος and the ἔσω ἄνθρωπος (2 Co 4^{16}; see Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, p. 68 ff.). But, in so far as Greek influence is visible in these passages, it is rather due to unconscious than to conscious borrowing (*ib.* p. 204).

(*b*) *Influence of the Oriental cults.*—Apart from the Mysteries (see below), these exercised very little influence on St. Paul's eschatology. The idea of being 'clothed upon' (2 Co $5^{1ff.}$) is perhaps derived from Parsiism (Clemen, *op. cit.* p. 174), and other parallels have been traced; but they may be mere coincidences (*ib.* pp. 171–198).

(*c*) *The influence of the Mysteries upon St. Paul's eschatology.*—The Mysteries claimed to make men partakers of immortality, by means of initiatory rites and ceremonies, through which a 'sacramental grace' was conveyed to the worshippers (see Cumont, *Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, pp. 91 f., 151). It has recently been maintained (*e.g.* in Lake's *Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*) that Christianity was commonly regarded among the Gentiles as 'a superior kind of Mystery-Religion,' and that, to them, its central message was the promise of eternal life given through the Christian Sacraments. Thus the Sacraments were intimately connected with eschatology, and the Gentile-Christian gospel, like the Jewish-Christian gospel, was essentially eschatological. But there was this distinction between the two types of Christianity: 'to the average Gentile Christian in, for instance, Corinth . . . the centre of Christianity was the Sacraments. . . . On the other hand, for a Jewish Christian, the expectation of the Parousia was probably quite central' (Lake, *op. cit.* p. 437). Of St. Paul's own view Lake says: 'Baptism is, for St. Paul and his readers, universally and unquestioningly accepted as a "mystery" or sacrament which works *ex opere operato*' (*op. cit.* p. 385).

Schweitzer, in *Paul and his Interpreters*, adopts a line of argument which is somewhat different; but his conclusions as to the substance of St. Paul's teaching show some notable points of resemblance to Lake's view. Though he utterly denies the possibility that St. Paul was influenced by Greek thought or by the Mysteries (*op. cit.* pp. 208, 240, etc.), yet he affirms that the Apostle held a doctrine of 'eschatological sacraments' which, after all, would make the sacraments not unlike the rites of a 'Mystery.' 'In Paul we find the most prosaic conception imaginable of the *opus operatum*' (p. 213). 'Everywhere in the Pauline sacraments the eschatological interest breaks through. . . . Their power is derived from the events of the last times. They put believers in the same position as the Lord, in that they cause them to experience a resurrection a few world-moments before the time, even though this does not in any way become manifest. It is a precursory phenomenon of the approaching end of the world. . . . The sacraments are confined to the time between the resurrection of Jesus and His parousia, when the dead shall arise' (p. 216 f.). During this 'interim' period, the present world-era and the world to come are 'in contact,' and only while this contact lasts can men pass by means of the sacraments from one world to the other (p. 224). Similarly, of St. Paul's doctrine of baptism he says: 'The dying and rising again of Christ takes place in him without any co-operation, or exercise of will or thought, on his part. It is like a mechanical process' (p. 225 f.). This doctrine of 'eschatological sacraments' can be understood, according to Schweitzer, 'entirely on the basis of Jewish primitive Christianity' (p. 240). On the other hand, Clemen (*Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, p. 266) affirms that 'it is simply false to say "that baptism as well as the Lord's Supper already within the books of the NT underwent the fateful transformation from symbolic act to *sacramentum efficax*."' But, if St. Paul's teaching is rightly interpreted either by Lake or by Schweitzer, it would follow that the doctrine of the sacraments was a more important factor in early Christian eschatology—and indeed, in early Christianity at large—than has commonly been supposed.

An adequate discussion of the problem thus raised is impossible here; but one or two points may be noted:

(α) St. Paul certainly associates baptism with 'death' and 'resurrection' (Ro 6^{3}, Col 2^{12}), and with the reception of the Spirit (1 Co 12^{13}). But, while these passages, and certain others regarding the Eucharist (1 Co 10^{16} $11^{27.30}$), *may* be consistent with Schweitzer's theory of 'effectual sacraments,' they are also explicable on the view that St. Paul is regarding the rite as the *symbol* of grace conferred—a symbol normally linked with the spiritual gift, but not so necessary that without the rite the gift cannot be conveyed, nor yet mechanically conveying the gift *ex opere operato*. In one of the above passages (Col 2^{12}) the context ($2^{14ff.}$) is full of highly metaphorical language. From these passages we are driven to conclude that the theory of a Pauline doctrine of 'effectual sacraments' is 'Not proven.'

(β) But, further, there are other passages where St. Paul's arguments are definitely against the view that sacraments convey the new life *ex opere operato*. In 1 Co 8^{8-13} 10^{14-32} he clearly teaches that the effect of partaking in a communion-feast is dependent on the state of mind of the recipient. The partaking becomes serious if it arouses uneasy doubt in the mind of the 'weaker brother' who witnesses his act; but, apart from this possibility, and if the recipient is clear in his own conscience, the partaking will have no effect *ex opere operato*. The argument here refers to non-Christian 'sacraments,' but it is consistent with the Apostle's general attitude towards external rites and ceremonies: 'In Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth anything, nor uncircumcision, but faith working through love' (Gal 5^{6}; cf. 6^{15} 3^{2}, etc.). The omission of any reference to the Christian sacraments in such passages would be strange indeed, if the future salvation of the Christian was normally conveyed to him only through baptism and the Eucharist.

(γ) The references to the sacraments in St. Paul's Epistles, viewed as a whole, are hardly sufficient to warrant the theory that the sacraments held a central place in his theology. Lake contends that this silence shows that the importance of the sacraments was universally accepted in the Church, and needed no further emphasis (*op. cit.* p. 233 n.). But we may reasonably ask for some positive evidence that the sacraments had already sprung into a position of central importance in the Church, before we set aside the 'argument from silence.' 1 Co 1^{14}, 'I thank God that I baptized none of you,' does not suggest that St. Paul put baptism in the place of central importance in the gospel.

(δ) When Schweitzer tells us that St. Paul 'found already existing a baptism and a Lord's Supper which guaranteed salvation (*op. cit.* p. 215; cf. p. 242), and that his doctrine of the sacraments 'is integrally, simply, and exclusively eschatological' (p. 244), we may reasonably ask what evidence is forthcoming from the Jewish apocalypses to justify such assertions. Schweitzer adduces no such evidence; nor is the present writer acquainted with any.

We conclude, then, that the evidence does not support the theory that the primitive Church as a whole believed that eternal life was conveyed normally by the sacraments, but rather that it

was a free gift received immediately by faith. At the same time, it is likely enough that the less educated Christians did regard Christianity as a kind of Mystery-Religion, with sacraments of a magical character. The obscure custom of 'baptism for the dead' may have been associated with some such ideas (1 Co 15^{29}), but it does not appear that they were shared by St. Paul, or by any of the NT writers. (For a careful discussion of this subject, see Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, pp. 223–250.)

2. The eschatology of the early Gentile-Christian churches.—(1) *The fruit of St. Paul's teaching.*—St. Paul may fairly be regarded as the precursor of a Gentile type of Christian eschatology; for, although the instances of definitely Greek ideas in his writings are but few, he was in sympathy with non-Jewish ways of approaching the problems of life, and he was the champion of Gentile claims within the Church of Christ. Without his efforts Gentile thought would have been debarred from having free scope in the Church. But in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Ages, as we trace the doctrine of the Last Things through Clement of Rome, Ignatius, 2 Clement, Aristides, and Justin, down to Irenæus at the close of the 2nd cent., there is but little evidence of a distinctively Gentile type of Christian eschatology. Jewish ideas and phraseology show no signs of disappearing entirely; and indeed Christian eschatology is never likely to lose all traces of its Jewish antecedents.

(2) *Distinctive features of Gentile-Christian eschatology.*—Yet the following changes may be attributed in great measure to the influence of Gentile thought. (*a*) The technical Jewish terms are replaced by others of a more 'prosaic' character: *e.g.* in Clem. *ad Cor.* we find the Return described as an ἔλευσις (17) rather than as a παρουσία or an ἀποκάλυψις. And in Ignatius the term 'Parousia' is applied to the *First* Coming of our Lord at His Nativity (*ad Phil.* 9). Such changes show that the traditional Jewish scheme is undergoing a measure of 're-statement' at the hands of men who were unaccustomed to the apocalyptic scheme of the Last Things.

(*b*) Occasionally we meet with clear signs of Greek thought, *e.g.* Ign. *ad Rom.* 3, 'Nothing visible is good.' And some thirty years later we find the *Epistle to Diognetus* reflecting a thoroughly Greek theory of the relation of the soul to the body (7, 10).

(*c*) The conception of the Eucharist as a 'Mystery,' through which immortality is conveyed to the believer, though (as we have contended above) not sanctioned by St. Paul himself, seems to be implied in some of the sub-apostolic writings: *e.g.* Ign. *ad Eph.* 20, 'Breaking one bread, which is the medicine of immortality, and the antidote that we should not die, but live for ever'; cf. Iren. *adv. Hær.* iv. 8, 'Our bodies, when they receive the Eucharist, are no longer corruptible, having the hope of resurrection to eternity.'

(*d*) The idea that 'salvation' is a future blessing, to be gained by external acts, or by membership of an organized society, may also be traced to the sub-Apostolic Age: *e.g.* Ign. *ad Phil.* 3, 'If any man followeth one that maketh a schism, he doth not inherit the Kingdom of God.'

As a result of these and other modifications, early Christian eschatology in the Gentile churches gradually assumed a form which, though Jewish in phraseology, was sufficiently intelligible to those who were not familiar with the presupposition of Jewish apocalyptic. With the exception of a few doctrinal features, such as Chiliasm, which proved to be but temporary phases of thought, the eschatology of the Church of the 2nd. cent., as seen, *e.g.*, in Irenæus, had discarded its distinctively 'primitive' characteristics, and was not far from the normal type of Christian eschatology as it has been taught in subsequent ages of the Church.

LITERATURE.—For apostolic eschatology in general, see S. D. F. Salmond's art. on 'Eschatology of the NT' in *HDB*, and J. A. MacCulloch's art. on 'Eschatology' in the *ERE*; also R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*^{2}, 1913; E. C. Dewick, *Primitive Christian Eschatology*, 1912; S. D. F. Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, 1904; etc.

For the Jewish 'background of ideas,' see Charles, *op. cit.*, and the same writer's editions of the Jewish apocalypses, especially his *Book of Enoch*^{2}, 1912; V. H. Stanton, *The Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 1886.

For the eschatology of the NT books, see the Comm. and Artt. *ad loc.*, especially H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1909, and R. H. Charles, *Studies in the Apocalypse*, 1913; and for Pauline eschatology, H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, 1904; the same writer's artt. on 'St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions' in the *Expositor*, 8th ser., iv. [1912] 60, 212, 306, 434, 539; K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911; A. Schweitzer, *Paul and his Interpreters*, Eng. tr., 1912. The two last-named works apply the 'Consistent Eschatological theory' to the apostolic writings.

For the influence of Gentile thought on Christian eschatology, see C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, Eng. tr., 1912; F. Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, 1911; E. Hatch, *The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages upon the Christian Church*, 1890 (Hibbert Lecture, 1888).

Of the Christian apocalypses, many are edited in *TS*, vols. ii. and iii.; *The Ascension of Isaiah*, by R. H. Charles, 1900; *The Sibylline Oracles*, by Alexandre, 1841–56, and Rzach, 1892.

For particular aspects of apostolic eschatology, see the articles in this Dictionary on ANTICHRIST, HEAVEN, HELL, MAN OF SIN, SPIRITS IN PRISON, RESURRECTION, etc.

E. C. DEWICK.

ESDRAS, THE SECOND BOOK OF.—This book is quite different in character from 1 Es., which it follows in the English Apocrypha. It belongs to the apocalyptic order, and is closely related in time and thought to the *Apocalypse of Baruch* (*g.v.*). Some early writers cite it as prophetical—Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 16) and Ambrose (*de Excessu Satyri*, i. 64, 66, 68, 69) in particular; but Jerome speaks slightingly of it as a book he had not read or required to read, because it was not received in the Church (*c. Vigilant.* ch. 6). In the authenticated edition of the Vulgate, it is relegated to an appendix, along with 1 Es. and the Prayer of Manasses. It is not reckoned canonical by the Church of Rome, nor is it used in the English Church.

1. Contents.—As it stands in our Apocrypha, 2 Es. consists of 16 chapters; but the first two and last two are separate works which have been added to the original book, and have no inward connexion with it. The prefixed chapters (1. 2), though written in the name of Esdras, exhibit an anti-Jewish spirit, in striking contrast to that of the chapters that follow. They speak of the rejection of the Jews and the call of the Gentiles as a Western Christian of the 2nd cent. might have done. A connexion has been suggested between them and the *Apocalypse of Zephaniah*, of which fragments are extant in Coptic. The subjoined chapters (15. 16) make no mention of Esdras, and their contents are colourless enough to admit of either a Jewish or a Christian author. In imitation of Jeremiah's prophecies, they predict wars and tumults, denounce God's wrath on the wicked, and encourage the righteous to endure. The probable quotation of 16^{59} in *Ep.* xxix. of Ambrose—'extendit coelum sicut cameram'—would indicate that these chapters were known in the middle of the 4th century. Possibly they had their origin about a century previously, in the wars of the Arabian Odenathus and Sapor I. of Persia.

Divested of these additions, 2 Es. is a series of seven visions, separated for the most part, in the experience of the seer, by periods of fasting and prayer. Their purpose is to shed light on the mysteries of the moral world, and restore the faith in God and reliance on His justice which had been shaken by the downfall of Jerusalem. At the out-

set the seer announces himself as Salathiel, with the parenthetical explanation that he is also Esdras. In the first four visions (chs. 3–10) the angel Uriel appears, to resolve the doubts of the seer, and comfort him with the hope of God's speedy intervention. In the fifth (chs. 11. 12) a great eagle is seen, with three heads, twelve wings, and certain wings of smaller size. She is encountered and annihilated by a lion, and Esdras learns that the eagle is the fourth kingdom of Daniel, and the lion the Messiah. The sixth vision (ch. 13) reveals the Messiah as a wondrous man, coming out of the sea, destroying His enemies, and gathering the righteous and peace-loving to Himself. In the seventh (ch. 14) Esdras is warned that the end is near, and instructed to have ninety-four books written, but only to publish twenty-four of them (the usual Talmudic reckoning of the books of the OT). On the accomplishment of his task, Esdras is translated to heaven.

2. Text and versions.—The original text no longer exists; but versions are extant in Latin, Syriac, Ethiopic, Arabic (two), and Armenian. Some fragments in Sahidic have also come to light (in 1904), and traces have been found of an old Georgian translation. The Latin version is in every respect the most important, as well as the only one which contains the four additional chapters. It was through this version that the book found its way into the appendix of the Vulgate, and thence into our Apocrypha. The Oriental versions are of value chiefly for the assistance they afford in testing and correcting the Latin. A curious illustration of their usefulness in this way was given by Bensly in 1875, when he discovered a missing fragment of the Latin text consisting of 70 verses, the existence of which had been suggested by the presence of these verses in the Oriental versions. This long passage has now been restored to its place in our Apocrypha, between verses 35 and 36 of the seventh chapter. The basis of all the existing versions, with the possible exception of the Armenian, is generally acknowledged to be a Greek text, now lost; but some difference of opinion has arisen as to whether that was the original text. While the more prevalent view that the book was composed in Greek has found such defenders as Lücke, Volkmar, and Hilgenfeld, some recent scholars, including Wellhausen, Charles, Gunkel, and Box, contend for a Hebrew original.

Some confusion of nomenclature has been caused by the varying titles of the versions. The Latin MSS mostly distinguish five books of Ezra: the first being the canonical Ezra-Nehemiah, the second the prefixed chapters of 2 Es., the third the 1 Es. of the Apocrypha, the fourth chs. 3–14 of 2 Es., and the fifth its subjoined chapters. According to this arrangement, our book is now commonly denominated *4 Ezra*, although the title *Ezra-Apocalypse*, suggested by Westcott as the probable form in the lost Greek text, has also come into use.

3. Literary structure.—Of late years, the question of the literary structure of the book has assumed increasing prominence. Its essential unity, as coming from the hand of a single writer, who may, however, have used and failed to assimilate adequately material previously existing, is still maintained by such scholars as Gunkel, Porter, and Sanday. On this theory, its date is fixed with some degree of unanimity between A.D. 81 and 96, the Fall of Jerusalem, which gives occasion to it, being rightly referred to the destruction by Titus in A.D. 70, and the difficult Eagle Vision being interpreted of the succession of Roman Emperors (Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian) after that event. Another theory, however, ascribing a composite character to the book, has recently been worked out with much ingenuity by Kabisch, Charles, and Box. The last-mentioned finds five independent works in our Apocalypse: (1) a Salathiel Apocalypse (S=chs. 3–10), composed about A.D. 100; (2) the Eagle Vision (A=chs. 11. 12), belonging to the time of Domitian or possibly Vespasian; (3) the Son of Man Vision (M=ch. 13), written before A.D. 70; (4) the Ezra Legend (E^2=ch. 14), dating about A.D. 100; and (5) extracts from an old Ezra Apocalypse (E), interpolated in S, and belonging to some period before A.D. 70. These separate documents were welded into a single book by a redactor (R), and published about A.D. 120. Whatever may be said for this analysis, it helps to elucidate certain features of the book which have hitherto been puzzling and obscure: divergent eschatological conceptions, varying historical situations, breaks of thought, and linguistic transitions.

4. Value and relation to NT.—On either theory, the book remains of great importance, especially for the understanding of later developments of Judaism, and the environment of the early Christian Church. A fine expression of later Judaism, it reveals a passionate clinging to the merciful goodness of God, notwithstanding a measure of disappointment with the Law, and the most disastrous experience. Its spirit may be somewhat narrow, its style not infrequently tedious, its later visions lacking in imaginative power, and its solutions of the moral problem disappointing; yet it strikes a truly reflective note, and breathes throughout an unconquerable faith in God and the vindication of His righteousness. In these characteristics, perhaps, no less than in its unconscious admission of the weakness of Judaism, lay the strength of its appeal to Christian readers; but its present-day value is chiefly historical, as it is practically contemporaneous with the NT literature, and shows points of contact with it. Direct dependence can hardly be established, yet there are similarities of thought and language to most of the NT books, while, as Gunkel has clearly shown, there are marked affinities with the Pauline letters and the Book of Revelation.

(*a*) The speculations of *St. Paul* are closely paralleled by the discussions of moral and religious problems in the earlier part of 2 Esdras. Our author presumably belonged to the school in which the great Apostle was trained; and, especially in his treatment of sin and the weakness of the Law as a redemptive power, has much in common with him. Sin is essentially transgression of the Law, and alienates from God (2 Es 9^{36} 7^{48}; cf. Ro $5^{13.\ 20}$). Its origin is to be found in the Fall of Adam and the evil heart (*cor malignum*) which he has transmitted to his descendants (2 Es 7^{118} $3^{20-22.\ 25-26}$ 4^{30}; cf. Ro 5^{12}, 1 Co 15^{21}). Accordingly it is universal, and has universally as its result not only spiritual corruption and infirmity, but physical death (2 Es 3^{7}; cf. Ro $5^{12.\ 14.\ 15.\ 17.\ 21}$). In further agreement with St. Paul, and in opposition to the usual Rabbinical doctrine, our author despairs of the efficacy of the Law to redeem and save the sinner (2 Es 9^{36}; cf. Ro 3^{20}). Its promised rewards have little encouragement or inspiration for beings so constituted as to be unable to keep it (2 Es $7^{116-131}$). At the best, though the world is perishing, it may still be hoped that a few may be saved ($9^{15.\ 22}$). It is all a puzzle and pain to the apocalyptist. Unacquainted with the great solvent ideas in which the Apostle found satisfaction for heart and mind, he resigns himself to the inscrutableness of God's ways, the limitations of human intelligence, and the pre-determined Divine purpose in the history and end of the world, while taking what comfort he may from the assurance of God's faithfulness and love to His ancient people ($4^{7-11.\ 28-31.\ 33-43}$ 5^{31-40}).

This attitude of mind may not have been uncommon among the Jews of his time.

(*b*) The points of comparison with the *Johannine Apocalypse* are of an eschatological kind, and appear most prominently in the later chapters of 2 Esdras. The same visionary method of Divine revelation is pursued; the schemes of the Last Things run upon similar lines; Rome is again the hostile world-power standing in the background; and there are not wanting resemblances of diction close enough to suggest a common source (cf. 2 Es 9^{35} and Rev 6^{9-11}, 2 Es 4^{41} and Rev 1^{18}). In 2 Es., too, especially when the earlier chapters are compared with the later, an inconsistency of eschatological representation is revealed, which is reflected not only in the Book of Revelation, but in other NT books as well. Probably it attached to the current conceptions of the time, and did not greatly trouble the author or redactor of our book. In the earlier chapters, the eschatology is entirely of an individual character, concerning itself with the future of the soul, and postulating, immediately after death, a personal judgment and entrance into an eternal world of punishment and reward ($7^{75ff.}$). The later chapters (11. 12) are prevailingly political, and revive the old eschatology of the nation, with its scheme of preliminary woes, world-judgment, and earthly Messianic kingdom of indefinite duration. Some attempt is made in the book to adjust these points of view by the introduction of a temporary reign of the Messiah before the final consummation, which ushers in the glorious Heavenly Kingdom. This reign seems to have been expected to compensate the nation for the years of oppression in Egypt; and, by a comparison of Gn 15^{13} with Ps 90^{15}, its length was fixed at 400 years (7^{26-30}). By a similar process of inference *Slavonic Enoch* had determined the duration of the temporary Messianic kingdom as 1000 years, or a millennium. On this matter the Book of Revelation follows Enoch.

Withal, there are still left in 2 Es. a number of divergent ideas. At one time the Messiah is presented as a purely human being, an earthly, temporal ruler of the line of David ($12^{32ff.}$); at another time he appears as a superhuman, pre-existent being, to whom the title 'Son of God' can be applied ($7^{28.\ 29}$ $13^{32.\ 37.\ 52}$ 14^{9}). In some passages the Judgment is personal and individual, and takes place immediately after death ($7^{78-101.\ 117.\ 126}$); in others it is universal, and reserved for a great day at the end of the world ($7^{33.\ 43.\ 44}$ 8^{1}). Now the Messiah is Judge ($12^{32.\ 33}$), now God Himself (6^{6}). Side by side with the old restricted view of a resurrection of the righteous only stands the later view of a general resurrection (7^{28-44}), the one at the beginning, the other at the close of the Messianic period, as in the Book of Revelation. These discrepancies belonged to the environment of the early Church, and it was part of her intellectual task to combine them into a harmonious belief.

LITERATURE.—G. Volkmar, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1858; A. Hilgenfeld, *Messias Judæorum*, 1869; F. Rosenthal, *Vier apokryphische Bücher*, 1885; R. Kabisch, *Das vierte Buch Esra*, 1889; J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, 1899; R. H. Charles, *The Apocalypse of Baruch*, 1896, and *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*, 1899 (²1913); R. L. Bensly and M. R. James, *The Fourth Book of Ezra* (= *TS* iii. 2 [1895]); H. Gunkel, 'Das vierte Buch Esra,' in Kautzsch's *Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des AT*, 1900; Léon Vaganay, *Le Problème eschatologique dans le IVe livre d'Esdras*, 1906; F. C. Porter, *The Messages of the Apocalyptical Writers*, 1905; Bruno Violet, *Die Esra-Apokalypse*, 1910; G. H. Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, 1912, and 'IV Ezra' in R. H. Charles's *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT*, 1913.

D. FREW.

ESSENES.—The Essenes were a Jewish monastic order, probably long preceding, not long surviving, the founding of Christianity.

1. Authorities.—Essenes are not mentioned either in the NT or in the Talmud. Our chief authorities are (1) Josephus (*BJ* II. viii., *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5, XIII. v. 9, XV. x. 4 ff.); (2) Philo (*Quod omnis probus liber*, 12, 13); (3) Philonic fragment in Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* VIII. xi.); (4) Pliny (*HN* v. 17, probably drawn from Alexander Polyhistor). Some additional details are to be found in the Fathers (esp. Hippolytus) who deal with Judæo-Christian heresies. Probably there is need of criticism of the main sources, but we may take them as trustworthy as to the facts adduced.

2. Name.—This occurs as *Essenoi* (Jos. 14 times, Hippol., Synesius); *Essaioi* (Philo, Hegesippus, Porphyry, Jos. 6 times); and in varying forms in Epiphanius—*Ossaioi, Ossenoi, Iessaioi*. For a discussion of various etymologies see Lightfoot (*Colossians*, 1875, p. 115 ff.). The name is best taken from Syr. *ḥāsē*, in plur. absol. *ḥāsên*, emphat. *ḥasaiā*; 'Essene' thus='pious.' For our purpose we are not concerned with giving a full account of the Order, nor with tracing its history, and speculating as to the origin of its peculiarities. We have merely to give a brief outline of its main features, and deal chiefly with the influence it exerted on the development of Christianity.

3. Organization and characteristics.—The Essenes were organized as a close Order on a basis of celibacy and absolute communism (Jos. *BJ* II. viii. 3 *f.*; Philo in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* VIII. xi. 4). Josephus speaks of a branch who allowed marriage (*BJ* II. viii. 13), but this must have been a minority. The officials were elected, and were implicitly obeyed (II. viii. 6). The Order was recruited by voluntary adhesions, or by adopting children (viii. 2). Candidates passed through a two-stage novitiate. For a year they lived under discipline, then they were admitted to the solemn initiatory ablution which separated them from the world, and after other two years they received full privileges of table-fellowship. They bound themselves by a fearful oath to reverence God; to do justice; hurt no man voluntarily or on command; obey the officials; conceal nothing from fellow-members, and divulge nothing of their affairs even at the risk of death; be honest and humble; communicate doctrines exactly as they had been received; and preserve carefully the sacred books and the names of the angels (II. viii. 7).

For *morality* the Essenes ranked high. 'In fact, they had in many respects reached the very highest moral elevation attained by the ancient world' (*EBr*¹¹ ix. 780ᵃ). Their lives were abstemious, humble, helpful. Sensual desires were sinful; passions were restrained. Their word was as good as an oath, and they forbade swearing. Their modesty was excessive. They condemned slavery (*BJ* II. viii. 2, 5, 6; Philo in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* VIII. xi. 11).

In devotion to *the Law* and in *ceremonial cleansings* they out-Phariseed the Pharisees. The Order was in four grades, and contact with one of a lower grade constituted a defilement. Where the Pharisee washed, the Essene bathed. Their food was carefully prepared by priests. Their sabbatarianism was extreme, and their reverence for Moses was such that they treated any disrespect to his name as blasphemy worthy of death (*BJ* II. viii. 9).

As to *worship*, they differed from normal Judaism in two important points: (*a*) they rejected animal sacrifice, and sent to the Temple only offerings of incense (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5); (*b*) in some sense they worshipped the sun; 'daily before the rising of the sun, they address to it old traditional prayers as though supplicating it to rise' (*BJ* II. viii. 5).

In *doctrine* they held strongly a doctrine of Providence, appearing to Josephus to be fatalists (*Ant.* XIII. v. 9). They took a dualistic view of man's nature. Through evil desire souls fell into

uniting themselves with bodies. Free from the body, the soul of the good will rise joyously, as if delivered from long bondage, and find a resting-place of felicity beyond the ocean, whereas for the bad is reserved a dark, cold region of unceasing torment (*BJ* II. viii. 11).

They revered certain *esoteric books* which probably dealt with angelology, magic, and divination. They were in repute as prophets (*BJ* II. viii. 12). They commended speculation in theology and cosmogony, and made researches into medicine (viii. 6), probably magical. They abhorred the use of oil (viii. 3); and that they abstained from flesh and wine has been often asserted, but is very uncertain.

4. Relation to Christianity.—That in several points Essenism, as described, is in agreement with Christianity, is beyond question. On the ground of those resemblances, some, *e.g.* De Quincey, have held that the Essenes are but Christian monks. This view cannot be taken seriously. Others, *e.g.* Ginsburg, have made Christianity a development of Essenism, and represented Christ as a member of the holy Order. With the question as to the relation of Jesus to Essenism we are not concerned (Lightfoot, *Colossians*, p. 158 ff., may be consulted). We merely note that the differences between the two are as pronounced as the resemblances.

(1) *Was James an Essene?*—We may, however, deal with an assertion, sometimes made, that James, the writer of the canonical Epistle, was an Essene. Those who believe so found their belief upon the account of James given by Hegesippus (in Euseb. *HE* ii. 23), who flourished about A.D. 170. He asserts that James abstained from flesh, wine and strong drink, and the bath; that he allowed no razor to touch his head, no oil to touch his body, and that he wore only fine linen (which was the dress of the Essenes). If this account were reliable, it would not prove that James was an Essene. Those who believe so must hold the common, but quite wrong, opinion that all Jews were Pharisees, Sadducees, or Essenes, and that all showing asceticism were Essenes. James might be an ascetic without being an Essene, as one may to-day be an abstainer without being a Good Templar. In the notice of Hegesippus itself we have conclusive evidence that James could not be an Essene, for he abstained from the bath, which to the Essenes was of such importance. Besides, as Lightfoot shows (*Col.* p. 168), Hegesippus is far from trustworthy here. There is no evidence at all for the identification of James with the Essenes.

(2) *Did the Apostolic Church copy the Order?*—The resemblances are striking, and we shall mention and examine the most important.

(*a*) The temporary *communism* of the early chapters of Acts reminds us of the communism of the Essenes. But the Christians were a *brotherhood*, not an Order, and the surrender of property was a voluntary act, not necessary for recognition as a brother (Ac 5^4). The Christian communism admits of easy explanation from the belief in the almost immediate Return of the Lord. (*b*) *Celibacy* is recommended as a 'counsel of perfection' in 1 Co $7^{1.8}$. It is clear from v.^{29} that this too depends on the belief in the nearness of the end. (*c*) The Essenes substituted a *sacramental* for a sacrificial worship. The importance of this has very seldom been appreciated, though it is a point which makes the Order of great interest in the history of religion. Apart from their multitudinous ordinary lustrations, there was the solemn initiatory ablution at the end of the first novitiate. It cleansed outwardly and inwardly and made the ordinary man an Essene (so Bousset, *Religion des Judentums*, p. 436). Here we have a parallel with Christian baptism and baptismal regeneration. In their common meal we have a parallel with the Christian love-feast, if not with the Eucharist. We quote Josephus's description:

'They assemble together in one place, and having clothed themselves in white veils, they bathe their bodies in cold water. After this purification, they assemble in an apartment of their own, into which it is not allowed to any stranger to enter. . . . They enter as if it were some holy temple, and sit down quietly. . . . The priest prays before meat, and none may eat before prayer is offered, and when they have made their meal, he again prays over them. . . . And when they begin and when they end, they praise God. . . . Nor is there ever any clamour or disturbance . . . which silence appears to outsiders as some tremendous mystery' (*BJ* II. viii. 5; cf. *Ant.* XVIII. i. 5).

As noted above, novices were not admitted to the Table; similarly Christian catechumens retired before the celebration of the Eucharist. It must be admitted that here we have a striking resemblance, but to conclude that the Church owed its sacraments to the Essenes is a rash proceeding. The love-feast has many other parallels elsewhere, and could grow up independently of any of them. Any association of men will naturally develop something similar. Baptism, too, is no rare phenomenon. We conclude that, while the parallel is interesting, the Christian development cannot be shown to be borrowed from Essenism, and is intelligible without any reference to it.

Other resemblances have been noted (a list will be found in *HDB*, art. 'Essenes'), but they are trifling and unconvincing. The fact, *e.g.*, that Christians are admonished to obey them that have the rule over them gives a point of resemblance to the Essenes certainly, but also to every human association that ever was organized on principles of common sense. It is useless to draw out laborious parallels of this sort. We may hold that the early Church cannot be proved to have owed anything to Essenism, and can be explained without it. On the other hand, Essenism, in its super-Pharisaism, its retirement from the world, its avoidance of the Temple (cf. Ac 3^1 21^{26}), its views of the body, its sun-worship and magic, is in sharpest contrast to Christianity. Of the silence of the NT regarding the Essenes there are only two possible explanations. One is that Christianity is one with Essenism—a view we have rejected. The other is that Essenism was so uninfluential, so entirely out of relation to Christianity, or any active movement of the time, that there was no occasion to mention it. When we remember that Pliny knows of Essenes only as inhabiting the desert shore of the Dead Sea, we are confirmed in choosing this alternative.

5. Influence on heresies.—If it is doubtful whether the Church in her normal development owed anything to Essenism, it is not doubtful that its influence is discernible in the rise of a number of heresies. Here too, however, its influence has sometimes been exaggerated. It is highly questionable whether Essenes have, or possibly could have, any connexion with the 'weaker brethren' of Romans or the errorists of Colossians. The former, as seems indicated in Ro 15^7, are probably Gentiles given to the asceticism which was not uncommon in the heathen world at that time (A. C. McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostol. Age*, 1897, p. 337). The latter, though scholars like Lightfoot and Weiss regard them as clearly Essenic, are really as likely to be Alexandrian as Palestinian Jews (p. 368). According to all our authorities, Essenes were confined to Palestine. We have stated Pliny's view above; Philo knew of them in many towns and villages of Judæa; Josephus knew them all through Palestine. The last two authorities are obviously anxious to make the most possible of the Essenes, and, had they had a wider distribution, we may be sure we should have been informed of it. The Essenes arrived at their

peculiarities by uniting heathen elements with Judaism; and wherever Jews came in touch with like influences, similar results might be produced. Leaving out the Roman and Colossian errorists as doubtfully Essenic, to say the least, we proceed to those heretical movements where, with great probability, Essenism is influential.

(*a*) The Essenes are of undoubted interest for the history of *Gnosticism* (*q.v.*). They may be called 'the Gnostics of Judaism.' Their fondness for speculation on cosmogony, their allegorizing of the OT, of which Philo speaks, their dualistic views, which involve a depreciation of matter, their magic and their esoteric books—all connect them with Gnosticism. And they are important as showing that in essence there was a pre-Christian Gnosticism. (*b*) They influenced those Jewish Christians who came into contact with them (see art. EBIONISM). The *Ebionites*, as described by Epiphanius, show traces of Essenic influence in their asceticism and frequent baptisms. The *Elkesaites* are Essenized Ebionites. Epiphanius (*Hær.* xix. 2, xx. 3) identifies Elkesaites with *Sampsæans* (sun-worshippers), and calls them a remnant of the Essenes who had adopted a debased form of Christianity. (*c*) The history of the Essenes after the Fall of Jerusalem is obscure. They suffered severely, and endured bravely, in the persecution, and probably their Order was broken up (Lightfoot, *Col.* p. 169). Many would attach themselves to the neighbouring Christians, with whom they would find several affinities, and carry elements of their Essenism with them. In the *Palestinian Judæo-Christian* heresies, then, we may, with practical certainty, trace Essenic influence.

6. Conclusion.—The whole subject of Essenism is wrapped in obscurity: the Essenes remain, and will remain, the 'great enigma of Jewish history.' The obscurity is all the more tantalizing because we know enough to perceive that for the history of religion the Essenes are of surpassing interest and importance. In them the Western world saw for the first time a monastic Order and a sacramental worship. In them, too, Gnosticism began its career. These are three points of vast importance. The 'regions beyond Jordan' are of special interest for the syncretism of which they were the scene. There, first Judaism and later Christianity were unable to maintain themselves in their original form. In a general way, we can understand the process of this syncretism. In that region Perso-Babylonian, and even perhaps Buddhistic, influences, pressing westward, impinged upon Judaism, and Essenism is the most prominent of the various amalgams that resulted. In the more obscure Sampsæans, Nasaræans, Hemerobaptists, etc., we have, no doubt, other examples. And as it was with trans-Jordanic Judaism, so it was with trans-Jordanic Judaistic Christianity. It found in Essenism and its cognates what they had found in eastern heathenism—an influence too strong to be resisted. But as to the precise details of both syncretisms, we are left in ignorance, and nearly every statement must begin with 'probably.' As has been indicated, in estimating their influence on Christianity, Catholic and heretical alike, we must beware of the tendency to exaggerate it. Our view is—the Essenes had no appreciable influence on the development of Catholic Christianity, but in Judæo-Christian heresies their influence is considerable, while for the history of Gnosticism they are of great interest.

LITERATURE.—This is very abundant. We mention only P. E. Lucius, *Der Essenismus*, 1881; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 1875; E. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. [1885] 188 ff.; A. Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergeschichte des Urchristentums*, 1884; W. Bousset, *Religion des Judentums im NT Zeitalter*, 1903; artt. in *HDB*, *EBi*, *JE*, *CE*, and *EBr*[11], where further Literature is mentioned.

W. D. NIVEN.

ETERNAL, EVERLASTING.—'Eternal' and 'everlasting' are employed in the AV of the NT somewhat indiscriminately to render three Greek words—*ἀΐδιος*, *αἰών* (used adjectivally in genitive plural), and *αἰώνιος*. *ἀΐδιος* is found only in Ro 1[20] and Jude[6], AV rendering 'eternal' in the first case and 'everlasting' in the second. 'Eternal' is the translation of *τῶν αἰώνων* in Eph 3[11], 1 Ti 1[17]. *αἰώνιος* is of very common occurrence; but while AV in most cases gives 'eternal,' it not infrequently substitutes 'everlasting,' and sometimes does so, apparently, for no other reason than to avoid the repetition of the same English word (cf., *e.g.*, Ac 13[46] with v.[48]; Ro 6[22] with v.[23]). For *ἀΐδιος* (a contraction for *ἀεΐδιος*, fr. *ἀεί* 'ever') RV properly reserves 'everlasting.' For *τῶν αἰώνων* it gives the literal meaning 'of the ages.' For *αἰώνιος* (fr. *αἰών*) it regularly gives 'eternal,' except in Philem[15], where *αἰώνιον* is treated as an adverb and rendered 'for ever.' 'Eternal' for *αἰώνιος* is etymologically correct, since Lat. *æternus* (for *æviternus*) comes from *ævum*, the digammated form of *αἰών*, from which *αἰώνιος* is derived. Moreover, no better English word can be suggested—unless the transliteration 'æonian' could be accepted. None the less, 'eternal' is misleading, inasmuch as it has come in English to connote the idea of 'endlessly existing,' and thus to be practically a synonym for 'everlasting.' But this is not an adequate rendering of *αἰώνιος*, which varies in meaning with the variations of the noun *αἰών*, from which it comes.

The chief meanings of *αἰών* in classical Greek are: (1) a lifetime; (2) an age or period; (3) a period of unlimited duration. In the LXX, which is largely determinative for NT usage, *αἰών* (usually representing Heb. עוֹלָם) is employed with the same variations as in the older Greek literature; and the length of time referred to must be determined from the context. In some cases *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* refers to the duration of a single human life (Ex 19[9] 21[6]); in others it is applied to the length of a dynasty (1 Ch 28[4]), the lasting nature of an ordinance (2 Ch 2[4]), the national existence of Israel (2 Ch 9[8]), the perpetuity of the earth (Ec 1[4]), the enduring character of God (Ps 9[7]) and of the Divine truth and mercy (117[2] 118[1]). Similarly *αἰώνιος* is applied to the ancient gates of Zion (Ps 24[7]), to certain Levitical ordinances (Lv 16[29. 34]), to the covenants of God with men (Gn 9[16] 17[7], etc.), to the Divine mercy (Is 54[8]) and love (Jer 31[3]). Only rarely do we find the word applied directly to God Himself (Gn 21[33], Is 40[28]). Passing from the LXX, we have to notice the bearing upon NT usage of the distinction made in the later Jewish theology (see Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. 133) between the present age (עוֹלָם הַזֶּה) and the coming or Messianic age (עוֹלָם הַבָּא), a distinction which reappears in the NT in the expressions *ὁ αἰὼν οὗτος* and *ὁ αἰὼν ὁ μέλλων* or *ὁ ἐρχόμενος*.

Coming now to the NT with the previous history of *αἰών* and *αἰώνιος* in view, we find that the terms are still used as before with various connotations. In 1 Co 8[13], unless St. Paul is writing by way of pure hyperbole, *αἰών* can refer only to his own lifetime. In Ac 3[21] it refers to the age of prophecy. Its frequent employment in the plural suggests that in the singular the word denotes something less than unending time; while the phrases *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων* (1 Co 2[7]) and *τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων* (10[11]) point to ages that were conceived of, not as everlasting, but as having a beginning and coming to an end. Even the coming or Messianic *αἰών*, as contrasted with the present time (Mk 10[30], Eph 1[21], etc.), is not conceived of by St. Paul as endless. In 2 P 1[11] Christ's Kingdom is described as *αἰώνιος*; but St. Paul anticipates a time when Christ shall deliver up His Kingdom to God the Father (1 Co 15[24]).

The use of the adjective is again similar to that

of the noun. Whether *αἰώνιον* is treated as an adverb or an adjective in Philem [15], it is evident that the meaning must be restricted to the lifetime of Onesimus and Philemon. The *χρόνοι αἰώνιοι* of Ro 16[25] are the ages during which the mystery of the gospel was kept secret, in contrast with the age of its revelation. Those *χρόνοι αἰώνιοι*, moreover, are not to be thought of as stretching backwards everlastingly, as is proved by the *πρὸ χρόνων αἰωνίων* of 2 Ti 1[9], Tit 1[2]. The *αἰώνιος θεός* of Ro 16[26] carries with it unquestionably the idea of everlastingness; but it is worth noting that this is the only occasion in the NT when the term is applied to God, and that the doxology in which it occurs is of doubtful genuineness.

It is when we come to consider the expression *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* (cf. *σωτηρία* [He 5[9]], *λύτρωσις* [9[12]], *κληρονομία* [v.[15]]), which is of very frequent occurrence in the Johannine and Pauline writings, together with the contrasted conceptions *πῦρ αἰώνιον* (Mt 18[8] 25[41], Jude [7]), *κόλασις αἰώνιος* (Mt 25[46]), *ὄλεθρος αἰώνιος* (2 Th 1[9]), *κρῖμα αἰώνιον* (He 6[2]), that we find the real crux of the difficulty of translating the term. It has often been insisted that the meaning of the word is the same in either case, and that if 'æonian fire' is less than everlasting, 'æonian life' must also be less. Sometimes this argument has been met by the objection that *αἰώνιος* is not a quantitative but a spiritual and qualitative term, expressing a kind rather than a length of being. That the word is frequently so used in the Johannine writings appears evident (*e.g.* Jn 17[3], 1 Jn 3[14. 15] 5[13]); and in the Pauline Epistles also we have various examples of its employment in a sense that is intensive rather than extensive—notably the equation in 1 Ti 6[12. 19] (RV) between 'eternal life' and 'the life which is life indeed.' And yet it must be admitted that the whole history of the term points to the underlying idea of duration, and not of duration only, but of a duration that is permanent. With equal clearness, however, that history shows that the permanence affirmed is not absolute, but relative to the nature of the subject. When applied to the loving service of a Christian slave to a Christian master, *αἰώνιος* denotes a permanence as lasting as the earthly relation between master and slave will permit. When used of the ages before the gospel was revealed, it means throughout the whole length of those ages. When applied to God or to the Spirit (He 9[14]), it means as everlasting as the Divine nature itself. And when we come to 'eternal life' on the one hand and 'eternal fire' or 'eternal destruction' on the other, they also must be rendered according to our conception of the inherent nature of the thing referred to. And many will hold that while good, as emanating from God, is necessarily indestructible, evil, as contrary to the Divine nature and will, must eventually cease to be—'that God may be all in all' (1 Co 15[28]). 'Æonian fire,' therefore, may mean a fire that goes on burning until it has burned itself out; 'æonian destruction,' a destruction that continues until there is nothing left to destroy. But 'æonian life,' being life in Christ Jesus our Lord (Ro 6[23]; cf. 1 Jn 5[11]), must be as enduring as the Divine immortality. If the spirit of life in Christ Jesus dwells in us, nothing shall be able to separate us from the love of God (Ro 8[2. 11. 35-39]). See, further, LIFE AND DEATH.

LITERATURE.—S. D. F. Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, Edinburgh, 1895, p. 649 ff.; G. B. Stevens, *Theol. of NT*, do. 1899, p. 224 ff., *Christian Doctrine of Salvation*, do. 1905, p. 526 f.; *Expositor*, 1st. ser. vii. [1878] 405–424, 3rd. ser, vi. [1887] 274–286, vii. [1888] 266–278; *EBi* ii. [1901] 1408.

J. C. LAMBERT.

ETERNAL FIRE.—See FIRE.

ETERNAL LIFE.—See ETERNAL and LIFE AND DEATH.

ETHICS.—It is proposed in the present article not to discuss the vast subject of ethics in general, but to attempt to ascertain what were the most striking points in which the ethical ideas of the Christians of the Apostolic Age differed from those of earlier speculators on the subject.

1. Sources of information.—All our first-hand information is contained in the writings of the NT and of the Apostolic Fathers. Indirectly the works of later Christian authors, who treated the subject more systematically, may throw some light by way of inference on the conceptions of the Apostolic Age: for instance, if the treatment of the cardinal virtues by St. Augustine and others shows a marked difference from the treatment found in pre-Christian writers, it may perhaps be rightly inferred that the difference is due to ideas which already prevailed in the first generation of Christians. But inferences of this sort are precarious, for it is hardly possible to ascertain accurately how far the other influences which contributed to the thought of the later writers were operative in the earliest age; and in any case it is probable that later writings would not add anything of great importance to the general outline, which is all that is being attempted here. Attention will therefore be confined to the contemporary documents. And with respect to these, critical questions may be ignored. The accuracy of the historical narrative is not in question, and whatever may be the authorship or the precise date of the documents reviewed, they are all sufficiently early to reflect ethical ideas which belong to the Apostolic Age, and not those which belong to a later period.

2. General characteristics of ethical thought.—(1) *Absence of systematic treatment.*—Ethical questions are constantly touched upon in the NT, but always more or less in connexion with particular cases as they arise, and never in connexion with a complete and thought-out system. Here there is a striking contrast with Greek philosophy. The philosophers tried to find a rational basis for human life in all its relations. In ethics they discussed the question of the supreme good—whether it was knowledge, or pleasure, or virtue; they classified the virtues, and discussed in the fullest manner their various manifestations. There is nothing of this sort in the NT. The morality of the Jews, again, was very different from that of the Greeks, for the Jews took little interest in purely philosophical problems; but they also had a system, and a very elaborate one, of law and of ceremonial observance, with which their morality was closely bound up. Although the Christians inherited so much from the Jews, this system, after being, as it were, raised to its highest power in the Sermon on the Mount, was definitely set aside in the Apostolic Age. And in the place of a system we find an overpowering interest in certain historical facts. The Synoptic Gospels are occupied with a fragmentary narrative of the life of Christ, in which a good deal of moral teaching is contained. But it is such as arises incidentally from the facts recorded in the narrative, and it is not presented as part of a scheme of ethics. In the Fourth Gospel there is something more nearly resembling systematic moral discussion, but even here the discourses arise out of a historical framework, and the prevailing interest is not ethical but spiritual and mystical. The Acts contains little but narrative, and the teaching recorded in it centres almost monotonously around facts. In the Epistles ethical questions are constantly dealt with, but the problems are practical, and arise out of the circumstances of the time. This is not to say that in these writings there is no new point of view, but that ethics is nowhere treated in a complete and systematic way, and that there appears to be no

consciousness on the part of the writers that they are in possession of a new ethical theory or philosophy. The difference, therefore, between pre-Christian and Christian ethics does not consist in a new theory or system. The subject was treated in the Apostolic Age from the practical point of view.

(2) *The moral ideal.*—A new element is, however, introduced into ethics by that very concentration upon a single historical life which has been noted above. The ideal man had figured largely in earlier ethical systems, but the ideal man of philosophy had been entirely a creation of the imagination, and his actual existence never seems to have been thought of as a practical possibility. Now, however, an actual human life is put forward as a model of perfection, and it is assumed without discussion that all ethical questions, as they may happen to arise, may be, and must be, tested by this.

(3) *The new life.*—There is, moreover, in the consciousness of the Apostolic Age something more potent than belief in a historical example. There is a sense which pervades every writing of this time that a new force has come into existence. It is not necessary to insist upon the prominence in early Christian teaching of the belief in the Resurrection. The continued life and activity of the Person who is the centre of all their thought were the greatest of all realities to the early Christians. With it was combined the belief in the continual indwelling and inspiration of the Holy Spirit. And this seems to explain the apparent indifference to ethical theory which has been noted. For to the early Christians 'outward morality is the necessary expression of a life already infused into the soul' (Strong, *Christian Ethics*, p. 69). It is in this respect that the Christian conception presents the most marked contrast to pre-Christian thought. There was a note of hopelessness in the moral speculation of the Greeks. Even a high ideal was a thing regarded as practically out of reach for the mass of mankind. Plato looked upon the ideal State as a necessary condition for the exercise of the highest virtue, and its conception was a wonderful effort of the philosophical imagination; but it was not considered possible. Even the apparently practical conceptions of Aristotle require a complete reconstruction of society. The Stoic philosophers abandoned this dream, and could suggest nothing better than the withdrawal of the wise man from all ordinary human interests. The Neo-Platonist went further, and sought complete severance from the world of sense. Jewish thought was on different lines, but there was an even keener sense of sin and failure, although this was redeemed from despair by the hope of a Messianic Age which would redress all the evils of the existing order. Above all there was no sufficient solution, and among the Greeks little attempt at a solution, of the problem of how the human will was to be sufficiently strengthened to do its part in the realization of any ideal. In the writings of the Apostolic Age, on the other hand, there is found not only a belief in a perfect ideal historically realized, but also a belief in an indwelling power sufficient to restore all that is weak and depraved in the human will.

(4) *The evangelical virtues.*—In the NT there is no regular discussion of the nature of virtue, and no formal classification of virtues. The Greek philosophers, while they differed in their views of what constituted the chief good, were agreed in accepting what are known as the four cardinal virtues — prudence, temperance, fortitude, and justice—as the basis of their classification. This division, from the time of Plato onwards (and he appears to assume it as familiar), is generally accepted as exhaustive, and other virtues are made to fall under these heads. But although this classification must have been familiar to a large number of the early Christians, and although it had been adopted in the Book of Wisdom (8^7), it is not mentioned in the NT. The cardinal virtues reappeared in Christian literature from Origen onwards, and were exhaustively treated by Ambrose, Augustine, Gregory, and mediæval writers, but this kind of discussion does not make its appearance in the Apostolic Age. Such lists of virtues as that which occurs in Gal $5^{22f.}$ are clearly not intended to be exhaustive or scientific, and the nearest approach to a system of virtues is made by St. Paul in 1 Cor., where he expounds what became known as the three theological virtues of faith, hope, and love. These three are also closely associated in Ro 5^{1-5}, 1 Th $1^{2f.}$, and Col 1^{3-5}; and two other NT writers (He 10^{22-24} and 1 P $1^{21f.}$) mention them in conjunction in a suggestive manner. It seems that they were generally recognized as moral or spiritual states characteristic of the Christian life. And the reason for this appears to be that they are regarded as the means by which the Christian is brought into personal relation with the historical facts, and with the new life brought by them into the world, which have been spoken of above as the point on which the Christians of the first age centred their attention. The insistence on these spiritual virtues brings out two distinct characteristics of the ethical thought of the Apostolic Age, which are nowhere defined or discussed in the NT, but which nevertheless appear to be consistently implied. These characteristics are a new doctrine of the end of man, and consequently a new criterion of good and evil, and a new view of human nature.

(*a*) These three virtues all take a man outside himself, and make it impossible for him to be merely self-regarding. They bring him into close relation not only with his fellow-men but with God. So union with God becomes the highest end of man. This union, moreover, is not absorption: whatever may have been the case of some later Christian mystics, the most mystical of the early writers, St. Paul and St. John, never contemplate anything but a conscious union with God, in which the whole individuality of man is preserved. 'From first to last the Christian idea is social, and involves the conscious communion between man and man, between man and God. And no state of things in which the individual consciousness disappears will satisfy this demand' (Strong, *op. cit.* p. 88). Faith, hope, and love all relate to a spiritual region above and beyond this present life, but the existing world is not excluded from it. The Kingdom of God, which occupies so large a place in the thought of the Apostolic Age, is regarded as future and as transcendental, but it is also regarded as having come already, so far as the rule of Christ has been made effective in this life. Thus a new standard for moral judgments is set up: those actions and events are good which advance the coming of the Kingdom, and those are evil which impede it.

(*b*) Further, the evangelical virtues assume a unity in human nature which pre-Christian systems of thought failed to recognize. Greek thought either regarded human nature as unfallen, or it adopted more or less an Oriental view of evil as immanent in matter. When evil could not be ignored it might be ascribed either to ignorance or to the imprisonment of the soul in an alien environment. In neither case could human nature be regarded as a whole which in its own proper being is harmonious. The body and the emotions which are closely connected with it were looked upon as things which must either be kept in strict subjection to the intellect, or, as far as possible, be got rid of altogether. In early Christian thought, on the other hand, hope and love are mainly emotional, and faith is by no

means exclusively intellectual. In St. Paul's use of the term it includes a strong element of emotion—it 'worketh through love' (Gal 5^6); and it is almost more an act of the will than of the intellect. And although asceticism played a great part in some departments of later Christian thought, in the Apostolic Age there can be no doubt of the importance assigned to the body. The conspicuous Christian belief in the resurrection of the body assumes a very different point of view from that of Oriental or even of Greek philosophy. It is clear that the first generation of Christians regarded human nature as fallen indeed, but as capable in all its parts of restoration, and they believed that none of its parts could be left out from the salvation of the whole.

(5) *The conception of sin.*—Speaking generally, it may be said that the non-Christian view of sin regards it as natural, and that the Christian view regards it as unnatural. This is, however, a broad generalization, and requires further definition. No system of ethical thought can altogether ignore the fact of sin, though it is sometimes minimized. But there are wide differences in the way in which it is regarded. In pre-Christian thought it was often almost identified with ignorance. It was assumed that a man cannot sin willingly, because no man desires evil for himself. Virtue is therefore knowledge, and the possibility of knowing what is right and doing what is wrong need not be considered. This was the teaching of a large section of Greek philosophy. Again, wherever Oriental ideas had influence, the seat of evil was thought to be in matter. Sometimes the strife between good and evil was explained as a contest between two rival and evenly-balanced powers. Sometimes a good deity was conceived as acting upon an intractable material. The practical conclusion was usually some form of asceticism—an attempt to be quit of the body and all that it implied; and this asceticism, by a process easy to be understood, not infrequently led to licence. These tendencies often make their appearance in Church history, and traces of them are to be found in the writings of the NT, but during the Apostolic Age the dangers of Gnosticism and Antinomianism were but rudimentary. In modern times the view of evil which regards it as undeveloped good, or as the survival of instincts that are no longer necessary or beneficial, has some points in common with the old dualisms. The common feature of all these views is that they regard evil as more or less inevitable and according to nature. It would not be true to say that they altogether disregard the human will, or deny human responsibility, but they treat the body rather than the will as the seat of evil, and they tend to look upon evil as, upon the whole, natural and necessary. The Christian view of sin, as it appears in the writings of the Apostolic Age, is in the sharpest contrast to this. It is the Jewish view, carried to its natural conclusion, and its chief characteristics may be set down under three heads.

(*a*) First, the freedom of the will is not considered from the philosophical point of view at all. The metaphysical difficulties are not even touched upon, nor is any consciousness shown of their existence. But the responsibility of man is always assumed. Nor is it for his actions alone that he is responsible. The Sermon on the Mount brings home to him responsibility for every thought, and for his whole attitude towards God. And in doing so it brings to its natural conclusion the course of ethical thought among the Jews. If, however, the root of sin is in the will, it follows that it is not in matter, or in the body, or in anything distinct from the will of man. The whole universe is good, because it is created by God, and sin consists in the wilful misuse of things naturally good. Asceticism therefore, except in the sense of such training as may help to restore the will to a healthy condition, is excluded.

(*b*) Secondly, the idea of the holiness of God, as forming a test of human action and a condemnation of human shortcomings, is another conception inherited from Judaism. Early Jewish ideas about God are anthropomorphic, but the anthropomorphism is of a very different kind from that of the Greeks. The deities of Greek mythology who aroused the contemptuous disgust of Plato were constructed out of human experience with all the evil and good qualities of actual men emphasized and heightened. To the Jew God is an ideal, the source of the Moral Law, rebellion against which is sin. So in the Sermon on the Mount the perfection of God is held up as the ideal for human perfection, and St. Paul makes the unity of God the ground for belief in the unity of the Church.

(*c*) Thirdly, sin was regarded as a thing which affects the race, and not only individuals. The beliefs of the Apostolic Age with regard to Christ's redemptive work imply that there is a taint in the race, and that human nature itself, and not only individual men, has to be restored to communion with God, and requires such a release from sin as will make communion with God possible. Some practical results of this belief in the solidarity of mankind are conspicuous in early Christian writings. One is the exercise of discipline. It was felt that the actions and character of individuals compromised and affected the whole body, and that they could not therefore be left to themselves. The injury done by the rebellion of one injured and imperilled the whole community. Both for his own sake and for the sake of the Church a corporate censure was required, extending if necessary to the cutting off of the offending member (1 Co 5, 2 Co 2, Mt 18^{15-20}, etc.). Another result of the belief in solidarity is the emphasis laid upon social virtues in connexion with the corporate character of the Church (*e.g.* Ro 12, 1 Co 12–14, Gal 5, etc.). It partly accounts for that special prominence of humility in Christian ethics which has been so often commented on from different points of view, for humility is regarded not only as a duty enforced by the example of Christ, but also as the practical means for preserving the unity and harmonious working of the body (Ph 2^{3-5}, etc.).

3. Conclusion.—Ethics in the Apostolic Age did not consist in a re-statement of old experience or in a system of purely ethical theory, but in the recognition and acceptance in the sphere of conduct of the practical consequences of what was believed to be an entirely new experience of spiritual facts.

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J. H. MAUDE.

ETHIOPIANS.—Ethiopians are only twice mentioned in the NT, and then in the same passage, viz. Ac 8^{27}, where Candace, queen of (the) Ethiopians, and her εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης are mentioned in connexion with Philip the Deacon (see artt. CANDACE, ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH, and PHILIP). The word is there doubtless, as in the OT, the Greek equivalent of the Heb. *Kūshī*. It seems probable that Αἰθίοψ (?= 'Redface') is only a Græcized form of some native word, not a proper description of their facial characteristic, but what that word was can only be conjectured. 'Ethiopia' in NT times would appear to mean the southern

part of Egypt, now called the Sûdan, the ancient kingdom of Meroë. In earlier days Napata, a town on the Nile, somewhat north of Meroë, which was likewise on the Nile, had been the capital; but though Napata still retained some of its prestige as the sacred city, yet the seat of government had been removed to Meroë. Another kingdom, that of Axum in the mountain region of Abyssinia proper, seems to have taken its rise about the middle of the 1st cent. A.D., but that does not come into view in our present inquiry.

C. L. FELTOE.

ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.—Philip the Deacon's convert (Ac $8^{27ff.}$) is described as *Αἰθίοψ εὐνοῦχος δυνάστης Κανδάκης βασιλίσσης Αἰθιόπων, ὃς ἦν ἐπὶ πάσης τῆς γάζης αὐτῆς*. *Αἰθίοψ* has been briefly discussed above, *εὐνοῦχος* implies that he was one of the Court officials and perhaps subject to the physical disability which the name ordinarily implies, but not 'chamberlain' in the strict sense of the term, as he 'was in charge of all her treasure' (see CANDACE). Becker (*Charicles*, Eng. tr., 1895, p. 365) notes that eunuchs were prized for their reputed fidelity (*παρὰ τοῖσι βαρβάροισι* [Herod. viii. 105]), and hence were employed as treasurers (*ἐπιεικῶς γὰρ εἰώθεσαν εὐνούχους ἔχειν γαζοφύλακας* [Plutarch, *Demetr.* 25]). *δυνάστης* suggests that he possessed unusual power and influence at Court; the word is not found in a similar connexion elsewhere in the NT (it is used of God in 1 Ti 6^{15} and of kings in Lk 1^{52}), but we have two good instances in Xenophon (*Anab.* I. ii. § 20: *τῶν ὑπάρχων τινα δυνάστην*, and *Cyrop.* IV. v. § 40: *τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἄλλων δυναστῶν*; cf. Herod. ii. 32 and Plato, *Rep.* 473). There are no means hitherto available for identifying this personage who so early in the history of the Church was admitted to her fold by holy baptism* from the Gentile world; but the fact that he was returning from worship at Jerusalem, and was reading Is $53^{7,8}$ in the LXX version, which here differs somewhat from the Hebrew text, shows that he was acquainted with the Greek language and had been drawn to the religion of the Jews, although he was not very deeply versed in the Scriptures (v.^{34}). He was not actually a proselyte, and in any case his physical condition probably disqualified him.

C. L. FELTOE.

ETHNARCH.—This comparatively rare term is derived from *ἔθνος*, 'a race,' and *ἄρχειν*, 'to rule'; perhaps the nearest English equivalent is 'chief.' The word is not known before the 2nd cent. B.C., and appears to indicate a ruler appointed by or over a people who were themselves part of a larger kingdom or empire, the appointment being made or recognized by its overlord or suzerain as valid. The purpose of such an appointment was perhaps primarily to safeguard the religion of a people. The earliest instance of an ethnarch known to us is that of Simon Maccabæus. In 1 Mac 14^{47} Simon accepts from the people the following offices—*ἀρχιερατεῦσαι καὶ εἶναι στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐθνάρχης τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ ἱερέων καὶ τοῦ προστατῆσαι πάντων* ('to be high priest and to be general and ethnarch of the Jews and their priests and to rule over all'); and in 15^{2} a letter of King Antiochus of Syria is addressed to him as *ἱερεῖ μεγάλῳ καὶ ἐθνάρχῃ* ('great priest and ethnarch'). From 15^{1-2} it is clear that the *ἔθνος* was the Jews themselves, and indeed almost everywhere where the term 'ethnarch' occurs, it refers to a ruler over Jews. Josephus (*Ant.* XIV. vii. 2) shows us that the large Jewish community in the great city of Alexandria had an 'ethnarch' over it, and he defines his duties precisely thus: *διοικεῖ τε τὸ ἔθνος καὶ διαιτᾷ κρίσεις καὶ συμβολαίων ἐπιμελεῖται καὶ προσταγμάτων, ὡς ἂν πολιτείας ἄρχων αὐτοτελοῦς* ('he governs the race and decides trials in court and has charge of contracts and ordinances as if he were an absolute monarch').

An inscription (Le Bas-Waddington, *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure*, Paris, 1847–77, vol. iii. no. 2196 = W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Græci Inscriptiones Selectæ*, Leipzig, 1905, vol. ii. no. 616) from a village, El-Mâlikîje in the Hauran, mentions by the names 'ethnarch' and 'general (*or* prætor) of nomads' a chief of nomad Arabs of the time of Hadrian or Antoninus Pius who must have submitted to the Emperor.

These passages will help to illustrate the reference in 2 Co 11^{32}. The man there mentioned was doubtless ruler of the Jews in Damascus and its territory, who were 'permitted to exercise their own religious law very freely and fully' (Ramsay, *Pictures of the Apostolic Church*, London, 1910, p. 99). He was under Aretas, who has the title *βασιλεύς* ('king,' *i.e.* of Arabia), and, indeed, as has been said, the ethnarch was always lower than a king. This fact is illustrated by interesting passages in Josephus (*BJ* II. vi. 3, *Ant.* XVII. xi. 4), where Cæsar Augustus makes Archelaus not *βασιλεύς*, but *ἐθνάρχης*, of half of the territory that had belonged to Herod, promising him the higher title later, if certain conditions were fulfilled; and in Pseudo-Lucian (*Macrob.* § 17, ed. Jacobitz, Leipzig, 1896, vol. iii. p. 198), where a man is 'proclaimed *βασιλεύς* instead of *ἐθνάρχης* of the Bosporus.'

A. SOUTER.

EUBULUS (*Εὔβουλος*).—A friend of St. Paul and Timothy, Eubulus was present with the Apostle in Rome during his last imprisonment, and along with Claudia, Pudens, and Linus sent greetings to Timothy (2 Ti 4^{21}). Probably he was a member of the Church of Rome; and, as his name is Greek, he may have been a slave or a Roman freedman. Nothing, however, is known regarding him.

W. F. BOYD.

EUCHARIST.—1. Scope of article.—The scope of this article is limited to the observance of the Eucharist in the Apostolic Church, with especial reference to St. Paul. The Gospels are expressly excluded. Therefore the question as to the possibility of the accounts in the Synoptic Gospels having been influenced by Pauline ideas, and the many questions which are raised by the Gospel according to St. John, will not be treated in this article. The evidence which will be used will be that which is furnished by the Acts of the Apostles and the Pauline Epistles. Other evidence will only be adduced in so far as it has a direct bearing upon this.

2. The Acts of the Apostles.—In Acts we have a description of the life of the earliest Christian community in Jerusalem. We are told that 'they continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread (*τῇ κλάσει τοῦ ἄρτου*) and the prayers' (Ac 2^{42}). Further, we read that 'Day by day continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread (*κλῶντες ἄρτον*) at home, they partook of food with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God and having favour with all the people' (vv.$^{46-47}$). The latter passage contrasts their breaking of bread at home with their attendance at the Temple-worship. But the passage may be no more than a general description of the life of the community—that it was cheerful and social. In the former passage, however, it is difficult to resist the conclusion that *ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου* must have some religious significance. It has indeed been held that it has nothing to do with the Last Supper, that community of goods led to community of meals, and that no more than that is intended by the phrase. But the growing belief in the fact of redemption

* The formula of faith contained in v.^{37} is not found in the oldest MSS, but cannot be later than the 2nd cent., as it is quoted by Irenæus (*Hær.* III. xii. 8).

through the Death of Christ, together with certain visions of the Risen Lord, who appeared to His disciples, on some occasions, according to our accounts, at meals, led to a connexion being established, in the minds of Christians, between the Last Supper and the common meal. Thence the development is clear; and there is no difficulty in seeing how they came to believe in some mysterious Presence of Jesus. Thus was evolved the Pauline doctrine.*

It is true that it is impossible to prove any connexion between the 'breaking of the bread' of Ac 2^{42} and the Last Supper. But that there was a religious significance attached to the former seems clear from the way in which it is mentioned. And the general course of the history is most easily explained if we suppose that already in the primitive community at Jerusalem the connexion existed. It does not seem probable that St. Paul's churches differed wholly in their usage from other churches, and the facts are best explained by the supposition that, from the first, Christians commemorated their Master at their common meal. The suggestion, to which allusion has been made, that visions of the Risen Christ led to the connexion being established, fails to account for the fact that it is Christ's Death that came to be commemorated, and that, because of this, the Eucharist bore from very early times a sacrificial character. The evidence is not sufficient to lead to any certain conclusions; but on the whole it seems to point to the germ of the later conception being contained in these earliest 'breakings of bread.' Whether the 'breaking of bread' denotes the common meal, or a particular action at the common meal, is again not clear. Batiffol† maintains the latter, but his arguments are not conclusive;‡ and the matter must be left doubtful.

In Ac 20^{7-11} we read that the Christians of Troas met together on the first day of the week in the evening to 'break bread.' That is stated to be the purpose of the meeting. The writer of the Acts is himself present, and gives an account of the scene. There are many lights in the upper room. St. Paul, who is leaving Troas the next day, discourses until midnight. Then he breaks bread, and tastes it, and, after a further long conversation, departs at dawn. There is no indication here of a common meal; for the inference drawn from the use of the word 'tasting' (*γευσάμενος*), which is said by some§ to imply a meal, is surely unjustified. The 'breaking of bread' here appears to denote a ceremonial action. The language employed does not indeed exclude the possibility that this action, and the partaking by those present of the bread so broken, may have taken place during a meal which was held about midnight. But there is no hint of any such meal. It is noteworthy that this meeting takes place on a Sunday. There does not appear to have been a similar one daily during St. Paul's stay. And the whole narrative, with its mention of the 'many lights,' suggests a solemn gathering for worship. It must be remembered that in this passage we have to do with a Pauline church; and therefore we cannot safely argue back to the passages in Ac 2. But there can be no question that the 'breaking of bread' in this passage does denote a significant religious act; and, in the light of the evidence which we possess in 1 Cor. about the customs of St. Paul's churches, we conclude that the 'breaking of the bread' derives its significance from the Last Supper, and is in some way a commemoration of the Lord's Death. Significant it certainly was; and its significance is fixed by our evidence about the Church of Corinth.

3. St. Paul's doctrine.—We owe to purely accidental circumstances the preservation of an account of St. Paul's doctrine of the Eucharist, and a description of the Eucharist in the Church of Corinth. Disorders had arisen in that Church in connexion with the attitude of Christians towards meals in idol-temples and in connexion with the Eucharist. St. Paul finds it necessary to deal with these matters in 1 Corinthians. Had it not been for this necessity, we might have supposed that the Pauline churches were without any special sacramental teaching, for in none of the other Pauline Epistles is there any allusion to the subject. This, however, is accidental. For St. Paul's language to the Corinthians makes it certain that he must have given similar teaching to his converts elsewhere, and indeed the account of the 'breaking of bread' at Troas, when read in the light of the passage in 1 Cor., makes it clear that there too the Eucharist was the central point of the Christian assembly.

It appears from 1 Co 11^{20-34} that from time to time—presumably on Sundays—the members of the Church met together 'to eat the Lord's Supper.' This supper was a real meal, and the food was provided by those who attended it. But, whereas it ought to have been a fraternal gathering, a bond of unity, the selfishness and greed of the rich made it most unsatisfactory; for they insisted upon keeping for themselves the food they brought, whereas all the food brought ought to have been put together and divided among the whole number. The result of this was that some who attended had not enough to eat and drink, and some had too much. There were even cases of drunkenness. This conduct of the rich naturally led to divisions. Groups were formed, and the general spirit of fraternity was broken.

St. Paul reminds the Corinthians of the great solemnity of the Lord's Supper. He reminds them how he had told them before of the Last Supper itself, and how Jesus had instituted there a rite by which Christians were to proclaim His Death until He should come again. He reminds them that they came to enter into communion with the Body and Blood of Christ; that this is a solemn matter; that self-examination is necessary, and care to recognize the distinction between what is received and common bread; that those who fail to come up to what is required of them in this matter, those who receive unworthily, have in many cases already received striking punishments from God, for the objects to be received are so holy, that not only does worthy reception bring great benefits, but unworthy reception brings stern judgment.

In 1 Co 10 St. Paul warns the Corinthians of the dangers of idolatry. He holds up before them the example of the Israelites, who, though they were 'baptized unto Moses in the cloud and in the sea,' and ate the same spiritual food and drank the same spiritual drink, yet died in the wilderness because of their sins (vv.$^{1-6}$). There is a clear analogy with the case of Christians, who receive spiritual food and drink, and yet are liable to perish, in spite of their privileges, if they too sin. The particular sin of which he warns them is idolatry. He affirms that those who partake of a meal in an idol's temple really enter into communion with the demons who are at the back of idolatrous worship. Communion with the Body and Blood of Christ is incompatible with communion with demons. 'You cannot drink the Lord's cup and the cup of demons. You cannot share the Lord's table and a table of demons' (v.^{21}). In his conception the meat is offered to the idol and becomes the property of the demons, so that the

* Cf. M. Goguel, *L'Eucharistie. Des origines à Justin, martyr*, Paris, 1910.
† *L'Eucharistie*[5], Paris, 1913.
‡ See art. LOVE-FEAST.
§ *e.g.* M. Goguel, *op. cit.* p. 142.

demons are, as it were, the hosts at the sacrificial banquet. It is their cup which is drunk by those who attend. It is their table at which the guests sit. The parallel which St. Paul draws between these demonic banquets and the Lord's Supper suggests that in the same way the bread and the cup are offered to the Lord, so that He becomes the host. Therefore the Supper is His Supper, and it is His Cup and His Table. But the thought goes further than this. For not only do the communicants enter into communion with Christ by being, as it were, His guests at Supper; but they enter into communion with His Body and His Blood. The use of these expressions makes it clear that what is meant is that the communicant enters into communion with Christ's Death. It is the language of sacrifice which is here employed. The sacrificial Death of Christ is an essential part of St. Paul's thought. The worthy communicant feeds upon that sacrifice, and so appropriates the blessing won thereby.

But while it is true that it is only the worthy communicant who obtains the blessing, St. Paul's language clearly implies that the bread and the wine are not merely symbols. They are really to the communicant the Body and Blood of Christ—the Body broken and the Blood shed in His sacrificial Death. They have this wonderful character in themselves, apart from the faith of the communicant. For the unworthy communicant receives them at his peril, and the dangers of irreverence are very great. The communicant must discern the Body. The suggestion which has been made that 'the Body' in this phrase means Christ's mystical Body, the Christian Church, is worthy of very little attention. It is true that the word is sometimes so used, but here the context makes it necessary to understand by it the Body of Christ which is represented by the bread and partaken of by the communicant.

This communion takes place at a common meal. The Christians of the community come together, probably on the first day of the week, to a common meal. The question arises as to whether the whole meal is a communion, or whether communion takes place during or after the meal. v.[16] suggests that the latter is the true view. 'The cup of blessing which we bless,' 'the bread which we break,' suggest that during or after the meal there was a solemn blessing of a cup, and a solemn breaking of bread, in virtue of which the cup becomes 'the cup of blessing,' and both it and the bread which is broken assume their special character. It seems clear that the 'blessing' is a solemn liturgical act, and the parallelism with the breaking of bread indicates that that has the same character. The 'cup of blessing' is the cup over which a blessing has been said, or the cup which has been blessed. There is no necessary reference to any cup used in the Passover. St. Paul speaks of the cup which 'we bless,' but this does not necessarily mean that the whole assembly blessed the cup, or broke the bread. In fact, the language of Ac 20[11], where it is said that at Troas St. Paul himself 'broke the bread,' suggests that the 'liturgical' action was performed by a single person, who was presiding. A definite 'blessing' of a cup and 'breaking of bread' would seem to imply that the supper as a whole was not the communion, though the supper as a whole was the Lord's Supper, for the Lord was host. But during supper, or more probably after supper (cf. 1 Co 11[25]), the president blessed the cup and broke the bread; and the cup so blessed and the bread so broken assumed their special and sacred character. As we have seen, the supper is a real and not a symbolical meal. But St. Paul's suggestion that the Corinthians' own houses are the proper places in which to eat and drink, and his injunction that if they are hungry they should eat at home (11[22.34]) indicate the way in which the setting of the Eucharist came so soon to be altered. For these injunctions lead straight to the conclusion that the Christian assembly at which the Lord's Death is shown forth is not a suitable occasion for the satisfaction of bodily needs. It is therefore not surprising that we find, when next we have any evidence, that the Eucharist has been detached from its setting as part of a common meal.

There are two further points which deserve notice before we come to consider in further detail St. Paul's view of the effects of communion. The first is the fact that in 10[16] St. Paul puts the cup before the bread. We find the same thing in the *Didache*; and if the shorter text of St. Luke's Gospel be the right one, we find it also there. This is certainly a noticeable point. But, whatever may be the explanation in St. Luke and in the *Didache*, it is not possible to suppose that at Corinth the cup actually did precede the bread. For the form of the narrative of the Last Supper which St. Paul gives (11[23-25]) places the bread before the cup, and it is most unlikely that that order was reversed in the Corinthian Church. The explanation may be, as M. Goguel suggests,* that the parallelism between the Lord's Cup and the cup of libation at a heathen sacrifice was closer than that between the eating of a piece of bread and anything that took place there. It may be for this reason that the cup is mentioned before the bread. Or it may be merely that the bread is put second because St. Paul is to speak at further length about it in the next verse. But in any case it is misleading to regard 10[16] as having any real connexion with a tradition of the cup having preceded the bread at the Last Supper.

The second point is the phrase in 11[26]: 'Ye proclaim the Lord's death till he come.' The addition 'till he come' is reminiscent of Mk 14[25] and parallels, though the saying, as recorded in the Gospels, says nothing about the Lord's return, but speaks only of the joys of the Messianic Kingdom, to be shared by Him with Christians. The idea implied in the phrase 'till he come' is similar—namely, that the Eucharist is but a provisional rite, and looks forward to the day when communion with Him shall be more direct in His Kingdom.

We may now consider St. Paul's view of the effects of communion, and here the main thing to notice is the realistic character of St. Paul's thought. Participation in the one loaf produces a unity among Christians. 'Because there is one bread, we who are many are one body, because we all partake of that one bread' (10[17]). This unity is not the cause but the effect of the communion. There is a close parallel to the effect produced by participation in an idol-sacrifice, in which the worshippers are united to one another as well as to the demon. Besides this unity of believers which is produced by participation, there is of course the communion with the Body and Blood of Christ. It seems clear that the parallel with the heathen sacrifices still holds good. The communicant really enters into communion with Christ conceived as a sacrificial Victim. Whether this will be for his benefit or for his undoing depends upon his own disposition; but, whatever his disposition may be, in no case is that which he receives ordinary food. The bread since it has been broken, and the cup since it has been blessed, have assumed special characters. And it is no light matter for anyone to partake.

Here the question must be faced whether St. Paul's views on the subject of the Eucharist differed from those of the Corinthians. It has been held by W. Heitmüller† that St. Paul's conception

* *Op. cit.* p. 144, following Heinrici.

† *Taufe und Abendmahl bei Paulus*, Göttingen, 1903.

differed from theirs in that he believed that it was the dying Christ with whom the communicant entered into communion, whereas they thought rather of the glorified Christ. According to this idea, in ch. 10 St. Paul adopts the view of the Corinthians, but in ch. 11 he gives them his own view. It is true that the behaviour of the Corinthians at the supper would suggest at first sight that their beliefs about it were of no very solemn character, and it may seem strange that men who believed that they were actually commemorating Christ's Last Supper and Death, should treat the meal as an opportunity for self-indulgence; but it is by no means impossible that this may have been so. St. Paul's attitude throughout is that of a man who is reminding others of what they already know rather than of one who is giving new instruction. His view of the nature of the Eucharist rests ultimately upon his view of the institution, and as to this he expressly states that he had given them instruction before (11[23]). It is not an uncommon thing for men to need to be reminded of a fact with which they are perfectly well acquainted, nor indeed is it uncommon for men to act in a way which is quite inconsistent with their religious beliefs, even though these beliefs are quite honestly held. What the Corinthians had learned about the Eucharist they had learned from St. Paul. It is therefore unlikely that their view of the Eucharist was essentially different from his, though no doubt they may not have wholly understood it. Some of his language suggests that they thought that communion would benefit them mechanically, and that their dispositions did not much matter. This is in line with the general view of them which we get from the Epistle as a whole.* They laid stress on the value of γνῶσις and attached insufficient importance to morality. If there is any point in which their views differed from St. Paul's, it is probably to be found here. It may be that when he speaks of the possibility of eating and drinking judgment unto themselves, he is giving them new teaching. But this does not involve the consequence that their intellectual belief about the Eucharist was seriously different from his, but rather that their conscience needed to be awakened.

4. St. Paul's account of the institution of the Eucharist.—The investigation of the relation between the various accounts which we possess belongs properly to the study of the Gospels. It will be sufficient here to notice that, in spite of verbal differences, St. Paul's account is much the same as that of St. Mark and St. Matthew, except that it contains the command of repetition, 'Do this in remembrance of Me,' which is otherwise found only in the longer text of St. Luke. Whether this indicates Pauline influence upon the Gospels is a difficult question, but one which does not fall within the scope of this article. St. Paul refers the communion at Corinth back to an institution by our Lord on the night of His betrayal—an institution at which He alluded to His Death in sacrificial terms, and commanded the performance of the rite in memory of Himself. This narrative of the institution (1 Co 11[23-34]) is introduced by the words ἐγὼ γὰρ παρέλαβον ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. It has been supposed that by this expression St. Paul means to claim that he had received the whole narrative of the institution, which he goes on to give, by direct revelation from Christ. If this were his claim, it would very seriously affect the historic value of St. Paul's evidence in the matter. But his words do not necessarily bear any such meaning. The theory has been put forward that we have in these words an indication that the Eucharist as a rite was invented by St. Paul, and that he was the first to connect the social meal of the Christians with the Last Supper of the Lord. But it seems by no means improbable that the words imply merely that he had received it from the Lord through tradition. There is no indication of any disagreement between St. Paul and the other apostles on this subject. And it has been pointed out that it is most improbable that we owe to St. Paul the mention of Christ's Body and Blood. If he had himself been inventing his terms, he would in all probability have spoken of Flesh and Blood.* He seems to be following tradition, or, at any rate, to be under the impression that he is following tradition, in his account of the Eucharist. The idea that St. Paul's own views were much influenced by conceptions current among Corinthian Christians has no support in our authorities. He explicitly states that the account of the institution is no new teaching, but that he has taught it himself to the Corinthians before; and it is on this account of the institution that his doctrine is based.

Moreover, the theory that St. Paul's doctrine of the Eucharist was peculiar to himself, and arose in the first place owing to purely local causes at Corinth, fails to account for the universality of the Eucharist. If it was only St. Paul and some of his converts for whom the Eucharist was a real religious rite—if, that is to say, it was St. Paul who gave a religious significance to what was at first merely a social meal—the universal adoption of St. Paul's ideas constitutes a serious historical problem. Other doctrines of St. Paul by no means met with such wide-spread acceptance. His doctrine of justification was hardly understood at all by anyone until the time of St. Augustine. But we know of no church without a Eucharist. Even in the *Didache* it is a definite rite, though its significance is doubtful. It stands with Baptism as one of the two rites which belong to Christianity. Development no doubt there was. The 'breaking of the bread' in the primitive community at Jerusalem did not carry with it all the ideas which were associated with the Eucharist at Corinth. But even there it is a religious rite, and not a mere social meal.

The *Didache* appears to show us a community where the doctrine of the Eucharist had not developed on Pauline lines. There is no clear reference to its connexion with the Last Supper. It is tempting to bring into line with this the 'breaking of the bread' in the Acts, and to suppose that there too there was no thought of the Last Supper. And in favour of this view might be alleged the fact that there is no mention of the Eucharistic cup in the Acts of the Apostles, which may be supposed to indicate an absence of sacrificial conceptions. But all this is a most dangerous form of the argument *a silentio*. For the writer of the Acts has no occasion to speak of the ideas which Christians associated with the 'breaking of the bread.' So his silence on the matter is absolutely worthless as negative evidence. And, though there is no mention of a Eucharistic cup, it is extremely unlikely that at Troas there was no such cup, in view of the fact that Troas was a Pauline church. The Acts makes no mention of a cup. This is natural enough, for the writer is not giving a full account of the proceedings. But exactly the same consideration applies to the 'breaking of the bread' at Jerusalem. The fact that no cup is mentioned is no sort of evidence that the meal did not include the blessing and partaking of a cup. If it did so, the writer of the Acts could hardly have framed his sentence so as to include a mention of it; and there is no reason why he should have done so. As has been pointed out above, if it had not been for accidental circumstances at Corinth, we should not have heard anything about the Eucharist in

* See art. CORINTHIANS, EPISTLES TO THE.

* Heitmüller, *op. cit.* p. 26.

St. Paul's Epistles, and should have supposed that the Pauline churches in St. Paul's time knew of no such rite. This fact is in itself a sufficient warning against the danger of drawing conclusions from the silence of a writer.

In the absence of more definite evidence, no theory can be more than a hypothesis. But the facts are best accounted for by the hypothesis that the 'breaking of bread' was from the beginning a religious rite associated with a social meal, in which Christians commemorated the Last Supper of our Lord with His apostles. As Christians came increasingly to realize the significance of our Lord's Death as a sacrifice, a conception which was popularized by St. Paul, but which had its roots in the consciousness and teaching of Jesus about the necessity of His Death for the coming of the Kingdom, they came to realize increasingly the significance of this rite, and of the words which Jesus had spoken at the Last Supper. These words could not be understood until the sacrificial aspect of the Lord's Death was realized. But, when that was understood, then the rite of the 'breaking of the bread' was bound to be seen by Christians to have the significance which St. Paul attached to it and which was implicit in it from the first, although not fully understood—the significance of the participation by the communicant in Christ, conceived of as the sacrificial Victim. It may be supposed that the Church represented by the *Didachè* had not attained to the understanding of the sacrificial character of Christ's Death, and therefore had failed to appreciate the meaning of the Eucharist.

5. The Greek mystery-religions.—The view which has been widely held, that St. Paul derived his conceptions about the Eucharist from the Greek mystery-religions, is excluded by the hypothesis which has just been put forward. No doubt there is a real sense in which Christianity is a mystery-religion. It meets and satisfies the same needs which are met by mystery-religions in the Græco-Roman world, and it is certainly possible that St. Paul may have been influenced by the intellectual and religious atmosphere of the world in which he was born and in which he laboured. But it must be remembered that he was educated in Jerusalem at the feet of Gamaliel. And his Rabbinical training certainly exercised a great influence upon his mind. It is hardly conceivable that the author of the 1st chapter of Romans would have allowed himself to be directly influenced by any particular heathen cult. It is true that he treats the Eucharist as analogous to the heathen sacrificial feasts, but it is only to emphasize the contrast between them. He is certainly unconscious of any borrowing from them.

We know exceedingly little about the mystery-religions which were current in the time of St. Paul.* But it may be noted that Johannine Eucharistic teaching has at first sight much more in common with the later mysteries than that of St. Paul. The very able argument of A. Schweitzer,† by which St. Paul's Eucharistic doctrine is explained on the basis of Jewish eschatology, perhaps hardly carries conviction as a whole, but his criticism of those who allege Greek influence is very telling. He points out that St. Paul's theology exercised very little influence on the Græco-Roman world, and was not understood by the Greek Fathers. This carries with it the strong probability that St. Paul's theology was not really Greek, but Jewish. Schweitzer's interpretation is that we are to look for an explanation of St. Paul's sacramental doctrine in the condition of the world between the Death of Jesus and His Coming, expected to be immediate. 'The Apostle asserts an overlapping of the still natural, and the already supernatural, condition of the world, which becomes real in the case of Christ and believers in the form of an open or hidden working of the forces of death and resurrection.'* He maintains that this is not Greek, but Jewish. It should, however, be admitted that the form of some of St. Paul's statements may be due to the atmosphere in which he lived and worked. What is here maintained is that the general teaching of St. Paul on the subject is more easily explained by the hypothesis that it is not drawn from Greek sources, but is an explication of something that was already implicit in the 'breaking of bread' of the earliest community, and was a true interpretation of the actual intention of Jesus.

LITERATURE.—To the books mentioned in the text and footnotes of the article, the following may be added: *HDB*, art. 'Lord's Supper' (A. Plummer); *ERE*, art. 'Eucharist (to end of Middle Ages)' (J. H. Srawley); *EBi*, art. 'Eucharist' (J. Armitage Robinson); *PRE*[3], artt. 'Abendmahl' (Cremer and Loofs); F. Spitta, *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristentums*, i., Göttingen, 1893; C. Gore, *Dissertations on Subjects connected with the Incarnation*, London, 1895, p. 308, also *The Body of Christ*, do. 1901; A. Schweitzer, *Das Abendmahl im Zusammenhang mit dem Leben Jesu und der Geschichte des Urchristentums*, Tübingen, 1901; W. B. Frankland, *The Early Eucharist*, London, 1902; J. F. Bethune-Baker, *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine*, do. 1903, p. 393; J. C. Lambert, *The Sacraments in the NT* (Kerr Lecture), Edinburgh, 1903; R. M. Adamson, *The Christian Doctrine of the Lord's Supper*, do. 1905; P. N. Waggett, *The Holy Eucharist*, London, 1906; J. V. Bartlet, in *Mansfield College Essays*, do. 1909, p. 43; D. Stone, *A History of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist*, do. 1909; J. Wordsworth, *The Holy Communion*[3], do. 1910; F. Dibelius, *Das Abendmahl*, Leipzig, 1911; P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, London, 1911; W. Heitmüller, *Taufe und Abendmahl im Urchristentum*, Tübingen, 1911. G. H. CLAYTON.

EUNICE (Εὐνίκη; the spelling Εὐνεικη of TR is erroneous).—Eunice, the mother of Timothy (2 Ti 1[5]) is referred to in Ac 16[1] as a Jewess who believed. Her husband, however, was a Greek, and we find that, although she was a Jewess, she had refrained from circumcising her son, probably out of respect for her husband's opinions. The grandmother of Timothy is alluded to as Lois (*q.v.*), and she was in all likelihood the mother of Eunice. Some have put forward the conjecture that, as both Lois and Eunice are Greek names, the women were Jewish proselytes, but this is improbable; nor is it likely that the father of Timothy was in any way attached to the Jewish religion. The Apostle refers to the faith of both Lois and Eunice (2 Ti 1[5]) and to their careful training of Timothy in the Jewish scriptures (3[15]). As we find Eunice described as a 'Jewess who believed,' on St. Paul's second visit to Lystra (Ac 16[1]), she was probably converted to Christianity on the Apostle's first visit to the town. One of the cursives (25) adds the word χήρας in Ac 16[1]; and although this is undoubtedly a marginal gloss that crept into the text, it may refer to an early tradition that Eunice was a widow at the date of the Apostle's visit to Lystra, and would give added emphasis to the injunction of 1 Ti 5[4] regarding the treatment of widows by their children or grandchildren. W. F. BOYD.

EUNUCH.—See CHAMBERLAIN and ETHIOPIAN EUNUCH.

EUODIA (Εὐοδία).—The AV reads *Euodias*. The word in the Greek text occurs in the accusative case, Εὐοδίαν, and the translators mistakenly regarded this as the accusative of a masculine form Εὐοδίας, and supposed the bearer of the name to be a man. But the word is the name of a woman corresponding to the male form Εὔοδιος, which is also found in Greek literature, several early Christian bishops being so called.

Euodia was a woman, prominent in the Church of Philippi, who had a difference of opinion with

* See art. MYSTERY, MYSTERIES.
† *Paul and his Interpreters*, Eng. tr., London, 1912.
* *Op. cit.* p. 244 f.

Syntyche (*q.v.*). The Apostle exhorts them to be 'of the same mind in the Lord' (Ph 4[2]). We have no means of ascertaining the nature of the controversy between the two women, who may have been deaconesses, but were more probably prominent female members of the Church, of the type of Lydia of Ac 16[14. 15]. In fact, it has been suggested that one of the two may have been Lydia (*q.v.*) herself, as the term 'Lydia' may not be a personal name at all, but may mean simply 'the Lydian,' or the native of the province of Lydia in which Thyatira, the home of the woman, was situated. This, however, cannot possibly be verified. The difference between the two was more probably of the nature of a religious controversy than of a personal quarrel. The Apostle in the following verse refers to their previous services on behalf of the gospel as a reason why they should be given every assistance to come to a better state of mind. The Synzygus (AV 'true yoke-fellow,' but probably a proper name), whom the Apostle exhorts to help the women towards reconciliation and who is reminded of their previous assistance to the Apostle, may have been the husband of one or other of the women (see SYNZYGUS). The theory of Baur and the Tübingen school that Euodia and Syntyche are symbolical names for the Jewish and Gentile tendencies in the early Church is untenable, and has fallen into disrepute. It is inconsistent with the simple tenor of the Epistle as a whole, and such a mysterious reference would certainly not have been understood by the first readers.

W. F. BOYD.

EUPHRATES.—The Euphrates was a famous river of Mesopotamia. Its chief interest for us in the Apostolic Age is its adoption as a term in the allegorical apparatus of Christian polemic and apologetic. In Rev 9[14] the sixth angel is ordered to release the four angels who were bound at the river Euphrates, and in 16[12] the sixth angel dries up the Euphrates for the coming of the kings of the East. We have here an allusion to the Nero-legend which told that Nero had fled to the East, to the Medes and Persians, beyond the river Euphrates, and would again cross the river accompanied by myriads of soldiers and make war on Rome (*Sib. Or.* iv. 119–122, 137–139). In accordance with this legend, a second pseudo-Nero appeared on the Euphrates under Titus in A.D. 80 (cf. R. H. Charles, *The Ascension of Isaiah*, 1900, pp. lviii–lxi). In both the Apocalyptic verses, however, we have more than an allusion to a Parthian incursion. In the allegorical language of the period, as Egypt was the type of bodily life, so was Mesopotamia of spiritual (cf. Hippol. *Ref.* v. 3: 'Mesopotamia is the current of the great ocean flowing from the midst of the Perfect Man'). On the other hand, by another symbol the Euphrates stood for the power of the earthly kingdom and the waves of persecutors (*e.g.* in Bede, *Explan. Apoc.* ii. 9 [Migne, *Patr. Lat.* xciii. 159]), or for the human as opposing the Divine.

Thus, interpreting the mind of the apostolic period by its legacy to subsequent ages, Rupertus understands the waters of Euphrates in the Apocalypse as the foolish reasonings of men dried up by the judgment of God in order that the saints of Him who is the 'East' may destroy 'the deceits of the magi, the vain inventions of philosophers and the fictions of the poets' (*Com. in Apoc.* ix. 16 [Migne, *Patr. Lat.* clxix. 1123]). Also, as the Euphrates was the boundary of Paradise and of the realm of Solomon, it came to signify the reason of man as the boundary to be passed by the spiritual man before he could see the light of the eternal day. In this way the evil condition of Euphrates passed easily into the conception of it as the water of baptism. Philo has yet another interpretation (*de Somn.* ii. 255). Referring to Gn 15[18], he says that the river of Egypt represents the body and the river Euphrates the soul, and that the spiritual man's jurisdiction extends from the world of change and destruction to the world of incorruption, the two terms 'river of Egypt' and 'river Euphrates' being thus opposed as blame and praise are opposed, so that man may choose the one and eschew the other.

W. F. COBB.

EURAQUILO (εὐρακύλων).—This word is found nowhere in ancient literature except in Ac 27[14]. It is the name given to the tempestuous wind (ἄνεμος τυφωνικός, *vorticosus*, 'whirling') which, suddenly beating down from the central mountains of Crete, caught St. Paul's ship in its passage from Fair Havens to Phœnice, drove it to the island of Cauda, and finally wrecked it on the coast of Malta. The word is a hybrid, made up of *Eurus* (εὖρος), the east wind—an ordinary meaning in the Latin poets, though εὖρος properly meant the south-east—and *Aquilo*, the north-east wind, so that it denotes the east-north-east wind. 'Euro-auster' (= εὐρόνοτος) is an analogous compound. Euraquilo corresponded to the Greek καικίας, for which the Latins had no specific name: 'Quem ab oriente solstitiali excitatum Graeci καικίαν vocant, apud nos sine nomine est' (Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.* v. 16). St. Luke avoids the correct Greek term, characteristically preferring the vivid language which he had doubtless heard the mariners themselves use. His addition ὁ καλούμενος perhaps indicates that he knew the word to be confined to nautical slang. It was doubtless coined by the sailors and traders of the Levant, whose successors at the present day still call the dreaded wind the 'Gregalia'—the final form of the corruption of 'Euraquilo,' just as 'Egripou' is of 'Euripus.'

εὐροκλύδων (TR; '**Euroclydon**,' AV) is one of a great number of textual variants. It appears in two 9th cent. uncials, H and L, and the majority of the cursives. The oldest authorities, ℵAB, have εὐρακύλων; in the Codices Bezæ and Ephræmi the account of the voyage is wanting. A reviser of the Vaticanus has inserted Υ over Α and Λ after Κ, and has altered ΛΩΝ into ΔΩΝ, but in so doing he has left the right foot of the Λ visible beyond the corner of his own Δ.

LITERATURE.—J. Smith, *Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 119 f.; E. Renan, *St. Paul*, 1869, p. 551; Conybeare and Howson, *St. Paul*, 1877, ii. 402.

JAMES STRAHAN.

EUROCLYDON.—See EURAQUILO.

EUTYCHUS (Εὔτυχος). — A young man who listened to St. Paul preaching at Troas on his final journey to Jerusalem (Ac 20[7-12]). As the Apostle was leaving the next day, he continued his speech till midnight, evidently in a crowded and overheated upper room where many torches were burning. Eutychus, who was seated at the window, fell asleep, and, falling down from the third storey, was 'taken up dead' (ἤρθη νεκρός). The narrative states that St. Paul went down, embraced the lad, and told the company not to trouble themselves as life was still in him. Then he went upstairs, broke bread, and continued speaking till morning. As they were departing Eutychus was brought to them alive.

Various theories have been put forward to explain or explain away this incident. Some suppose that the youth was only stunned by his fall, and appeared to the spectators to be dead; others that the whole story is unhistorical, and merely intended as a parallel to the narrative of St. Peter's raising of Dorcas (Ac 9[36-43]). But the narrative leaves little doubt of the intention of the historian to relate a miracle. As Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 291) points out, the passage belongs

to the 'we' sections of Acts, and Luke, as a medical man, uses precise medical terms, and as an eye-witness certainly means to state that Eutychus was really dead. The words ἤρθη νεκρός can only bear that significance, otherwise we should have, as in Mk 9[26], ὡσεὶ νεκρός, 'as one dead.' There is no doubt that the incident is related as an instance of the power of the Apostle to work miracles, and that the historian believed him to have done so on this occasion.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 290; E. Zeller, *Acts*, Eng. tr., 1875-76, ii. p. 62; H. J Holtzmann, *Hand-Kommentar*[2], 'Die Apostelgesch.,' 1892, p. 402; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 424.

W. F. BOYD.

EVANGELIST.—'Evangelist' comes from εὐαγγελίζεσθαι, 'to evangelize' or 'publish good tidings,' a verb which is fairly common in the LXX, and is very frequent in the writings of St. Luke and in the Epistles, especially the four great Epistles of St. Paul. This verb is derived from εὐαγγέλιον, 'good tidings,' especially the good tidings of the evangel or gospel. 'Evangelist' is found in only three passages in the Bible. Philip, one of the Seven, is so called in one of the 'we' sections of Acts (21[8]), which may mean that he was *the* evangelist out of the Seven, *i.e.* the only one, or far the best. Again, St. Paul, in his list of five kinds of ministers which have been given by Christ to His Church (Eph 4[11]), places 'evangelists' after 'apostles' and 'prophets' and before 'pastors' and 'teachers'; and 'evangelists' may be classed with the two groups which precede. 'Apostles, prophets, and evangelists' were itinerant ministers, preaching wherever they found a door opened to them, while 'pastors and teachers' were attached to some congregation or locality. Philip was a travelling missionary. He went from Jerusalem to preach in Samaria, was on the road to Gaza when he converted the eunuch, was afterwards at Azotus (Ashdod), 'and passing through he preached the gospel to all the cities, till he came to Cæsarea' (Ac 8[5. 26. 40]). Possibly prophets commonly preached to believers, evangelists to unbelievers, while apostles addressed either. This would agree with the frequently quoted dictum, that 'every apostle is an evangelist, but not every evangelist is an apostle.' There is at any rate some evidence that those who acted as missionaries to the heathen were called evangelists. The word itself points to this—'publishers of good tidings.' It is when the first Christians were 'scattered abroad, and went about preaching the word' after the martyrdom of Stephen, that the verb 'to publish the good tidings' is often used by St. Luke (Ac 8[4. 12. 25. 35. 40]); and Philip 'the evangelist' is one of these preachers. An evangelist would know the gospel narrative thoroughly, and would be capable of explaining it, as Philip did to the eunuch. But we need not suppose that Eph 4[11] gives us five orders of ministers specially appointed to discharge five different kinds of duties. No such organization existed. The distinctions of ministry lay in the work that was done by individual workers, and that depended on their personal gifts, which often overlapped (Westcott, *Ephesians*, 1906, pp. 169–171). Philip was called 'the evangelist' because of his good work in preaching to the heathen. The third passage is 2 Ti 4[5], where Timothy is charged to 'do the work of an evangelist' in addition to his other duties. He is in charge of the Church at Ephesus in place of St. Paul; but he is not to omit the work of endeavouring to convert unbelievers.

'Evangelist,' rare in the NT, is not found in the Apostolic Fathers or in the *Didache*. The use of the word for a writer of a Gospel is later, and the use for one who read the gospel in public worship is perhaps later still. When the reader (ἀναγνώστης or *lector*), an official first mentioned by Tertullian (*de Præscr.* 41), expounded what he read, he resembled the evangelists of apostolic times; but the latter had no written gospel to expound; they expounded the oral gospel, which they knew by heart. The description of them given by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 37), though somewhat rhetorical, is worthy of quotation.

'They preached the gospel more and more widely and scattered the saving seeds of the Kingdom of Heaven broadly throughout the whole world. For, indeed, very many of the disciples of that time (*i.e.* disciples of the apostles), whose soul had been stricken by the Divine Word with a more ardent love for philosophy (*i.e.* the ascetic life), had previously fulfilled the Saviour's injunction by distributing their possessions to the needy. Then setting out on long journeys they performed the duty of evangelists, being eager to preach Christ to those who had never yet heard anything of the word of faith, and to pass on to them the Scripture of the Divine Gospels. These men were content with simply laying foundations of the faith in various foreign places, and then appointed others as pastors, entrusting them with the husbandry of those newly reclaimed, while they themselves went on again to other countries and nations with the grace and co-operation of God.'

Harnack (*Mission and Expansion of Christianity*[2], 1908, i. 321 n.) thinks that 'evangelists' has been inserted in Eph 4[11] into the usual list of 'apostles, prophets, and teachers' because this circular Epistle is addressed to churches which had been founded by missionaries who were not apostles; also (p. 338) that 'evangelists' were not placed next to the 'apostles,' because the combination 'apostles and prophets' was too well established to be disturbed. There was no such close connexion between 'prophets' and 'teachers.' The shortness of the list of gifted and given persons in Eph 4[11] as compared with the three lists in 1 Co 12 may be taken as evidence that the regular exercise of extraordinary gifts was already dying out. Yet in the short list in Eph 4[11] there are two items which are not found in any of the other lists, viz. 'evangelists' and 'pastors.'

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works quoted, see J. H. Bernard on 2 Ti 4[5] (*The Pastoral Epistles* [Camb. Gr. Test. 1899]); R. J. Knowling on Ac 21[8] in *EGT*, 1900; P. Batiffol, *Primitive Catholicism*, Eng. tr., 1911, p. 51; artt. in *HDB*, *SDB*, *DCG*, and *EBi*.

A. PLUMMER.

EVE (Εὔα).—Eve was (according to J, Gn 3[20] 4[1]) the wife of Adam (*q.v.*) and the mother of the human race. (1) St. Paul recalls the story of her fall as a warning to his young and attractive, but weak and unstable, Corinthian Church. As God presented Eve, a pure virgin, to Adam, so St. Paul has espoused his Church to Christ, and hopes to present her as His bride at His speedy return. He fears, however, that as the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness, so the Church may be corrupted from the simplicity and purity of her devotion to Christ. St. Paul's noun πανουργία (craftiness) represents the Heb. ערמה of Gn 3[1] better than the adjective φρόνιμος of the LXX does. It was apparently the teaching of the Rabbis that the serpent literally seduced Eve (4 Mac 18[6-8]; cf. Iren. *c. Hær.* I. xxx. 7); and a Church which should let herself be drawn away from Christ, who has the right to His bride's whole-hearted love, would be guilty of spiritual fornication. The identification of the serpent with the devil, which was far from the thoughts of the writer of Gn 3, first appears in Wis 2[24], 'But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world' (cf. Ro 16[20], Rev 12[9] 20[2]).

(2) The writer of 1 Tim. (2[13-14]) uses the story of the Fall for the purpose of proving woman's natural inferiority to man. He remarks that man was not beguiled, but that 'the woman'—a word spoken with the same accent of contempt as in Gn 3[12]—being beguiled, fell into transgression. The writer appears to think, like Milton, that the man knew better, and sinned, not under stress of

temptation, but in generous sympathy with his frail partner, whose fate he resolved to share. This is, of course, a man's account of the origin of sin, and happily the original story, with all the Rabbinical and other unworthy inferences that have been drawn from it, is no longer among the Christian *credenda*. JAMES STRAHAN.

EVERLASTING.—See ETERNAL.

EVIL.—This article is not a study of the word 'evil' as substantive, adjective, or adverb in the two senses of 'bad' and 'hurtful,' for which the use of a concordance may suffice; but of the conception of evil in the apostolic writings. Three senses of the term have been distinguished by Leibniz: *metaphysical*—the necessary imperfection of the creature as compared with the Creator; *physical*—pain, suffering, sorrow, death; and *moral*—sin. Although the NT does assert the difference between God and the world and man, and the inferiority of the made to the Maker, it does not conceive creatureliness as itself evil, but expresses its limitation and impotence in the term 'flesh.' For this aspect see art. FLESH. The art. SIN deals with the third sense of the word 'evil.' It is thus with physical evil alone that we are here concerned. Its existence in manifold forms is assumed by all the apostolic writers; but generally it is with the sufferings of Christian believers, including persecution, that they are concerned, in order to encourage patience, offer comfort, or assure deliverance.

What these sorrows were, Paul's account of his own experience shows (Ac 20^{18-35}, 2 Co 1^{3-11} 6^{4-10} 11^{23-33}; cf. Ro $8^{35, 36}$). This experience is regarded as a sharing of Christ's sufferings (2 Co 1^{5}, 1 P 4^{13}), and even as a completion of that suffering for the good of the Church (Col 1^{24}). 'Paul does not claim to fill up the defects in Christ's earthly suffering or in the sufferings of the Church, but in the sufferings which he has to endure in his flesh, which are Christ's sufferings, because he and Christ are one' (Peake, *EGT*, 'Col.,' 1903, p. 515). Suffering is a means of entering into closer fellowship with Christ (Ph 3^{10}). As suffering was a condition of perfecting Christ Himself for His work (He $2^{10. 14. 15}$ 4^{15} $5^{8. 9}$ 7^{28}), so also it perfects Christian character if properly endured (Ro 5^{3}, 1 Th 1^{3}, He 10^{36}, 1 P 5^{10}). It is to be regarded not as penal, but as chastening (He 12^{7-11}, Ja 1^{2-4} 5^{11}). It cannot separate from the love of God (Ro 8^{35-39}), and it prepares for, and secures, the glory hereafter (Eph 3^{13}, Rev 7^{14}), with which it is not worthy to be compared (Ro 8^{18}), since the companions of Christ's sufferings will also be the partners of His reign (Ro 8^{17}, 2 Co 1^{5}, Ph 3^{10}, 2 Ti 2^{11-13}, 1 P 4^{13}). Of all evils death is regarded as the greatest, and in Paul we find a painful shrinking from it (2 Co 5^{1-8}); accordingly, it is evident how precious a comfort was the Christian hope of immortality and resurrection (Ro 8^{23-25}). Since death is regarded as the penalty of sin (Ro 5^{12-21} 6^{21-23}, 1 Co $15^{21. 22. 56}$), the salvation in Christ includes deliverance from death for the believer, and finally the abolition of death (1 Co 15^{24-28}, 2 Ti 1^{10}) and all other evils (Rev 21^{4}). Behind death, sin, and all evil, the Apostolic Church saw the devil and other powers of wickedness (Eph 4^{27}, 1 Th 3^{5}, He 2^{14}, Ja 4^{7}, 1 P 5^{8}, 1 Jn 5^{19}, Rev 12^{9}), and accordingly Christ's work, especially His death (Col 2^{15}), was regarded as a victory over all evil powers (1 Jn 3^{8}).

This teaching is for the most part experimental and practical, and can still minister comfort and encouragement to the Christian believer. There are two speculative elements in it which modern Christian faith cannot unquestioningly accept—the connexion of death with sin as its penalty, and the existence of the devil and other evil powers. As regards the first point, the writer ventures to repeat a few sentences he has written elsewhere. 'It is generally admitted that death is a natural necessity for animal organisms such as man's, and that before man was in the world death prevailed. It seems vain to justify Paul by speculations such as these: that God anticipating sin introduced death into the natural order as a penalty already prepared for sin, or that, had man preserved his innocence, he might have risen above this natural necessity. Paul's interest is primarily in the moral character and the religious consciousness. What he was concerned with was man's sense of the mystery and dread of the desolation of death, man's looking for judgment after death. In such totality, including what man thinks of, and feels about, death, surely Paul's view of the connexion between sin and death is not altogether false. It is man's sense of guilt that invests death with its terror (1 Co 15^{56}). Nor are we warranted in saying that conscience here is playing tricks on man, frightening him with illusions. If there be indeed a moral order in the world, an antagonism of God to sin, and if, as there is reason to believe, there is a moral continuity between this life and the next, such a change as death is may be conceived as fraught with moral significance, as introducing the soul into such conditions as have been determined by the judgment of God on the moral character of this life' (*Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, 1911, pp. 146–7). As regards the second point, one sentence regarding Paul will suffice. 'In his cosmology, angelology, and demonology, as well as his eschatology, he remains essentially Jewish' (*op. cit.* p. 17); and this is equally true of the whole Apostolic Church. Christian faith need not burden itself with this load of Jewish beliefs.

There are two passages in which Paul attempts a theodicy (Ro 8^{18-25} and 9–11), the first dealing with Nature and the second with human history. In the first passage he attributes to Nature consciousness of, and a dissatisfaction with, its present imperfection—a desire for, and an expectation of, its completion. He includes Nature in man's grievous disaster, but also in his glorious destiny. As by the sin he has committed he has brought misery, so by the grace he will receive he will impart blessing. We are unable to accept 'Paul's account of the origin of physical evil as altogether due to man's sin. There can, however, be no doubt that man has a vital, organic relation to his environment. The evolution of the world and the development of humanity are not independent but connected processes. If we are warranted in believing in the progress of the race, we are justified in hoping for a correspondent and consequent transformation of the universe. For the perfect man we may expect the perfect home' (*Romans* [Century Bible, 1901], p. 193). In the second passage we are not here concerned with the argument as a whole, but only with Paul's conclusion, that, as the unbelief of the Jews has opened the door for the faith of the Gentiles, so the gathering in of the Gentiles will lead to the restoration of the Jews. 'For God hath shut up all unto disobedience, that he might have mercy upon all' (Ro 11^{32}). Without ascribing to Paul on the ground of this and similar passages a *dogmatic universalism*, against which there is contrary evidence throughout the NT, we may assign to the Apostolic Church the hope of the final victory of Christ over all evil. The apostolic attitude towards the problem of evil cannot be described as *optimism*, for the reality of sin and pain is too seriously and sympathetically recognized, nor as *pessimism*, for the possibility of redemption is too confidently and persuasively urged, but it may be spoken of as *meliorism*, for it has the faith which claims a present salvation for every believer, and the hope

of a final fulfilment of God's purpose of grace, and both are linked with a love that sees in human need and pain an opportunity for service and sacrifice, in which man can regard himself as a fellow-worker with God in the solution of the problem of evil. To revert to the distinctions made in the beginning of this article, the apostolic view recognizes no *metaphysical* evil, for to be the creature, subject, and child of God, is for man only good; it links *physical* with moral evil, and makes deliverance from pain dependent on salvation from sin; and it throws all the emphasis on *moral* evil; for it is concerned not with the speculative intellect, but only with the moral conscience and religious consciousness of man.

LITERATURE.—W. Beyschlag, *NT Theology*, Eng. tr., 1895, i. 228, ii. 107; G. B. Stevens, *Theology of the NT*, 1899, pp. 187, 375; T. v. Haering, *The Christian Faith*, Eng. tr., 1913, ii. 562–577; J. Martineau, *A Study of Religion*[2], 1889, ii. 49–132; A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, 1892, p. 63; A. M. Fairbairn, *The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, 1902, pp. 94–168; G. W. Leibniz, *Essais de Théodicée sur la Bonté de Dieu, la Liberté de l'homme et l'Origine du mal*, 1710.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

EVIL-SPEAKING.—In Greek, as in English, there is a rich vocabulary expressive of different shades of this prevalent sin.

(1) *καταλαλεῖν* is 'to speak down,' 'to detract.' *κατάλαλοι* is translated '**backbiters**' (Ro 1[30]), and *καταλαλίαι* 'backbitings' (2 Co 12[20]), but evil-speaking does not necessarily take place behind the back, or in the absence of the person hated. *κατάλαλοι* form one of the many types which are the outcome of the reprobate mind (Ro 1[30]), and Christian converts, as new-born babes, must put away all *καταλαλίαι* (1 P 2[1. 2]; cf. Ja 4[11]). The best people in the world cannot escape the breath of detraction, and in the Apostolic Age the Christians were regarded as 'genus hominum superstitionis novae et maleficae' (Suet. *Nero*, 16), accused of 'odium generis humani' (Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44), and suspected of committing the most infamous crimes in their secret assemblies. In such an atmosphere of calumny they made it their endeavour to live in such a manner that their detractors should not only be put to shame (1 P 3[16]), but even constrained by their good works to glorify God (2[12]; cf. Mt 5[16]).

(2) *βλασφημεῖν* (*βλάσφημος*, *βλασφημία*) is a stronger term, including all kinds of evil-speaking against men as well as against God. In a number of passages it is difficult to decide whether 'blaspheme' or 'rail' is the precise meaning of the word (Ac 13[45] 18[6] 26[11] etc.). St. Paul has a full share of *βλασφημία*; he is 'evil spoken of' (1 Co 10[30]) and 'slanderously reported' (Ro 3[8]). While the Gentiles speak evil of the followers of Christ (1 P 4[4]), the latter must calumniate no man (Tit 3[2]); **railing** (*βλασφημία*) is one of the sins of temper and tongue which they are repeatedly enjoined to put away (Eph 4[31], Col 3[8]). At the same time they must strive to prevent their 'good,' or 'the word of God,' or 'the way of truth,' or 'the name of God and the doctrine,' from being blasphemed, or evil spoken of (Ro 14[16], Tit 2[5], 2 P 2[2], 1 Ti 6[1]). St. Paul affirms that the name of God is blasphemed among the Gentiles because of the Jews (Ro 2[24]). The false teachers and libertines of the sub-Apostolic Age spoke evil of the powers of the unseen world (2 P 2[10], Jude [10]); and their empty logomachies gave rise to mutual railings (*βλασφημίαι*, 1 Ti 6[4]). See, further, art. BLASPHEMY.

(3) *διάβολος* (from *διαβάλλω*, Lk 16[1]), which denotes, *κατ' ἐξοχήν*, the 'chief slanderer,' or 'devil,' is applied also to any ordinary calumniator. Women who are called to the office of the diaconate must not be slanderers (1 Ti 3[11]), and the same applies to aged women who are to influence the younger by their words and example (Tit 2[3]). In grievous post-apostolic times, which seemed the last, many bad types of character became prominent, including *διάβολοι* (2 Ti 3[3]).

(4) *λοιδορεῖν* (a word of uncertain derivation) is invariably translated 'revile' in the RV, whereas the AV has 'rail' and 'speak reproachfully' as variations. St. Paul says of the apostles that being reviled they bless (1 Co 4[12]); that the so-called brother who is a reviler (*λοίδορος*) is to be shunned (5[11]); and that revilers shall not inherit the Kingdom of God (6[10]). For seeming to revile the high priest Ananias in a moment of just anger, St. Paul was quick to make apology (Ac 24[4]). In a time of persecution St. Peter turns the minds of his readers to the perfect example of Christ, who, being reviled, reviled not again (1 P 2[23]), and bids them render, as He did, 'contrariwise blessing' (3[9]).

(5) Analagous terms are *κακολογεῖν*, 'to speak evil of' (Ac 19[9]), *ἀντιλέγειν*, 'to speak against' (28[22]), and *δυσφημία*, 'evil report,' which the servant of Christ learns to accept, equally with *εὐφημία*, as part of his lot (2 Co 6[8]). 'Being defamed (*δυσφημούμενοι*), we bless' (1 Co 4[13]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

EXALTATION.—See ASCENSION.

EXCOMMUNICATION.—Excommunication is a form of ecclesiastical censure involving exclusion from the membership of the Church. Such exclusion may be temporary or permanent. It may cut off the offender from all communion and every privilege, or it may be less severe, allowing some intercourse and certain benefits.

1. The term.—The word 'excommunication' is not found in AV or RV, nor are the obsolete forms 'excommunion' (Milton), 'excommenge' (Holinshed), 'excommuned' (Gayton). There are general references to the subject, and one or two cases are mentioned with some detail. The Greek verb *ἀφορίζω* signifies 'mark off from (*ἀπό*) by a boundary (*ὅρος*).' It is used sometimes in a good sense (*e.g.* Ac 13[2], Ro 1[1], Gal 1[15]), and sometimes in a bad one (*e.g.* Lk 6[22]; note the three degrees of evil treatment—*ἀφορίσωσιν, ὀνειδίσωσιν, ἐκβάλωσιν τὸ ὄνομα*). See also Mt 13[49] 25[32], 2 Co 6[17], Gal 2[12]. It is employed by various Greek writers—Sophocles, Euripides, Plato, and others—and is found frequently in the LXX. *Excommunicatio* is a Latin word of later origin. It is used in the Vulgate.

2. Warrant for the practice in the Apostolic Church.—Excommunication in apostolic times rested upon a threefold warrant.

(1) *Natural and inherent right.*—Every properly constituted society has the right and power to exclude members not conforming to its rules. The Church has authority to exercise a right which every society claims. An analogy is sometimes drawn between the Church and the State. The State has power to send into exile, to deprive of civil rights, and even claims and exercises the power to inflict a death-sentence. So, in spiritual matters, the Church may pass sentences of separation more or less complete, and though the supreme judge alone can pronounce the sentence of death in an absolute sense, yet the Church can pass such a sentence in a relative sense—the offender being regarded as dead from the standpoint of the ecclesiastical court. Upon this point—whether in excommunication and in 'binding and loosing' the power of the Church is final and absolute—two divergent views have been held. As typical of these two schools of thought, see Dante, *de Mon.* III. viii. 36 ff., and Tarquini, *Juris eccl. Inst.*[4], Rome, 1875, p. 98. The former declares it is not absolute, 'sed respective ad aliquid. . . . Posset [enim] solvere me non poenitentem, quod etiam facere ipse Deus non posset'; the latter states that St. Peter (Mt 16[19]) is invested

with 'potestas clavium, quae est absoluta et monarchica.'

(2) *The example of the Jewish nation and Church.*—In the Pentateuch it is stated that certain heinous sins cannot be forgiven. By some form of excommunication or by death itself the sinner is to be 'cut off.' Thus the sanctity of the nation is restored and preserved. In the later days of Judaism the penalties became somewhat milder as a general rule. The foundations of Jewish excommunication are Lv 13^{46}, Nu $5^{2.3}$ $12^{14.15}$ 16, Jg 5^{23}, Ezr 7^{26}, Neh 13^{25}. The effects are described in Ezr 7^{26} 10^{8}. The Talmud mentions three kinds of excommunication, the first two disciplinary, the third complete and final expulsion. There was separation, separation with a curse, and final separation with a terrible anathema. For Gospel references see Lk 6^{22}, Jn $9^{22.34.35}$ 12^{42} 16^{2}. The sentence might be pronounced on twenty-four different grounds.

(3) *The authority of Jesus Christ.*—The main basis of authority for the Christian Church is the teaching of its Founder. The passages of most importance on the subject under consideration are Mt 16^{19} 18^{18}, Jn 20^{23}. Excommunication must be preceded by private and public exhortation, conducted in the spirit of love, with caution, wisdom, and patience. Only as a last resort, and when all else has failed, must the sentence of banishment be pronounced (see Mt $13^{24-30.36-43.47-50}$). From Christ Himself the Church received authority, not only to 'bind' the impenitent and unbelieving and to 'loose' the penitent believer, but also, in its properly constituted courts, to condemn and expel gross offenders and to forgive and re-instate them if truly penitent.

3. Legislation in the Apostolic Church.—The general methods of procedure are made clear by St. Paul's method of dealing with the case of the incestuous person at Corinth (1 Co 5, 2 Co 2^{6-11}). The excommunication of the offender was a solemn, deliberate, judicial act of the members of the Church specially gathered together 'in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ' for the purpose, and equipped with the authority and 'power of our Lord Jesus Christ.' The act of exclusion was that of the Church itself and not of the Apostle Paul. The power was not in the hands of an official, or body of officials. Wherever it has become the prerogative of a priesthood it has led to great abuse and the results have been disastrous both to priests and people.

The object of this act of discipline was to reform the sinner (1 Co 5^{5}), and to preserve the purity of the Church. Where a difference of opinion existed as to the course to be pursued, the verdict was decided by the majority (2 Co 2^{6}). The sentence might be modified or rescinded according to subsequent events (2^{6-8}). 'To deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus' (1 Co 5^{5}), is an obscure passage. Perhaps St. Paul thought that a sin of the flesh was more likely to be cured by bodily suffering than in any other way. In his opinion certain afflictions of the body were due to the operations of Satan (2 Co 2^{11} 12^{7}, 1 Ti 1^{20}). Probably he thought that, in accordance with the sentence of the Church, God would allow Satan to inflict some physical malady that would lead the offender to repentance. If we may take 2 Co 2^{6-11} to refer to the same case, the desired result was reached.

'It cannot have been unknown to Paul that he was here using a form of words similar to the curses by which the Corinthians had formerly been accustomed to consign their personal enemies to destruction by the powers of the world of death. It seems not open to doubt that the Corinthians would understand by this phrase that the offender was to suffer disease and even death as a punishment for sin; and Paul goes on to add that this punishment of the flesh is intended to bring salvation ultimately to his soul (ἵνα τὸ πνεῦμα σωθῇ): by physical suffering he is to atone for his sin. . . . The whole thought stands in the closest relation to the theory of the confession-inscriptions, in which those who have been punished by the god thank and bless him for the chastisement' (Ramsay in *ExpT* x. [1898-99] 59).

For cases in which physical ill followed ecclesiastical censure see Ac 5^{1} 8^{20} 13^{10}. Some hold that the 'delivery to Satan' was by virtue of the special authority of St. Paul himself, while the Church had power to expel only. There is nothing in the text to support such a view. This punishment must not be confounded with the anathema of Ro 9^{3}, 1 Co 16^{22}, Gal $1^{8.9}$. 'The attempt to explain the word (*ἀνάθεμα*) to mean "excommunication" from the society—a later use of the Hebrew in Rabbinical writers and the Greek in ecclesiastical—arose from a desire to take away the apparent profanity of the wish' (Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] [*ICC*, 1902], p. 228). Calvin and some other reformers thought the expression *ἀνάθεμα. Μαρὰν ἀθά* (1 Co 16^{22}) was a formula of excommunication. Buxtorf (*Lex. Chald.*, Basel, 1639, pp. 827, 2466) says it was part of a Jewish cursing formula from the *Prophecy of Enoch* (Jude[14]). There is no reason for such an opinion. It was not held until the meaning of the words was lost or partially so. They are neither connected nor synonymous as some have supposed, and are rightly separated in RV—'If any man loveth not the Lord, let him be anathema. Maran atha' (cf. Ph 4^{5}).

In addition to the specific case at Corinth and general references in such passages as 1 Th 5^{14}, 2 Th 3^{14} (cf. Ro 16^{17}, Ja 5^{16}), we find more precise directions in later books—the Pastoral Epistles and General Epistles of St. John (see 1 Ti $5^{19.20}$ 6^{3}, Tit 3^{10}, 1 Jn $1^{8t.}$ 5^{16}, 2 Jn ^{10}, 3 Jn $^{9.10}$). Heresy, schism, insubordination, usurpation of the authority of the Church by a section, became grounds of excommunication. The morals, doctrine, and government of the Church were all imperilled at times and could be preserved only by strict discipline and severe penalties upon wrong-doers. As in the Jewish community, the sentence of excommunication might be lighter or heavier, the exclusion being more or less complete. It might mean only expulsion from the Lord's Table, but not from the Lord's House; or it might be utter banishment from the Lord's House and an interdict against all social intercourse with its members.

It is beyond the scope of this article to trace the history of excommunication in the Christian Church. Suffice it to say that the distinction between the minor (*ἀφορισμός*) and major (*παντελὴς ἀφορισμὸς ἀνάθεμα*) forms of it, which existed from very early times, if not from the Apostolic Age itself, were continued for centuries with a wealth of elaborate detail as to the exact penalties involved in each, and as to the attitude of those within the Church to those without its pale. Unfortunately, excommunication often became an instrument of oppression in the hands of unworthy men. In mediæval days it frequently entailed outlawry and sometimes death.

'The censures of the Church, reserved in her early days for the gravest moral and spiritual offences, soon lost their salutary terrors when excommunications became incidents in territorial squabbles, or were issued on the most trivial pretext; and when the unchristian penalty of the interdict sought to coerce the guilty by robbing the innocent of the privilege of Christian worship and even of burial itself' (A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei* [Bampton Lectures, 1901], p. 257).

See also ANATHEMA, CHASTISEMENT, DISCIPLINE, RESTORATION OF OFFENDERS.

LITERATURE.—Artt. 'Discipline' in *HDB*, *DCG*, 'Discipline (Christian)' in *ERE*, 'Excommunication' in *DCG*, Smith's *DB*[2], *JE*, *CE*, 'Bann (kirchlicher)' in *PRE*[3]; E. v. Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1904; H. M. Gwatkin, *Early Church History*, do. 1909; E. Schürer, *HJP*, Edinburgh, 1885-1890; C. v. Weizsäcker,

Das apostolische Zeitalter[3], Tübingen, 1902 (Eng. tr. of 2nd ed., London, 1894–95); A. Edersheim, *LT*[4], London, 1887; J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, do. 1708–1722; H. Hallam, *View of the State of Europe during the Middle Ages*[10], do. 1853.

H. Cariss J. Sidnell.

EXHORTATION. — Exhortation (*παράκλησις*) played an important part in the apostolic ministry. As a technical term for a specific kind of Christian teaching, it first emerges in Acts and in the Epistles. No mention of it (as such) appears in the Gospels. They record the facts and teaching of Christ upon which the later exhortations were founded. Exhortation, or *παράκλησις*, may be described as a summons to the will, an appeal—urgent, persuasive, and even authoritative—which was based sometimes on Scripture (Ac 13[15]) or apostolic teaching (1 Ti 6[2], 2 Ti 4[2]), but more especially on Christian prophecy (Ac 15[32], 1 Co 14[3. 31]). It was what we call in modern sermons the 'application.' Prophesying and exhorting naturally went together in the proclamation of salvation. Cremer holds that exhortation belongs 'to the domain of prophecy, and is like this a special *charisma* (Ro 12[8]), though it does not appear to have manifested itself *separately* as such' (*Bibl.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*[3], p. 337). Generally, no doubt, it was given by the Apostle or prophet himself, *e.g.* by St. Peter (Ac 2[40]), by Barnabas (Ac 11[23]), by St. Paul (Ac 13[15ff.]), but at times, so it would appear from Ro 12[8], the one who did the 'exhorting' might be a different speaker from the one who gave the 'prophecy' or 'teaching.' Frequently, indeed, especially in times of persecution or unrest, it consisted in a mutual exchange of encouragement or warning among believers (1 Th 4[18] 5[11], He 3[13] 10[25]).

As the word *παράκλησις* has many shades of meaning, so the 'exhortations' referred to in the NT have many tones of emotional stimulus. In fact, the character of the exhortation was determined by the circumstances which called it forth. In times of threatened apostasy it was admonitory; amid persecution and danger it promoted comfort. Often *παράκλησις* can only mean 'comfort' (*q.v.*), and in all such instances it is so translated in both AV and RV (Ac 9[31], Ro 15[4], 2 Co 1[3ff.]); but in all cases where the AV renders it 'exhortation' the RV does the same (except in 1 Co 14[3], where it might with advantage be retained instead of 'comfort'). Similarly the verb *παρακαλέω* is often appropriately translated 'comfort' in both versions, but, again, wherever in AV the sense requires 'exhort' it so appears in the text of RV (except in Ac 18[27] 'encourage' and 2 Co 9[5] 'intreat'). To grasp the meaning of 'exhort' and 'exhortation,' as technical terms, it should be noticed that the verb *παρακαλέω* is, in many cases, translated 'pray' or 'desire' in AV, and 'beseech' or 'intreat' in RV when, however, the appeal so expressed springs from some personal wish or judgment, whereas the terms 'exhort' and 'exhortation' are retained for instances where the basis of appeal is some Divinely-given truth or revelation (cf. *παρεκάλουν*, 'besought,' Ac 13[42], and *παρακαλοῦντες*, 'exhorting,' Ac 14[22]). Exhortation proper (*i.e.* as part of the apostolic ministry), while it contained elements of personal entreaty ('we beseech and exhort' [1 Th 4[1]]), partook more of the nature of a spiritually authoritative message ('as though God were intreating, *or* exhorting [*θεοῦ παρακαλοῦντος*], by us,' 2 Co 5[20]; cf. 1 Th 2[3ff.]), reproving (Tit 2[15]), encouraging (1 Th 2[11]), commanding (2 Th 3[12]), strengthening (Ac 14[22], 15[32]), edifying (1 Th 5[11]), and, where successful, leading the hearers to a proper state of mind or to right conduct (Tit 2[6ff.], 1 P 5[1f.]).

It might be given to individuals, *e.g.* to Titus (2 Co 8[17]), to Timothy (1 Ti 1[3]), to Euodia and Syntyche (Ph 4[2]); or it was a message addressed to the congregations, generally in their meetings for edification, either verbal (Ac 13[15] 20[2], 1 Co 14[3]) or epistolary (Ac 15[31m.], He 13[22], 1 P 5[12], Jude [3]).

Naturally exhortation was prominent at a time when a speedy Second Coming of Christ was expected ('exhorting . . . so much the more as ye see the day drawing nigh,' He 10[25]; cf. 1 Th 4[18]). The power of exhortation was regarded as one of the *charismata*, or 'gifts' bestowed by the Holy Spirit, for the edification of believers (Ro 12[8], 1 Co 14[3]). Barnabas, or 'son of exhortation,' was so surnamed by the apostles (Ac 4[36] RVm) because he was endowed with a large measure of this gift (Ac 11[23]). But it was a gift that could be cultivated. Its intensity and power could be increased by proper attention, and so St. Paul urged Timothy to 'give heed to exhortation' as well as to reading and teaching (1 Ti 4[13]).

Literature.—H. Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*[3], 1880, *s.v.* *παράκλησις*; O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*[2], Eng. tr., 1891, vol. i. ch. vi. p. 236; see also Literature under art. Comfort.

M. Scott Fletcher.

EXORCISM.—1. Origin and definition.—It is pointed out in the art. Divination that man, at a very early period, came to think of himself as surrounded by innumerable spirits, many of whom could enter into and influence him. He realized that it was his duty, and for his advantage, to cultivate friendly relations with these spirits, and one of the forms which this effort took developed into *divination*. The coming of a spirit into close relations with a man brought on him either calamities or blessings, and from these opposite results the spirits came to be grouped into good and bad. The entrance of a good spirit—a spirit of purity or truth—caused health of body or clearness of mind. Such indwelling in its highest form is *inspiration* (Job 32[8]). The entrance of a bad spirit—a dumb, unclean, or evil spirit—caused disease of body or disorder of mind. In its most decided form this is *possession* (*q.v.*). The spirits, and the divinities into which some of them developed, were free to enter into or leave a person, but their freedom was limited. As 'the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets' (1 Co 14[32]), so certain persons came to know how, by a proper use of special words and acts, to make the spirits, within certain limits, obedient to them. (1) Such experts were able to bring a person into such close contact with a spirit, or the thing in which a spirit or divinity dwelt, that the spirit could deal effectively with the person. Such bringing into contact developed, (*a*) where the person was able or willing, into administering to him an oath; (*b*) where unable or unwilling, into solemnly adjuring him. (2) An expert could call up, call upon, or permit a spirit to enter another person, to work his will in him; or enter into himself to work with him or reveal secrets to him. (3) He could compel a spirit to come out of a person or thing into which it had entered; with the result, if the spirit was an evil one, that the baneful consequences of possession immediately ceased. The expert who could do this was an exorcist, and his work was *exorcism*.

2. Derivation.—The word *ὅρκος* seems primarily to have referred to a spirit, or an object made sacred by the indwelling of a spirit, and so came to mean the thing that brought a spirit into effective touch with a person, hence 'an oath.' *ὁρκίζειν*, in the same way, came to mean to bring these two together, hence (*a*) 'to administer or cause to take an oath' (Gn 50[5], Nu 5[19]); or (*b*) 'to adjure' (Jos 6[26], 1 K 22[16], 2 Ch 18[15], Ac 19[13]). When the high priest said to Jesus *ὁρκίζω* σε κατὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ ζῶντος* (Mt 26[63]), he thereby brought the prisoner into

* This, not *ἐξορκίζω*, is the reading of D L. The reading in Gn 24[3] is *ἐξορκιῶ*.

such effective touch with Jahweh that the latter could punish him if he did not speak the truth. ἐξορκίζειν, on the other hand, meant the separating of the spirit from the person, and from it comes ἐξορκισμός, the Latin *exorcismus*, and the English 'exorcism.'

'The formula ἐξορκίζω is of Oriental origin. It is absolutely unknown in Greek and Italian tabellæ from the fifth century B.C. to the second century A.D.; and, when it does appear, it appears only in tablets which make mention of Oriental deities' (F. B. Jevons, 'Defixionum Tabellæ,' in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions*, 1908, vol. ii. p. 138). A heathen amulet has the inscription ἐξορκίζω ὑμας κατὰ τοῦ ἁγίου ὀνόματος θεραπεῦσαι τὸν Διονύσιον; and 'the adjective is of constant occurrence in the magic papyri' (Moulton and Milligan, 'Lexical Notes from the Papyri' in *Expositor*, 7th ser. vii. [1909] 376).

3. History.—As the cause of disease was the incoming of an evil spirit, so the cure of the disease consisted in its expulsion. All exorcists were not equally clever at their work; but, though a patient might, like an old Babylonian, complain that 'the exorcist has not handled my illness successfully' (F. B. Jevons, *Comparative Religion*, 1913, p. 7), still failures were overlooked and forgotten, and exorcism prevailed among all the nations of antiquity, and prevails among all uncivilized peoples to-day (G. T. Bettany, *Primitive Religions*, 1891, pp. 20, 113, 128; *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, tr. H. Yule, 1871, vol. ii. pp. 71, 78).* Sometimes, as in the *lustratio* of the Romans (W. Warde Fowler, *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, 1911, p. 209) and the *Anthesteria* of the Greeks (Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912, p. 30), the exorcism was national and periodic.

In private life, when a person became ill ('was possessed'), an exorcist was at once called in who by various means attempted a cure. David by music expelled the evil spirit from Saul (1 S 16^{14-23}), though, when the spirit came mightily, he failed (19^{9}; Jos. *Ant.* VI. viii. 2 and xi. 3). Embracing (another form of exorcism) is mentioned in 1 K 17^{21}, 2 K 4^{34}, Ac 20^{10}. Solomon, according to tradition, acquired a great reputation as an expert practitioner of the art—'a science,' says Josephus (*Ant.* VIII. ii. 5), 'useful and sanative to man.' He composed incantations by which cures were effected, and also formulas by which demons could be expelled. These were used as late as the time of Vespasian, a notable instance being recorded by Josephus (*loc. cit.*; see also his account of the root of Baaras [*BJ* VII. vi. 3]). In the OT Apocrypha there are such references to the art as that in To 6^{16-17} $8^{2.3}$. Our Lord† accepted the beliefs of His time on this as on other matters. His words and deeds show us the evil spirits going out of a patient (Mt 17^{18}, Mk 5^{8}, Lk 8^{29}, Mk 9^{25-26}); entering into lower animals (Mt 8^{32}, Mk 5^{13}, Lk 8^{33}); wandering through waterless places (Mt 12^{43}, Lk 11^{24}); co-operating with other spirits (Mt 12^{45}, Lk 11^{26}); and re-entering the patients from whom they had been expelled (Mt 12^{45}, Lk 11^{26}). In contrast to the exorcists of His time (Mt 12^{27}, Lk 11^{19}), our Lord exhibited exceptional skill and unbroken success in the expulsion of evil spirits. He healed 'all who were tyrannized over by the devil' (Ac 10^{38}).‡ Exorcism, it must be observed, is not nearly so prominent in the First Gospel as in the Third, and all instances of its use are omitted in the Fourth (J. Moffatt, *The Theology of the Gospels*, 1912, pp. 13, 120; J. M. Thompson, *Miracles in the NT*, 1911, p. 63). It is especially noteworthy that our Lord in expelling evil spirits employed no outward means (except once, the spittle [Jn 9^{6}]); He simply commanded and it was done.* Perhaps the secret of His power, His triumphant and universal success, and of the failure of others, is revealed in His words, 'this kind cometh not out except by prayer' (Mk 9^{29}).† Prayer is the complete opening up of one's entire personality to the incoming of the entire personality of God. Jesus was able to do this and did it; others failed and fail.

The Twelve, after being chosen, were ordained to be with Jesus in order that they might go forth (*a*) to preach, (*b*) to have power to heal diseases, and (*c*) ἐκβάλλειν τὰ δαιμόνια (Mk $3^{14.15}$, Mt 10^{1}). When He did send them forth, He gave them power to cast out all unclean spirits (Mt 10^{1}, Mk 6^{7}, Lk 9^{1}). St. John reported to Jesus that he and other disciples saw one casting out dæmons in His name (Mk 9^{38}, Lk 9^{49}); while, on the other hand, the disciples sometimes failed in their efforts at expulsion (Mt 17^{19}). Our Lord sent out the Seventy (*a*) to heal, (*b*) to proclaim the nearness of the Kingdom (Lk 10^{9}). When they returned, they reported that the spirits were subject to them in His name‡ (Lk 10^{17}). Finally, Jesus bequeathed to those who should believe power in His name‡ to cast out dæmons (Mk 16^{17}). After the death of Jesus the apostles continued to cure those troubled (or 'roused,' ὀχλουμένους, Lk 6^{18}) with unclean spirits (Ac 5^{16}), and a similar power was exercised by other Christians over spirits which came out 'shouting with a loud cry' (Ac 8^{7}).

When the Christian missionaries penetrated into the Roman Empire, they met the victims of possession, and had to deal with them. At Philippi, St. Paul and Silas encountered a young girl, the slave of a group of masters, who was possessed by a spirit—a Python,§ which enabled her to utter predictions.‖ The girl so forced herself upon the missionaries' attention that at last St. Paul, 'in the name‡ of Jesus Christ,' commanded the spirit to come out of her, which it immediately did (Ac 16^{16-18}). Again, at Ephesus, a city in which exorcism flourished, St. Paul seems to have cast out spirits in the name‡ of Jesus. Further cures of a somewhat uncommon (οὐ τὰς τυχούσας) character were effected, for on certain articles of dress which had been in immediate contact with the body (ἀπὸ τοῦ χρωτός¶) of St. Paul being applied to those afflicted, the evil spirits came out of them (Ac $19^{11f.}$).

Such success roused a competitive spirit in the minds of other exorcists and revealed to them the power which lay in the use of the name of Jesus. Seven sons of Sceva, a Jewish high priest, who formed a company of strolling exorcists, determined to utilize the new power. Over a man afflicted with an evil spirit they pronounced this formula: ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶς τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν Παῦλος κηρύσσει. The effort proved more than futile, for the recitation of the formula, instead of bringing Jesus into such effective touch with the man that the evil spirit had to yield possession to Him, roused the spirit to stir into activity that abnormal muscular strength often possessed by those mentally deranged (cf. Lk 8^{29}), and, leaping on the exorcists, the man assaulted them and drove them out of the house stripped and wounded (Ac 19^{13-16}). The men

* For a psychological explanation of exorcism see W. McDougall, *Psychology*, 1912, p. 196; Andrew Lang, *Making of Religion*[2], p. 129; T. J. Hudson, *The Law of Psychic Phenomena*, 1893.

† P. Dearmer, *Body and Soul*, 1909, p. 146; T. J. Hudson, *op. cit.*, chs. xxiii., xxiv.; G. J. Romanes, *Thoughts on Religion*[6], 1896, p. 180 and Gore's note.

‡ καταδυναστευομένους. The word here employed is used in the papyri thus: 'I am being harshly treated in prison, perishing with hunger,' and indicates the physical suffering arising from possession (Moulton and Milligan, *loc. cit.* p. 477).

* Dearmer, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

† ℵ and B omit καὶ νηστείᾳ and along with A the whole of Mt 17^{21}.

‡ See art. NAME.

§ The correct reading, according to ℵAB, is πύθωνα; see art. PYTHON.

‖ μαντευομένη; see art. SOOTHSAYING.

¶ χρῶς, literally 'the skin.' See Nestle in *ExpT*, vol. xiii. [1901-02] p. 282, and art. APRON.

who had become Christians realized the incompatibility of loyalty to Jesus and the practice of such magical arts, and they publicly burned their copies of the famous 'Εφέσια γράμματα (v.[19]).

That this did not mean the absolute abandonment of exorcism the subsequent history of the Church all too clearly proves. The reference to 'doctrines of dæmons' (1 Ti 4[1]) and 'the spirits of dæmons performing signs' (Rev 16[14]) shows how exorcism still lingered in the Church. The words which shed *light* on the struggle from the higher Christian standpoint are those in Ja 4[7]: 'resist the devil, and he will flee from you'—words which were an exhortation to the Christians not to resort to exorcism, but to rely on the successful resistance which sprang from a strong exertion of their sanctified wills aided by the power of God. The means employed by exorcists differ in different times and countries. Four only are referred to in the Apostolic Age—hands, cloths, the name of Jesus, and shadowing.

When we pass to the literature of the Fathers, we cannot help being struck with the almost total absence of references to exorcism. This is possibly to be accounted for by the fact that the work of these writers forced them to think more of evangelism and apologetic than of combating the evils of the heathen world. In the spurious Ignatian *Epistle to the Philippians* (ch. v.) Christ is by way of honour called 'this magician' (*μάγος οὗτος*), and in the spurious *Epistle to the Antiochians* (ch. xii.) we find 'the exorcists' (*ἐπορκιστάς*) mentioned among the Church officials.

The practice of exorcism continued in the Church. The ordinary Christian practised it, Gregory Thaumaturgus even casting out devils by sending letters to the person possessed. As a rule, however, the practice was confined to the clergy, and by A.D. 340 the *ἐπορκιστής* constituted a special order, some of whom were ordained, others merely recognized. The rescripts of the Emperors granted to them, as well as to the other orders of clergy, exemption from civil offices. Their work was the care of the possessed, the *ἐνεργούμενοι*, the catechists, heretics, and schismatics, the exorcism being in each case connected with the rites of *exsufflation* and *insufflation* (see J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, 1843, vol. i. p. 362 ff. and vol. iii. p. 277 ff.; Smith and Cheetham, *DCA*, 1875, vol. i. p. 650; *ERE*, art. 'Abrenuntio,' vol. i. p. 38). The office of exorcist continued to be important: we read, *e.g.*, of St. Patrick landing in Ireland with a number of officials among whom were skilled exorcists (A. R. Macewan, *History of the Church of Scotland*, vol. i., 1913, p. 36).

LITERATURE.—See the Literature mentioned in the foot-notes of art. DIVINATION, and in addition W. M. Alexander, *Demonic Possession in the NT*, 1902; H. A. Dallas, *Gospel Records interpreted by Human Experience*, 1903, p. 201; Andrew Lang, *The Making of Religion*[2], 1900, p. 128; R. C. Thompson, *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia*, 1903-04, vol. i. p. liii; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[3], 'The Magic Art,' 1911, i. 174 ff.; E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], 1891, ii. 124 ff.; artts. in *DCG*, i. 438 ff., and *ERE*, iv. 565, 578, 612, with the Literature there mentioned.

P. A. GORDON CLARK.

EXPEDIENCY.—In the NT 'expedient' is several times used in translating the Gr. *συμφέρει*, or neut. *συμφέρον* (2 Co 12[1]). Other translations of the word are 'it is profitable,' 'it were better,' 'it is good.' It will be seen when we come to consider some of the passages in which *συμφέρει* occurs that it is always used in its better sense, or, we may say, in its original sense, *i.e.* without that element of selfishness, or the attainment of personal advantage at the expense of genuine principle, in which sense the word 'expedient' is now generally employed. It is never found in the sense of what is convenient, as against what is right; nor has it the meaning of 'expeditious,' as *e.g.* in Shakespeare:

> 'Expedient manage must be made, my liege,
> Ere further leisure yield them further means'
> (*Richard II.*, i. iv. 39).

We shall first of all refer briefly to some of the passages in the Gospels and the Acts where *συμφέρει* occurs, and then examine the general question of Christian expediency as it is treated in the Epistles.

1. The Gospels.—(1) In Mt 5[29f.] we have what may be called the *expediency of self-denial*. Here Christ deals with the question of adultery, and shows how certain members of the body, such as the eye and the hand, which are in themselves serviceable and necessary, may become the occasion of sin for us, and, therefore, it is expedient (*συμφέρει*) for a man that one of his members should perish and not his whole body be cast into hell. There is no need to ask here how far these words of Christ are to be understood literally (cf. A. Tholuck, *Sermon on the Mount*, 1860, p. 211 ff.). They certainly mean that whatever may bring temptation to a man, it is expedient—it is the best and wisest course—for him to resign; that it is better to live a maimed life, than with all our faculties about us to be destined to moral death. Christ here grounds His precept of the most rigid and decisive self-denial on considerations of the truest self-interest.

(2) In Mt 19[10] we have a reference to the *expediency of celibacy*. The teaching of Christ concerning divorce led His disciples to the conclusion that, without freedom to divorce, 'it is not good (RV 'expedient') to marry.' Jesus then refers to three classes of persons for whom marriage is inexpedient: (*a*) eunuchs 'which were so born from their mother's womb,' *i.e.* those whose physical constitution unfitted them for marriage; (*b*) eunuchs 'which were made eunuchs of men,' *i.e.* those who by actual physical deprivation or compulsion from men are prevented from marrying; (*c*) eunuchs 'which made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake,' *i.e.* those who voluntarily abstain from marriage, not for their own sake only, but also for the sake of all that the Kingdom of Heaven implies. In the case of these three classes it is expedient that they live a celibate life (cf. 1 Co 7[35]).

(3) In Jn 11[50] we have the *expediency of Christ's death* spoken of by Caiaphas. Here we have 'a good principle basely applied, not in the interests of self-sacrifice, but to cover a violation of justice and truth' (J. A. McClymont, *St. John* [Cent. Bible, 1901], p. 245). For the preservation of his power and influence, together with that of his confederates, Caiaphas says that it was expedient to put Jesus to death. The falsity of this statement, says F. W. Robertson (*Sermons*, 1st ser., 1875, p. 132 ff.), lies in its injustice. Expediency cannot obliterate right and wrong. Expediency may choose the best possible when the conceivable best is not obtainable; but in right and wrong there is no better and best. Better that the whole Jewish nation should perish than that a Jewish legislature should steep its hand in the blood of one innocent. That this saying of Caiaphas has made a deep impression upon St. John is evident from his reference to it again in 18[14]. He regards the words as having an origin higher than him who spoke them. It was an unconscious prophecy.

(4) In Jn 16[7] Christ refers to the *expediency of His Ascension*. 'Nevertheless I tell you the truth; it is expedient for you that I go away,' etc. However much the disciples might regret their Master's departure from them, this was not only necessary, but would also be to their advantage, inasmuch as the glorified Christ working in them would be better than the visible Jesus present among them (cf. 14[16f.]).

2. The Acts.—In Ac 20[20] we have the *expediency*

of discrimination in teaching. Here St. Paul reminds the elders of Ephesus that he had kept back nothing that was profitable (*τῶν συμφερόντων*) unto them. As in the case of the Corinthians (1 Co 3[1f.]) the Apostle confined his statement to the things that were profitable or expedient. In each case he considered what was required by the capacity of his disciples. It is the question of expediency in the matter of truth to be declared. The teacher must discriminate. He must, on the one hand, not cast his pearls before swine, must not give to men what they are incapable of appreciating (Pr 9[7f.], Mt 7[6]); nor must he, on the other hand, give strong food to the weak (He 5[12f.]). He must consider what is expedient, profitable.

3. The Epistles.—(1) *St. Paul's general attitude in 1 Corinthians.*—Here we shall have to deal chiefly with the Epistles to the Corinthians, more especially 1 Corinthians. These Epistles represent the campaign and slow victory of the new Christian spirit over the debasing influence of the Corinthian ideal, which was the relentless pursuit of his own life by each individual. In 1 Cor. the question of expediency is treated in connexion with several matters relating to Christian conduct. This Epistle has been aptly called 'the Epistle of the doctrine of the cross in application' (Findlay, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle*, p. 83). Social and other questions are discussed in their bearing on the relationship of men to Christ, and upon principles deduced from the word of the Cross. And so the keynote of the Epistle is found in 16[14] 'Let all you do be done in love.' The first direct reference to expediency is found in 6[12] 'All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient' (*ἀλλ' οὐ πάντα συμφέρει*). It is probable that St. Paul here refers to some saying of his, which was subsequently drawn out of its limiting context by some members of the Corinthian Church who were inclined to exaggerate Christian liberty, so that they could please themselves in the matter of food, drink, etc.; or, still worse, that with an easy conscience they might satisfy their own sinful lusts. Consequently, the Apostle shows that, while he still held to what he had said, the words have by no means an unlimited application. It was necessary to show the Corinthians that there is an essential contrast between things in themselves indifferent and things in their very nature evil. The latter can be neither lawful nor expedient to the Christian, since they are grossly inconsistent with his union with Christ.

It must be remembered that pagan sentiment viewed ordinary sexual laxity in anything but a serious light: in fact, it was a prevalent belief among the heathen in apostolic times that fornication was no sin. Hence the need for its prohibition by the Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15).

On the other hand, there are many things lawful which are not always expedient. Meyer (*ad loc.*) describes expediency as '*moral profitableness generally* in every respect, as conditioned by the special circumstances of each case as it arises.' In all things must the Christian ask not only, Is it lawful? or Does it lie within the range of my liberty? but also, Is it calculated to promote the general welfare of those around me? There is no place for individualism in the Christian life. One must ask not merely, What does my liberty permit? but, How will my conduct help or hinder my brother? While all things that are in themselves indifferent (*ἀδιάφορα*), *i.e.* not anti-Christian, are lawful, still it must be remembered that this liberty is the minister of love. For example, although in itself one kind of meat is neither better nor worse than another, the law of Christian love imposes restraint where indulgence would cause offence or lead to a violation of conscience. This love enables the Christian to take the right attitude to what is allowed; he will solve the questionable (casuistic) cases and collisions, not by rules which only lead into endless reflexions about their applicability or inapplicability, but by immediate tact, and by the power of the personality.

Again, this limited freedom is also in truth the highest freedom. 'All things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any' (6[12]). St. Paul's was not a freedom to destroy freedom. That some at Corinth exposed themselves to this danger is quite evident. By indulging in impurity of life, as though that were as legitimate as eating and drinking, they tended to alienate their liberty, and bring their soul into bondage to sin. It is when one recognizes those limits within which freedom is to be exercised that one enjoys that perfect freedom which knows no subjection save to Christ alone.

Christian freedom, then, is a freedom which must not be applied to the injury of others or of oneself. In the exercise of liberty one must have regard to expediency; one must consider what course is the most likely to promote the best interests of oneself and others. In this section (chs. 6–10) in 1 Cor. St. Paul tells us again and again how in all things indifferent he thought of others. All his actions were founded on the ground of the higher expediency. Being free from all men, yet he made himself servant unto all, that he might gain the more (9[19]). He became all things to all men (9[22]). He pleased all men in all things, not seeking his own profit (*τὸ ἐμαυτοῦ συμφέρον*), but the profit of many (10[33]).

By some modern critics St. Paul is described as hard and inflexible, and as incapable of anything like compromise and accommodation under any circumstances. But the above passages, as well as many others which could be quoted, by no means confirm this judgment. That he could be as firm and as inflexible as a rock where a question of principle was at stake is amply proved by his statement in Gal 2[5], *e.g.*, in the matter of the attempt to compel Titus to be circumcised: 'to whom we gave place in the way of subjection, no, not for an hour.' In his teaching of principles he was from first to last most resolute and uncompromising. But in things indifferent he was ever ready to go any length in order to avoid giving offence to others. In such matters it was with him always a question of expediency, not of rights; what was profitable, not what was lawful. To the Romans he says (Ro 15[1]): 'We then that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please ourselves.' And again, he tells the Corinthians (1 Co 8[13]): 'Wherefore, if meat make my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.' While he held tenaciously to great principles, and was even ready to sacrifice life itself in their defence, yet in practical conduct he was willing to submit to any privation and suffering to meet the scruples and prejudices of the weak. And in this mode of conduct he claims to be following the example of Christ (Ro 15[1ff.], 1 Co 11[1]).

It will be seen that consideration must be had, not only for the weak members of the Church of Christ, but also for those who are without the pale of the Church. Cf. 1 Co 10[32], where the sphere of moral obligation is enlarged. Jew and Greek, as well as the Christian Church, are to be objects of our Christian solicitude.

(2) *The dangers of expediency.*—(*a*) *As regards what is immoral, and so, strictly prohibitive.* The question of expediency involves that of accommodation and compromise. Hence in an endeavour to win men over one must always guard against allowing oneself to countenance what is unlawful.

It is evident that some at Corinth had taken St. Paul's words 'All things are lawful unto me' as a general maxim. Such persons are always inclined to have regard to the lawfulness of an action rather than to its expediency, and so require, for their own good, to be firmly treated. 'A great many cannot be pleased unless thou cocker their lust; so that if thou wilt be gracious with a many, thou must not so much regard their salvation as satisfy their folly; neither mayest thou respect what is expedient, but what they covet to their own destruction. Thou must not, therefore, study to please such as like nothing but that is evil' (Calvin on Ro 15[2] [ed. Beveridge, 1844, p. 396]).

(*b*) *As regards what is indifferent.* (i.) It is possible for the Church to show itself over-scrupulous—a thing which would lead to government by the weak, and legislation by the unintelligent. And so, while the law of love calls upon the strong not to use their liberty in a reckless manner, and demands that in certain cases they should abstain from certain disputed modes of action, in order not to shock the weak members, and thus to break down the Church instead of building it up, still this love requires that this submission shall not be unlimited. For then the weak would only be confirmed in their mistake, whilst the strong would be hindered in their progress. It is for the strong, therefore, to seek to lead the weak to a clearer knowledge, and to show them that the matters in dispute may be contemplated from another point of view than the merely worldly and unethical. Thus accommodation is to be combined with correction.

(ii.) But perhaps there is less danger of this than of over-assertiveness, *i.e.* a strong and persistent maintaining of one's rights, against which St. Paul again and again warns his readers. By indifference to external observances we may injure another man's conscience. To ourselves it is perfectly indifferent whether we conform to a certain observance or not. But we are called upon to conform for the sake of our weak brother. Still, this call to submission is not to be always or in all circumstances.

(iii.) Another danger to which a man who always considers the expediency of his actions is exposed is that of being misjudged. A mode of conduct largely regulated by consideration for others is always open to misconception. And that St. Paul did not escape the charge of being a mere obsequious time-server, with no steadfast principle, aiming only at pleasing men, is evident from his writings. We can easily understand how readily such accusations would be set on foot, and how plausible they could be made to appear. That they painfully affected the Apostle's mind is evident from the frequency of the references he makes to them, and from the earnestness and deep pathos of feeling which not infrequently mark these references. It is to such sinister criticism that he alludes when in 2 Co 5[11], after saying 'we persuade men,' he adds, 'but we are become manifest unto God'; *i.e.* although he did make a habit of aiming at persuading (=making friends of) men, still the unselfishness and sincerity of his action were known to God. Another reference to this matter is found in Gal 1[10] 'For am I now persuading men, or God? or am I seeking to please men? if I were still pleasing men, I should not be a servant of Christ.' Possibly the reference here is to his action in the matter of the Jerusalem Decree (Ac 15) and the circumcision of Timothy (Ac 16[3]).

It will be observed that the case of Timothy and that of Titus (Gal 2[5]) are totally different. The former being by birth 'a son of the law' on his mother's side, might naturally conform to the usages of what was so far his national religion. Titus, on the other hand, was a pure Gentile, and his circumcision was urged as necessary, on principle, and not as a voluntary sacrifice to expediency for the greater good of others. Hence it is clear that St. Paul acted with perfect consistency. There is no betrayal of principle, no unworthy endeavour to win the approval of men.

To sum up, we see that expediency in its NT sense is quite consistent with loyalty to principle. It denotes the noble aim of one seeking 'the greatest good of the greatest number.' It is not the action of a trimmer ever seeking the applause of men, but rather of a strong man willing to curb his own personal inclinations for the sake of others. And it may be said that the more steadfast one is when principles are at stake the more ready one is to give way on non-essentials.

LITERATURE.—**Newman Smyth**, *Christian Ethics*, 1892; **H. Martensen**, *Christian Ethics* (*Social* and *Individual*), 1881-82; **G. G. Findlay**, *The Epistles of Paul the Apostle*, 1895. See also the various NT Commentaries.

ROBERT ROBERTS.

EXPIATION.—See ATONEMENT, PROPITIATION, SACRIFICE.

EYE.—In the analogy drawn by St. Paul between the human body and the Church, the eye (ὀφθαλμός) is named as a member superior in rank to either the ear or the hand (1 Co 12[16. 21]), though dependent on the co-operation of both. In virtue of this superiority, the eye becomes proverbial for that which is precious (*Ep. Barn.* xix. 9), and St. Paul writes of the affection of the Galatian Christians, 'ye would have plucked out your eyes and given them to me' (Gal 4[15]). Partly in view of those words, many have argued that St. Paul's 'stake in the flesh' (2 Co 12[7]) was ophthalmia (*e.g.* Creighton, *EBi* ii. col. 1456; Macalister, *HDB* iii. p. 331; against this view, see the weighty arguments of Lightfoot, *Galatians*[10], 1892, p. 191 n.). The blindness with which St. Paul was seized on the way to Damascus has been medically described as 'a temporary amaurosis, such as that which has been caused by injudiciously looking at the sun' (Macalister, *loc. cit.*); the reference to the removal of 'scales' in the account of his recovery is a comparison, not a pathological detail (Ac 9[8. 18]). Elymas was smitten with temporary blindness as a punishment for his opposition to St. Paul (13[11]). The account of the miraculous restoration of Dorcas to life (9[40]) shows that it was customary in Palestine, as elsewhere, to close the eyes of a corpse.

The eyes are frequently named by apostolic writers in connexion with *spiritual* blindness or sight. St. Paul sees the fulfilment of prophecy in the closed eyes of the Jews in Rome (Ac 28[27]; cf. Ro 11[8. 10]), and is sent to open the eyes of the Gentiles (Ac 26[18]). Hatred of a brother is a darkness blinding the eyes (1 Jn 2[11]). Christ says to the Laodicean Church, 'buy eye-salve to anoint thine eyes, that thou mayest see' (Rev 3[18]). On the other hand, he who knows Christ has the eyes of his heart enlightened (Eph 1[18]; cf. 1 Clem. xxxvi. 2, lix. 3; also the reference in *Mart. Polyc.* ii. 3 to tortured martyrs, who, 'with the eyes of their heart,' gaze upon the good things reserved for them). The realities revealed by the Spirit of God are 'things that eye saw not' (1 Co 2[9]; cf. *Ep. ad Diognetum*, ii. 1). But these spiritual realities are built upon historic facts; the basis of the Christian gospel was that which apostles had seen with their eyes (1 Jn 1[1]). As a cloud hid Jesus from their eyes at His Ascension (Ac 1[9]), so, when He comes with clouds, every eye shall see Him (Rev 1[7]). When He is seen in vision, His eyes are (searching) as a flame of fire (Rev 1[14] 2[18] 19[12]); so, to the eyes of God, all things are naked and laid open (He 4[13]; cf. 1 P 3[12]). The many eyes of the 'living creatures' and of the Lamb of the Apocalypse symbolically denote vigilance and range of vision (Rev 4[6. 8] 5[6]).

There are several references to the psychical and

moral qualities of the eye, according to that 'peripheral consciousness' of Hebrew psychology (see art. EAR), which is so amply illustrated in the OT (examples in *Mansfield College Essays*, 1909, p. 275). No doubt, 'the lust of the eyes' (1 Jn 2^{16}) can be satisfactorily explained to a modern mind as 'all personal vicious indulgence represented by seeing' (Westcott, *ad loc.*), but a deeper meaning, corresponding to St. Paul's idea of sin in the flesh (see art. MAN), underlies this phrase, as also that referring to 'eyes full of adultery' (2 P 2^{14}; read *μοιχείας* with Bigg, *ad loc.*). The most striking apostolic reference to the eye is that in which St. Paul rebukes the Galatians for letting themselves be bewitched by (the 'evil eye' of envious) false teachers, when he had already 'placarded' Christ crucified before their eyes, who should have arrested their gaze and averted peril (Gal 3^{1}; cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). This expresses the characteristic emphasis in apostolic teaching on the *positive* side of truth, the expulsion of the false by the true. Those whose eyes are turned to Christ are transformed into the same image, from glory to glory (2 Co 3^{18}; cf. *Odes of Solomon*, xiii. 1); those who look at things unseen find their inward man renewed day by day, even in the midst of visible affliction (2 Co 4^{16-18}).

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

F

FABLE.—In the NT (AV and RV) 'fable' is the translation of *μῦθος*. But it is not the myth charged with high moral teaching as in Plato, for both word and thing have degenerated into the expression of fantastic, false, and profitless opinions. *μῦθος* is opposed to the historic story (*λόγος*) or to actual fact (*ἀλήθεια*); cf. art. 'Fable' in *HDB*, vol. i. This is seen in the references: 1 Ti 1^{4} 'Neither to give heed to fables . . . the which minister questionings rather than a dispensation of God' [RV]; 1 Ti 4^{7} 'profane and old wives' fables'; 2 Ti 4^{4} 'turn aside unto fables'; Tit 1^{14} 'not giving heed to Jewish fables'; 2 P 1^{16} 'We did not follow cunningly devised fables.'

The Pastoral Epistles give a vivid picture of the state of religious feeling in Ephesus, and the Roman Province of Asia generally, in the years A.D. 60–70. It was a favourable soil for the rank growth of the fables and curiously wrought embellishments of OT history, mention of which we find in the Pastorals. There is no difference of opinion as to their origin. They were Jewish, and the Gnosticism supposed to be found in them is as yet incipient and hardly conscious of itself.

For an explanation of the origin of these fables we must turn to the accretions of legend and allegory that grew up in the Jewish mind round the great scenes and personages of the OT. It was said that an oral law, 'the law that is on the lip,' supplementary to the written law, had also been given on Sinai, and handed down by teachers from Moses through the centuries. This was added to and illustrated by the teaching of the Rabbis, and in course of time became a supplement to the written law of the Pentateuch—a supplement so ponderous that often the text was overlaid and almost buried in the commentary. To this our Lord made reference when He asked 'Why do ye also transgress the commandment of God because of your traditions?' (Mt 15^{3}). These rank growths, in deference to which they 'paid tithes of mint and anise and cummin and left undone mercy and faith,' had run riot in the Asian Church. Men were turning back from the worship of 'the King, eternal, incorruptible, invisible, the only God,' to old wives' fables, the profane and senile curiosities of people in their dotage. Jewish and heathen speculations had seduced their minds from the essential parts of the Christian faith.

We have specimens of these 'feigned words' in the numerous legends of the Talmud, the far-fetched subtleties of Rabbinical teaching, and in the allegorizing of Philo. Timothy, therefore, was sent to recall the Church to the pure milk of the word, and to nourish it on 'the words of the faith.' 'Such,' says J. H. Newman, 'was the conflict of Christianity with the old established Paganism; with the Oriental Mysteries, flitting wildly to and fro like spectres' (*Development of Christian Doctrine*, 1878, p. 358). In 2 P 1^{16} the writer is replying to a taunt by which the opponents of Christianity tried to turn the tables on the teachers of the Faith. These had denounced the religious fables with which men were deluding themselves, and to that the reply was a 'tu quoque.' The Christian doctrine, they said, was also built upon fable, and its preachers were fraudulent and sophistical persons (*σεσοφισμένοι*) who for ambition or filthy lucre's sake were exploiting the churches. To this the author of 2 Peter replies: 'We did not follow cunningly devised fables.' In proof of his religious certainty—*certitudo veritatis*—he writes, 'we were eye-witness of his majesty'; and for *certitudo salutis* he adds, 'we have the day-star rising in our hearts.' The answer is still valid. Against the charge of following sophistical fables the modern apologetic turns to 'the fact of Christ,' and the heart stands up and answers, 'I have felt.'

W. M. GRANT.

FACTION.—Among the works of the flesh are *ἔρις* and *ἐριθείαι*, 'strife' and 'factions' (Gal 5^{20}). *ἐριθεία* is selfish intriguing for office (Aristotle, *Pol.* v. 2, 3), partisanship, party-spirit.

(1) Faction was rampant in the free cities of Greece. Personalities were frequently exalted above principles, and the public good was sacrificed to private ends. Men were partisans before they were patriots. The same spirit penetrated the Church. While St. Paul, Apollos, and Cephas, differing only in personal idiosyncrasies, preached essentially the same gospel, their names quickly became the party-cries of wrangling sects in the Corinthian Church. 'There are contentions (*ἔριδες*, 'rivalries') among you' (1 Co 1^{11}); 'there is among you jealousy and strife' (*ἔρις*, 3^{3}), wrote St. Paul to these typical Hellenes. He had to use all his resources of reason and appeal to overcome their 'strife, jealousy, wraths, factions' (2 Co 12^{20}).

(2) St. Paul's arrival in Rome awoke another, stranger kind of partisanship in the Roman Church (Ph 1^{15-18}). His presence moved the preachers of the city; it quickened the evangelical pulse; but, while some began to preach Christ in good-will to him (*δι' εὐδοκίαν*), others did it through envy and strife (*διὰ φθόνον καὶ ἔριν*), out of faction (*ἐξ ἐριθείας*), not purely or sincerely (*ἁγνῶς*). They emulated his labours in the hope of robbing him of his laurels; then actually imagined that their brilliant successes would 'add affliction to his bonds.' But the Paul whose *amour propre* might have been

wounded by shafts of that kind had long ago been 'crucified with Christ.' The Paul who lived, or rather in whom Christ lived (Gal 2^{20}), only rejoiced if there were indeed greater preachers than himself in Rome. Among true apostles and evangelists there is no room for jealous contention, ignoble rivalry, in the publication of the gospel. Only one thing matters—that Christ be preached and His name glorified. St. Paul's great-mindedness is similar to that expressed in Browning's *Paracelsus*:

> 'Lo, I forget my ruin, and rejoice
> In thy success, as thou! Let our God's praise
> Go bravely through the world at last! What care
> Through me or thee?'

JAMES STRAHAN.

FAIR HAVENS (Καλοὶ Λιμένες).—Fair Havens is a small bay in the S. coast of Crete, where St. Paul's ship, after working slowly westward under the lee of the island, found shelter in rough weather (Ac 27^8). It is not referred to in any other ancient writing besides Acts, but its name is still preserved in the modern dialect—Λιμεῶνας Καλούς. While exposed to the E., it was protected on the S.W. by two small islands. In this roadstead the Apostle's ship remained 'a considerable time' (ἱκανοῦ χρόνου) weather-bound, strong N.W. winds apparently continuing to blow. Two leagues westward is Cape Matala, where the coast abruptly trends to the N., so that if an attempt were made to round the point the ship would certainly be exposed to the full force of the wind. But as it was feared that Fair Havens was not commodious enough to winter in, a council was held, the account of which affords a vivid and instructive glimpse into life on an ancient government transport. While the captain and ship-master (ὁ ναύκληρος) thought it better to make a dash for Port Phœnix (*q.v.*), St. Paul considered it more prudent to remain where they were. The Roman centurion naturally 'gave more heed' to the nautical experts than to the landsman, as did the majority (οἱ πλείονες); but, as Smith remarks, 'the event justified St. Paul's advice.'

> 'It now appears . . . that Fair Havens is so well protected by islands, that though not equal to Lutro, it must be a very fair winter harbour; and that considering the suddenness, the frequency, and the violence with which gales of northerly wind spring up, and the certainty that, if such a gale sprang up in the passage from Fair Havens to Lutro, the ship must be driven off to sea, the prudence of the advice given by the master and owner was extremely questionable, and that the advice given by St. Paul may probably be supported even on nautical grounds' (*J. Smith, Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*, 1880, p. 85).

LITERATURE.—**W. M. Ramsay**, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 320 f. See also artt. *in* Bible Dictionaries, esp. *HDB* i. 826 (W. Muir).

JAMES STRAHAN.

FAITH.—1. In the Acts of the Apostles.—In the Acts faith is spoken of as (1) inspired by Christ, (2) directed to Christ, (3) corresponding to Christian teaching.

(1) After St. Peter had healed the lame man, he explained that the miracle had been wrought by the power of God by faith in the name of the 'Prince of life, whom God raised from the dead'; 'yea, the faith which is through him (ἡ δι' αὐτοῦ) hath given him this perfect soundness in the presence of you all' (3^{16}). The health-bringing faith both in the apostles and the cripple had been inspired by Jesus, the Holy One.

(2) More frequently the faith is directed to Jesus Christ. Thus the general statement is made: 'Many believed on (ἐπί) the Lord' (9^{42}). St. Paul enjoins the Philippian jailer: 'Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ' (16^{31}). Similarly Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue, 'believed in the Lord with all his house' (18^8; ἐπίστευσεν τῷ κυρίῳ = 'believed the Lord'). In all these cases the faith is directed to the Lord Jesus Christ.

(3) In several passages 'the faith' is equivalent to the Christian faith or Christian religion. In describing the multiplying of the disciples in Jerusalem it is said: 'A great company of the priests were obedient to the faith' (6^7). In Cyprus Elymas opposed the apostles, 'seeking to turn aside the proconsul from the faith' (13^8). St. Paul returned to the towns in Asia, 'confirming the souls of the disciples, exhorting them to continue in the faith' (14^{22}). In each of these cases 'the faith' has already become the phrase to express all that is implied by believing in Christ.

We can see the transition from (2) to (3) in the expression used by St. Peter when speaking of the work of God among the Gentiles. He says that God made no distinction, 'cleansing their hearts by faith' or 'by the faith' (15^9).

This leads us to note that in Acts faith is made the medium for healing, cleansing, and salvation. The largest result of faith is announced by St. Paul when he promises to the jailer salvation for himself and his household as the blessing given to faith in Jesus Christ. The gift of the Holy Spirit is associated with faith in Christ, as in the case of Cornelius and his friends who welcomed the preaching of the gospel by St. Peter, so that 'while Peter yet spake these words, the Holy Spirit fell on all them which heard the word' (10^{44}). More generally the gift of the Holy Spirit follows baptism and the laying on of hands, as in the case of the disciples of John the Baptist (19^2) and the Samaritans whom Philip had led to believe in Jesus Christ (8^{17}).

It is noteworthy that in describing both Stephen and Barnabas it is said of each that he was 'full of faith and of the Holy Spirit' (6^5 11^{24}), and probably it is implied that each had received not only the permanent gift of the Spirit (δωρεάν, 2^{38}) but also the graces (χαρίσματα, 1 Co 12^9) imparted by Him through a full and obedient faith.

2. In the Epistle of St. James.—This Epistle must have been written either in the very earliest apostolic times or in a period that is almost post-apostolic. The whole Epistle is practical and undogmatic, and lays the chief emphasis on ethical observance. The writer appreciates the value of faith when he refers to those who are 'rich in faith' (2^5) and to the 'prayer of faith' (5^{15}); but in the section of the Epistle which deals with faith and works, it is not too much to say that he looks upon faith with a measure of suspicion. In this argument ($2^{14\text{-}26}$) the writer evidently defines 'faith' in his own mind as intellectual assent to Divine truth, and with his undogmatic prepossessions he becomes almost antidogmatic in tendency. The Apostle describes this faith not as false or feigned, but as having such reality only as the faith of demons in the oneness of God. To him 'faith' is far from being an enthusiastic acceptance of a Divine Redeemer.

If the Epistle was written in very early times, the argument must move more on Judaic than on Christian grounds, and a certain corroboration of this is found in the fact that the illustrations are taken from OT examples like Abraham and Rahab, and that the typical example chosen is belief in the unity of God, which was the war-cry of the Jew as it became in later days that of the Muhammadan. If the later date is chosen, then time must be left for a general acceptance of Christian truth so that 'faith' had become assent to Christian dogma. In either case the argument of the Epistle cannot be regarded as a direct polemic against the teaching of St. Paul. The two writers move in different spheres of thought, so that, while words and phrases are alike, their definitions are as the poles asunder. An instance of this is found in the words with which St. James closes the section on 'faith.' The Apostle has already declared: 'Faith, if it have not works, is dead in itself' (2^{17}), so now

he sums up: 'As the body apart from the spirit is dead, even so faith apart from works is dead' (2[26]). Here we find that so far from faith being the inspiration of works, as St. Paul might suggest, St. James teaches that works are the inspiration of faith. Faith may be a mere dead body unless works prove to be an inner spirit to make it alive. This declaration agrees with the writer's whole attitude, for throughout this letter he insists that the practical carrying out of 'the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ' is found in obedience to 'the royal law': 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' This practice of the will of Christ makes faith to be alive.

3. In the Epistles of St. Paul.—In the writings of St. Paul 'faith' and 'grace' are the human and the Divine sides of the great experience that revolutionized his own life and the lives of many to whom the gospel was brought. Occasionally faith is spoken of as being directed to God, but commonly it is directed to Jesus Christ. Thus in Gal 2[16] St. Paul writes: 'Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, save (but only, *ἐὰν μή*) through faith in Jesus Christ, even we believed on Christ Jesus that we might be justified by faith in Christ.' Here the reiteration is singular, but the insistence on 'faith in Christ' is characteristically Pauline. To St. Paul the only faith that is of value is the faith that rests on Jesus Christ our Lord, who was made in the likeness of men, died for our sins, and rose again from the dead. The Death of Christ occupies so large a place in his thought that he is determined to know nothing save Jesus Christ and Him crucified (1 Co 2[2]), while he insists so strongly on the Resurrection as to declare: 'If Christ hath not been raised, your faith is vain' (15[17]).

This revolutionizing faith is awakened by the preaching of the gospel: 'Belief cometh of hearing, and hearing by the word of Christ' (Ro 10[17]), *i.e.* by the word concerning Christ, or, as it is called earlier (Ro 10[8]), 'the word of faith,' *i.e.* the word that deals with justifying faith. This faith, according to St. Paul, brings salvation. Thus in Eph 1[13] 'the word of the truth' is the medium by which faith comes, and through faith comes salvation. So in Eph 2[8] it is said: 'By grace have ye been saved through faith' (*διὰ τῆς πίστεως*, not *διὰ τὴν πίστιν*, *i.e.* through faith as a means, not on account of faith as a ground of salvation). Hearing and faith are associated in a similar way in the Epistle to the Galatians, as the means by which the gift of the Spirit came. 'Received ye the Spirit by the works of the law, or by the hearing of faith?' (Gal 3[2]), and the meaning varies little whether we conceive of faith as the accompaniment of hearing or as its product. It is possible to infer from Eph 1[13f.] that the gift of the Spirit was received after, not contemporaneously with, the act of faith. 'Having also believed, ye were sealed with the Holy Spirit of promise.' The sealing with the Spirit is posterior to the act of faith and may be associated with the rite of baptism, which came to be known as a sealing ordinance.

St. Paul dwells frequently upon faith as a definite act in his own life and in the lives of Christian converts. Two instances only need be given. In Gal 2[16] he says: 'We believed on Christ Jesus,' where the verb *ἐπιστεύσαμεν* denotes one definite act in the past when they turned in faith to (*εἰς*) Christ Jesus. Even more marked is the sentence in Ro 13[11]: 'Now is salvation nearer to us (*ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν*) than when we believed,' *i.e.* than when we by a definite act of faith became Christians. In St. Paul's experience and teaching this act of faith leads to a life of faith, so that he can write of himself: 'That life which I now live in the flesh I live in faith, the faith which is in the Son of God, who loved me and gave himself for me' (Gal 2[20]). Faith is not a solitary act but a continuous attitude of the inner life towards Christ Jesus. But this does not imply that either at the beginning or during its course this faith is perfect; it may be halting even when real, and when living it grows ever stronger 'by faith unto faith' (Ro 1[17]). Faith is weak in the experience of many, sometimes in opposition to the enticing power of evil when flesh lusts against spirit, sometimes in opposition to law as a ground of salvation, and sometimes in failing to appreciate what Christian truth implies. This last form of weakness is discussed by St. Paul towards the close of the Epistle to the Romans (14), where those weak in faith do not understand the extent of their freedom in Christ, and find themselves bound in conscience by irritating non-Christian customs. St. Paul commends a faith that is stronger and freer, but he declares that none must act in defiance of their faith. They must be clear in mind and conscience before they break even these customs. 'Whatsoever is not of faith is sin' (Ro 14[23]). Even when Christians are perfect (*τέλειοι*, Ph 3[15]), possessors of a mature faith as well as full knowledge, they have not reached the goal, but they must still press on toward the goal unto the prize of the high calling of God in Christ Jesus (v.[14]).

For St. Paul faith was an experience that touched the inmost part of his nature, but it had perforce to find outward expression. Faith and profession are necessarily united. The believer in Christ must be a witness for Christ. The statement of Ro 10[10] puts succinctly what St. Paul constantly implies: 'With the heart man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.' These are not so much independent acts as two sides of the same act. Internally faith in Christ brings a change of heart, externally it implies confession of the Lord. This confession finds its formal expression in baptism, and the Apostle expected that in this way as well as in more homely ways this public confession would be made. In St. Paul's view the believer in Christ must be a professing Christian.

If faith must be associated with such outward testimony it must be even more intimately associated with many Christian graces, and especially with love or charity. St. Paul in his eulogy of love (1 Co 13) declares that among the great abiding virtues love is the chief. 'If I have all faith so as to remove mountains, but have not love, I am nothing' (1 Co 13[2]). This exalted praise of love is the more remarkable because St. Paul is the champion of faith in the great controversy of which we get his own statement in the Epistles to Galatians and Romans (Gal 2 and 3, Ro 1–5). St. Paul's experience on the way to Damascus when he was convinced of the Messiahship and Lordship of Jesus of Nazareth became the dominant factor in all his life, and led to his abandonment of allegiance to law and to the strenuous vindication of the place of faith in the religious life. Before his conversion St. Paul had sought justification with God by a religious obedience to the Law, but faith in Jesus Christ changed his whole attitude and revolutionized his whole thought. Faith in Christ was not conceived by him primarily as bringing a new power in attaining the end that he had previously kept in view, for now he believed that justification had been attained at once through faith in Christ by the grace of God. Justification was the beginning of true life, not a blessing to be attained at the end (Gal 2[16]).

The faith which receives this blessing is faith in Christ Jesus. This faith is conceived by St. Paul not as a mere intellectual assent or as a recognition of the unseen world, but as an enthusiastic trust in Christ as Saviour, and as a complete devotion to Him as Lord. The whole inner nature, including mind, heart, and will, is committed to

Him in trust and devotion. In receiving Jesus as Christ, St. Paul gave himself to Jesus as Lord. This saving faith became the medium of all Divine blessing to St. Paul, and, drawing upon his own experience, he taught that it would be and must be the medium of blessing to all. Hence he gloried in the gospel, 'for therein is revealed a righteousness of God by faith unto faith' (Ro 1^{17}). The gospel could thus become a universal message for mankind, for it dealt with all men alike as sinners, and offered to all who believed in Christ the righteousness of God, 'being justified freely by his grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus' (3^{24}).

After this illuminating experience of the grace of God came to St. Paul he turned back to the OT and found in its pages that in the religious experience there narrated the blessings of God had come also through faith. Thus 'to Abraham his faith was reckoned for righteousness' (Ro 4^{9}, Gal 3^{6}). So David pronounced blessing upon the man unto whom God reckoneth righteousness apart from works (Ro 4^{6}). He found that God's method had always been the same. His grace had reached its end when a human heart had responded in faith. This truth is utterly opposed to St. Paul's former belief that righteousness came by the Law, and both in Rom. and Gal. he labours to prove that, whatever the work of the Law was, it was not to gain a right standing with God. It had a mission even concerning faith, but it was the mission of an attendant slave to bring those who were in ward unto Christ; but when that mission was fulfilled, they were no longer under law, but were all sons of God, through faith in Christ Jesus (Gal 3^{24-26}). Thus the Christian life is regarded as a free, loving, spiritual service, of which faith in Christ is the prime origin and the constant inspiration.

In the Pastoral Epistles that are usually associated with the name of St. Paul we find 'the faith' frequently used as equivalent to the Christian faith or teaching. Thus in 1 Tim. we find: 'Some made shipwreck concerning the faith' (1^{19}). Deacons must hold the 'mystery of the faith in a pure conscience' (3^{9}). 'In later times some shall fall away from the faith' (4^{1}). 'If any provideth not for his own, and specially his own household, he hath denied the faith' (5^{8}). It is inferred by some that the use of 'the faith' in this sense implies a late date for this Epistle, possibly considerably after St. Paul's death; but it is significant that in Gal., which is among the very earliest of the Pauline Epistles, there is found the expression: 'Before the faith came, we were kept in ward under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed' (Gal 3^{23}). Here the Apostle describes the early period not as the time before faith came, for faith was found already in the OT, but as the time before the faith came, *i.e.* the faith of Christ. Thus in this early Epistle we have the starting-point for the later use.

4. In the Epistle to the Hebrews.—In this Epistle faith has not the content that has been found in the Epistles of St. Paul. It is true that when the writer is speaking of 'the first principles of Christ' he mentions first, in a manner suggestive of St. Paul's phrases, the 'foundation of repentance from dead works, and of faith toward God' (ἐπὶ θεόν, 6^{1}). But even here 'dead works' is not used in the Pauline sense as works done apart from Christ or as works of themselves, and 'faith' is not the enthusiastic trust in Christ which St. Paul enshrines as the central feature of experience and dogma. In Heb., faith may be defined in general terms as the human response to the word of God. When man refuses to respond, he is guilty of unbelief and of hardness of heart; when he responds to God speaking to him, then he believes. God sent His word through agents, such as angels (2^{2}) and prophets (1^{1}), but especially in the last times He has spoken through His Son, and has borne witness to this message by 'signs and wonders, by manifold powers, and by gifts of the Holy Ghost' ($2^{3.4}$). Faith is the obedient response to this word of God, and has been found in all those who have become 'the cloud of witnesses' (12^{1}). The secret of the assurance, devotion, and endurance of the OT saints is found in their unceasing confidence in the God who revealed Himself to them (1^{1}). The greatest example of this faith was Jesus Himself, 'the author and perfecter of faith' (12^{2}), who led the way in the career of faith and embodied in His own life its full realization. This believing response to the word of God produces within the mind certain activities, the chief of which the writer describes when he gives faith its well-known definition (11^{1}): 'Faith is the assurance of things hoped for (or it gives substance to things hoped for), the proving of things not seen (or the conviction of unseen realities.)' Faith is the conviction of the reality of things not made known through the senses, and, so far as religion is concerned, it is produced by the word of God.

It ought to be observed that throughout this Epistle there is also implied a faith in the work of God by Christ, the great High Priest and Mediator of a new covenant. Possibly this work ought to be regarded as a part of the word of God, for the writer conceives of God's word coming in the OT through such works as the arrangements of the tabernacle (9^{8}), as well as by spoken message, and the work of Christ may be conceived as in its entirety the message of God to men. On the other hand, it is possible that the writer, having described the complete priestly work done by Christ, regards faith as the response to the call then made by God to enter into His immediate fellowship. Those who respond will draw near to God 'in full assurance of faith' (ἐν πληροφορίᾳ πίστεως, 10^{22}).

5. In the Epistles of St. Peter.—There is little that is distinctive in the doctrinal teaching of these Epistles, and analogies may be found with both St. Paul and St. James. The writer of 1 Pet. makes Christ the object of faith, 'on whom (εἰς ὅν), though now ye see him not, yet believing, ye rejoice with joy unspeakable' (1^{8}). He also makes Christ the means of faith in God: Christ 'was manifested at the end of the times for your sake, who through him (δι' αὐτοῦ) are believers in God' (εἰς θεὸν, $1^{20.21}$). Similarly those who are suffering greatly are called upon to 'commit their souls in well-doing unto a faithful Creator' (4^{19}), where in a unique phrase God as Creator is presented as the object of trust. Throughout 1 Pet. salvation is regarded as future, certainly near at hand, but still as an inheritance to which Christians are to look forward. Hence those who are begotten unto this living hope must look upon the trials they are undergoing as tests of their faith (1^{6}), and must recall that, as Christ suffered in the flesh, they must arm themselves with the same mind (4^{1}). But the real defence is the power of God, by which they are guarded through faith (1^{5}). Faith brings under the power of God those who are tried, so that at last they will receive the end of their faith, even the salvation of their souls (1^{9}).

6. In the Epistles of St. John.—'Faith' is not the dominant conception in these Epistles, but 'light,' 'knowledge,' 'love.' Faith and love are presented as twin commands: 'This is his commandment, that we should believe in the name of his Son Jesus Christ, and love one another' (1 Jn 3^{23}). The thought is somewhat varied when the writer

says that a believer in Christ receives new life from God, and one sign of that new life is that he loves God who begat him, and also every other one who is begotten in the same way (5[1]). True faith includes genuine love. The knowledge of God, of Christ, and of ourselves leads to faith. 'We know and have believed the love which God hath in us' (4[16]); but faith also develops into a deeper and surer knowledge: 'These things have I written unto you, that ye may know that ye have eternal life, even unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God' (5[13]).

Through faith there comes also victory over the world and all the powers of the world. 'This is the victory that hath overcome the world, even our faith' (5[4]). Thus he that believes that Jesus is the Son of God passes by the way of forgiveness, knowledge, and love into an assured confidence and a great victory over the world and the things that are in the world.

7. In the Apocalypse.—It is unnecessary to examine the Apocalypse in detail, for it does not deal with either the nature or the defence of faith. In some respects it rises to a higher level as poetic and prophetic expression is given in it to the energy of the deep religious faith that abounds in the heart of the writer. In the Apocalypse we have described for us in words and pictures the unity and power of God, the dominion of Christ over the Church and the world, and the triumphant victory of the Kingdom of God over all the powers of evil. With all its problems and mysteries, this book has proved in times of despair the means of begetting and sustaining faith in Jesus Christ as 'the ruler of the kings of the earth' (1[5]).

8. Conclusion.—In whatever ways the apostles differ in their method of regarding faith, they agree in the underlying thought that in and by it there is oneness with Jesus Christ. This union is dwelt upon by St. Paul especially in passages that deal with the 'unio mystica' (Eph 1[23], I Co 12[12], etc.), but it appears also in the argument of 1 Jn. (2[24]). To make this oneness real, there is required less mere intellectual discernment than willingness of heart to commit soul and life to God in Christ. This faith is the answer of the heart to the grace of God, and is associated always with repentance and is accompanied by love and other Christian graces. Thus the writer of 2 Pet. is at one with all the apostles in saying to Christians that when they become partakers of the Divine nature (1[4]) they are bound to add to the faith—that is fundamental—virtue, knowledge, temperance, patience, godliness, love of the brethren, love. Faith, that makes a believer a sharer in Christ's salvation, makes him also a sharer in Christ's mind and character.

LITERATURE.—H. Bushnell, *The New Life*, 1860, p. 44; J. C. Hare, *The Victory of Faith*[3], 1874; J. T. O'Brien, *The Nature and the Effects of Faith*[4], 1877; N. Smyth, *The Reality of Faith*, 1888, also *The Religious Feeling—a Study for Faith*, n.d.; J. Kaftan, *Glaube und Dogma*[3], 1889; C. Gore, in *Lux Mundi*[12], 1891, p. 1; J. W. Diggle, *Religious Doubt*, 1895, p. 28; J. Haussleiter, 'Was versteht Paulus unter christlichem Glauben?' in *Greifswalder Studien*, 1895, p. 159 ff.; G. B. Stevens, *Doctrine and Life*, 1895, p. 191; A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT*[2], 1896; J. Martineau, *Faith and Self-Surrender*, 1897; W. Herrmann, *Faith and Morals*, 1904; G. Ferries, *The Growth of Christian Faith*, 1905; E. Griffith-Jones, *Faith and Verification*, 1907; W. R. Inge, *Faith*, 1909; H. C. G. Moule, *Faith*, 1909; P. Charles, *La Foi*, 1910; P. Gardner, *The Religious Experience of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 206; H. Martensen-Larsen, *Zweifel und Glaube*, 1911; D. L. Ihmels, *Fides implicita und der evangelische Heilsglaube*, 1912; A. Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood*, 1913, p. 386 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, *The Teaching of Paul*, 1913, pp. 56, 163, 176, 182.

D. MACRAE TOD.

FAITHFULNESS.—1. Faithfulness of God.—The apostolic writers agree with the general biblical teaching in ascribing faithfulness to God as 'keeping covenant and mercy with them that love him and keep his commandments to a thousand generations' (Dt 7[9]). Two general examples may be given. (1) Among the faithful sayings in the NT letters, there is found one in 2 Ti 2[11-13], where the writer speaks of the sufferings that he gladly endures, for 'if we died with him, we shall also live with him . . . if we are faithless, he abideth faithful; for he cannot deny himself.' God's faithfulness rested upon His own nature and not upon any human contingencies.

(2) The writer of Hebrews elaborated this truth when he dealt with the blessings that were to come in and through Abraham. In order that he and all believers might have greater assurance, God not only made gracious promises, but also interposed with an oath so that He might show more abundantly unto the heirs of the promise the immutability of His counsel. God's faithfulness was assured both by promise and by oath (He 6[13-20]).

This Divine faithfulness was made by the apostles the ground of forgiveness and cleansing to those who confessed their sins (1 Jn 1[9]), of deliverance in temptation from the power of evil (1 Co 6[13], 2 Th 3[3]), and of confidence in the final salvation of those who were called into the fellowship of Jesus Christ (1 Co 1[9], 1 Th 5[24]).

2. Faithfulness of Christ.—It is noteworthy that in the Apocalypse, where Christians are being encouraged to endure, the faithfulness of Christ is made prominent. Thus He is called the faithful witness (Rev 1[5] 3[14]), and victory is ascribed to Him who is 'faithful and true' (19[11]). But it is in Hebrews again that we find this faithfulness enlarged upon. In the earlier sections of that Epistle, where the writer is comparing the work of Christ with that wrought by angels and prophets, he shows that both Moses and Christ were examples of faithfulness, but Christ excelled, insomuch as a son's faithfulness over God's house excels in quality that of a servant in the house. 'He hath been counted of more glory than Moses, by so much as he that built the house hath more honour than the house' (He 3[1-6]).

3. Faithfulness of Christians.—In the background of every Christian life the apostles placed the example of Christ and the attributes of God, and thus the faithfulness they sought to practise and instil was linked with the faithfulness of God. For this reason St. Paul repelled with heat the charge of fickleness that had been brought against him by critics in Corinth (2 Co 1[19-22]). He acknowledged that there had been an alteration in certain details of his plans, but he asserted that this was due not to any passing inconsistency in his mind, but to greater faithfulness to his unchangeable desire to help them. He had not changed his plans capriciously, saying 'Yes' to-day and 'No' to-morrow, but he had adhered to principles as unchangeable as the gospel he preached. As God was faithful to His promise, so the Apostle did not vacillate; as Christ was unchangeable, so was St. Paul. The steadfastness of St. Paul and of all Christians found its source in the Divine stablishing in Christ. This is only one example of the apostolic belief that constant faithfulness in Christian life came from faith in Christ, 'the faithful and true,' while apostatizing from the living God came from an evil heart of unbelief (He 3[12]).

The faithfulness urged by the apostles covered the whole of life. It must be shown by Christians in their ordinary callings. When many were inclined, in view of the near approach of the Day of the Lord, to abandon their ordinary occupations, St. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians that all must work with quietness and eat their own bread, and that none must leave their common work and live in idleness (2 Th 3). In like manner St. Paul wrote more than once that those who were called to be Christians must abide faithfully in their callings

and perform their duties. Masters must put a new spirit into their oversight; slaves must become only the more diligent and faithful in their service; husbands and wives must remain faithful to their marriage vows, even when the new bond to Christ has been fashioned.

Within the Christian Church those called to any duty were required to exercise their gifts faithfully. He who was called to be a minister of God was reminded that a steward must be found faithful (1 Co 4^2). Each one must be faithful to the graces given by the Spirit, whether of prophecy, teaching, giving, or ruling (Ro 12^6). St. Paul claimed that he exhibited his faithfulness in teaching when he was dealing with the case of fathers and their unmarried daughters (1 Co 7^{25}). When he was expressing his judgment on this matter he said that he had no 'command' (*ἐπιταγήν*) to convey, but he gave his settled 'opinion' (*γνωμήν*), conscious that in so doing he was faithful to his stewardship under Christ.

As apostles were expected to be faithful in their teaching, so all Christians were expected to be faithful to the teaching they had received. As some of them were in danger of being 'carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the sleight of men, in craftiness, after the wiles of error' (Eph 4^{14}; cf. He 13^9), they must all be on their guard to hold fast the faith of Christ, and, in spite of all anti-Christian influences, they must hold the traditions which they were taught, whether by word or by Epistle of the Apostle (2 Th 2^{15}). Indeed, in the Epistle to the Hebrews faith itself is almost identified with steadfast loyalty to the Unseen God, and thus passes into faithfulness, which marks the believer under manifold trials.

In the apostolic life faithfulness to friends, and especially to those who were fellow-workers, was greatly prized. The first necessity for a Christian worker is that he should be, like Lydia, 'faithful to Christ' (*πιστὴν τῷ κυρίῳ*, Ac 16^{15}); but he should be also, like Timothy, 'faithful in Christ' (*πιστὸν ἐν κυρίῳ*, 1 Co 4^{17}), *i.e.* faithful in the sphere of Christian duty. This faithfulness is required to be shown not only to those for whom work is done, but also to those with whom it is done. Thus when St. Paul speaks in the Epistle to the Colossians of Tychicus his messenger as 'the beloved brother and faithful minister and fellow-servant in the Lord' (Col 4^7), and of Onesimus as 'the faithful and beloved brother' (4^9), he has before his mind chiefly the fidelity of these two brethren to himself the apostle and prisoner of the Lord. In 2 Tim. we have represented the unfaithfulness of Demas, who had forsaken the Apostle, 'having loved this present world'; the faithfulness of St. Luke his companion—the beloved physician, who had remained true to him to the end; and the renewed faithfulness of John Mark, who had deserted St. Paul at one time, but who in later years was a proved and faithful servant (2 Ti $4^{10.\ 11}$).

Christian faithfulness was to be observed throughout the whole of life, and especially through the many trials and tribulations of Christian experience. In the Epistles of St. Paul we find the Apostle on no fewer than six different occasions calling upon his readers to 'stand fast': 'Stand fast in the faith' (*στήκετε*, 'stand firmly and faithfully,' 1 Co 16^{13}); 'stand fast in the liberty' (Gal 5^1); 'in one spirit' (Ph 1^{27}); 'in the Lord' (Ph 4^1, 1 Th 3^8); 'and hold the traditions which ye were taught' (2 Th 2^{15}). St. Paul was urgent that believers should be faithful to the highest in all their varied experiences. In the Apocalypse we find the same insistence. The Church at Smyrna was exhorted to be 'faithful unto death' (Rev 2^{10}), and the Church at Pergamum was commended for faithfulness even in the days when 'witnessing' for Christ became 'martyrdom' in the later meaning of that word (v.^{13}). This extreme faithfulness was founded on faith in God and love to Christ, but it was glorified still further by the expectation of 'receiving the promise' (He 10^{36}), of enjoying the 'great recompense of reward' (v.^{35}), and of being awarded 'the crown of life' (Rev 2^{10}). Even when faithfulness meant for apostolic Christians their resisting unto blood, they were sustained by the thought of the Master, who after enduring the Cross had entered into His joy and was set down at the right hand of the throne of God (He 12^2).

LITERATURE.—W. A. Butler, *Sermons*[2], 1st ser., 1852, p. 155; H. Bushnell, *The New Life*, 1860, p. 191; J. L. Jones, *Faithfulness*, 1890, p. 2; A. Shepherd, *The Responsibility of God*, 1906; W. H. G. Thomas, in *Westminster Bible Conference*, Mundesley, 1912, p. 143.

D. MACRAE TOD.

FALL.—It is now generally recognized by scholars that the story of the Fall in Genesis is to be regarded neither as literal history, as Irenæus, Tertullian, and Augustine taught, nor as allegory, as Clement and Origen, following Philo, held; but as a myth, common to the Semitic group of religions, in which an attempt is made to explain the origin of the evils from which mankind suffers. This myth has, however, been transformed to bring it into accord with the 'ethical monotheism' of the Hebrew religion. For the present purpose, the exposition of the apostolic (in this case exclusively the Pauline) doctrine, it is not necessary to examine any alleged similar myth in other religions, to cite any of the supposed Babylonian parallels, to enter into the details of the narrative in Genesis, or to exhibit the truth under the mythological form, which expositors have found in the story (for all these particulars the artt. in *HDB* i. 839, *SDB* p. 257, and *DCG* i. 571 may be consulted).

There is no evidence that the teaching of the OT as a whole on the subject of sin was in the slightest degree affected by the narrative in Gn 3, as the instances cited to the contrary disappear on closer scrutiny; but the universality of man's sinfulness is asserted as a fact, although no reason for it is offered. It is only when we come to the apocryphal Jewish literature that the story is given the significance of doctrine. Although, as the evidence from this source shows, Jewish theology in the time of Jesus had taken up the question of the origin of sin and death, yet in the teaching of Jesus there is *not* the faintest echo of Jewish thought upon the subject. His standpoint is that of the OT, although His revelation of God's Fatherhood and man's sonship gives to the sin which separates God and man a more tragic import. St. Paul, however, has given a place in his theology to this contemporary Jewish doctrine, and, on account of the light it throws upon his teaching, it will be necessary to examine it more closely.

1. The connexion of St. Paul's doctrine with Jewish teaching.—(*a*) While in the OT we have the beginnings, but only the beginnings, of the later doctrine of Satan (Job $1^{9\text{-}12}$ $2^{1\text{-}6}$, the unbeliever in, and slanderer of, man's goodness and godliness; Zec 3^1, the adversary of man to hinder God's grace; 1 Ch 21^1, the tempter; cf. 2 S 24^1, where it is the Lord who moves David to number the people), yet it is not till we come to Wis 2^{24} that he is identified with the serpent who tempted Eve: 'But by the envy of the devil death entered into the world, and they that are of his portion make trial thereof.' This identification is assumed in Ro 16^{20} and Rev 12^9 20^2 and is also implied in Jn 8^{44} (cf. 1 Jn $3^{8.12}$).

(*b*) Woman's share in this tragedy for the race is mentioned in Sir 25^{24}: 'From a woman was the beginning of sin; and because of her we all die.' Of

this detail of the narrative St. Paul also makes use by way of warning: 'But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve in his craftiness, your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ' (2 Co 11[3]). It is not impossible that in this allusion St. Paul has in view the opinion of apocalyptic and Rabbinic writers that the temptation was to unchastity.

'The thought which pervades this passage is that of conjugal loyalty and fidelity to one husband, and it is difficult to resist the conclusion to which Everling (*Die Paulinische Angelologie u. Dämonologie*, 51–57) comes in his able discussion of the passage, that the mention of Eve in this connexion in a clause introduced by ὡς, makes it necessary to understand the sin into which she was betrayed as similar to that into which the Corinthian Church is, figuratively speaking, in danger of falling, namely, unchastity and infidelity to her husband' (H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1900, p. 52; cf. Tennant, *The Fall and Original Sin*, 1903, p. 251).

If this was St. Paul's belief, it adds force to his argument for woman's subordination in 1 Ti 2[14] 'Adam was not beguiled, but the woman being beguiled hath fallen into transgression.' Here again St. Paul is either echoing, or in accord with, Jewish thought, for in the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, xxxi. 6, we read: 'And on this account he [Satan] conceived designs against Adam; in such a manner he entered [into Paradise] and deceived Eve. But he did not touch Adam' (cf. Thackeray, *op. cit.* pp. 51, 52). Such an opinion would explain the harshness of his tone and the hardness of his dealing with women.

(*c*) These are, however, subordinate features of the narrative; but St. Paul is, in his assertion of human depravity, not only in accord with some of the sayings in the OT, but with such explicit teaching as is found in 2 Es 4[11] 'How can he that is already worn out with the corrupted world understand incorruption,' and 7[68] 'For all that are born are defiled with iniquities, and are full of sins and laden with offences.' But such a view does not seem to have been universal, for Edersheim says expressly of the teaching of the Talmud: 'So far as their opinions can be gathered from their writings, the great doctrines of Original Sin, and of the sinfulness of our whole nature, were not held by the ancient Rabbis' (*LT*[4], 1887, i. 165; cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] [*ICC*, 1902], p. 137).

(*d*) Man's present racial condition is traced back to Adam's fall (*παράπτωμα*; Wis 10[1] 'Wisdom guarded to the end the first formed father of the world, that was created alone, and delivered him out of his own transgression'). The teaching in Ro 5[12-21] is very fully anticipated in 2 Es 3[21. 22]: 'For the first Adam bearing a wicked heart transgressed, and was overcome; *and not he only*, but all they also that are born of him. Thus disease was made permanent; and the law was in the heart of the people along with the wickedness of the root; so the good departed away, and that which was wicked abode still'; 4[30] 'For a grain of evil seed was sown in the heart of Adam from the beginning, and how much wickedness hath it brought forth unto this time! and how much shall it yet bring forth until the time of threshing come!'; 7[118] 'O thou Adam, what hast thou done? for though it was thou that sinned, the evil is not fallen on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee.' While it is generally assumed that in these passages man's moral corruption in the sense of inherited depravity is traced to Adam's transgression as its cause, yet Tennant maintains that the available evidence does not support the view.

'The only parallels adduced by Sanday and Headlam from approximately contemporary literature are the passages of 4 Ezra [the passages given above] relating to the *cor malignum*. But the *cor malignum* is certainly the *yezer hara* of the Rabbis, regarded by Pseudo-Ezra, as well as by talmudic writers, as inherent in Adam from the first, and as the cause, not the consequence, of his fall. St. Paul, curiously enough, nowhere appears to make use of the current doctrine of the evil *yezer*; certainly not in connexion with the Fall. There would seem to be no evidence that St. Paul held, even in germ, the doctrine of an inherited corruption derived from Adam' (*op. cit.* p. 264 f.).

To the explicit challenge of a common understanding of St. Paul's doctrine we must return when dealing with it in detail in the next section; but meanwhile it may be made clear that it is not the assertion of a connexion between Adam's fall and man's sinfulness which is denied in these passages, but the inference from them that Adam's fall is regarded as the cause of moral depravity, and not merely as its first instance.

Support is given to this interpretation of the evidence by Weber's summary of the teaching of the Talmud (*Altsyn. Theol.* p. 216, quoted by Sanday-Headlam, *op. cit.* p. 137): 'By the Fall man came under a curse, is guilty of death, and his right relation to God is rendered difficult. More than this cannot be said. Sin, to which the bent and leaning had already been planted in man by creation, had become a fact; the "evil impulse" (=*cor malignum*) gained the mastery over mankind, who can only resist it by the greatest efforts; before the Fall it had had power over him, but no such ascendancy (*Uebermacht*).' After this quotation Sanday-Headlam continue the discussion in the words: 'Hence when the writer says a little further on that according to the Rabbis "there is such a thing as transmission of guilt, but not such a thing as transmission of sin (Es gibt eine Erbschuld, aber keine Erbsünde)," the negative proposition is due chiefly to the clearness with which the Rabbis (like *Apoc. Baruch*) insist upon free-will and direct individual responsibility' (*op. cit.* p. 137 f.).

The conclusion to which one is led is that a common doctrine cannot be confidently affirmed; and that if St. Paul does teach that man's moral nature was changed for the worse by the Fall, he is not following a clearly expressed and generally accepted Jewish doctrine on the subject. The bearing of his distinctive doctrine of the flesh on, and the meaning of, 1 Co 15[47. 48] in relation to the Jewish doctrine of the *cor malignum* must be reserved for subsequent discussion, while the feature referred to in the above quotation may here be illustrated.

(*e*) There can be no doubt of the distinctness and emphasis with which Jewish thought insists on man's individual responsibility, sometimes even, it would seem, in opposition to the view of a moral solidarity of the race, as the following passages show: 2 Es 3[26] 'In all things doing even as Adam and all his generation had done: for they also bare a wicked heart'; 8[59. 60] 'The Most High willed not that man should come to nought: but they which be created have themselves defiled the name of him that made them, and were unthankful unto him which prepared life for them'; 9[11. 12] 'As many as have scorned my law, while they had yet liberty, and, when as yet place of repentance was open unto them, understood not, but despised *it*; the same must know *it* after death by torment.' The strongest assertion of the exclusion of the derivation of any guilt from Adam is found, however, in *Apoc. Bar.* liv. 15, 19: 'For though Adam first sinned and brought untimely death upon all, yet of those who were born from him each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to come, and again each of them has chosen for himself glories to come. . . . Adam is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul, but each one of us has been the Adam of his own soul' (Charles's translation in *Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the OT*, 1913, ii. 511 f.). While St. Paul is constant in his assertion of individual liberty, yet he does not think of opposing it to, or trying to harmonize it with, the common sin of the race, sprung from Adam. Either he was not conscious of any contradiction, or regarded it as a problem insoluble by man's wisdom.

(*f*) On the connexion between Adam's sin and the introduction of death there is no such uncertainty in the evidence. The curse that rests on

man since the Fall is mentioned in Sir 40[1]: 'Great travail is created for many men, and a heavy yoke is upon the sons of Adam.' The connexion between death and the woman's sin stated in 25[24] and between death and the devil's envy affirmed in Wis 2[24] has already been referred to. More explicit is the reference to the narrative of Genesis in 2 Es 3[7]: 'And unto him thou gavest thy one commandment: which he transgressed, and immediately thou appointedst death for him and in his generation.' So also the *Apoc. Bar.* xvii. 3: 'Adam . . . brought death and cut off the years of those who were born from him' (cf. xxiii. 4). There are two passages, however, that seem to teach that man was by nature mortal, and that the Fall only hastened the process: 'Adam first sinned and brought untimely death (*mortem immaturam*) upon all' (liv. 15); and 'Owing to his transgression untimely death (*mors quae non erat tempore eius*) came into being' (lvi. 6). Apart from the two classical passages in St. Paul's letter on the relation of Christ and Adam in Ro 5 and 1 Co 15, which must be discussed in detail, death is connected with sin as its penalty in Ro 6[23] 'The wages of sin is death,' and in Ja 1[15] 'Sin, when it is fullgrown, bringeth forth death.' We must now pass to the discussion of St. Paul's doctrine of the Fall.

2. St. Paul's doctrine of the Fall.—Although the classical passage on the subject is Ro 5[12-21], yet there are references to Adam in 1 Co 15[21. 22. 45. 49] which may be briefly examined in so far as they present doctrine supplementary to that in Ro 5.

(*a*) 1 Co 15[21. 22] states the same doctrine. The contrast is emphasized in v.[45] by the description of the first Adam, in accordance with the account of his creation in Gn 2[7], as *living soul*, while Christ, the last Adam, is a *life-giving spirit*. Adam was given life by the breath or spirit of God, but could not impart any; Christ not only has life, but gives it. The *psychic* order of the first Adam necessarily preceded the *pneumatic* order of the last (1 Co 15[46]): so far there is no moral censure of the first Adam implied, and the Apostle's statement corrects an error into which theological speculation on man's primitive condition often fell. 'The Apostle,' says Godet (*ad loc.*), 'does not share the notion, long regarded as orthodox, that humanity was created in a state of moral and physical perfection. . . . Independently of the Fall, there must have been progress from an inferior state, the psychic, which he posits as man's point of departure, to a superior state, the spiritual, foreseen and determined as man's goal from the first' (quoted by Findlay, *EGT*, '1 Cor.,' 1900, p. 938). This inferior state did not include for St. Paul the *cor malignum*, which Jewish thought assigned to Adam. It is not so certain that the next statement, 'The first man is of the earth, earthy: the second man is of heaven' (v.[47]), refers only to physical origin, and does not indicate moral character.

χοϊκός, as Ph 3[19], Col 3[2] suggest, seems to have a moral connotation. But even if this be so, it does not make certain that St. Paul assigned the *yezer hara* to the unfallen Adam, as, since the reference in the 'second man from heaven' is not to the pre-existent Word, but to the Risen Lord, the contrast is between Adam fallen as the source of death to mankind and Christ risen as the fountain of its eternal life. If v.[49] be not merely a prediction, but an exhortation, as many ancient authorities attest (see RVm), this moral reference becomes certain. This whole passage, accordingly, does disprove the view that man's primitive condition was one of such perfection that there was no need of progress; but it offers no support to the assumption that St. Paul regarded Adam's position as so inferior morally that the Fall would to him appear as inevitable. As Ro 5[14] shows, he assigns to Adam a greater moral culpability than to his descendants before the Law was given, for he transgressed a definite commandment of God. Nor does St. Paul's doctrine of the flesh (*q.v.*) justify any such assumption about the moral defect of man's state before the Fall, as it is not a physical, but an ethical, conception, and relates to mankind as it is for man's present experience, not to any previous state of man. If we cannot, therefore, identify the flesh with the *yezer hara* of unfallen man, unless we leave in St. Paul's system the antinomy of a two-fold origin of sinfulness, one individual, the other racial, we are forced to conclude that in some way he did connect the presence of the flesh in sinful mankind with the entrance of sin at the Fall.

(*b*) The further discussion of this topic brings us to the closer consideration of Ro 5[12-21]. (*a*) The purpose of the passage must be clearly kept in view. St. Paul is not proving man's universal sinfulness—he has done that by an empirical proof, a historical induction, in chs. 1-3; nor is he concerned to explain the origin of sin. He assumes as not needing any proof that man's sinfulness is the result of Adam's fall. From that fact he deduces the conclusion that one person can be so related to the race as to be the author to it of both sin and death. If that be so in the case of Adam, it can be and is so in the case of Christ as the Author of righteousness and life, and even so much more as Christ is superior to Adam. The purpose of the passage is to show that Christ can and does bring more blessing to man than Adam has brought curse. We go beyond what St. Paul's own intention warrants in asserting that his doctrine of salvation in Christ rests on, and falls to the ground without, his teaching on the Fall. As his proof of the sinfulness of mankind is empirical, so his certainty of salvation in Christ is rooted in his experience, and not in the opinions he shared with his contemporaries regarding the origin of sin. It is important at the outset of this discussion to assert this consideration, as it will relieve us of the painful anxiety, which many exponents of this passage hitherto have felt and shown, to justify in some sense or another this story of the Fall, in spite of the origin criticism now assigns to it, as an essential constituent of Christian theology.

(*β*) In v.[12] St. Paul affirms the entrance of sin into the world, and death as its penalty, as the result of Adam's transgression, and the diffusion of death among mankind in consequence either of Adam's sin alone, or of the spread of sin among all his descendants. There is this ambiguity about the meaning in the clause 'for that all sinned,' which is not only grammatically irregular, but seems even to be logically inconsistent. To fix his meaning we must examine his language very closely. The connective phrase ἐφ' ᾧ has been variously interpreted. It is improbable that ᾧ is masculine and the antecedent either Adam or death; taking it as neuter, the rendering 'because' is more probable than 'in like manner as' or 'in so far as.' In what sense did 'all sin' (πάντες ἥμαρτον)?

(1) The Greek commentators take the obvious sense of the words, regarded apart from the context: 'all as a matter of fact by their own choice committed sin.' To this interpretation two objections from the context may be urged. Firstly, if individual death is the penalty of individual sin, Adam is not responsible for the sin or the death, and so there is no parallelism with Christ as the source of righteousness and life to all; but the purpose of the whole argument is to prove a con-

nexion between Adam and the race similar to that between Christ and redeemed humanity. Secondly, in the next verse St. Paul goes on to show that till the time of Moses, in the absence of law, the descendants of Adam could not be held as blameworthy as Adam himself was; while sin was in the world it could not be imputed as personal guilt, incurring of itself, apart from the connexion with Adam, the penalty of death.

(2) Some connexion with Adam must be asserted; but of what kind? An explanation accepted by many commentators, while on grammatical grounds not rendering ἐφ' ᾧ 'in whom' but 'because,' yet treats the sentence as conveying the equivalent meaning. Bengel presents this view in its classical expression: *omnes peccarunt, Adamo peccante.* If St. Paul had meant this, why did he not supply the words? it is often asked. But when we observe the irregularity of the structure of the very sentence, introducing such ambiguity into St. Paul's meaning, we do not seem entitled to expect him to express himself with such logical precision. On this ground alone we must not set aside the explanation. But even if we accept it, what sense are we to attach to the statement that in Adam's sin all sinned?

(i.) Firstly, there is the *realistic* explanation: that as Adam was the ancestor of the race, so all his descendants were physically included in him, even as Levi is represented to have paid tithes to Melchizedek 'in the loins' of Abraham (He 7^{9-10}). But such a physical explanation only increases the difficulty of understanding the connexion.

(ii.) Secondly, there is the *legal* explanation, so prominent in the federal theology of the Reformed Church. Adam acted, not for himself alone, but as representative of the race, and so the race shares the responsibility of his act. But to this explanation there is the obvious objection that a representative must be chosen by those for whom he acts, if they are to be in any sense responsible for his acts; and the race had no voice in the choice of its first ancestor. If the objection is met by appealing to a Divine appointment, the plea of injustice is not answered, but the will of God is represented as overriding the rights of man. In a Calvinistic theology alone could such an explanation carry conviction.

(iii.) Thirdly, the explanation more generally accepted is that from Adam all mankind has inherited a tendency to evil, which, while not abolishing individual liberty and responsibility so as to make individual transgression inevitable, yet as a fact of experience has resulted in the universal sinfulness of the race. This is the view of Sanday-Headlam (*op. cit.* p. 134), and they support it with the references to Jewish literature already noted. The writer of this article in his Commentary on *Romans* (Century Bible, 1901) accepted this conclusion. 'Without expressly stating it, Paul assumes the doctrine of original sin in the sense of an inherited tendency to sin, for what he affirms beyond all doubt here is that both the sin and the death of the human race are the effects of Adam's transgression' (p. 154). A further study of the problem has led him, however, to recognize at least the possibility of another explanation. Tennant, who of modern writers has made this subject specially his own, in his three books, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin* (1902), *The Sources of the Doctrines of the Fall and Original Sin* (1903), and *The Concept of Sin* (1912), has not only contended against the doctrine of such an inherited tendency, but has also maintained that this idea is not present in St. Paul's mind in this passage. Referring to Sanday-Headlam's objection to Bengel's explanation that the words 'in Adam' would have been given had St. Paul intended that meaning, he presses a similar objection to their view.

'That suggested by Dr. Sanday and Mr. Headlam, from whose weighty opinion it is here ventured to diverge, is an equally important element to be "supplied." Indeed, it may be asked whether the idea of inherited sinfulness, as the cause of death to all who come between Adam and Moses, does not call at least as loudly for explicit mention, if St. Paul's full meaning be expressible in terms of it, as that signified by Bengel's addition of "in Adam"? Would it not be equally novel to the reader, so far as our knowledge of the thought of that age goes, and more remote from the actual language of the verse and its context?' (*The Fall and Original Sin*, p. 261).

Reserving for subsequent treatment the wider issue of whether this is or is not an inherited tendency to evil, we must meanwhile look at the explanation Tennant himself offers of this verse.

(iv.) Though he rejects the *realistic* explanation in any form, either as already mentioned or as presented in Augustine's theory 'which makes human nature a certain *quantum* of being and treats descent from Adam as a division of this mass of human nature into parts' (Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, 1892, p. 136 f.), he accepts the following explanation:

'Much more probable, in the opinion of the present writer, is the suggestion that, in his identification of the race and Adam, St. Paul was using a form of thought occurring by no means exclusively in the particular verse of his writings with which we are here concerned. Stevens has appropriately named it "mystical realism." "It is characteristic of Paul's mind," says this writer, "to conceive religious truth under forms which are determined by personal relationship. These relations, especially the two just specified (that of unregenerate humanity to Adam, and of spiritual humanity to Christ), may be termed *mystical* in the sense of being unique, vital, and inscrutable; they are *real* in the sense that sinful humanity is conceived as being actually present and participant in Adam's sin . . ." (*op. cit.* p. 32 f., and elsewhere). This mystical realism is a style of thought, a rhetorical mode; it is not a philosophy: the realism is only figurative. St. Paul identifies the race, as sinners, with Adam in the same sense that he identifies the believer with Christ. "The moral defilement of man is *represented* as contracted in and with the sin of Adam" (*op. cit.* p. 37). . . . This attractive interpretation of St. Paul's meaning has the great virtue of explaining his words, which involve so many difficulties when taken, as they generally have been, with too much literalness, as only a particular case of a mode of speech which is characteristic of the apostle. And so long as it is not so far pressed as to lose sight of the undeniable connexion between the apostle's teaching and the somewhat indefinite belief which he inherited from Jewish doctors as to the connexion between the Fall and human sin and death, it would seem to supply the best key to the thought of this difficult passage' (*The Fall and Original Sin*, pp. 262–3).

If it be the case that, as Tennant maintains, Jewish thought assigned the *cor malignum* or the *yezer hara* to Adam even before his Fall as well as to his descendants, and so did not teach a moral corruption of man's action as a result of the Fall (*see op. cit.* pp. 264–5), it does appear more likely that St. Paul did not hold the doctrine, and that accordingly it cannot be here introduced to explain his meaning. If this alternative must be excluded, although the writer is not finally convinced that it must, the explanation Tennant accepts does appear the most probable among all the others already mentioned. It must be frankly admitted that we cannot reach certainty on this matter, and it does not seem at all necessary for a modern reconstruction of Christian doctrine that we should. Whatever St. Paul's view of the Fall and its consequences may have been, seeing that it rests ultimately on a narrative which modern scholarship compels us to regard as a myth, however purified and elevated in the new context given to it in the record of the Divine revelation, and is influenced directly by contemporary Jewish thought, it cannot be regarded as authoritative for our Christian faith, however great may be its historical interest as an instance of the endeavour of a great mind to find a solution for a great problem.

3. The doctrine of the Fall and modern Christian thought.—Although the writer holds the con-

viction that it is not necessary for the Christian theologian to try and save as much as he dare of the wreckage of the doctrine of the Fall, after the storm of literary and historical criticism has passed over it, a few sentences may be added in closing this article as to the relation of modern Christian thought to the doctrine.

(*a*) What has already been urged must be repeated: that the teaching of the OT regarding sin and salvation does not rest at all on the narrative in Gn 3, but on the reality of human experience and the testimony of human conscience; that the teaching of Jesus about man as the child of God, though lost, has not this doctrine as its foundation, but comes from the moral insight and spiritual discernment of the sinless Son of God and Brother of men; that, apart from a few casual allusions in the rest of the NT, the two passages which have been considered in Ro 5 and 1 Co 15 are the only express statements of the connexion of sin and death with the Fall; and that when we look more closely at the mode in which the classical passage in Ro 5 is introduced we find that its primary intention is not to prove either man's sinfulness or to offer an explanation of its origin, but to demonstrate the greater efficacy of Christ's obedience than of Adam's transgression in their consequences for the race. These are surely weighty reasons why modern Christian thought should no longer assign to the doctrine of the Fall the prominence hitherto accorded to it.

(*b*) It is with the presence, guilt, and power of sin in individual experience and racial history, as the human need which the Divine grace in Christ meets, that Christian theology is alone concerned, and all other questions of the origin of sin or death are speculative, and not practical, and should be assigned the secondary place that properly belongs to them.

(*c*) Guided by these two considerations, we may lastly ask the question, How much remains of this doctrine for our modern Christian thought? (1) While the unity of the human race has not been demonstrated by science, this theory is not at all improbable, and so descent from one pair of ancestors is not incredible. (2) While death as physical dissolution is proved by science to have been antecedent to man's appearance on earth, and while death seems a natural necessity for man as a physical organism, we need not try to justify St. Paul by assuming either that God, anticipating human sin, introduced death as its penalty into the very structure of the world at the Creation, or that, had man not sinned, he would so have developed morally and spiritually as to have transcended the natural necessity of death, and have attained immortality (because these speculations have no contact with experience). But we may recognize that for him death was not physical dissolution merely, but death in its totality as it is for the human consciousness, and may press the question, Can it be denied that the terror and darkness of death for the mind and heart of man are due in large measure to his sense of guilt, and the effects of sin on his reason, conscience, and spirit? Between death as such an experience and sin we can even to-day admit that there is a connexion. (3) While the common assumption that the savage represents primitive man is unwarranted, and we may infer that, since man's mental, moral, and spiritual development in history proves the great distinction between him in his natural endowments and all the lower animals, man was even at the earliest stage of that development already far removed from the brute, yet all speculation as to what he originally was is precarious, as it rests on no solid foundation of assured knowledge. (4) While the dispute as regards the inheritance of acquired characters does not directly affect Christian thought (as it has yet to be proved that the laws of physical and mental or moral inheritance must be identical), yet the Christian theologian is bound to admit that the resemblances we do find between parents and children may be explained by social as much as by physical heredity, by the influence of the moral environment in youth as much as by the inheritance at birth of the moral characteristics of parents. While the writer is not convinced that Tennant has proved his contention, that the appetites and impulses of the child are entirely natural, and that the factor of heredity may be excluded from the origin of sin in the individual, he has at least compelled a reconsideration of the whole question. The sin in the race does affect the development of each member of it whether by social or by physical heredity; but when, where, or how sin first entered we do not know, for that neither can man discover nor has God revealed.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the authorities cited throughout the art., see J. S. Candlish, *The Biblical Doctrine of Sin*, 1893; J. Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, new ed., 1895; H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Christian Doctrine of Man*, 1911; J. Orr, *God's Image in Man and its Defacement in the Light of Modern Denials*, 1905; W. E. Orchard, *Modern Theories of Sin*, 1909; F. J. Hall, *Evolution and the Fall*, 1910.

ALFRED E. GARVIE.

FALLING AWAY.—See APOSTASY and ANTICHRIST.

FALSE PROPHET.—See APOCALYPSE.

FAMILY.—1. The idea of 'family' is represented in the NT by πατριά, οἶκος, and οἰκία.—(*a*) πατριά is used in Lk 2[4] for 'lineage,' 'descendants' (of David); in Ac 3[25] (in plural) for 'races' of mankind; and in Eph 3[15], where there is a play on words between πατήρ and its derivative πατριά: 'the Father, from whom all fatherhood (RV text: 'every family,' AV wrongly: 'the whole family') in heaven and earth is named.' Though 'family' is here the literal translation, yet, since the English word 'family' is not derived from 'father,' the above paraphrase suggested by J. Armitage Robinson (*Com. in loc.*), who here follows the Syriac and the Latin Vulgate, is best, and overcomes the difficulty presented to the English reader by the existence of 'families' in heaven, in opposition to Mt 22[30]. Fatherhood, in a real sense, there must be in heaven, and it is 'named' from God the Father. Thackeray, indeed, suggests (*The Relation of St. Paul to Contemporary Jewish Thought*, 1900, p. 148 f.) that orders of angels are meant, and he quotes a Rabbinical phrase, 'His family the angels'; but 'families' (plural) of angels are not mentioned, and the suggestion is hardly necessary. Another way out of the difficulty is seen in the *v.l.* φατρία (= φράτρα), *i.e.* 'tribe,' but this is an obvious gloss which spoils the sense. Cf. πατριάρχης in He 7[4]: Abraham the 'father of the whole family of faith' (Westcott); the word is used of David and of the sons of Jacob in Ac 2[29] 7[8].

(*b*) οἶκος, besides being used for 'house' in the sense of a structure, represents (like *domus*) *familia*, the 'family' in its widest sense (see also HOME). It is used (1) for *all living under one roof*—father, mother, near relations, and dependents—frequently in the NT: Ac 7[10] (Pharaoh), 10[2] and 11[14] (Cornelius), 16[31] (Philippian jailer: so v.[34] πανοικί 'with all his house,' here only in NT), 18[8] (Crispus), 1 Co 1[16] (Stephanas), 1 Ti 3[4f.] (the bishop), 5[4] (the widow), 2 Ti 1[16] and 4[19] (Onesiphorus, who apparently was dead, and whose household is nevertheless named after him: see below, 2 (*d*)), He 11[7] (Noah), and, in plural, 1 Ti 3[12] (deacons), Tit 1[11] (Christians generally); (2) for *descendants*, Lk 1[27] 2[4]; (3) for *God's family*, the house of God (see below, 3).

(*c*) *οἰκία* is similarly used for a 'household' in Ph 4[22] (Cæsar), Mt 10[13] 12[25], Jn 4[53] (the Capernaum royal officer), 1 Co 16[15] (Stephanas); and therefore for 'possessions' in the phrase 'widows' houses,' Mk 12[40], Lk 20[47], and inferior MSS of Mt 23[14].

2. Members of the family.—(*a*) *Father.*—The father, if alive, is the head of the family (*pater-familias*), and exercises authority over all its members.* He is the 'master' or 'goodman' of the house (*οἰκοδεσπότης*), Mt 24[43], Mk 14[14] (in Lk 22[11] *οἰκοδεσπότης τῆς οἰκίας*), and the 'lord' (*κύριος*) of the household (*οἰκετεία*), Mt 24[45]. That in some sense he is the priest of his own family appears from He 10[21], where the spiritual family, the house of God, has our Lord as 'a great priest over' it (see below, 3). The subordination of the family to the father is a favourite subject with St. Paul, who, though the Apostle of liberty, carefully guards against anarchy. His liberty is that of the Latin collect: 'Deus . . . cui servire regnare est' (paraphrased: 'O God . . . whose service is perfect freedom'). He lays down the general principle of subordination for all Christians in Eph 5[21] (cf. Ro 13[1], 1 Co 15[28], and 1 P 5[5]), and then applies it to Christian families. The husband is the head of the wife as Christ is Head of the Church; husbands must love and honour their wives, for they are one flesh, and wives must be in subjection to their husbands and reverence them (Eph 5[22-25 28-33], Col 3[18f.], Tit 2[4f.]; cf. 1 P 3[1-7]). For children and dependents see below, and for the relation of husband and wife, see MARRIAGE.

(*b*) *Mother.*—On the other hand, the position of the mother in the family is a very important one; to this day in Muhammadan countries, where the women are more in the background than among the Oriental Christians (for even there Christianity has greatly raised the position of women), the influence of the mother is immense. We find many traces of this in the NT. In 1 Ti 5[14] even young mothers are said to 'rule the household' (*οἰκοδεσποτεῖν*). In 1 P 3[1] the heathen husband is gained by the influence of the wife. The household at Lystra in which Timothy was brought up was profoundly influenced by the 'unfeigned faith' of his mother and grandmother, Eunice and Lois (2 Ti 1[5]; cf. 3[15]), and the influence of the former over her Greek husband (Ac 16[1]) may have been in St. Peter's mind. In Mt 20[20] 'the mother of the sons of Zebedee' (a curious phrase) is put forward to make petition for her children. Further, if the mother was a widow, she, rather than one of the sons, seems, at least in some cases, to have been the head of the household. Thus we read of the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark, not of the house of Mark (Ac 12[12]); and of the house of Lydia (Ac 16[15]), who was probably a widow, trading between Philippi and Thyatira, a city famous for dyeing, with a gild of dyers evidenced by inscriptions (the supposition that Lydia was the 'true yokefellow' of Ph 4[3] rests on no solid basis). It was Lydia who entertained St. Paul and his companions, not her sons or brothers. A similar case is perhaps that of Chloe; she seems to have been a widow whose household ('they of Chloe,' 1 Co 1[11]) traded between Ephesus and Corinth. Other prominent women in the apostolic writings are Damaris (Ac 17[34]), whom Ramsay thinks not to have been of noble birth, as the regulations at Athens with regard to the seclusion of women were more strict than in some other places, and a well-born lady would hardly have been likely there to come to hear St. Paul preach (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 252); Phœbe, a deaconess who had been a 'succourer of many' (Ro 16[1f.]); Euodia and Syntyche, who were prominent church workers at Philippi (Ph 4[2f.]). It has often been noticed that the position of mothers of families was especially strong in Macedonia and in Asia Minor, and particularly in the less civilized parts of the latter. Of this there are some traces in the NT. Thus the influential women at Pisidian Antioch, the 'devout women of honourable estate,' are, with the chief men (*πρῶτοι*) of the city, urged by the Jews to arouse feeling against St. Paul and Barnabas (Ac 13[50]), and the 'chief women' are specially mentioned at Thessalonica (17[4]) and Berœa (17[12]). There are even instances (not in the NT) of women holding public offices, and of descent being reckoned through the mother (see further J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*, 1903 ed., p. 55 f.; Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, pp. 67, 160–2). It is curious that Codex Bezae (D) waters down the references to noteworthy women: *e.g.* in Ac 17[34] it omits Damaris; it seems to reflect a dislike to the prominence of women which is found in Christian circles in the 2nd century.

(*c*) *Children.*—The duty of obedience to parents is insisted on by St. Paul in Eph 6[1-4], Col 3[20f.], where the two-edged injunction of the Fifth Commandment is referred to as involving duties of parents to children as well as of children to parents. The relation of the younger to the elder in the family must have been greatly simplified by the spread of monogamy in the OT (see MARRIAGE), and in Christian times there would have been very few complications in this respect. Yet it was often the case, as it still is in Eastern lands, that several families in the narrower sense made up a 'family' in the wider sense, and lived under one roof: thus a son would ordinarily bring his bride to his father's house, as Tobias brought Sarah to that of Tobit, so that his parents became her parents, and the Fifth Commandment applied to her relationship with them (To 10[9-12]). So we note in Mt 10[35f.], Lk 12[52f.] that the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are of one family or household (*οἰκιακοί* Mt., 'in one house' Lk.). The brethren of our Lord (whatever their exact relationship to Jesus) appear during His ministry to have formed one household with Mary (Jn 2[12], Mt 12[46f.] 13[55f.], Mk 6[3]; Joseph was probably dead), notwithstanding that they themselves, or some of them, were married (1 Co 9[5]). It is because of this custom that חָתָן (*ḥāthān*, 'bridegroom') and כַּלָּה (*kallāh*, 'bride') and their equivalents in cognate languages represent the relationship of a married man and woman to all their near relations by affinity. In the case of a composite 'family' of this nature, the father still retained some authority over his married sons.

(*d*) *Slaves and dependents.*—These formed a large portion of the more important families; the 'dependents' would be chiefly freedmen. On the other hand, it appears that hired servants were not reckoned as part of the family (*HDB* iv. 461). Among the Israelites the slaves were comparatively few, while in Greek and Roman families they were extremely numerous. In Athens the slaves were reckoned as numbering four times the free citizens, and elsewhere the proportion was even greater. Some Roman landowners had ten or twenty thousand slaves, or more (Lightfoot, *Colossians*, 1900 ed., p. 317 ff.). These slaves were entirely at their master's disposal, and under a bad master their condition must have been terrible (see Lightfoot, p. 319, for details). Yet their inclusion in the 'family' somewhat mitigated the rigours of slavery even among the heathen in NT times; and this mitigation was much greater in Christian households. The Church accepted existing institutions, and did not proclaim a revolutionary slave-war, which would only have

* Ramsay points out (*Galatians*, 1899, p. 343) that *pater* has a wider sense than our 'father'; he was the chief, the lord, the master, the leader.

produced untold misery; but it set to work gradually to ameliorate the condition of slaves. On the one hand, slaves are enjoined by St. Paul to obey and be honest to their masters, whether Christian or not, as in Eph 6^{5-8}, Col $3^{22ff.}$ (where the great detail was doubtless suggested by the Onesimus incident), 1 Ti $6^{1f.}$, Tit $2^{9f.}$; cf. 1 P $2^{18f.}$. These exhortations were probably intended to take away any misapprehension that might have arisen from such passages as Gal 3^{28}, 1 Co $7^{21f.}$, which assert that in Christ there is neither bond nor free. Christianity did not at once liberate slaves, and St. Paul does not claim Onesimus' freedom, though he indirectly suggests it (Philem $13f.$). On the contrary, it taught those 'under the yoke' to render true service. At the same time, St. Paul points out that the Fifth Commandment lays a duty on masters as well as on slaves (Eph 6^{9}, where the double duty is referred to just after the application of this Commandment to fathers as well as to children). The Christian head of the house must provide for his own household, or be worse than an unbeliever (1 Ti 5^{8}). By Christianity masters and slaves become brethren (1 Ti 6^{2}). In Philem ^{16} Onesimus is said to be 'no longer a slave, but more than a slave, a brother beloved.' We cannot doubt that we have here a reminiscence of such words of our Lord, orally handed down, as 'no longer slaves but friends' (Jn 15^{15}; cf. He 2^{11} 'not ashamed to call them brethren'). It was owing to the good example set by Christian slaves to their heathen masters that Christianity, which at first took root in the lower social circles of society (1 Co 1^{26}), spread rapidly upwards.

The domestic servants of the family are called 'they of the house'—*οἰκέται*, Ac 10^{7}; or *οἰκεῖοι*, 1 Ti 5^{8} (cf. Eph 2^{19} fig.); or *οἰκιακοί*, Mt $10^{25.\ 36}$ (this includes near relations); or 'the household,' *οἰκέτεια*, Mt 24^{45} RV (= *θεραπεία*, Lk 12^{42}). They included in their number, in the case of great families, many who would now be of the professional classes, but who then were upper slaves, such as stewards or agents, librarians, doctors, surgeons, oculists, tutors, etc. (for a long list, see Lightfoot, *Philippians*, p. 172). Thus in the NT we find (1) the *steward*, *οἰκονόμος*, Lk 12^{42} (cf. Mt 24^{45}); such were the unjust steward of the parable (Lk $16^{1ff.}$; the word *οἰκονομεῖν* is used for 'to be a steward' in v.^{3}), and the stewards of 1 Co 4^{2}, Gal 4^{2}. The 'steward' of a child was the guardian of his property (Ramsay, *Gal.* p. 392). Metaphorically *οἰκονόμος* is used of Christian ministers (1 Co 4^{1}; of 'bishops,' Tit 1^{7}), of Christians generally (1 P 4^{10})—the idea is doubtless taken from our Lord's words about the 'wise slave whom his lord had set over his household to give them their food in due season' (Mt 24^{45}). (2) The *guardian of a child*, *ἐπίτροπος*, was concerned with his education (Gal 4^{2}); perhaps this is the same as the following. (3) The *pedagogue* or *tutor* (*παιδαγωγός*, Gal $3^{24f.}$, 1 Co 4^{15}) was a slave deputed to take the child to school (not a teacher or schoolmaster, as the AV); this was a Greek institution adopted by the Romans, for in education Greece led the way. (4) The *physician* (*ἰατρός*, Col 4^{14}) was also regarded as an upper slave. It has been pointed out by Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 316) that a prisoner of distinction, such as St. Paul undoubtedly was (*ib.* p. 310 f.), would be allowed slaves, but not friends or relations, to accompany him, and that St. Luke, who (as the pronoun 'we' shows) accompanied him on his voyage to Italy, as also did Aristarchus (Ac 27^{2}, Col 4^{10}), must have done so in the capacity of a slave, taking this office on himself in order to follow his master.

Under this head we may notice four households mentioned in the NT: the 'household of Cæsar' (*ἡ Καίσαρος οἰκία*), Ph 4^{22}; 'they of Aristobulus,' Ro 16^{10}; 'they of Narcissus,' Ro 16^{11}; and 'they of Chloe,' 1 Co 1^{11}. For the last see above (*b*); but the first three households were probably all part of the Imperial 'family' at Rome. That 'Cæsar's household' does not necessarily or even probably mean near relations of the Emperor is shown by Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 171 ff.); the meaning seems to be 'the slaves and freedmen of Cæsar.' Lightfoot with much ingenuity and probability identifies several of the names mentioned in Ro 16 with the household. The curious phrases in Ro $16^{10f.}$ are probably due to the fact that Aristobulus and Narcissus were dead (for their identification with well-known characters see Lightfoot, and Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*^{5} [*ICC*, 1902], p. 425), and that their households were absorbed in that of Cæsar, but still retained their old names. 'They of Aristobulus' would be equivalent to 'Aristobuliani,' and 'they of Narcissus' to 'Narcissiani.' (If the view that Ro 16 is not a real part of the Epistle be correct, this argument fails; but its verisimilitude is some ground for rejecting that view.)

3. The Christian Church as a family.—In the NT the word 'house' (*οἶκος*) is used figuratively of the Christian community, as in He $3^{2.\ 6}$ (Christians successors to the house [of God] in the Old Covenant), 10^{21} (see above, 2 (*a*)), 1 Ti 3^{15} (where *οἶκος* is explicitly defined as 'the Church of the living God'; the phrase follows the instructions as to the homes of bishops and deacons; see HOME), 1 P 2^{5} (a 'spiritual house'), 4^{17}. The metaphor is further elaborated in Eph 2^{20-22} where the foundation, corner-stone, and each several stone that is laid (such is the best paraphrase of *πᾶσα οἰκοδομή*) together result in a holy temple, of which Christians are stones, 'builded together for a habitation of God.'

The conception is based on the Fatherhood of God and on our position as His children. It is carried out by various analogous metaphors. The Church is the Bride of Christ—this is the outcome of Eph $5^{22f.}$; cf. Rev 19^{7} $21^{2.\ 9}$ 22^{17}—and He is the Bridegroom, Mt 9^{15} $22^{2ff.}$ 25^{6}, Mk 2^{19}, Jn 3^{29}, 2 Co 11^{2}; Christians are the *οἰκεῖοι*, members of the household, of the faith, Gal 6^{10}; Christ is their brother, He $2^{11f.}$; the Church is a brotherhood, 1 P 2^{17}, filled with brotherly love (*φιλαδελφία*), Ro 12^{10}, 1 Th 4^{9}, He 13^{1}, 2 P 1^{7}; cf. 1 Jn 5^{1}. The most usual designation of Christians among themselves is 'the brethren' (Acts, *passim*); even heretics are 'false *brethren*,' 2 Co 11^{26}, Gal 2^{4}. 'A brother,' 'brethren,' denote Christians as opposed to unbelievers in Philem ^{16}, 1 Ti 6^{2}; and so in 1 Co 9^{5} 'a sister, a wife' means 'a Christian wife' (the 'apostle' may have a *Christian* wife; cf. 7^{39} 'only in the Lord'); in 1 Co 7^{15} 'the brother or the sister' means the Christian spouse of an unbeliever (cf. v.^{14} and 5^{11}); in Ro 16^{23} RV ('Quartus the brother') the definite article seems to distinguish this Christian from some unbelieving Quartus. Cf. also 2 Co 8^{18} ('the brother whose praise in the gospel is spread through all the churches': but some translate 'his brother'—*i.e.* the brother of Titus, and interpret the phrase as applying to St. Luke) $8^{22f.}$, Philem ^{7}, Ro 16^{1}, Ja 2^{15}, 2 Jn ^{13}, and 1 Th 4^{6}, where see Milligan's note.

In this connexion also we may note the symbolical use of words denoting family relationships. The Israelites of old were 'the fathers' (Ro 15^{8}), just as early Christian writers are called by us. Abraham is father of spiritual descendants, believing Jews and Gentiles alike (Ro $4^{11f.\ 16f.}$, Gal 3^{7}; in Ac 7^{2}, Ro 4^{1}, and probably in Ja 2^{21}, physical descent is referred to). The teacher is father of his disciples (1 Th 2^{11}), though sometimes he calls himself 'brother' (Rev 1^{9}, 'I John your brother'; cf. 15^{23} RV, 'elder brethren'). Also 'father' is used of any old man (1 Ti 5^{1}); in this verse (unlike v.^{17}) *πρεσβύτερος* cannot refer to a presbyter. So 'mother'

is used of any old woman in v.[2]; younger men and women are 'brothers' and 'sisters' (v.[1f.]). Jerusalem is called 'our mother' in Gal 4[26], just as Babylon in Rev 17[5] is called 'the mother of the harlots.' In Ro 16[13] 'mother' is a term of affection ('Rufus and his mother and mine'). Similarly the expressions 'without father,' 'without mother,' in He 7[3] must be taken figuratively. Melchizedek's parentage is not recorded in Holy Scripture: 'he is not connected with any known line: his life has no recorded beginning or close' (B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1889, p. 172). Disciples, likewise, are called 'sons' or 'children' of their master, as in 1 P 5[13] (Mark), Gal 4[19] (the Galatians), 1 Ti 1[2], 2 Ti 1[2] 2[1] and Ph 2[22] (Timothy), 1 Co 4[14f.] (the Corinthians), Philem[10] (Onesimus), 1 Jn 2[1] etc., 3 Jn[4].

4. The Christian family as a church.—We often read in the NT of families or households becoming Christian as a body; *e.g.* those of Cornelius (Ac 10[2] 11[14]), Lydia (16[15]: the first in St. Paul's history), the jailer at Philippi (16[31-33]), Crispus (18[7]). So in Jn 4[53] it is recorded that the king's officer (*βασιλικός*) at Capernaum believed 'and his whole house.' Hence, in the absence of public churches, which persecution made impossible till a later date, a family became a centre of Christian worship, in which not only the household itself but also the Christian neighbours assembled. Thus, probably the house of Lydia was the beginning from which the Church at Philippi developed; those of Stephanas, whose family was 'the firstfruits of Achaia' (1 Co 1[16] *οἶκος*, 16[15] *οἰκία*), Titus Justus (Ac 18[7]), Crispus (18[8] *οἶκος*), and Gaius (Ro 16[23]) perhaps became centres of worship at Corinth. Such, again, was Philemon's house at Colossæ (Philem[2]); probably Apphia was his wife, and possibly Archippus his son (Philem[2], Col 4[17]). Archippus was clearly a church official; he had received the ministry (*διακονία*) in the Lord, and was in some way connected with Philemon; we are led to think of him as 'bishop' of the Church at Colossæ, or, less probably, with Lightfoot, of the neighbouring Church at Laodicea (so *Apost. Const.* vii. 46, which makes Philemon bishop of Colossæ; but it is more likely that Philemon was a layman). At Laodicea we read of Nymphas or Nympha (Col 4[15]; the gender is uncertain), and 'the church that is in their house' (RV)—*i.e.* probably all who met to worship there are regarded as one family. Lightfoot thinks (*Colossians*, p. 241) that there were perhaps more than one such 'church' at Laodicea, as there certainly were in Rome (see below).

In Jerusalem such a private house was at first used for the Eucharist (Ac 2[46]: *κατ' οἶκον*, 'at home,' as opposed to 'in the Temple'), and so doubtless at Troas (20[7]). For preaching to outsiders, the apostles made use of the synagogues (17[1f.]: 'as his custom was'), or the Temple at Jerusalem, or the 'school of Tyrannus' at Ephesus, which was probably open to all (19[9]), or other public places; but for the instruction of the faithful the Christians gathered in a private house (5[42] 'every day in the Temple and at home'; cf. 20[20]); in Jerusalem probably in that of Mary the mother of John Mark (12[12]), for her family was certainly such a centre of worship. As St. James the Lord's brother was not present in the house where the people were assembled to pray for St. Peter (v.[17]), it has been suggested that there were more than one such *ἐκκλησία* in Jerusalem; but this is uncertain. At Cæsarea we are tempted to think of Philip's household as such a centre (21[8]); at Cenchreæ of that of Phœbe the deaconess (Ro 16[1]). For Ephesus we have mention of Aquila and Prisca (or Priscilla), and 'the church that is in their house'—their 'family' formed a Christian community (1 Co 16[19]). Here we have a remarkable feature, for about a year later we find these two workers credited with another 'church' in Rome (Ro 16[3-5]), and this has been adduced as disproving the integrity of Romans as regards the last chapter. But it is not an improbable supposition that they gathered the Christians together in their own household wherever they were; and as Sanday-Headlam remark (*op. cit.* p. 418 f.), they were, like many Jews of the day, great travellers. We read of Aquila in Pontus, then of him and his wife in Rome A.D. 52, when they were expelled from the capital with their fellow-countrymen (Ac 18[1f.]); then we read of them at Corinth, where they met St. Paul (Ac 18[1f.]), and of their going with him to Ephesus (v.[18f.]), where they remained some time. Thence, probably, the old decree of expulsion having become obsolete, they returned to Rome, between the writing of 1 Cor. and Rom., and the 'church in their house' in Rome was then founded. Its site has been identified with that of the old church of St. Prisca on the Aventine, and this is quite possible, though there is no evidence of importance to support the identification. Hort suggests (*Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, 1895, p. 12 ff.) that Prisca was a Roman lady of distinction, superior in birth to her husband; and this would lend probability to the supposition that their home was a centre of Christian worship; but Sanday-Headlam think that they were both freed members of a great Roman family.

There are traces of other centres of worship in Rome. In Ro 16 both v.[14] and v.[15] indicate communities or 'families' of Christians at Rome in addition to that of Aquila and Prisca in v.[5]. In v.[14] only men are mentioned, and yet they form a community; cf. 'the brethren that are with them.' In v.[15] Philologus and Julia were probably husband and wife; Nereus and his sister, and also Olympas, would be near relations, living with them, but hardly their children, for it would not be likely that Philologus' daughter should be referred to here as 'the sister of Nereus.' This household seems to have been a large Christian centre: 'all the saints that are with them' are mentioned. The multiplying of centres in one city at a time when persecution was present or imminent may be illustrated by the account of the *trial* of Justin Martyr before the prefect in Rome (T. Ruinart, *Acta Prim. Mart.*[2], 1713, p. 59). Justin tells the prefect that the Christians in the city do not all assemble at one place, for 'the God of the Christians is not circumscribed in place, but, being invisible, fills heaven and earth, and everywhere is adored by the faithful and His glory praised.' Justin is pressed to say where he and his disciples assemble, and he replies that hitherto he has lived in the house of one Martin. The *Acta* may probably be said at least to contain the traditions current in the 3rd cent. as to Justin's death (see Smith's *DCB* iii. [1882] 562).

Another Christian family in Rome has left a relic of its house as a centre of worship in the church of San Clemente. This now consists of three structures, one above the other; the highest, now level with the ground, is mediæval, but contains the Byzantine furniture (ambones, rails, etc.); the middle one is of the 4th cent. (?) and used to contain this furniture; while underneath is the old house, now inaccessible through the invasion of water. This last building, there is little reason to doubt, was the meeting-place of the Christians of the 1st cent., and though now far beneath the surface, was once level with the ground. Local tradition makes it the house of St. Clement the Bishop, and it is highly probable that he worshipped in it; but it is not unlikely, as Lightfoot suggests, that it was the house of Flavius Clemens the Consul, whom tradition declares to have been buried in it, and who was perhaps 'patron' to his namesake

the Bishop (Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. i.: 'Clement,' 1890, vol. i. p. 91 ff.). The Consul was a near relative of the Emperor Domitian, and was put to death by him, perhaps because he was a Christian; at least his wife Domitilla was a believer (*ib.* p. 53), and it is quite probable that their household became a Christian ἐκκλησία.

A further illustration of the 'family' as a Christian community is furnished by the Church of SS. Giovanni e Paolo, in Rome. The present church is built above the house of the martyrs so named, who perished, according to tradition, in the reign of Julian the Apostate. The house was probably used at that time for worship.

On the other hand, Ro 16[16] does not refer to a number of ἐκκλησίαι at Ephesus. St. Paul here speaks on behalf of the whole of the communities of Christians which he had evangelized, or perhaps of all throughout the world, as in 16[4], 1 Co 7[17]. It should be noticed that the word ἐκκλησία is not used for a church *building* till a much later date.

In two places we read of private prayers at fixed hours in houses: Ac 10[9] (Peter at the sixth hour, on the flat roof: see HOUSE) and 10[3f. 30] (Cornelius keeping the ninth hour of prayer in his house). But these were private prayers, not family worship. Before public daily worship became generally customary, in the 4th cent. after the cessation of persecution, these and other hours of prayer, taken over from the Jews, were frequently observed by Christians, apparently in their families. See the present writer's *Ancient Church Orders*, 1910, p. 59 ff.

LITERATURE.—This is given in the course of the art., but special reference is due to the Prolegomena to J. B. Lightfoot's *Colossians and Philemon* (1900 ed.) and *Philippians* (1903 ed.). For other aspects of the subject see artt. on 'Family' by W. H. Bennett in *HDB* and E. G. Romanes in *SDB* (these both deal almost exclusively with the OT); by C. T. Dimont in *DCG* (especially for the teaching of our Lord in the Gospels) and J. Strahan in *ERE* ('Family, Biblical and Christian,' dealing chiefly with the OT). There are several articles on the 'Family' in *ERE* from the point of view of other nations of the world.

A. J. MACLEAN.

FAMINE.—'Famine' is used throughout in the RV to translate λιμός, having taken the place of 'dearth' in Ac 7[11] and 11[28] (AV). The remaining passages are Ro 8[35], Rev 6[8] 18[8]. The most important of these references is Ac 11[28], where μεγάλην, followed by ἥτις, the reading of the best MSS, proclaims the noun as feminine. In Lk 15[14] it is of the same gender, but in 4[25] it is masculine. In Josephus, *Ant.* XX. v. 2, τὸν μέγαν λιμόν appears.

We deal first with the great famine which seems to be common to Josephus and the Book of Acts. As it is spoken of in both places in the same terms, so both passages are taken to refer to one and the same event. Uncertainty attaches to the scope of the famine, which, according to St. Luke, was spread over the whole world as then known, but which, according to Josephus, was restricted to Judæa. Schürer (*GJV*[3] i. [1901] 567) is inclined to regard the statement of Acts as unhistorical generalization, and for this he compares Lk 2[1]. The Bible historian is defended by W. M. Ramsay (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 49): 'he merely says that famine occurred over the whole (civilized) world in the time of Claudius: of course the year varied in different lands.' As a matter of fact, local famines did frequently occur during that reign (see Schürer, *loc. cit.*, and *HDB*, *s.v.* 'Claudius') in lands other than Judæa. The date of the Judæan famine may be approximately determined by Herod Agrippa I.'s death, which took place in A.D. 44 (cf. Ac 11[29. 30] and 12[23. 25]). The dates assigned by chronologists range from that year up to A.D. 46 (see *HDB* v. 480, and Ramsay, *op. cit.* 68, 254). For the actual situation in Palestine compare Josephus, *Ant.* III. xv. 3, XX. ii. 5, v. 2; in the last two paragraphs the succour given by Queen Helena is detailed.

St. Luke, while careful to maintain the position of Agabus as a prophet, here in the sense of one foretelling the future (cf. Ac 21[11]), himself reviews the situation from a point outside the reign of Claudius, which terminated in A.D. 54. He therefore could survey the general feature of that reign, viz. as being an age of famine, and at the same time give particular attention to the local famine in Judæa, which involved Barnabas and Saul.

The whole position during the Apostolic Age may be regarded as perilous to the food supply. It was so for the Empire, owing to State policy, and for Palestine because of the insecurity of the times, culminating in the siege of Jerusalem, during which famine was extreme. Natural causes may have added to the straits, as the allusions of classical writers show. This matter has been considered from a novel point of view, viz. the relation between famine and the rainfall, by Ellsworth Huntington, who concludes that 'the second half of the first century may have been slightly drier than the first half, for at that time famines prevailed to an unusual extent' (*Palestine and its Transformation*, 1911, p. 327). He supports his main theory of pulsatory changes in climate by calling in the evidence of inscriptions, and he finds that the decades A.D. 61–70, 91–100, are without inscriptions (true for Syria), and these are taken to be intervals of desiccation and consequent scarcity. While illuminating the general situation, this does not bring us nearer than the historians do to fixing the date of specific famines.

The condition pictured in Rev 6[5. 6] is one of scarcity, when wheat and barley are to be weighed out with care to prevent a worse condition arising. In the next vision (v.[8]) this worse condition is described, when death results from famine, among other evils.

In the rhetorical appeal addressed by St. Paul to the Christians in Rome famine appears in the catalogue of afflictions (Ro 8[35]). Assuming that Babylon the Great is to be identified with Rome, it is a fitting sequel to the probable experience of the Christians there, that famine should be one of the plagues by which the Imperial city is to be finally overtaken (Rev 18[8]).

Famines of OT times are recalled: (1) in Egypt and Canaan (Ac 7[11]); (2) in Israel (Ja 5[17. 18], the absence of rain implying lack of earth's fruit; cf. Lk 4[25], where famine is named).

LITERATURE.—*HDB*, art. 'Claudius'; *EBi*, art. 'Chronology' (§ 76); E. Schürer, *GJV*[3] i. [1901] 567, *HJP* I. ii. [1890] 169 n.; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, pp. 48–51; J. B. Lightfoot, *Biblical Essays*, 1893, p. 216 f.; A. Hausrath, *A History of NT Times*, ii. [1895] 186 ff.; O. Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, ii. [1909] 227 f.; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. [1908] 563.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

FAST, THE (Ac 27[9]).—The passage in which the reference occurs is part of the account of the voyage of St. Paul. It reads: ἱκανοῦ δὲ χρόνου διαγενομένου καὶ ὄντος ἤδη ἐπισφαλοῦς τοῦ πλοὸς διὰ τὸ καὶ τὴν νηστείαν ἤδη παρεληλυθέναι, παρήνει ὁ Παῦλος, κτλ. ('Seeing that a considerable time had elapsed, and that already sailing was dangerous, and also the Fast was by this time over, Paul exhorted,' etc.). St. Luke is anxious to emphasize the fact that the period when, according to ancient custom, navigation must cease, was imminent. The Romans reckoned the period of *mare clausum* from 11 Nov. to 10 March (Vegetius, *de Re Milit.* iv. 39; Pliny, *HN* ii. 47). Previous to this was a period (24 Sept. [the autumnal equinox]–11 Nov.) when sailing was regarded as attended with great risk (Cæsar, *Bell. Gall.* iv. 36, v. 23). For the Jew, navigation was possible only from the Feast of Pentecost to the Feast of Tabernacles (Lewin, *Life and Epp. of*

St. Paul, 1875, ii. 192n., quoting Schöttgen, *Horæ Heb.* i. 482). By general consent the 'Fast' referred to by St. Luke is regarded as the great Day of Atonement (Lv 16^{29} 23^{26-32}; Jos. *Ant.* XIV. xvi. 4), although unsuccessful attempts have been made to refer it to the third day of the Athenian Thesmophoria, or to some nautical mode of expression (=*extremum autumni*) (cf. Knowling, *EGT*, 1900, *in loco*). This Fast occurred five days before the Feast of Tabernacles, when, according to Jewish reckoning, sailing was no longer possible. The problem to be solved is to account for the emphatic way in which the language is heaped up, so as to imply that the situation for those on board was really critical, and to explain the advice given by St. Paul to remain where they were, which was disregarded (Ac $27^{10.\ 21}$). The sailing-master and captain were anxious to reach Phœnix, a Cretan port further on, not only because they thought it a safer port to winter in, but also, no doubt, that they might lose less time, and perhaps gain the glory that accrued to the bringing in of the first corn-ship to Rome in the spring (cf. W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 322 ff., where the whole situation as between St. Paul and the responsible authorities is clearly explained). St. Paul showed himself not only the more prudent sailor, but as having the greater regard not merely for human life, but also for the guidance of God. This purpose in St. Luke's mind is revealed in his use of καί before τὴν νηστείαν, 'also the Fast was now gone by.' In other words, less than five days remained from the date (Feast of Tabernacles) when to sail would be contrary to the will of God. The implication is that they actually did set sail within these five days.

Two questions of critical interest emerge from a careful consideration of the use of νηστεία in this passage.

1. *Chronological.*—The word seems to afford an important clue to the exact year in which the voyage of St. Paul to Rome took place. In this connexion we must note that, in all probability, the phrase ὄντος ἤδη ἐπισφαλοῦς τοῦ πλοός refers to the Roman mode of reckoning, and that there is a studied contrast (implied in καί) in the verse between the Roman and the Jewish Calendar. The καί reproduces vividly the note of apprehensiveness. 'It seems to follow, therefore, that Luke is writing of a year in which the Great Fast is subsequent to the Autumnal Equinox, or is at all events very late indeed' (W. P. Workman, in *ExpT* xi. [1899–1900] 317). Workman deduces, after a careful examination of the various dates proposed, especially of A.D. 56, 58, 59, that A.D. 59 is the one that fits in best with St. Luke's statement. The Fast took place on Tishri 10, which is calculated by adding 173 days to Nisan 14; the calculation of the latter date presenting some difficulty only in A.D. 56, which for other reasons is unsuitable, although championed by Blass and Harnack. Turner in *HDB* i. 862, art. 'Chronology,' argues for A.D. 58, but in that year Tishri 10 is 16 Sept., eight days previous to the equinox. If Workman's interpretation of the contrast in St. Luke's mind between the two modes of reckoning is correct, A.D. 58 is therefore unsuitable, and the only possible year is A.D. 59, in which Tishri 10 falls on 5 October. This is the year contended for on other grounds by Ramsay and others. Another advantage is that, by this means, the chronological difficulty created by the 'three months'' stay in Malta (Ac 28^{11}) is somewhat alleviated; for the party could not possibly set sail again until the very beginning of February at the earliest. The spring equinox occurred on 9 Feb. (cf. Turner, *HDB* i. 422[a]; Zahn, *Introd.*, iii. 454). St. Paul would of course reckon after the Jewish Calendar (1 Co 16^{8}), and it is quite natural that St. Luke, a Gentile Christian, should also do so (Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles* [*NT Studies* iii.], p. 21 [=*Beiträge zur Einleitung in das NT*, iii. (1908)]).

2. *Authorship of Acts.*—Does the mention of the Fast imply that St. Paul observed it? This question can be answered adequately only in connexion with a full investigation of his attitude towards Judaism. Such an investigation has a very important bearing on the question of the Lucan authorship, and cannot be entered upon here (see art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES). It may, however, be pointed out that, on the most probable supposition that St. Paul, along with his companions Aristarchus and Luke, did observe the Fast, the fact is illuminative for the question of his attitude to Judaism generally, notwithstanding his principle that the Law is abrogated. Waiving the general question as to whether such conformity on the Apostle's part is inconsistent with the doctrine of the Epistles (cf. Ac $21^{27ff.}$ 23^{6} 26^{6}), and the assumption that on this account the portrait of St. Paul in Acts is therefore a *Tendenz*-product, we may find in this passage an important confirmation of Harnack's position that a mere theory of accommodation to Jewish customs for the sake of peace 'on St. Paul's part is neither worthy nor satisfying. No such motive could be in place under such circumstances. He observed the Fast because he was a Jew, who at the same time did not seek to bind such observances on Gentile Christians. His one aim was to promote a sense of brotherhood 'in Christ' between Jew and Gentile. 'St. Paul, indeed, took up a position even then no longer tenable when he regarded "Judaism" as still possible within the Christian fold, while he himself, by his mission to the Gentiles, had actually severed Judaism inside Christianity from its roots' (Harnack, *Date of Acts and Synoptic Gospels* [*NT Studies*, iv.], p. 76 [=*Beiträge*, iv. (1911)]).

LITERATURE.—For Chronology, see Literature mentioned in the article; and for the whole discussion of St. Paul's relation to Judaism, see A. Harnack, *Date of the Acts and of the Synoptic Gospels*, Eng. tr., 1911, p. 67 ff., also his *Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 281 ff.; T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, iii. 152; E. von Dobschütz, *Probleme des apostol. Zeitalters*, 1904, p. 81 ff.; J. Weiss, *Über die Absicht und den literar. Charakter der Apostelgeschichte*, 1897, p. 36 ff.; A. Jülicher, *Neue Linien in d. Kritik d. evangel. Überlieferung*, 1906, p. 59 f.

R. H. STRACHAN.

FASTING.—See ABSTINENCE.

FATHER.—See FAMILY.

FATHERHOOD OF GOD.—See GOD.

FATHOM.—The only instance of this measurement is found in Ac 27^{28}, where by successive soundings a depth of 20 and 15 fathoms is obtained. The word employed (ὀργυιά; cf. Herod. ii. 149. 4) denotes the length from finger tip to finger tip of the outstretched arms, measuring across the breast. In tables of length it appears=4 cubits=6 feet. The actual measurement thus depends on the length of the cubit or foot. According to recent authorities, the Roman-Attic ft. is given as equivalent to ·971 English ft., which yields 70 in. (approximately) as the length of the fathom. This is slightly under our present-day measure of 6 feet. For the fathom of Julian of Ascalon (74·49 in.) see *EBi*, art. 'Weights and Measures.'

W. CRUICKSHANK.

FEAR (φόβος, φοβεῖσθαι, φοβερός; ἀφόβως, 'without fear'; ἔκφοβος, 'exceedingly afraid').—While there is a natural fear in the presence of danger—*e.g.* in a hurricane at sea (Ac 27^{17})—which is not specifically human, spiritual fear is distinctive of man, whose motives and actions lack their finest quality

unless they are influenced by it. The last count in the indictment which St. Paul draws up against both Jew and Gentile—comprehensive and explanatory of all the rest—is that there is no fear of God before their eyes (Ro 3^{18}). This is the stupid, unthinking fearlessness of men who are blind to the realities of the spiritual world to which they belong. If they but knew God, they could not but fear Him, supposing they are guilty of even a fraction of the sins which are here laid to their charge. So soon as their eyes are opened, and their consciences quickened, they discover that it is a fearful thing (*φοβερόν*) to fall into the hands of the living God (He 10^{31}). But if, conscious of demerit, they cry to Him for mercy, their sins are forgiven, and henceforth they live as in His sight, recognizing that to fear God and keep His commandments is the whole duty of man.

This was the religion of the devout Jew, and when the Gentile, dissatisfied alike with the old gods of Olympus and the cold abstractions of philosophy, came to the synagogues of the 'dispersion' in search of a higher faith and a purer morality, he was taught to 'fear God.' He became a *φοβούμενος* (or *σεβόμενος*) *τὸν θεόν*, though he might never completely judaize himself by accepting the mark of the covenant. The God-fearer is very frequently referred to in the Apostolic Age (Ac $10^{2.22.35}$ $13^{16.26}$ etc.), and many of the earliest Gentile converts to Christianity were men and women whose fear of God had prepared them for the reception of the gospel. The Torah was thus a tutor to bring them to Christ. The religion of law, in which God was a Sovereign to be obeyed and a Judge to be dreaded, was consummated by the religion of love, in which God is a Father and Christ a Saviour-Brother. It is the distinctive message of Christianity that God wills men to serve Him without fear (*ἀφόβως*, Lk 1^{74}), with a love which casts out fear (1 Jn 4^{18}), with a boldness which seeks His immediate presence (He 10^{19}), with a freedom and familiarity which prompt the cry 'Abba, Father' (Ro 8^{15}). 'Ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but ye have received the spirit of sonship.' *Ἐλευθερία*, *παῤῥησία*, and *ἀγάπη*—dominant notes in the gospel of St. Paul, the writer of Hebrews, and St. John—are all antipodal to fear. The atmosphere of the household of God is filial trust, not servile suspicion and dread.

In the Christian life, nevertheless, there is a new place for the old instinct of fear. Wearing a fresh livery, it is transformed into a guardian of the believer's dear-bought possessions. Godly repentance has wrought—what fear! (2 Co 7^{11}). Thus there is an ethical fear which accompanies a great responsibility, a passionate love, and a noble heroism. There is a fear which is the opposite of high-mindedness (Ro 11^{20}), and without which no man can work out his salvation (Ph 2^{12}) or perfect his holiness (2 Co 7^{1}). There is a fear of personally coming short and permitting others to come short (*ὑστερηκέναι*, He 4^{1}). There is the paranymph's jealous fear lest the Bridegroom should lose His bride (2 Co 11^{3}), the Apostle's anxious fear lest his converts should be found unworthy (12^{20}). There is the scrupulous fear of Bunyan's Mr. Fearing, who 'was, above many, tender of sin; he was so afraid of doing injuries to others, that he often would deny himself of that which was lawful, because he would not offend' (cf. 1 Co 8^{13}). There is a fear, like that of the angels in Sodom, animating those who snatch erring ones as brands from the burning, while they hate even the garment spotted by the flesh (Jude ^{23}).

From the natural fear which listens either to the whispers of inward weakness or the threats of outward despotism, Christianity suffices to deliver men. For the sensitive human spirit, which often pathetically confesses its 'weakness and fear and much trembling' (1 Co 2^{3}; cf. 2 Co 7^{5}), Christ indeed shows the utmost tenderness, and again and again St. Paul received night-visions in which his Lord bade him 'Be not afraid' (*μὴ φοβοῦ*, Ac 18^{9}, 27^{24}). But for the timidity which sacrifices principles and shirks duties Christianity has no mercy. To this fear it gives a special name, calling it not *φόβος* but *δειλία* (2 Ti 1^{7}), a fearfulness which is synonymous with cowardice, and the fearful (*δειλοί*, Rev 21^{8}), who prove apostates in the hour of danger, denying Christ and worshipping Cæsar, stand first in the black list of those who go down to the second death.

The NT shrinks from attributing *φόβος* to Christ, yet something would have been lacking in His matchless character if He had not given the best illustration of the presence of fear in even the most filial life. In the hour of His agony, when His Father's will was the one certainty which nothing could obscure, His godly fear of swerving an inch from the line of duty gave Him the supreme moral victory. He was heard for His *εὐλάβεια*, that perfect reverence which dictated a perfect submission: 'exauditus pro sua reverentia' (Vulg.).

JAMES STRAHAN.

FEASTING.—1. Pagan feastings.—These are dealt with in this article only in so far as they are alluded to in the apostolic literature. The allusions are incidental, and no attempt is made at minute description.

(1) We find *κῶμοι* or drinking-bouts mentioned (Ro 13^{13}, Gal 5^{21}, 1 P 4^{3}), and the licentious conduct of those who participated in these orgies may have suggested to St. Paul the famous passages in which he speaks of the works of darkness (cf. Eph 5^{11-14}, 1 Th $5^{4ff.}$), for these bouts took place at night as distinguished from the *tempestiva convivia* which ended in daylight: 'those that be drunken are drunken in the night' (1 Th 5^{7}).

> 'When night
> Darkens the streets, then wander forth the sons
> Of Belial, flown with insolence and wine'
> (Milton, *Paradise Lost*, i. 500 ff.).

To Plato also they suggested a picture of the licentious tyrannical soul (*Rep.* ix. 573): 'there will be feasts and carousals and revellings and courtezans, and all that sort of thing; Love (*Ἔρως*) is the lord of the house within him, and orders all the concerns of his soul.'

Flagrant, shameless immorality was the invariable result of such feasts, and so we find associated with them *ἀσέλγεια*, *μέθαι*, *οἰνοφλυγία*, *ἀσωτία*. 'Wine, women, and song' went together. Plato speaks of *δεῖπνα καὶ σὺν αὐλητρίσι κῶμοι* (*Theæt.* 173 D), and it may be that, when St. Paul exhorts Christians to use psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs, he is contrasting the grand reverent music of Christian meetings with the ribald songs of pagan feasts. One may compare the phrase in Pliny's correspondence (*Epp.* x. 97): 'carmen Christo quasi Deo secum invicem.' A favourite topic of conversation at such gatherings was *ἔρως*, which is interesting when one thinks of the Christian Agape.

Although philosophers might be able to discuss this topic on a high moral plane (cf. Plato, *Symposium*), yet ordinarily the 'love' spoken of was simply 'lust.'

St. Paul knew that just as Judaism could descend to this worldly, sensual plane of living when God was forgotten, so also could Christianity. The motto of this kind of life was 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die'—perhaps the philosophic creed of a few, but certainly the practice of many. Hence St. Peter calls it the 'will of the Gentiles' (1 P 4^{3}), and St. Paul contrasts it with the 'will of the Lord' (Eph 5^{17}). The great moralists of paganism condemned these bouts, and St.

Paul (1 Co 15[33]) quotes Menander (acc. to Jerome on Gal 4[24])—himself an Epicurean—against the view of life summed up in the aphorism, 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' The Corinthians, doubting the resurrection-life, must wake up from drunkenness in a righteous fashion. Such deeds of darkness as were associated with these κῶμοι were to be utterly left alone (cf. Ro 13[13f.], a passage for ever associated with the conversion of St. Augustine). Christians were to be filled with the Spirit, not with wine, which leads to profligacy (ἀσωτία). Profligacy is associated with drinking-bouts in 2 Mac 6[4] and *Test. Jud.* xvi. 1: 'There are four evil demons in wine—lust, burning sensual desire, profligacy, base greed of gain.'

Disregard of a future life easily led to sensualism (see Meyer's *Kommentar* on 1 Co 15[33] for inscriptions on drinking-cups recently discovered). Christians would of course be looked on by their former pagan associates as austere, gloomy Puritans for leaving aside these practices. So St. Peter declares, and Tertullian later on says: 'What a jolly boon companion that young man was, and now he is good for nothing; he has become a Christian. What a gay woman that was, how agreeably wanton, and now one dare not utter the least indecency in her presence' (*Apol.* 3).

(2) It was not simply gross, licentious, heathen feasts that came into conflict with the moral earnestness of Christianity, but also feasts connected with religious cults. These cults were everywhere, and the cult of the Emperor was sometimes associated with them. They constituted a grave danger owing to the religious sanction they gave to immorality and the easy path they opened up towards virtual apostasy. To participate in these religious feasts was distinctly forbidden, although, according to St. Paul at least, the meat offered for sale in the open markets could be bought.

Christian converts had been brought up in an atmosphere where the belief in the influence of demons was taken for granted, and indeed the common belief of Judaism was similar. The Jew incurred pollution through partaking of food offered to idols. It was believed that the evil spirit entered the food and resided even in those portions sold in public; 'lying hid there for a long time, they (*i.e.* demons) blend with your souls' (Clem. *Hom.* ix. 9). An extreme form of this view is found in Eusebius (*Præp. Evang.* iv. 23—a quotation from Porphyry): 'Bodies are full of demons; for they particularly delight in foods of various kinds. So when we eat they seize upon the body.' It was therefore absolutely imperative to abstain from festivals connected with idol-worship.

'Where the feast is held under the auspices of a heathen god and as a sequel to his sacrifice,' then abstinence must follow; 'participation under these circumstances becomes an act of apostasy, and the feaster identifies himself with the idol as distinctly as in the Lord's Supper he identifies himself with Christ' (G. G. Findlay in *EGT* ii. [1900] 732).

(3) It was not as easy, however, to decide the right Christian attitude in the case of civic and business festivities. Trade-gilds and social clubs were numerous and gave their members many social and commercial advantages. They could hold property, and they gave relief in cases of need to their members. These gilds were under the patronage of some deity who was honoured in feasts—common meals of a sacramental kind at which members ate and drank reclining on couches. These meals were often scenes of revelry (see Ramsay in *HDB* iv. 758–9), and it required great constancy on the part of Christian members of such gilds to keep their faith. St. Paul recognizes the impossibility of absolute aloofness from these and from social gatherings; but while he maintains the nonentity of idols, he recognizes the practical power of demonic influence. He allows freedom of intercourse to the strong Christian—provided he keeps from idolatry and fornication—but he recognizes the danger. This was threefold. The weak brother might be made to stumble, the strong Christian might himself be enticed, and the heathen might conclude that the Christianity of the Christian participant meant little. There were three dangers the Apostle had to face in settling this question. There was the danger of asceticism, the danger of a relapse into Judaistic rites, and the danger of antinomian laxity. The danger of asceticism is met in the Colossian Epistle. St. Paul combats abstinence (see art. ABSTINENCE). From his mention of angel-worship and στοιχεῖα it seems clear that the demonic influences referred to above were believed in by the errorists of Colossæ. Judaistic influence is also discernible (see art. COLOSSIANS). The Judaistic errors are met in the Galatian Epistle. It is the libertine antinomian error that seemed most likely to overcome the Gentile Church. St. Paul meets it in 1 Corinthians. The letters to Pergamos and Thyatira meet it with forcible denunciation and threatening (see such artt. as BALAAM, JEZEBEL, NICOLAITANS), and in 2 Peter and Jude we have an attitude similar to that of St. John (Revelation).

2. Christian feasts (for the Jewish feasts mentioned in the NT see artt. NEW MOON, PASSOVER, PENTECOST, SABBATH, etc.). We have the Lord's Supper as a distinctively Christian feast (see EUCHARIST), and at least once Agape occurs (see LOVE-FEAST). The well-known Church festivals are of later origin. St. Paul once (1 Co 5[8]) uses the term 'feast' in a metaphorical sense of the whole life of the Christian community. Philo had interpreted in this fashion before him (*de Migr. Abrah.* 16). This is suggested to St. Paul by the Lord's Supper, and the thought is found recurring in later writers. Clement of Alexandria speaks of the whole Christian life of the true Gnostic as a holy panegyric (joyful assembly) (*Strom.* vii. 7). Chrysostom also says that for Christians their whole life is a feast owing to the superabundance of the good gifts bestowed on them (quoted by Findlay, *EGT*, on 1 Co 5[8]). This feast, says St. Paul, must be held in sincerity and truth.

In 2 P 2[13], Jude[12] we have an account of libertines who frequent the Christian feasts, but who turn them into occasions of pleasure. The textual questions involved need not be raised here. Even if we read ἀπάταις in 2 Pet. for ἀγάπαις (as in Jude[12]), the reference seems in both places to be to the Christian love-feasts (the term ἐνωχία is used of the love-feast by Clem. Alex. *Pæd.* ii. 1. 6), and a class of men is brought before us who live immoral lives while yet claiming the right to participate in the Christian love-feasts.

These Christian feasts were early misunderstood by pagans. Christians were accused of atheism, of immorality, and of cannibalism. Pliny, by speaking of the innocence of Christian feasts, implies that he had heard these accusations. Similar charges are repudiated by Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 26), and later by Tertullian (*Apol.* 7, 8). The Christians defended themselves on the ground that such accusations were baseless, or else that they could only be brought against heretics (cf. Iren. I. xxv. 3, and Justin Martyr, *Apol.* i. 26). For a later defence see Eusebius, *HE* 4, 7. That there was some ground for the charge of immorality, even Peter and Jude bear witness, but they testify also to the stern morality of true Christianity.

LITERATURE.—For κῶμοι see Classical Dictionaries; E. Hatch, *The Organization of the Early Christian Churches*, 1881, Lecture ii. (gives references to associations); W. M. Ramsay, artt. in *HDB* on 'Pergamus,' 'Thyatira,' etc., also *The Church*

in the Roman Empire, 1893, Index, *s.v.* 'Sodalitates.' Reference must also be made to NT Introductions like **Zahn's** (Eng. tr., 1909) and works on the Apostolic Age.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

FEET.—The tendency to individual detail, which gives so much vividness to Semitic narrative, accounts for some of the references to the feet (πόδες) in apostolic writings, as, for example, the reference in St. Peter's judgment on Sapphira: 'the feet of those who buried thy husband are at the door' (Ac 5[9]; cf. 7[5], He 12[13], Rev 1[15] 2[18] 10[1]). The sinner's feet are 'swift to shed blood' (Ro 3[15]), but the Christian's are to be 'sandalled' with readiness to proclaim the gospel of peace (Eph 6[15]), and are made beautiful by that mission (Ro 10[15]). Behind such allusions, however, there is something more than the love of graphic detail. The whole body enters much more into biblical ideas of personality than the modern reader usually recognizes (see artt. EAR, HEAD). In St. Paul's analogy between the human body and the Church, the head needs the service of the feet, and the foot must not refuse its ministry because its service is humbler than that of the hand (1 Co 12[15. 21]; cf. 1 Clem. xxxvii. 5). In the mystical body of the *Odes of Solomon* (xlii. 18) the feet represent the saints.

Other references to the feet are derived from Oriental customs. The sandals are removed in holy places (Ac 7[33]), as before entering the mosque of to-day. The removal of the master's sandals is a slave's work (13[25]). To wash the dusty feet of guests is a rite of hospitality (cf. Lk 7[44], Jn 13[4ff.]), and the habit of rendering such service to the 'saints' is mentioned amongst the qualifications of 'widows' (1 Ti 5[10]; see art. WIDOW). Since the Jewish teacher taught whilst sitting, with his scholars at a lower level around him, St. Paul can say literally that he was 'brought up at the feet of Gamaliel' (Ac 22[3]). Contributions to the common fund are laid at the feet of the apostles, who are thus represented sitting as teachers (4[35]; see Holtzmann, *ad loc.*). The clothes of the 'witnesses' who stoned Stephen were laid at the feet of Saul, already prominent against the new sect (7[58]). The Oriental habit of prostration before the feet of a superior, in fear or reverence, is illustrated by Sapphira (5[10]), Cornelius (10[25]), John (Rev 1[17]19[10] 22[8]; cf. 3[9]; Hermas, *Vis.* III. ii. 3). The ancient custom according to which the victor literally trampled the conquered under his feet (Jos 10[24] and the monuments), to register and confirm the conquest, accounts for the frequent phrase 'under the feet,' to denote subjugation (1 Co 15[25. 27], Eph 1[22], He 2[8], Ro 16[20]; cf. Rev 10[2] 12[1]). In the spirit of dramatic symbolism, Agabus (*q.v.*) bound his hands and feet with St. Paul's girdle, to prophesy the Apostle's coming bondage (Ac 21[11]). St. Paul and Barnabas shook off the dust of their feet against Pisidian Antioch (13[51]; cf. Mt 10[14]) in token of complete separation from its doom.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

FELIX (Ac 23[24ff.]).—A freedman, and a brother of Pallas, Felix was the favourite of the Emperor Claudius. Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9) calls him 'Antonius Felix.' Of his public life prior to his appointment to his procuratorship in Palestine, nothing is known; of his private life, only that he had married a granddaughter of Antony and Cleopatra, whom Tacitus (*loc. cit.*) calls Drusilla, confusing her, no doubt, with the Jewish princess with whom Felix allied himself later. Suetonius knows of yet another marriage—also to a princess (*Claud.* 28).

Josephus and Tacitus are at variance as to the time and circumstance of the sending of Felix to Palestine. According to Josephus (*BJ* ii. 12; *Ant.* xx. 6 f.), Felix was appointed to succeed the procurator Cumanus, when the latter was condemned and banished for his misrule. According to Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 54), Cumanus and Felix were contemporaneously procurators, the one of Galilee, the other of Samaria. It seems reasonable to follow Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. [1890] 174) in giving preference in this matter to 'the very detailed narrative of Josephus.' This fixes the arrival of Felix in Palestine in A.D. 52, or early in the following year.

The historians are entirely at one in their estimate of Felix and of the manner in which he exercised his functions. His countryman Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 9) describes him as using 'the powers of a king with the disposition of a slave,' and says (*Ann.* xii. 54) 'he deemed that he might perpetrate any ill deeds with impunity.' Under his government the state of Palestine grew rapidly worse. If there had been occasional disorders under Cumanus, 'under Felix rebellion became permanent.' The boundless cruelty with which he repressed the more open opposition of the 'Zealots' to the Roman rule stimulated the formation of the secret associations of the 'Assassins' (*Sicarii*), whose hand was against all—Jew not less than Roman—who did not further their designs. Not less significant of the misery of the people was their readiness to answer the call of religious fanatics like 'the Egyptian' mentioned in Ac 21[38], whom Josephus (*BJ* II. xiii. 5) credits with a following of thirty thousand. In any such movement Felix suspected 'the beginning of a revolt,' and adopted measures which only served to increase the popular disaffection. For the intrigue by which he possessed himself of the youngest daughter of Herod Agrippa I.—the newly wedded wife of King Azizus of Emesa—see art. DRUSILLA.

The cynical disregard of Felix for justice, and his inordinate greed are alike brought to view in his treatment of the Apostle Paul. Although possessed of information 'concerning the Way,' which would have justified him in releasing the prisoner when he was first brought before him, he decided to adjourn the case indefinitely (Ac 24[22]), partly to curry favour with the Jews, and partly to serve his own rapacious ends. The interview with the Apostle recorded in Ac 24[24] was probably intended by the procurator and his wife to be somewhat of a diversion—it ended for Felix in terror. He had frequent communings with St. Paul during the time he detained him as his prisoner at Cæsarea; but seemingly on these later occasions Felix kept control of the conversation and directed it, though unavailingly, towards his mercenary aim.

Two years after St. Paul was brought to Cæsarea, Felix was recalled to Rome in connexion with a strife which had broken out at Cæsarea between the Jews and the Syrians in that town—the Jews asserting for themselves certain exclusive rights, which the others denied. The matter was referred to the Emperor. The investigation proved so damaging to Felix that 'he had certainly been brought to punishment, unless Nero had yielded to the importunate solicitations of his brother Pallas' (Jos. *Ant.* XX. viii. 9).

Of the subsequent life of Felix, nothing is known.

LITERATURE.—H. M. Luckock, *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by St. Luke*, 1905, pt. ii. p. 243; A. Maclaren, *Expositions*: 'Acts, ch. xiii.-end,' 1907, pp. 231, 287; G. H. Morrison, *The Footsteps of the Flock*, 1904, p. 362; M. Jones, *St. Paul the Orator*, 1910, p. 202; J. S. Howson, *The Companions of St. Paul*, 1874, p. 145; H. Goodwin, *Parish Sermons*, 2nd ser.[3], 1861, p. 179; W. H. M. H. Aitken, *The Glory of the Gospel*, n.d., pp. 193, 208, 223; C. H. Turner, 'Eusebius' Chronology of Felix and Festus' in *JThSt*, iii. [1901-02] 120; S. Buss, *Roman Law and History in the NT*, 1901, p. 373.

G. P. GOULD.

FELLOWSHIP. — Nothing is so prominent in early Christianity as its sense of fellowship. The Corinthians, with their extreme individualistic

tendencies, are an exception among the Pauline communities. **1.** This fellowship is primarily a religious fact: it is fellowship with the heavenly Lord, who, though hidden in heaven (Ac 3[21]), is yet sensibly present to His followers (Mt 18[20] 28[20]). Even the individual believer knows that he is in fellowship with Christ. St. Paul, using a mystical form of expression, says that it is Christ and not himself who lives and acts in him (Gal 2[20]). He speaks also of 'the fellowship of his sufferings' (Ph 3[10]), which allows his own sufferings to participate in the saving power of Christ's afflictions for His Church (Col 1[24], Eph 3[13]). The fellowship with Christ to which God has called Christians (1 Co 1[9]) has not yet been fully realized, but is still to be hoped for. To be with Christ for ever is the whole desire of the Apostle (1 Th 4[17], Ph 1[23]); in the present time he has but a foretaste of the joy to come. St. John emphasizes the fact that this present fellowship with Christ (1 Jn 1[6]) is fellowship with the Father and with the Son (1[3]). Since it is the Holy Ghost who mediates between Christ and His believers, St. Paul speaks of 'fellowship of the Spirit' (Ph 2[1]) as well as of 'communion of the Holy Ghost' (2 Co 13[14]), the same Greek word (*κοινωνία*) being used in both passages. Fellowship with the heavenly Lord, who sits at the right hand of God, and makes intercession for His followers (Ro 8[34]; cf. 1 Jn 2[1], He 2[17] 4[15] 7[25] etc.), is realized in prayers which are heard (2 Co 12[8f.]), and in revelations (2 Co 12[1], Gal 2[2]; cf. 1 Th 4[15]). Fellowship with the Holy Ghost is realized in certainty of salvation and boldness in prayer (Ro 8[15f. 26]; cf. He 4[16]), in moral strength (Ro 8[13f.], Gal 5[16ff.]), and miraculous gifts of every kind—the ecstatic gifts of prophecy and speaking with tongues, and the natural gifts bestowed by the Spirit, such as governing and helping in the Church (1 Co 12[8ff. 28ff.]).

2. Fellowship of the faith (Philem [6]) is fellowship of the faithful. This is an exclusive fellowship: 'what fellowship have righteousness and iniquity? or what communion hath light with darkness?' (2 Co 6[14]). St. Paul, and still more St. John, strive hard to maintain this exclusiveness in their churches—not for reasons of utility, as in the case of the Greek clubs; not from national prejudice, as in the case of the Jewish synagogues; but from the standpoint of Christian morals: the fulfilment of the high ordinances of the gospel is only possible in the midst of a Christian congregation (1 Co 6[1-11]). The separation of the members of the Church from social relationship with the heathen world, which St. Paul endeavoured to effect (cf. his scruples regarding invitations to heathen houses or temples, 1 Co 10[27]), was carried out in later times (1 P 4[4], 3 Jn [7]); and the leaders in the Church even began to insist on avoiding all fellowship with Christians of doubtful character (2 Jn [10f.], 1 Jn 4[1ff.], Rev 2[14ff. 20ff.], Jude [19ff.]).

To this exclusiveness in externals there corresponds an inward intensity: to be of one accord, to have the same mind (1 Co 1[10], 2 Co 13[11], Ph 2[2], Ro 12[16]), to love the brethren (Ro 12[10], 1 Th 4[9], etc.), are oft-repeated commands. 'Bear ye one another's burdens' is a law of the Church (Gal 6[2]); all are members of one body (1 Co 12[12ff.]), and so all have joy and sorrow in common (1 Co 12[26], Ro 12[15]). One sign of this fellowship is mutual intercession (2 Co 1[11], Col 4[3], 2 Th 3[1]), another is the kiss of peace (2 Co 13[12], 1 Th 5[26]). At the so-called Apostolic Council, James, Peter, and John gave Paul and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship in token of their mutual recognition of one another as fellow-workers in their different mission fields (Gal 2[9]). Later on it became customary to send messengers and letters from one church to another. St. Paul mentions not only his fellow-workers (Ro 16[3]) but also his fellow-prisoners (Ro 16[7] Col 4[10]). Christianity is called a brotherhood (1 P 2[17] 5[9], 1 Clem. ii. 4).

3. Fellowship—and this is the main point—is to be exercised actively towards all members of the community. In this sense fellowship is one of the chief characteristics of the primitive Church of Jerusalem (Ac 2[42]); it is characteristic, too, of the relationship between the Pauline communities. St. Paul praises the Philippians for their fellowship in furthering the gospel (Ph 1[5]), *i.e.* taking part in the Apostle's missionary work by personal activity, prayers, and contributions of money. In this way they had fellowship with his afflictions (Ph 4[14]). The churches of Macedonia besought the Apostle 'with much intreaty in regard of . . . the fellowship in the ministering to the saints' (2 Co 8[4]), *i.e.* that they might be allowed to join in the collection for the poor of Jerusalem. Thus the word *κοινωνία* acquires a meaning which the EVV have tried to express by the rendering 'contribution' (Ro 15[26], 2 Co 9[13]; AV 'distribution') or 'communicate' (He 13[16]). He that is taught in the word is advised by St. Paul to communicate unto him that teacheth in all good things (Gal 6[6]). Fellowship, then, becomes a system of mutual help—the care of the poor and the sick, the feeding of widows and orphans, the visiting of prisoners, hospitality, the procuring of labour for travelling workmen (*Didachè*, xii. 3 ff.), are some of the proofs of fellowship. By these means early Christianity showed itself to be a social power far surpassing all rival organizations and religions.

LITERATURE.—E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., 1904; A. Harnack, *Die Mission und Ausbreitung des Christentums in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten*[2], 1906, i. 127-171 (Eng. tr., *Mission and Expansion*[2], 1908, i. 147-198). Cf. also the Literature at the end of the art. COMMUNION.

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

FESTUS.—No information is forthcoming concerning Porcius Festus, who succeeded Felix in the procuratorship of Judæa, other than that supplied by Ac 24[27] 26[32] and by Josephus, *Ant.* XX. viii. 9 f., ix. 1, and *BJ* II. xiv. 1. According to Josephus, Festus set himself with vigour and success to restore order to his province, which he found distracted with sedition and overrun by bands of robbers. 'He caught the greatest part of the robbers, and destroyed a great many of them.' More particularly it is added that he 'sent forces, both horsemen and footmen, to fall upon those that had been seduced by a certain impostor, who promised them deliverance and freedom from the miseries they were under, if they would but follow him as far as the wilderness. Accordingly, those forces that were sent destroyed both him that had deluded them and those that were his followers also.' The only other incident in the administration of Festus which Josephus relates shows him, in association with King Agrippa II., withstanding 'the chief men of Jerusalem' (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11), and permitting an appeal to Cæsar—an interesting combination in view of the narrative in Acts. The circumstances, as stated by Josephus, were these: Agrippa had made an addition to his palace at Jerusalem, which enabled him to observe from his dining-hall what was done in the Temple. Thereupon 'the chief men of Jerusalem' erected a wall to obstruct the view from the palace. Festus supported Agrippa in demanding the removal of this wall, but yielded to the request of the Jews that the whole matter might be referred to Nero, who upheld the appeal and reversed the judgment of his procurator.

Josephus evidently regards Festus as a wise and righteous official, affording an agreeable contrast to Albinus, his successor, of whom he says that 'there was not any sort of wickedness that could

be named but he had a hand in it' (*BJ* II. xiv. 1).

Turning to the Book of Acts, we find that there, while justice is done to the promptness with which Festus addressed himself to his duties and to the lip-homage he was ready to pay to 'the custom of the Romans,' he appears in a less favourable light, and the outstanding fact meets us of the estimate which St. Paul formed of him. St. Paul preferred to take his chance with Nero to leaving his cause to be disposed of by this fussy, plausible official. 'I appeal unto Cæsar,' is the lasting condemnation of Festus. He was persuaded that the Apostle was innocent of the 'many and grievous charges' brought against him, yet he was quite prepared to sacrifice him, if thereby he 'could gain favour with the Jews'; hence the preposterous proposal of a re-trial at Jerusalem. The noble use which St. Paul made shortly after of the opportunity given him by Festus to speak for himself before Agrippa and Berenice should not blind us to the callousness of the man who planned that scene with all its pomp and circumstance, and deliberately exploited a prisoner in bonds for the entertainment of his Herodian guests. Festus died after holding his office for a brief term—'scarcely two years' (Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. [1890] 185). See art. DATES for discussion of the chronology of the procuratorship of Festus.

LITERATURE.—S. Buss, *Roman Law and History in the NT*, 1901, p. 390; C. H. Turner, 'Eusebius' Chronology of Felix and Festus' in *JThSt* iii. [1901–02] 120; G. H. Morrison, *The Footsteps of the Flock*, 1904, p. 362; M. Jones, *St. Paul the Orator*, 1910, p. 212; A. Maclaren, *Expositions*: 'Acts, ch. xiii.–end,' 1907, p. 322.

G. P. GOULD.

FEVER.—In the single passage (Ac 28[8]) in which the word occurs, it is associated with dysentery (*q.v.*). Fever is a rise in bodily temperature above the normal of 98·4° F. It may be caused by physiological conditions—a mechanical interference with the nervous system which prevents heat-elimination, as in sunstroke. It is also a symptom of the reaction of the body to infection by micro-organisms or other poisons by which the heat-regulation apparatus is disturbed. The effects of this are evident in further derangements in the digestive glands, the liver and kidneys, the alimentary canal, the nervous organism, and the blood. The name is given to many diseases of which fever is the leading symptom, as *e.g.* typhoid fever. At a time when it was not possible to explain diseases by reference to a single cause, it was very natural to describe the derangement by two or more of the principal symptoms, as in the instance under consideration.

C. A. BECKWITH.

FIELD OF BLOOD.—See AKELDAMA.

FIG, FIG-TREE (*συκῆ, σῦκον, ὄλυνθος*).—Apart from the three references in the Gospels (Mt 7[16], Mk 11[13], Lk 6[44]), figs are mentioned only twice in the NT (Ja 3[12], Rev 6[13]). In James the ordinary words *συκῆ*, 'fig-tree,' and *σῦκον*, 'fig,' are used, but in Rev. *ὄλυνθος* is the word employed to denote the fruit. The latter term designates a fig which grows during the winter under the leaves, but seldom ripens.

The meaning of Ja 3[12] is clear: a tree is known by its fruits; a fig-tree cannot bring forth olives, neither can an olive-tree bring forth figs; a man's 'works' are, in short, an infallible index to his 'faith' (Ja 2[18]). In Rev 6[13] figs form part of the imagery in the vision of the Opening of the First Six Seals. The Seer beholds the stars of heaven falling to the earth 'as a fig-tree casteth her unripe figs, when she is shaken of a great gale.' In the ordinary way these winter figs (*ὄλυνθοι*) did not ripen, so here the judgment predicted is not about to cut off prematurely those who if spared would develop into matured and useful fruit, but those who are 'without hope and without God in the world'—in short, the 'cumberers of the ground.'

The fig-tree is native to Palestine and is found either cultivated or wild all over the country. Those which are wild are usually barren or at all events bear no edible fruit, and they are known as 'male' fig-trees. There are many varieties of fig-trees cultivated, some of which yield a sharp, bitter fruit, and others a sweet, mellow one. It is noticeable that in the description of the Promised Land (Dt 8[8]) fig-trees are mentioned as one of its leading natural characteristics. They are of moderate size, though sometimes attaining a height of 25 ft., while the stem is sometimes over 3 ft. in diameter. The bark is smooth, and the size and thickness of the leaves readily explain the point of the Jewish proverb—'to sit under one's own vine and one's own fig-tree' (1 K 4[25], Mic 4[4], Zec 3[10]). As a matter of fact, its foliage affords better shade and protection than any other tree in Palestine. It is one of the earliest trees to shoot, and its first fruit-buds appear before its leaves (cf. Mt 24[32], Mk 13[28], Lk 21[29, 30]). The fruit is an enlarged succulent hollow receptacle, containing the imperfect flowers in its interior; consequently the flowers are invisible till the receptacle has been opened. The figs are eaten both fresh and dried, and they are often compressed into a cake (cf. 1 S 25[18] 30[12], 1 Ch 12[40]). The time the tree comes into leaf and fruiting varies according to the situation, and is later in the hill-country than in the plains. On the hills, the branches which have remained bare and naked all through the winter put forth their early leaf-buds about the end of March, and at the same time diminutive figs begin to appear where the young leaves join the branches. These tiny figs continue to grow with the leaves until they reach about the size of a cherry, then the majority of them fall to the ground or are blown down by the wind. These are the *ὄλυνθοι* of Rev 6[13] (see above).

LITERATURE.—H. B. Tristram, *Natural History of the Bible*[10], 1911, p. 350 f.; H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, p. 93; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1910 ed., p. 333; J. C. Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1903 ed., pp. 66, 74. Cf. also *SDB*, p. 262 f.; *HDB* ii. 5, 6; *EBi* ii. 1519–1522.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

FINISHER.—See AUTHOR AND FINISHER.

FIRE.—The term 'fire' is used literally to denote the familiar process of combustion, with its accompaniments of light and heat. In nearly all the passages in which it occurs from Acts to Revelation, it is used in a figurative sense. (1) A few of these have affinity with passages in the OT in which fire, as one of the most impressive of natural phenomena, is a form of the Divine manifestation. In some of the theophanies, in which fire is a prominent feature, it seems to express the conception of God as He is in Himself and in His nature (*e.g.* Ezk 1[4, 27]); in others it is a manifestation of Him in His character as Avenger or Judge (Ex 19[16, 18], Ps 18[8] 50[3], Is 30[30]). The NT furnishes some analogous cases in which the theophanic fire is simply a manifestation of the Divine presence or attributes (Ac 2[3], Rev 1[14f.] 4[5]), and others in which it is an accompaniment of the Divine judgment (2 Th 1[8], 2 P 3[10-12]). (2) The use of fire as a testing and purifying agent has led to its figurative application as a criterion for distinguishing between what possesses genuine moral worth and what does not, and as a means of purifying human character (1 Co 3[12f.], 1 P 1[7]). (3) One of the most patent characteristics of fire is its destructiveness, with the inevitable effect of suffering in the case of all forms of organic being. The vivid and forcible

appeal which it makes to the imagination is due to the acute sensations it produces in the physical organism by the combination of intense brightness with intense heat. Fire is thus fitted to serve as an appropriate symbol of the Divine judgment upon sin. The OT frequently applies imagery borrowed from this source to denote the punitive aspects of God's nature, or punitive instruments employed by Him, and thus lays the basis for the use of similar imagery in the NT.

1. Fire as a form of Divine manifestation.—(*a*) In this section may be grouped *passages in which fire is simply an indication of the Divine presence*, or symbol of Divine attributes other than those specially displayed in the punishment of sin. (*a*) In Ac 2[3] one of the two outward manifestations attending the descent of the Spirit on the disciples seated in the upper room is compared with fire. The appearance of fire (*ὡσεὶ πυρός*) assumed by the tongues referred to the Divine presence, which, in this instance, conferred on those assembled together the 'gift of tongues,' symbolized by the tongue-like flames that sat on the head of each. The reality corresponding to the appearance was the miraculous power of ecstatic utterance, now displayed for the first time, but afterwards a familiar feature in the worship of the Apostolic Church (v.[4]; cf. 10[46ff.], 1 Co 14 *passim*). That the gift thus imparted had a Divine origin was certified by the visible accompaniment of fiery tongues.

(*β*) The Christophany described in Rev 1[13-15] depicts the Risen Christ in the midst of the churches with eyes like a flame of fire (cf. Dn 10[6], 'his eyes as lamps of fire'). The flame-like eyes (Rev 2[18] 19[12]) are emblematic of the glance of omniscience, which penetrates the depth of the soul with its radiance, and reads the true meaning of the thoughts and actions. 'All things,' it is implied, 'are naked and laid open before the eyes of him with whom we have to do' (He 4[13]; cf. Ps 11[4], Pr 15[3]).

(*γ*) 'The seven torches (AV and RV 'lamps') of fire burning before the throne' (Rev 4[5]) describe the Spirit of God in His manifold powers, 'the plenitude of the Godhead in all its attributes and energies' (Alford, *ad loc.*), under the emblem of fire. 'Fulness, intensity, energy, are implied in the figure, which reflects the traditional association (in the primitive mind) of fire and flame with the divinity, and especially with the divine purity or holiness' (J. Moffatt, *EGT*, 'Rev.,' 1910, p. 379). There appears to be a reference also to the illuminating power of the Spirit, by which the prophets, with whom the apocalyptic writer identifies himself, were qualified for bearing their testimony, especially with regard to the future (Rev 2[7] 4[2]; cf. 19[10]).

(*b*) *Passages in which fire is an accompaniment of the Parousia.*—(*a*) According to the rendering of 2 Th 1[7f.] in AV, fire is the instrument with which Christ, at His Second Advent, executes vengeance on Gentile and Jewish enemies of the Gospel. The RV, more accurately, separates the first clause of v.[8], 'in flaming fire,' from what follows, and connects it with v.[7]. The 'flame of fire,' an expression containing a reminiscence of OT theophanies of judgment, is the element or medium by which the glory of Christ is revealed at His Return, not the means by which He inflicts punishment on the wicked. Like the lightning, which is everywhere visible at the same time (Mt 24[27]), this feature is fitted to arrest the attention and impress the mind of all beholders.

(*β*) Literal fire is associated in 2 P 3[10-12] with the Parousia ('the day of the Lord') as the means by which the visible universe is to be destroyed. Once temporarily destroyed by the waters of the deluge, the earth and the heavens have been 'stored up for fire' (v.[7]) and now at the Coming of the Lord 'the heavens being on fire shall be dissolved, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat' (v.[12]). The old creation is to be dissolved, and pass away in the final world-conflagration which prepares the way for the advent of new heavens and a new earth. Other passages of Scripture anticipate that the present material order, having had a beginning, is destined to come to an end. They also foreshadow the emergence of a new order, free from the defects of the old, which is to be the future abode of the redeemed (Is 65[17] 66[22], He 12[26-28], Rev 20[11] 21[1]). In the NT these great cosmic changes are associated with the last Advent. In 2 Pet. alone are the means described by which the transition destined to result in a renovated universe is effected. It is to be by fire, which is the only agent adequate to the accomplishment of a destruction so thorough and complete. Science maintains that the end of the universe, as at present constituted, is to be brought about by the gradual loss of radiant heat. The steady reduction of temperature is to render the continuance of life on the planet impossible. Mayor (*Ep. of St. Jude and Second Ep. of St. Peter*, 1907, p. 209) suggests that this theory requires revision, in view of 'the stores of energy in the chemical elements, and of the varieties of radiant energy to which attention has been prominently directed by the discovery of radium.' But assuming the reasonableness of this conjecture, the passage under discussion sheds no light on the constitution of the new environment in which a spiritual body takes the place of a natural body (1 Co 15[44]).

2. Fire as a testing and purifying agent.—Fire and water are the two elements used for purification, and of the two, fire is the more drastic and searching. In the process of refining, fire is the means of separating the precious metals from dross or alloys (Zec 13[9]). In the art of assaying, the same agent is employed for testing the quantity of gold or silver in ore or alloys.

(*a*) The use of fire for these purposes has led to the word being figuratively applied to the trials, especially in the form of severe persecutions, which the early Christians were called on to endure at the hands of their heathen oppressors (1 P 1[7]). From the searching ordeal by fire, it was the Divine design that their faith might emerge, more precious than gold, thoroughly tested and approved as genuine. In a later passage (4[12]) the extremity of their sufferings, arising from the same cause, is compared to a burning or conflagration (*πύρωσις*) by which character is tested and purified; and the sharp discipline they are undergoing is spoken of appropriately, considering its extreme severity, as judgment (*κρίμα*) already begun, from which the righteous escape with difficulty (v.[17f.]; cf. 1 Co 3[15]).

(*b*) The figure is used in a somewhat similar manner to describe the judgment by which the work of Christian teachers is to be tested at the Parousia. 'The day (of Christ's Second Coming) is to be revealed in fire' (cf. 2 Th 1[7f.]), 'and the fire itself shall prove each man's work of what sort it is' (1 Co 3[13-15] RV). The fire in which the whole fabric built on the One Foundation is involved, detects and exposes the flimsy and worthless materials by consuming them, but leaves uninjured the solid and durable materials that are fire-proof. In the one instance, the skilful builder has the gratification of seeing his work survive, and himself rewarded. In the other, the unskilful builder has the mortification of seeing his work destroyed and his labour lost; and although he himself escapes, it is with difficulty, as one escapes from a burning house—'saved, yet so as through fire.' The picture presented is that of a general con-

flagration. It may have been suggested by 'the conflagration of Corinth under Mummius; the stately temples standing amidst the universal destruction of the meaner buildings' (A. P. Stanley, *Epistles to the Corinthians*[2], 1858, p. 67). The main point of the illustration is not the purification of character, but the decisive testing of the difference between solid and worthless achievement. The fire is not disciplinary, and, needless to say, it contains no allusion to 'purgatorial fire, whether in this or in a future life' (J. B. Mayor, 'The General Epistle of Jude,' in *EGT*, 1910, p. 276).

3. Fire as an instrument of Divine punishment.—(*a*) In this section may be grouped together *passages in which fire is a symbol of God's temporal judgments on human sin.* Such passages have a close affinity with frequent references in the OT, in which God is represented 'as surrounded by, or manifested in, fire, the most immaterial of elements, and at the same time the agency best suited to represent symbolically His power to destroy all that is sinful or unholy' (S. R. Driver, *Daniel* [Cambridge Bible for Schools, 1900], p. 85; cf. Gn 15[17], Nu 16[35], Ps 50[3], Is 30[27] 33[14], Jer 4[4] 21[12], Ezk 21[31], Dn 7[9f.], Am 5[6] 7[4]).

(*a*) In accordance with this usage, fire is employed in Jude[23] to represent the *present* judgment which overtakes the second of the three classes enticed into licentious living by the antinomian teachers (cf. v.[4]). There is no reference here to the fire of *future* judgment. There is an evident allusion in the phrase, 'snatching them out of the fire' (RV), to Am 4[11], where persons who had just escaped with their lives from the earthquake, are referred to; and to Zec 3[2], where the high priest Joshua is described as a brand plucked out of the Babylonian captivity. Fleshly indulgence exposes those addicted to it to present penalties as well as to future ones, and it is from this perilous position that their rescuers are to snatch them hastily, and almost violently.

(*β*) Fire, as an image of God's temporal judgments, appears in the symbolism of the Apocalypse. When the Church was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Imperial Rome, her members regarded terrible visitations, in the shape of the three historic scourges, war, famine, and pestilence, as signs of the approaching end of the age and Christ's Return. The NT Apocalyptist heightens the effect of the lurid pictures in which he forecasts the judgments impending on the enemies of Christ and His Church, by the introduction of fire, in one case literal, material fire, as a token of those judgments. In answer to the prayers of suffering saints, the angel fills the censer with fire from the altar, and casts the burning contents on the earth, as a sign that the Divine vengeance is about to descend upon it (Rev 8[5]; cf. Ezk 10[2]). The horror which the countless host of horsemen is fitted to inspire, is intensified by the circumstance that fire and smoke and brimstone issue out of their mouths (9[17f.]). In 14[18] it is the angel who has power over the fire—in this instance the symbol of Divine wrath—that brings the angel with the sickle the message that the vintage is to begin, because the world is ripe for judgment. The sea of glass before the Throne, by the side of which stand the victors in the conflict with the Beast, is flushed red with the fire of impending judgments—the seven last plagues which are the precursors of the downfall of Babylon (15[1f.]; cf. 17[1]).

(*γ*) Literal, material fire is the means by which the total and final destruction of the harlot-city, mystic Babylon, is effected (18 *passim*). Nero Redivivus and his Parthian allies, to whom the burning of the city is attributed, are only the human instruments in God's hand for executing His judgment upon her (18[20. 24] 19[2]).

(*δ*) Supernatural fire is the agent by which the nations, Gog and Magog, are consumed, and their attempt to capture 'the beloved city' frustrated (20[9]).

(*b*) *Fire is the symbol of God's future and final judgment on the wicked.*—(*a*) In view of the near approach of the Parousia (He 10[37]), those in danger of the wilful sin of apostasy from the Christian faith are reminded of the terrible consequences which await those succumbing to the great temptation—'a fierceness of fire which shall devour the adversaries' (v.[27] RV). The solemn reminder is repeated in connexion with the declaration that the present transient order of things must give place to the new and eternal order (12[27]). In contrast with the material fire that manifested His presence at Sinai, God is Himself in His very essence what that consuming fire denoted—immaculate purity which destroys everything incompatible with it (v.[29]; cf. Dt 4[24]).

(*β*) Outside the Synoptic Gospels, there is only one explicit reference to the penal fire of the future world as the fire of hell (Gehenna). The Epistle of James traces to it as the ultimate cause the wide-spread mischief caused by the tongue, which is compared to a spark setting fire to a great forest (3[6]).

(*γ*) The only parallel to the expression **Eternal Fire**, used in the Synoptic Gospels to denote the future punishment of the wicked, is found in Jude[7], where the writer declares that the cities of the Plain are 'set forth as an example, suffering the vengeance (RV 'punishment') of eternal fire' (*πῦρ αἰώνιον*). According to the renderings of AV and RV, which regard *πυρός* as grammatically depending on *δίκην*, the burning of these cities is spoken of as still persisting. In favour of this idea Wis 10[7] is cited, and appeal is made to the volcanic phenomena in the region of the Dead Sea as likely to suggest the continued existence of subterranean fire. Further confirmation of the idea is sought in the *Book of Enoch* (lxvii. 6f.), where it is said that 'the valley of the angels burned continually under the earth.' An alternative rendering to that of the AV and RV, takes *δεῖγμα* with *πυρός* in the sense of 'an example (*or* 'testimony') of eternal fire,' the punishment which began with the destruction of the cities, and still continues, fitting them to serve as such example. Whichever view be taken, it is evident that the example, in order to be effective, must point to the fate which awaits the wicked after the Last Judgment. Whatever may be the condition of the impenitent between death and the Judgment, it is implied by the uniform teaching of the NT on the Last Things that the decisive sentence which determines their ultimate condition is not pronounced till the Last Judgment. The *πῦρ αἰώνιον* would have little relevancy to the warning which the passage seeks to enforce if that expression had no relation to future retribution. That being so, the much-debated question as to the meaning of *αἰώνιος* arises. 'This verse,' remarks Charles (*Eschatology*[2], 1913, p. 413), 'shows how Christians at the close of the first century A.D. read their own ideas into the OT records of the past. Thus the temporal destruction by fire of Sodom and Gomorrah is interpreted as an eternal punishment by fire beyond the grave.' The attempts made to substitute the expression 'age-lasting' for 'eternal' as the meaning of the Greek adjective, so as to prove that it does not imply the idea of unlimited duration, are not particularly convincing. 'It is surely obvious,' says Moffatt (*British Weekly*, 28 Sept. 1905), 'that the NT writers assumed that the soul of man was immortal and that its existence beyond death, in weal or woe, was endless, when they used this term (*αἰώνιος*) or spoke of this subject. How else could they have conveyed what corresponded in their minds to the idea of "eternal"?'. It

must be admitted, at the same time, that the term takes us out into a region where the categories of time and space do not apply, and where 'objects are presented in their relation to some eternal aspect of the Divine nature' (A. Bisset, art. 'Eternal Fire,' in *DCG* vol. i. [1906] p. 537b; see the whole article for a thoughtful and temperate discussion of the expression 'eternal fire' in its eschatological bearings).

(δ) In the Apocalypse the Lake of Fire is the place of final punishment to which are consigned (1) the Beast and the False Prophet (19^{20}), (2) Satan (20^{10}), (3) Death and Hades (20^{14}), (4) the dupes of Satan, whose names are not written in the Book of Life (20^{15}; cf. 13^{8} 14$^{9f.}$ 19^{20} 20^{8}). The figure of 'the lake of fire,' otherwise described as 'the lake of fire burning with brimstone,' seems to have been suggested by a shallow pool (λίμνη) of blazing sulphur such as is sometimes found in volcanic districts. Nothing is said as to its locality. 'Volcanic forces, indicating the existence of subterranean fire, might well lead the ancients to place their Tartarus and Gehenna in the under-world' (W. Boyd Carpenter, 'Rev.' in Ellicott's *NT Com.* iii. [1884] 622). Swete (*Apoc. of St. John*^{2}, 1907, p. 258) remarks that the conception of 'the lake of fire' may have already been familiar to the Asian Churches, and that 'possibly it was a local expression for the γέεννα τοῦ πυρός which was familiar to Palestinian Christians.' The expression does not occur in the apocalyptic writings, but in the *Book of Enoch* 'the abyss of fire' is the doom in store for the fallen angels in the Day of Judgment (x. 13; cf. xxi. 7–10), and in the *Secrets of Enoch* (x. 2), among the torments of 'the place prepared for those who do not know God' is 'a fiery river.' The terse outline in the Apocalypse referring to the place of woe, appears in these writings as a finished picture filled in with elaborate details. The reference in the imagery to 'fire and brimstone' is evidently derived from the historical account of the destruction of Sodom in Gn 19^{24}, mediated by passages such as Is 30^{33}, in which Topheth is a symbol of God's burning judgments, and Is 66^{24}, in which the valley of Hinnom, with its fire continually burning, is the scene of final judgment on God's enemies. In the interval between the close of OT prophecy and the time of Christ, the idea of penal fire, confined in the OT to the present world, was projected into the unseen world as an image of endless retribution. During this period the writers of the apocalypses sought relief from the glaring anomaly presented by the contrast between character and condition in the present life, by transferring the scene of rewards and punishments to the world beyond the grave. In accordance with this view—the view recognized throughout the NT—the enemies of God and Christ, who often escape His righteous judgments here, are reserved for the severer penalties of the world to come. There, deceivers and deceived together share one common doom in 'the lake of fire,' which is identified in 20^{14} with 'the second death,' 'the nearest analogue [in the new order] of Death as we know it here' (Swete, *op. cit.* p. 274). 'It is not certain,' says Swete again, in his commentary on v.^{10} (p. 270), 'that these terrible words can be pressed into the service of the doctrine of the Last Things. . . . It is safer to regard them as belonging to the scenery of the vision rather than to its eschatological teaching. But beyond a doubt St. John intends at least to teach that the forces, personal or impersonal, which have inspired mankind with false views of life and antagonism to God and to Christ will in the end be completely subjugated, and, if not annihilated, will at least be prevented from causing further trouble. From the Lake of Fire there is no release, unless evil itself should be ultimately consumed; and over that possibility there lies a veil which our writer does not help us to lift or pierce.'

LITERATURE.—Artt. 'Eschatology of NT' (S. D. F. Salmond) in *HDB*, 'Eternal Fire' (A. Bisset), 'Eternal Punishment' (W. H. Dyson) in *DCG*, 'Eschatology' (R. H. Charles), 'Fire' (T. K. Cheyne), 'Theophany' (G. B. Gray) in *EBi*; Commentaries on the relevant passages. For the meaning of αἰώνιος, and for the eschatological bearing of the passages, see H. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*^{3}, 1880; F. W. Farrar, *Eternal Hope*, 1878, *Mercy and Judgment*, 1881; J. A. Beet, *The Last Things*, new ed. 1905; C. A. Row, *Future Retribution*, 1887; J. Stephen, *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, 1907, Epilogue; A. Jukes, *The Second Death and the Restitution of All Things*^{12}, 1887. W. S. MONTGOMERY.

FIRST AND LAST.—See ALPHA AND OMEGA.

FIRST-BORN, FIRST-BEGOTTEN (πρωτότοκος; Vulg. *primogenitus* in the NT except in He 11^{28} 12^{23}).—**1. The privilege of the first-born: the birthright** (τὰ πρωτοτόκια, Vulg. *primitiva*) is spoken of once in the NT, in He 12^{16}, which refers to Esau's act in selling it (Gn 25^{33}); the act was profanity, for the sacred privilege was despised. The first-born was the heir to the headship of the family, and received a double portion of his father's property (Dt 21^{17}); this was always the case unless for some special cause the birthright was taken from him, as in the cases of Esau, Reuben (1 Ch 5^{1}), and Manasseh (Gn 48$^{14-19}$). Ishmael, the eldest son of Abraham, had not the birthright because he was the son of a slave woman (Gn 21^{10}), though he was not, according to Hebrew ideas, a slave (see ROMAN LAW).

2. Usage in the NT.—The word 'firstborn' is used in the NT both literally and figuratively. In Lk 2^{7} our Lord is spoken of as Mary's 'firstborn'; in Mt 1^{25} the word, though found in CD and some versions, is clearly an interpolation. It implies in Lk. the privilege of the birthright; but neither there nor in the OT does it necessarily imply other children, and therefore it has no bearing on the identity of the 'brethren' of our Lord. Another, and still more important, deduction from this fact is that there is no contradiction between 'Only-begotten' and 'Firstborn' applied to the pre-existent Christ (see below). The latter title does not imply that there are other sons in the same Divine sense.—For the 'redemption of the first-born' at the Presentation of Jesus in the Temple see *DCG* i. 596f. The word πρωτόκοκα (Vulg. *primitiva*) is used literally in He 11^{28}, of men and animals, with reference to the Egyptians.

The title 'Firstborn' is given figuratively to our Lord in three different aspects.—(*a*) It refers to His pre-existence in Col 1^{15} ('firstborn of all creation,' πρωτότοκος πάσης κτίσεως; see Lightfoot's exhaustive note in *Colossians*^{3}, 1879, p. 144), and in He 1^{6}, where it is used absolutely: 'the Firstborn.' This interpretation of Col 1^{15} is required by the context: 'the image (εἰκών) of the invisible God . . . in him were all things created . . . all things have been created through him, and unto him, and he is before all things, and in him all things consist (cohere).' This is also the exegesis of all the earlier Fathers; but, as the Arians used the text to show that our Lord was a creature, several (but not all) of the Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers interpreted it of the Incarnate Christ, while the later Greek Fathers went back to the earlier interpretation (see the references in Lightfoot, p. 146f.). The phrase denotes that the Son was before all creation; to the Arians it was pointed out that the word used is not πρωτόκτιστος, which would have had the meaning they assigned to πρωτότοκος. The phrase further denotes that He is the Lord of all creation, for He has the right of the Firstborn. The title 'Firstborn' was used figuratively by the Jews of Messiah, from Ps 89^{27} (which they generally interpreted in a Messianic

sense), and of Israel in Ex 4^{22}; this paved the way for the NT usage. Lightfoot (p. 144) remarks also that both πρωτότοκος and εἰκών were taken from the Alexandrian doctrine of the Logos (see also ONLY-BEGOTTEN).

(*b*) In Col 1^{18} Jesus is called 'firstborn from the dead,' because He was the first to rise; for Lazarus and others only rose to die again. So also in Rev 1^{5}: 'firstborn of the dead.' The phrase is parallel with 'the firstfruits (ἀπαρχή) of them that are asleep' in 1 Co 15^{20}.

(*c*) In Ro 8^{29} the relation of the first-born to his brethren is spoken of. Here, as in Col 1^{15}, εἰκών occurs, but it is the image of the Son, not of the Father: 'whom he foreknew (took note of), he also conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the firstborn among many brethren.' The conformity of the Christian to the image of the Son is parallel with the fact that the Son is the image of the Father; and the result of it is that all Christians become members of the family of God the Father, in which Jesus is the First-born, and brother of them all (He 2^{11}).

The title is used in the plural of Christians in He 12^{23}: 'the church of the firstborn' (Vulg. *primitivorum*). Here we have an extension of the privilege; there is not only one first-born in the family, but many. We may, with Lightfoot, take the reference to be to all Christians as being first-born because all are kings (Rev 1^{6}); the idea of ruling is so closely attached to the title that it can be thus extended, though the metaphor becomes confused—indeed, it was used by some Rabbis of God Himself (Lightfoot, p. 145). Some, however, interpret the phrase of the faithful departed who have gone before, and so are in a sense the first-born of the dead (cf. Grimm, *Lex. in libros NT*, Leipzig, 1879, *s.v.* πρωτότοκος). For some modification of these views see Westcott on He 12^{23}. In any case the 'firstborn' are men, not angels, to whom the word would be inapplicable, and who could not be described as 'enrolled in heaven' (Westcott).

A. J. MACLEAN.

FIRST-FRUIT (ἀπαρχή, class. Gr. usually ἀπαρχαί, from ἀπάρχομαι, 'offer firstlings or first-fruits'). —The word occurs six times in the Pauline Epistles, once in James, and once in Revelation. Its significance depends largely on the belief, which the Hebrews shared with many ancient nations, that first-fruits were peculiarly sacred, and on the custom which prescribed them for the services of Jahweh. The offering of first-fruits made the rest of the crop lawful. In LXX ἀπαρχή is the usual equivalent of רֵאשִׁית. On the Jewish institution of first-fruits, see *HDB* ii. 10 f.; *ERE* vi. 46 f.; and Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [1885] 237–242.

The reference to this institution is best seen in Ro 11^{16}: 'and if the firstfruit is holy, so is the lump,' where the allusion is to the heave-offering mentioned in Nu 15^{18-21}. The Pauline argument is what Jowett has called 'an argument from tendencies'—'as the beginning is, so shall the completion be; as the cause is, so shall the effect be; as the part, so the whole' (*Epp. of St. Paul to Thess., Gal., Rom.*, 1855, ii. 273). There is exegetical difficulty here, for ἀπαρχή and ῥίζα seem to denote different phases of the argument; but there is little doubt that St. Paul refers to the future when mankind shall be redeemed, a future that is foreshadowed by the present conversion of individuals.

In the same manner other passages are to be interpreted, though they have not obvious references to Hebrew customs. In Ja 1^{18} Christians of apostolic times are called ἀπαρχή τις, 'a kind of firstfruits.' From Clement of Rome's *Ep. ad Cor.* xlii., we learn that the apostles, during their missionary journeys, appointed their 'firstfruits,' when they had approved them, to be bishops and deacons; and it is interesting to find that St. Paul mentions two men who were outstanding in their helpfulness—Stephanas and Epænetus. Thus 1 Co 16^{15}: 'Ye know the house of Stephanas, that it is the firstfruits of Achaia, and that they have set themselves to minister unto the saints.' In Ro 16^{5} the same words are used, though here 'Achaia' should be 'Asia,' *i.e.* proconsular Asia, with the addition of εἰς Χριστόν. These men, with all likeminded, were the first-fruits of a new creation achieved by the spirit of Christianity, and they were the pledge of others who would follow their inspiring example.

In Rev 14^{4} the reference is to a specially favoured class who have been 'purchased from among men, the firstfruits unto God and unto the Lamb.' Ro 8^{23} speaks of Christians who have already been blessed by the Spirit, and who have the sure hope of a greater harvest of blessing when mankind shall be fully sanctified.

The most notable passage is 1 Co $15^{20.\ 23}$, where Christ is called the 'Firstfruits.' There may be in v.^{20} a reference to the offering of a sheaf of ripe corn on the second day of the Feast of Passover (cf. Lv $23^{10.\ 11}$); but even without that reference the exegesis is plain. Just as the first-fruits are the earnest of later harvesting, so the Resurrection of Christ is the guarantee of our resurrection. 'Christ is risen! We are risen!', and we shall rise.

In the early Church the custom and doctrine of first-fruits were used to support the practice of levies on behalf of the priesthood (see *Didache*, § 13).

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

FLESH (σάρξ, κρέας).—Of the two words rendered 'flesh' in the EV of the NT, κρέας is found only twice (Ro 14^{21}, 1 Co 8^{13}), and in both cases applies to the flesh of slaughtered animals eaten as food. σάρξ occurs very frequently and in various significations, of which the following are the most important.

1. Its most literal and primary meaning is *the soft tissues of the living body*, whether of men or beasts (1 Co 15^{39}, Rev 19^{18}), as distinguished from both the blood (1 Co 15^{50}) and the bones (Eph 5^{30} TR; cf. Lk 24^{39}).

2. As the chief constituent of the body, and that which gives it its visible form, 'flesh' frequently indicates *the whole body* (Gal $4^{13f.}$), which it designates, however, not as an organism (σῶμα, 1 Co 12^{12}), but with reference to its characteristic material substance (2 Co 12^{7}).

3. It is further employed, just as in the OT (Gn 29^{14} 37^{27}), to denote *relationship due to natural origin* through the physical fact of generation. Thus St. Paul describes Jesus Christ as 'born of the seed of David according to the flesh' (Ro 1^{3}), and refers to the Jewish people as 'my kinsmen according to the flesh' (9^{3}), or even as 'my flesh' (11^{14}). Similarly he calls Abraham 'our forefather according to the flesh' (4^{1}), and the author of Heb. characterizes natural fathers as 'the fathers of our flesh' in contrast with God as 'the Father of spirits' (He 12^{9}).

4. Again σάρξ is used, in the same way as σῶμα, to designate *the lower part of human nature* in contrast with the higher part, without any depreciation of the corporeal element being thereby intended. Thus 'flesh' is combined or contrasted with 'spirit' (Ro $2^{28.\ 29}$, 1 Co 5^{5}, 1 P 3^{18}), as 'body' is with 'soul' (Mt 10^{28}) or 'spirit' (1 Co 6^{20}, Ja 2^{26}), apart from any idea of disparagement, and only by way of indicating the fact that man is a unity of matter and spirit, of a lower part which links him to the outer world of Nature and a higher part which brings him into relation with God, both of them being essential to the completeness of his personality (1 Co $6^{19.\ 20}$, 2 Co 5^{1-4}).

5. In many instances 'flesh' assumes a broader

meaning, being employed to denote *human nature generally*, usually, however, with a suggestion of its creaturely frailty and weakness in contrast with God Himself, or His Spirit, or His word. 'All flesh' (Ac 2^{17}, 1 P 1^{24}) is equivalent to all mankind; 'no flesh' (Ro 3^{20}, 1 Co 1^{29}, Gal 2^{16}) has the force of 'no mortal man.' Similar to this is the use of the fuller expression 'flesh and blood,' as when St. Paul says that he 'conferred not with flesh and blood' (Gal 1^{16}), and that 'our wrestling is not against flesh and blood' (Eph 6^{12}). That this use of 'flesh,' although pointing to human weakness, is free from any idea of moral taint, is sufficiently shown by the fact that it is employed to describe the human nature of Christ Himself (Jn 1^{14}, Ro 1^{3} 9^{5}, 1 Ti 3^{16}, He 2^{14}) by writers who are absolutely convinced of His sinlessness (Jn 8^{46}, 1 Jn 3^{5}, 2 Co 5^{21}, He 4^{15} 7^{26}).

6. In Heb. we have a special use of 'flesh' to designate *earthly existence*—a use which must be distinguished from those that have been already dealt with. 'In the days of his flesh' (He 5^{7}) does not mean in the days when He possessed a body, or in the days when He bore our human nature; for the author firmly believes in the continued and complete humanity of our heavenly High Priest ($4^{14f.}$). It evidently means in the days when He lived upon earth as a man amongst men. Similarly, 'through the veil, that is to say, his flesh' (10^{20}) points to His life in those same 'days of his flesh'—the whole period of His suffering humanity; and when the writer describes the rites of the OT Law as 'ordinances of flesh' (*δικαιώματα σαρκός*, EV 'carnal ordinances,' 9^{10}) and contrasts these with the blood of Christ in respect of atoning efficacy, the antithesis in his mind, as the context shows, is not so much between the material and the spiritual as between the earthly and the heavenly, the passing and the permanent, the temporal and the eternal. In the same way he draws a contrast between 'the law of a carnal (*σαρκίνης*) commandment' and 'the power of an endless life' (7^{16}).

7. In addition to the foregoing, which may all be characterized as natural meanings of 'flesh,' we find the word used by St. Paul in a distinctly theological and ethical sense to denote *the seat and instrument of sin in fallen humanity*, as opposed to the 'mind,' or higher nature of man, which accepts the Law of God (Ro 7^{25}), and the 'spirit,' which is the principle of life in the regenerate ($8^{4ff.}$, Gal $5^{16ff.}$ 6^{8}). In precisely the same way he employs the adj. 'fleshly' or 'carnal' in contrast with 'spiritual' (Ro 7^{14}, 1 Co 3^{1}, etc.; see, further, CARNAL). Pfleiderer and others have sought to explain this peculiar usage by supposing that in the Pauline anthropology there was a fundamental dualism between 'flesh' and 'spirit,' and that the Apostle saw in the physical or sensuous part of man the very source and principle of sin. Such a view, however, is contrary to St. Paul's thoroughly Hebrew conception of the unity of body and soul in the human personality (see **4**), and is expressly negatived by his teaching on such subjects as the sinlessness of Jesus (2 Co 5^{21}) and the sanctification of the body (1 Co $6^{15.19}$), and by his application of the epithet 'carnal' (3^{3}) and of the expression 'works of the flesh' (Gal $5^{19ff.}$) to sins in which any sensuous or physical elements are entirely wanting. The most probable explanation of this Pauline antithesis of 'flesh' and 'spirit' is that it amounts to a contrast between the natural and the supernatural. Sin in St. Paul's presentation of it comes in the case of fallen man through natural inheritance—all mankind descending from Adam 'by ordinary generation'—and is therefore characterized as 'flesh'; while the life of holiness, as a gift of the Divine Spirit, is described as 'spirit' with reference to its source.

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Lex. of NT Greek*[3], Edinburgh, 1880, *s.v.* *σάρξ*, and art. 'Fleisch' in *PRE*[3]; H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch u. Geist im bibl. Sprachgebrauch*, Gotha, 1878; J. Laidlaw, *Bible Doct. of Man*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1895, p 109 ff., and *HDB* ii. 14; W. P. Dickson, *St. Paul's Use of th Terms 'Flesh' and 'Spirit,'* Glasgow, 1883; A. B. Bruce, *St Paul's Conception of Christianity*, Edinburgh, 1894, ch. xiv.

J. C. LAMBERT.

FLOCK.—One of the most familiar pictures in the OT is that of the Church or people of God as a flock. In Gn 48^{15} the correlative figure is found in 'the shepherding God,' and is repeated in the Blessing of the Tribes ('the Shepherd of Israel,' Gn 49^{24}; cf. also Ps 23 and Ezk 34^{31}). In Is 40^{11} the figure is directly employed: 'He shall feed his flock like a shepherd' (in the OT generally *ποιμένες λαῶν* meant 'civil rulers,' as in Homer, but in the NT the phrase stands for 'spiritual guides and teachers').

The OT metaphor is carried over into the NT, where *τὸ ποίμνιον* is used exclusively in the figurative sense of 'church' or 'congregation.' It appears thus in the tender address of our Lord: *μὴ φοβοῦ, τὸ μικρὸν ποίμνιον*, 'Fear not, little flock' (Lk 12^{32}). The words continued to beat like a pulse in the breast of the Church, and are renewed again and again.

(1) St. Paul says to the elders of Ephesus: *προσέχετε ἑαυτοῖς καὶ παντὶ τῷ ποιμνίῳ . . . ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ θεοῦ*, 'Take heed unto yourselves and to all the flock . . . to feed the Church of God' (Ac 20^{28-29}). The overseers are themselves part of the flock (*ἐν ᾧ*), and this suggests the insight, sympathy, closeness of intimacy, and the personal knowledge with which the flock is to be superintended. 'The bishop is and remains a sheep of the flock, and must thus exercise his oversight both on himself and the whole flock' (Stier, *The Words of the Apostles*, 1869, p. 328). 'Feed' and 'guide,' therefore, include the two great tasks of the ministry.

(2) Jesus had said to Peter: *βόσκε τὰ ἀρνία μου . . . ποίμαινε τὰ πρόβατά μου*, 'Feed my lambs . . . tend my sheep' (Jn $21^{15.16}$). Accordingly the Apostle, 'in a personal reminiscence' (W. H. Bennett, *The General Epistles* [Cent. Bible, 1901], p. 36) and, in 'unobtrusive allusions to Christ's life which harmonize with his discipleship' (Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911, p. 335), says as a fellow-elder: *ποιμάνατε τὸ ἐν ὑμῖν ποίμνιον τοῦ θεοῦ . . . τύποι γινόμενοι τοῦ ποιμνίου*, 'Tend the flock of God which is among you . . . making yourselves ensamples to the flock' (1 P $5^{2.3}$; cf. *Pss. Sol.* xvii. 45). 'To feed the flock' takes in the whole varied duties of the pastoral office. 'It is not right that a man should only preach a sermon every Sunday, and after that pay no regard to the people' (Stier, *op. cit.*, 328, quoting Gossner). 'All modes of watchfulness and help are to be displayed. Fold as well as feed them; guide and guard and heal them' (Hastings, *Great Texts of the Bible*, 'St. John,' 1912, p. 422). In the AV of 1 P 5^{3} the flock is called 'God's heritage,' but *θεοῦ* is not in the text, and it is better to read with RV 'the charge allotted to you' (cf. Tindale's Version: 'be not as lordes over the parrishes'). 'The charge allotted to you' is therefore parallel to 'the flock of God which is among you,' *i.e.* the particular Christian society committed to your care. 'Each separate *ἐκκλησία* was thought of as the "portion" (*κλῆρος*) of the presbyter who watched over it' (E. H. Plumptre, *Camb. Bible*, 'St. Peter and St. Jude,' 1880, p. 154).

It is evidence of how completely the thought of the shepherd and the flock possessed the mind of the early Church, that in the Catacombs the figure of a shepherd with a sheep on his shoulder and a crook in his hand is the most frequent of all symbols.

W. M. GRANT.

FLOOD (*κατακλυσμός*, which is used in the LXX for מַבּוּל).—In exhibiting faith as the principle

which has all through history ruled the lives of the saints, the writer of Heb. (11[7]) instances the faith of Noah, who, warned of things not yet seen, *i.e.* of the coming flood, prepared an ark for the saving of his house. 1 Pet. (3[20]) alludes to the ark in which eight souls were saved through water. 2 Pet. (2[5]) illustrates the retributive justice of God by the fact that He brought a flood upon the world of the ungodly, and (3[6. 7]) contrasts with the world which was overflowed with water the heavens and the earth which are stored up for fire. The writers of these Epistles, being apostles and evangelists, not men of science, had no thought of verifying historical documents or investigating natural phenomena, their sole desire being to awaken or strengthen the faith, to purify and ennoble the lives, of their readers. Like the writers and compilers of the deluge stories in Gen. (6–9[17]), they doubtless believed—as most Christians did until a comparatively recent period—in a universal flood which destroyed all men and animals except those preserved in the ark. In the light of science and criticism, the Gen. narratives of the deluge are now regarded as a part of the folk-lore of Babylonian or Accadian peoples, from whom it was borrowed by the Canaanites.

LITERATURE.—The discussion of the problems connected with the story of the flood—whether, *e.g.*, it is a highly coloured legend based on actual occurrences or a Nature-myth which has assumed the form of a history—is relevant to the interpretation of the narratives in Genesis, but would cast little or no light upon the literature of Apostolic Christianity. It is therefore enough to refer to F. H. Woods' art. 'Flood' in *HDB* and 'Deluge' in *ERE*, and T. K. Cheyne's artt. 'Deluge' in the *EBi* and *EBr*[11]; R. Andree, *Die Flutsagen*, Brunswick, 1891; C. J. Ball, *Light from the East*, London, 1899; Elwood Worcester, *Genesis in the Light of Modern Knowledge*, New York, 1901. JAMES STRAHAN.

FLUTE.—See PIPE.

FOOL.—The diversity in the conceptions of folly is strikingly illustrated by the use in the writings of the Apostolic Church of the terms 'fool' and 'foolish,' translating the Greek words ἄφρων, μωρός, ἄσοφοι, ἀνόητος, ἀσύνετος, and related forms.

1. There appears to be a reference to folly as intentional clownishness in Eph 5[4]. The Christian must avoid 'foolish talking or jesting' (μωρολογία καὶ εὐτραπελία).

2. Unseemly and undignified conduct is folly. Thus St. Paul, vindicating his apostleship, is reluctantly led to a self-commendation, such as, in other circumstances, only a fool in the folly of boasting would offer (2 Co 11[16. 18. 21] 12[11]; cf. 5[13]). There is, however, a deeper folly—unwarranted boasting (12[6]). Twice in these 2 Cor. passages a certain play on the idea of folly is presented. St. Paul in self-defence is compelled to speak as a fool, yet are not the real fools the Corinthians, ironically φρόνιμοι, for tolerating fools, namely the false teachers? (11[17. 19. 20]). Again the Apostle, having acknowledged 'I speak as a fool' (in my boasting), presently comes to the mere supposition that these false teachers are servants of Christ—the sense of the parenthesis changes—'Now indeed, I do speak out of my mind' (vv.[21. 23]).

3. The term 'fool' (ἄφρων), signifying mental stupidity, is applied to the imaginary controversialist of 1 Co 15[36], who finds unnecessary difficulties in the Resurrection (cf. the 'foolish controversies' of 1 Ti 6[4], 2 Ti 2[23], Tit 3[9]).

4. The 'foolish Galatians' (ἀνόητοι) appear to be rebuked for bad judgment, rather than for moral perverseness. They must be 'bewitched' to have so readily accepted another teaching (Gal 3[1-3]).

5. Instances of moral folly are provided by those who live without regard to the chief end of life. These are ἄσοφοι and ἄφρονες (Eph 5[15-17]). Foolish are the lusts of the rich (1 Ti 6[9]), and the unregenerate life is one of foolishness (Tit 3[3]).

6. Heathenism supplied a conspicuous and illuminating case of moral and intellectual folly (Ro 1[18f.]; cf. 2[20]). To St. Paul, the worship of wood and stone indicated an underlying moral defect of liking for the unreal rather than for the real—for make-belief rather than for belief (v.[25]), which found expression in morality as well as in worship (v.[24f.]). This moral folly led to intellectual foolishness, which 'learned disputations' disguised and fostered. There must be a moral element in sane intellectual judgment (cf. 2 Th 2[10-12], and Carlyle's comment upon Napoleon: 'He did not know true from false now when he looked at them,—the fearfulest penalty a man pays for yielding to untruth of heart' [*Heroes and Hero-worship*, 1872, 'The Hero as King,' p. 221]).

7. In the judgment of the critical Greek intellectualists, the preaching of 'Christ crucified' was folly (1 Co 1[18. 21. 23. 25]). A gospel centred in the person of an ignominiously executed criminal, and finding indeed a mystic value in that death, was likely to provoke the contempt of a highly philosophical community. In contrast, St. Paul presents, as the true norm whereby wisdom and folly are to be judged, a mystic γνῶσις: to the unspiritual, foolishness (2[14]), but to the initiated, the power and wisdom of God (2[6. 10] 1[24. 30])—a presentation which invites comparison with the γνῶσις of the Mysteries. Probably the distinction here suggested is that between the intuitional, mystic experience of God and His power, and the intellectual theorizing *about* God and His dealings with the world. Religious 'wisdom' must be judged primarily in terms of spiritual experience rather than of theology. At the same time, St. Paul had no love for obscurantism (1 Co 14).

8. The evil of the intellectualism within the Church, indicated in 1 Cor., was not that it challenged the distinctive forms of Christian faith, but that it gave rise to the bitterness of religious controversy—sacrificed the love which never failed in value for the sake of the mere forms of knowledge, which at the best necessarily passed away in the coming of greater light (1 Co 13[11]). Let these childishly (1 Co 3[1. 3]) 'wise' become 'fools' that they may gain the wisdom of the childlike (vv.[18-23]).

9. 'Fools for Christ's sake'—so St. Paul describes himself and his fellow-evangelists in 1 Co 4[10]. The epithet may have been applied on account of the 'foolishness' of the preaching (7); the contrast, however, with the φρόνιμοι ἐν Χριστῷ, *prudentes in Christo*, suggests that the reference is to the worldly-wiseman's view of the sanctified 'abandon' of St. Paul and his kindred spirits, their flinging aside of policy and cunning, their counting as nought the things which the world deems precious. The Apostle is actually regarded by Festus as out of his mind (Ac 26[24]).

H. BULCOCK.

FORBEARANCE.—See LONGSUFFERING.

FOREIGNER.—See STRANGER.

FOREKNOWLEDGE.—'Foreknowledge' is the rendering of a Greek word (πρόγνωσις, Ac 2[23], 1 P 1[2], the cognate verb being προγινώσκειν, Ac 26[5], Ro 8[29] 11[2], 1 P 1[20], 2 P 3[17]) which occurs nowhere in the LXX and not very often in the NT. In the apocryphal book of Wis. it occurs three times (6[13] 8[8] 18[6]), always in the plain sense of 'knowing beforehand.' In this sense St. Paul uses the verb in his speech before Agrippa, when he tells him how his manner of life was known to all the Jews, 'having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify' (Ac 26[5]); and in this sense also St. Peter uses it in

the concluding warning of his Second Epistle when he reminds his readers of their 'knowing these things beforehand' (3[17]).

In the remainder of the references given above it is the Divine foreknowledge which is in the mind of the Apostle, the object or objects being not facts or things but persons—these persons being objects of favourable regard—and the theme under consideration being some aspect of the Divine purpose of grace towards men. When St. Peter, in addressing the Jewish multitudes on the day of Pentecost, describes them as having by the hand of lawless men crucified and slain Jesus of Nazareth, he speaks of Him as 'delivered up by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God' (Ac 2[23]). That death had been designed and planned in the counsels of eternal love, and the 'foreknowledge of God' had rested with satisfaction upon the Divine sufferer who had undertaken, by the sacrifice of Himself, to win redemption for men. Of the same purport is the expression used by St. Peter when in his First Epistle he speaks of the blood of Christ, a Lamb without blemish and without spot, 'who was foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but was manifested at the end of the times for your sake' (1[20]). Mere prescience in the sense of previous knowledge does not exhaust the meaning in either of the foregoing passages. Hort (*The First Epistle of Peter*, 1898, *ad loc.*) sees in the latter reference 'previous designation to a position or function.' And he notes the pregnant sense of 'know' in such passages as Jer 1[5], 'Before I formed thee in the belly I knew thee'; Is 49[1], 'The Lord hath called me from the womb; from the bowels of my mother hath he made mention of my name'; and Ex 33[12] (spoken of Moses), 'I know thee by name, and thou hast found grace in my sight' (cf. 2 Ti 2[19]). The pregnant sense belonging to 'knowledge' may well belong also to 'foreknowledge' (1 P 1[2], *κατὰ πρόγνωσιν θεοῦ πατρός*).

'This knowledge,' says Hort in his note on the expression, 'is not a knowledge of facts respecting a person, but a knowledge of himself; it is, so to speak, a contemplation of him in his individuality, yet not as an indifferent object but as standing in personal relations to Him who thus "foreknows" him. It must not therefore be identified with mere foreknowledge of existence or acts (prescience); or again, strictly speaking, with destination or predestination (*ὁρίζω*, *προορίζω*), even in the biblical sense, that is, in relation to a Providential order, much less in the philosophical sense of antecedent constraint.'

When we turn to St. Paul's more exact and precise exposition of doctrine we see that 'foreknowledge' is still directed to persons as its object, and also that 'prescience,' 'knowing beforehand,' is inadequate to the expression of the mysterious thought conveyed. With St. Paul 'foreknowledge' is the first link in the chain of the Divine purpose of grace, the first step in the spiritual history of the believer (Ro 8[29], *οὓς προέγνω*), 'foreordination' the second, 'effectual calling' the third, 'justification' the fourth, 'glory' the fifth and last.

'Mere prescience [on God's part] of human volition,' says C. J. Vaughan, 'leaves man the originator of his own salvation, in utter contradiction to Scripture here and everywhere. That *πρόγνωσις* which is made the first step in the spiritual history seems to express, not indeed so much as *predetermination* (which would confuse *προέγνω* with *προώρισεν*), but yet *a resting of the mind of God beforehand upon a person with approval* (*cf.* Ex 33[12], Ps 1[6]), which can only be mentally and doctrinally severed from the second step, *προώρισεν*' (*St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*[8], 1870, *ad loc.*).

That the expression is used also of Israel by St. Paul is quite in keeping with this pregnant sense: 'God did not cast away his people which he foreknew' (Ro 11[2]). It is 'the chosen people,' 'the covenant people' (*ὁ λαός*), of whom the Apostle declares that God 'foreknew' them. Here, again, 'foreknowledge' is thought of as directed not to a person or a people simply, but to a person or a people in relation to a function, for Israel was 'designated afore' to fill that place in the purpose of God which has been theirs among the nations.

There is no ground in the teaching of St. Paul for the view that because God foreknew that certain persons would respond to the gospel call, and remain true to their first faith to the end, He therefore foreordained them to salvation. Those whom God foreknew as His own of sovereign grace, He also foreordained to be conformed to the image of His Son; but St. Paul makes this conformity to be the result, not the foreseen condition, of God's foreordination. 'Foreknew' points backward to God's loving thought of them before time began; their conformity to the image of His Son points to the realization of this thought of God and its being carried to its furthest goal in the course of time. Of any 'foreknowledge' by God of others than those who are effectually called according to the Divine purpose neither St. Paul nor any other NT writer has anything to say. According to the teaching of the two apostles already referred to, the Divine foreknowledge represents the first step in the scheme of redemption, marking out the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world which taketh away the sin of the world, and the first movement of grace in the heart of God towards those who shall be saved.

The Patristic usage of the word takes no notice of its theological significance as we find it in St. Peter and St. Paul. Clement speaks of the first apostles being endowed with 'perfect foreknowledge' to enable them to hand on to approved successors the ministry and service they had fulfilled (1 Clem. xliv. 2). Hermas attributes to the Lord the power of reading the heart, and with foreknowledge knowing all things, even the weakness of men and the wiles of the devil (*Mand.* IV. iii. 4).

LITERATURE.—F. J. A. Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter, I. 1–II. 17*, 1898, pp. 18, 80; Commentaries on Ro 8[29-30] by C. J. Vaughan (³1870), Sanday-Headlam (⁵*ICC*, 1902), J. Denney (*EGT*, 1900), and T. Zahn (*Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., 1909); C. Hodge, *Systematic Theology*, i. [1872] 397–400, 545; A. Stewart, art. 'Foreknowledge' in *HDB*. THOMAS NICOL.

FOREORDINATION.—See PREDESTINATION.

FORERUNNER.—This word occurs only in He 6[20], where it is used of our Lord, who has entered within the veil as the Forerunner of redeemed mankind. It is a military term (*πρόδρομος*) used of the troops which were sent in advance of an army as scouts (Herod. i. 60, iv. 121, 122; Thuc. ii. 22, etc.). Again, a forerunner was sent in advance of a king to prepare the way for him (Is 40[3]). In the NT the Baptist becomes the forerunner of the Christ (Mt 11[10]). The author of the Epistle shows that the promise made to Abraham still awaits its complete fulfilment—a promise which is made doubly sure, being confirmed by an oath. This promise has been fulfilled by Christ, so that hope may now enter where Jesus, the Son of Man, has already entered to make atonement for us.

The use of this term *πρόδρομος* emphasizes the fact that Jesus has entered heaven, not as the Jewish high priest entered the Holy of Holies, to return again, but to open a way by which His people may follow, and to prepare a place for them (Jn 14[2]). MORLEY STEVENSON.

FORGIVENESS.—The purpose of this article is not to discuss the large theological problems involved (see ATONEMENT), but to consider the passages in which the term actually occurs in the Acts and the Epistles. The general word is *ἀφίημι*, of very common occurrence in the NT, especially in the Gospels, meaning 'send away from oneself' (Mt 13[36]), 'let go' (4[20]), 'turn away from' (19[29], 1 Co 7[11]), 'pass over' or 'neglect' (He 6[1], Mt 23[23]), 'relinquish one's prey' (used of robbers [Lk 10[30]] or a disease [Mt 8[15], Mk 1[31], Lk 4[39], Jn 4[52]]), or simply

'leave a person free' (Mk 10^{14} 14^{6}, Jn 11^{44}, Ac 5^{38}), or treat him as if one had no more concern with him. Hence it is used of remitting a debt (Mt 18^{27} $6^{12.\ 14}$), equivalent to *οὐ λογίζεσθαι* (2 Co 5^{19}; see also Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] [*ICC*, 1902], 100); the creditor tears up the bill, so to speak, or never enters the debt in his ledger. The verb, however, is rare outside the Gospels in the sense of 'forgive.' It occurs in Ac 8^{22} (the forgiveness of the thought of Simon's heart), Ja 5^{15}, 1 Jn 1^{9} 2^{12} (in each case with 'sins'), and, as a quotation, in Ro 4^{7} (the forgiveness of 'lawlessnesses,' *ἀνομίαι*).

Side by side with these instances, however, we must put the noun, *ἄφεσις*. This is very rare in the Gospels (it is never attributed to Christ Himself, save in quotations and in the institution of the Eucharist in Mt 26^{28}—not in the parallels). It is more frequent in the Acts—2^{38} (baptism for forgiveness of sins in the name of Christ), 5^{31} (repentance and forgiveness of sins), 10^{43} (forgiveness of sins through His name), 13^{38} (through Him the forgiveness of sins is preached), 26^{18} (forgiveness of sins . . . by faith that is in Christ). Here, the object is always 'sins'; forgiveness is sometimes explicitly joined to repentance and baptism; but more particularly connected with Christ, Christ's name, or faith in Christ. The procedure suggested by these passages is simple: preaching Christ, belief in Christ, and the resultant acceptance of the new position of freedom from sin. This might be all that was explicit in the experience of the early believers; it is obviously not the last word for the preacher, the theologian, or the believer himself. Hence, the fuller expression of St. Paul in Eph 1^{7}, 'in whom we have our redemption through his blood, even the forgiveness of our transgressions' (cf. Col 1^{14}). Here, the figure of the cancelling of a debt is joined to another—rescue from some usurping power; and this (in the passage in Eph., not in Col.) is definitely connected with the shedding of the blood of Christ at His death; so in He 9^{22} ('apart from shedding of blood there is no remission of sins'). The only other passage in the Epistles where the word occurs is He 10^{18}, where forgiveness of sins and lawlessnesses is regarded as equivalent to their being remembered no more (Jer 31^{34}), and so needing no further sacrifice.

At first sight, it would seem strange that *ἄφεσις* is not used oftener; it does not occur at all in Rom. in the sense of forgiveness, save in a quotation (Ro 4^{7}, from Ps 32^{1}). But the reason is not far to seek. The conception, as already said, was not final; it was a figure, and one of several possible figures; and it was a single term applied to a mysterious and far-reaching experience which required further analysis. The writers of the Epistles do not neglect the experience, but they pass beyond the expression. In the primitive apostolic teaching of the Acts, it was enough to announce that Jesus was the Messiah, that He had risen from the death to which the rulers of the Jews had condemned Him, and that in Him the old promises of forgiveness of sins were fulfilled—forgiveness even for the sin of putting Him to death. The cardinal notes of the apostles' early preaching are the facts of the Resurrection and Messiahship of Jesus, and the necessity of believing in Him for the promised spiritual change. But it was inevitable that further questions should arise. How can this forgiveness be reconciled with God's unchanging abhorrence of sin? What is the connexion between the death of Christ and the change in me? To answer these, St. Paul takes up the suggestion implied in the word *ἄφεσις*, 'a cancelled debt,' already familiar to Pharisaic thought, and develops it into his doctrine of justification: there is a debt—all men owe it—caused by the non-performance of the necessary works; judgment must therefore be given against us; but with the Judge who would pronounce the sentence there is also grace. Christ the Son of God dies for our sin; and this same death we also die, by faith, to sin; hence, we are justified before God—that is, we are like men who have never contracted a debt; and there is nothing for us but acquittal. This forensic figure is worked out by St. Paul more fully than any other; but he lays equal stress on the more mystical conceptions of redemption (see above) and death to sin (Ro 6^{11} 'estimate yourselves to be mere corpses with regard to sin'). The importance of faith, however, is never left unexpressed, faith being at once surrender to, reliance on, and identification with its object. Here, St. Paul brings us to the circle of the thought of St. John, which only once refers to forgiveness (see above), but moves round the act of believing which joins man to God.

As kindred expressions we may notice the words *χαρίζεσθαι*—properly, 'do a favour to a person,' or, with the accusative of the thing, 'make a present of'—sometimes in the sense of making a present of an act of wrong-doing, *i.e.*, not insisting on the penalty for it (2 Co 12^{13}, Col 2^{13}); *πάρεσις* (Ro 3^{25}), 'a temporary suspension of punishment which may be one day inflicted,' and therefore entirely distinct from forgiveness (see R. C. Trench, *NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 110 ff.); *καλύπτειν*, 'to conceal, cover over' (cf. the Hebrew *kipper*) (Ro 4^{7} [quoting from Ps 32^{1}], 1 P 4^{8}); and *λύειν*, 'to loose' (Rev 1^{5}).

LITERATURE.—Forgiveness has very little modern literature devoted to it; but it is discussed in all literature dealing with Atonement and Reconciliation, and, at least indirectly, in that referring to Sin and Conversion. See the artt. ATONEMENT, CONVERSION, JUSTIFICATION, REPENTANCE, SIN, with the Literature there cited. Reference may also be made to G. B. Stevens, *Theology of the NT*, 1899; A. Ritschl, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr., 1900; W. E. Orchard, *Modern Theories of Sin*, 1909; W. L. Walker, *The Gospel of Reconciliation*, 1909; P. T. Forsyth, *The Work of Christ*, 1910; R. Mackintosh, *Christianity and Sin*, 1913.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

FORM.—The first occurrence of this word in the Epistles is in Ro 2^{20}, where St. Paul speaks of the Jew as 'having in the law the form of knowledge and of the truth.' The word he uses is *μόρφωσις*, which is found again only in 2 Ti 3^{5} ('having the form of godliness'), where it clearly has a disparaging sense and may be taken to mean an affectation of or an aiming at the *μορφή* of godliness. *μορφή* itself is that which manifests the essence or inward nature of a thing, 'outward form as determined by inward substance,' in contrast with *σχῆμα* which means 'outward form as opposed to inward substance.' *μόρφωσις* occupies an intermediate position between these words; the Apostle hesitates to use *σχῆμα*, yet he will not use *μορφή*. The term happily expresses his meaning in Ro 2^{20}—the Law, so far as it went, was an expression, one might even say an embodiment, of Divine truth. It did not go far enough to be called *μορφή*, yet it was more than mere outward fashion (*σχῆμα*). There is not the same note of disparagement about the word here as in 2 Ti 3^{5}; it is rather one of incompleteness.

We may turn now to the well-known use of the word *μορφή* itself in Ph $2^{6f.}$, where Christ is said to have been in the form of God and to have taken the form of a slave. The first thing to bear in mind is that St. Paul used the common speech of his day, and this word, like many others, had wandered far from the accurate metaphysical sense in which it was used by Plato and Aristotle. The lengthy and thorough discussions of the word and its relation to *οὐσία*, *φύσις*, *εἶδος*, and similar terms by Lightfoot (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 127 ff.) and E. H. Gifford (*The Incarnation*, 1897, p. 22 ff.) remain as examples of fine scholarship, but it is now generally recognized that St. Paul uses *μορφή* here

in an easy, popular sense, much as we use the word 'nature.' Several passages in the LXX (*e.g.* Job 4^{16}, Dn 5^{6}, Wis 18^{1-4}, 4 Mac 15^{4}) witness to the same tendency—*μορφή* is the appearance or look of some one, that by which onlookers judge. But, while St. Paul avoids metaphysical speculations on the relation of the Son to the Father, he implies here, as elsewhere, that Christ has, as it were, the same kind of existence as God. The closest parallels are *εἰκὼν τοῦ θεοῦ* (Col 1^{15}) and *πλούσιος ὤν* (2 Co 8^{9}), the latter passage reminding us of the great antithesis in Ph $2^{6.7}$ between the *μορφὴ θεοῦ* and the *μορφὴ δούλου*. *δοῦλος* stands for man in opposition to God and must not be pressed literally. It is worth noting that St. Paul insists on Christ's direct exchange of the one form for the other, in contrast to Gnostic views which represented Him as passing through a series of transformations. To return to *μορφή*, which here denotes, as it usually does, an adequate and accurate expression of the underlying being, and so points to the Divinity of the pre-existing Christ, one may, without any detraction from this honour, point out that St. Paul always regards the Death and Resurrection of Christ as adding something to it. It is after the return to glory that Christ is declared the Son of God 'with power' (Ro $1^{3.4}$), and becomes Lord (Ph 2^{9-11}). It only remains to point out that Christ's assumption of the 'form' or 'nature' of a servant does not imply that His 'Ego,' the basis of His personality, was changed. (See further art. CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY, p. 193f.)

Before leaving this word, we may notice the use of the verb *μορφόω* in a beautifully expressive passage, Gal 4^{19}, where the Apostle adopts the figure of a child-bearing mother; he is in travail for the spiritual birth of Christ within his Galatian friends, straining every power to shape their inner man afresh into the image of Christ. The use of the word 'form' in Ro 9^{20} and 1 Ti 2^{13} (in each case translating *πλάσσω*) calls for no remark.

Two other passages in the Epistles demand consideration. In Ro 6^{17} St. Paul is glad that the Romans have become sincerely obedient 'to that form of teaching' to which they were delivered; and in 2 Ti 1^{13} there is an exhortation to 'hold the form (RV 'pattern') of sound words which thou hast heard from me.' The word used in Rom. is *τύπος*, which must be taken in its usual Pauline sense of 'pattern,' 'standard.' No special type of doctrine is meant (see F. J. A. Hort, *Prolegomena to Romans and Ephesians*, 1895, p. 32); the reference is to a course of simple instruction, like that in the first part of the *Didache* ('The Two Ways'), which preceded baptism. In 2 Tim. we have the compound *ὑποτύπωσις*, lit. an 'outline sketch,' and so a 'pattern' or 'example.' It is the emphatic word in the sentence, and the meaning is best brought out by the translation, 'Hold as a pattern of healthy teaching, in faith and love, what you heard from me.'

A. J. GRIEVE.

FORMALISM.—As thought needs language and soul needs body, so the spirit of religion can maintain, manifest and propagate itself, can relate itself to its environment, only as it is embodied in external form. It takes intellectual form in doctrines and creeds; its emotional necessities create forms of worship; its social instincts express themselves in ecclesiastical organization and sacramental rites, in all its instruments and symbols of corporate action. Hence arises inevitably the danger of formalism: the 'form of godliness' (2 Ti 3^{5}) may persist after the power which originally created it has evaporated, and it may be inherited or adopted by those who have never had experience of the inward reality. Formalism in this proper sense of the word is to be distinguished from hypocrisy (the consciously fraudulent assumption of the externals of religion), and other varieties of unreality in religion. The typical formalist is the angel of the church in Sardis, of whom it is written: 'Thou hast a name that thou livest, and thou art dead' (Rev 3^{1}). Unlike his Laodicean neighbour, who is 'neither cold nor hot,' he sets a high value upon the Christian name, and firmly believes that to do so is to be earnestly Christian. He mistakes zealous performance of acts of worship for real devotion, and punctilious orthodoxy for living conviction. He sincerely respects the badges and expressions of spiritual life, believes them to be necessary and effectual unto salvation, while he is ignorant of, and without desire for, the reality which they express. He is a 'well without water' (2 P 2^{17}).

In the apostolic writings formalism of various kinds is detected and rebuked.

1. The substitution of religious observances for religious reality.—(*a*) Such observances may be sacramental, belonging to the prescribed ritual; and to these the danger of formalism always attaches in a high degree, the performance of the ritual act being always regarded by the unspiritual man as setting him in a right relation to God. Thus St. Paul accuses the Jews of formalism with regard to circumcision (Ro 2^{25-29}), admonishing them that 'he is not a Jew who is one outwardly . . . circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter.' Otherwise it is become 'uncircumcision,' a falsehood against which the virtue of the unprivileged Gentile will rise up in judgment. In St. Paul's controversy with the Judaizers, the issue was between a legal and a spiritual conception of religion rather than between formalism and reality. Yet the latter element also was involved, and is emphasized by his repeatedly contrasting both circumcision and uncircumcision with the inward essence and ethical manifestation of Christianity—'a new creature' (Gal 6^{15}), 'faith that worketh by love' (5^{6}), 'keeping the commandments of God' (1 Co 7^{19}). Here with deep insight St. Paul places 'uncircumcision' on the same footing with 'circumcision.' If the advocates of freedom supposed that there was any virtue in uncircumcision *per se*, they were only substituting one fetish for another. As there are persons who make a convention of unconventionality, so in religion repudiation of form may become only a different species of formalism.

(*b*) Not only ritual or sacramental acts, but all observances which are labelled 'religious,' even those which are most directly designed for instruction and edification, are exposed to the same danger. Having exhorted his readers to 'receive with meekness the implanted word,' St. James (1^{21-25}) hastens to preclude the notion that such 'hearing,' as a mere *opus operatum*, has any religious value. Without 'doing' it is no less barren of good result than a cursory glance at one's own image in a mirror (*cf.* Ro 2^{13}). Closely akin to this formalism of 'hearing' is that which substitutes fluent religious talk for religious conduct (Ja $1^{26.27}$). The pure undefiled *θρησκεία*, the true Christian *cultus*, is to 'visit the widows and the fatherless in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world.'

2. The formalism of intellectual orthodoxy.—The classical passage is Ja 2^{14-26}. Signifying by 'faith' not the vital spiritual act, but the orthodox confession which is its proper 'form,' the writer vigorously declares that such faith, 'if it have not works,' is dead in itself (v.^{16}), a body uninhabited by the quickening spirit (v.^{26}). St. Paul advances even beyond this position when (1 Co 13^{2}) he asserts that one may have 'all faith, so as to remove mountains,' yet if it be 'without charity, he is

nothing.' The First Epistle of St. John is occupied with the exposure of intellectual formalism (for though the Gnostic tenets, against which it is directed, are regarded as the rankest heterodoxy, the principle is the same). To imagine that we 'know God,' while not keeping His commandments (2^{4-6}), or that we are 'in the light,' while hating our brother (2^{9}); to credit ourselves with 'knowing Christ' in whom is no sin, while continuing in the practice of sin (3^{6}), is to stand convicted of being a 'liar.' Only he who *loves* can know God, who is Love (4^{8}).

3. Formalism within the ethical domain.—While religious observances and credal orthodoxy are always to be submitted to the test of ethics, the last hiding-place of formalism is within the ethical domain itself. There is the formalism to which the possession of a high moral ideal stands for high morality. This is scathingly rebuked by St. Paul in Ro 2^{17-24}. The typical Jew gloried in the lofty moral standards of his race, 'resting upon the law,' 'approving the things that are excellent'; but according to the Apostle's indictment he too often regarded an enlightened sense of duty as the goal rather than as the starting-point of moral life. It is a still subtler formalism when the ethical impulse exhausts itself in lofty and generous sentiment, or in clothing such emotion with appropriate verbiage (Ja $2^{15.\,16}$). This possibility is suggested, with a touch of delicate irony, in 1 Jn 3^{16-18}, where the law of self-sacrificing brotherhood is first stated in its highest terms—'We ought to lay down our lives for the brethren,' and then, lest any one should mistake the emotion awakened by such magnificent expressions of duty for the discharge of duty itself, the issue is brought down to the pedestrian level of the everyday use of 'the world's goods' for the relief of the need that is before one's eyes. Here, again, St. Paul is still bolder (1 Co 13^{3}), pointing out that conduct may fill out to the utmost the 'form' of self-sacrifice ('If I give all my goods to feed the poor, and if I give my body to be burned'), and yet lack the inward reality. Ethical reality is attested not by the sensational exploit, but by that 'walking in love' which is so inimitably described in the following verses.

LITERATURE.—A. Whyte, *Bunyan Characters*, i. [1895] 132, 271, *Bible Characters*: 'Our Lord's Characters,' 1902, pp. 150, 284; Stopford A. Brooke, *The Fight of Faith*, 1877, p. 51; John Foster, *Lectures*[3], 1853, i. 131 ff.; J. H. Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons*, new ed., 1868, i. 21, 124, iv. 66; A. Maclaren, *Christ in the Heart*, 1886, p. 226; J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*[3], 1910; Robert Law, *Tests of Life*, 1909, pp. 208 ff., 231 ff., 279 ff. ROBERT LAW.

FORNICATION (*πορνεία*, and cognates). — **1. Meaning of term.**—(1) *πορνεία* is used sometimes in the strict sense of 'prostitution' or 'fornication' (1 Co 6^{13}). It is thus different from *μοιχεία*, or 'adultery' (He 13^{4} [cf. Mk 7^{21}] *Didache*, 2 f.). This strict sense, however, can be retained with certainty only when the two words occur side by side. In the pagan world, while *μοιχεία* was regarded as sinful on a woman's part mainly on the ground that it infringed the husband's rights, fornication or sexual intercourse outside the marriage bond or even by husbands was allowable. St. Paul (1 Th $4^{3ff.}$) demands chastity from married men. The wife (interpreting *σκεῦος* as 'wife' [see Milligan's *Thess.*, London, 1908, for opposite view]) is to be had in holiness and honour. Christian morality is contrasted with pagan in this respect. Illicit sexual intercourse with a married woman is not only an infringement of the husband's rights, but violence done to the Holy Ghost. Christianity regards fornication and adultery alike as sinful. Cato looked on fornication as a preventive against libidinous intrigues with married women (Horace, *Sat.* i. 2). Cicero says it was always practised and allowed (*pro Cœlio*, xx). It was defended not only as customary but as a necessity of nature. Alexander Severus furnished governors with concubines. The Cynic and early Stoic philosophers excused it on the ground that 'naturalia non sunt turpia.' This St. Paul combats (1 Co 6^{12-20}). It is not a natural thing like food; for, while the nutritive system of man belongs to the perishing schema of this world, the body is the organ of the spirit and the temple of the Holy Ghost, bought by Christ for His own service. To unite it to a harlot is an act of sacrilege, of self-violation, and it breaks the union between Christ and the believer.

How different this is from the lame censure of Epictetus (*Enchir.* 33) and the practice of Marcus Aurelius, who had his concubine (see Lecky, *History of European Morals*[8], London, 1888, ii. 314 ff.).

(2) *πορνεία* is used also in a generic sense, *μοιχεία* being specific. In Pauline terminology *μοιχεύω* is found in quotations from the LXX (seventh commandment), while *πορνεία* is used for immorality in general (cf. Theophylact on Ro 1^{29}: *πᾶσαν ἁπλῶς τὴν ἀκαθαρσίαν τῷ τῆς πορνείας ὀνόματι περιέλαβεν*). This is probably the meaning in Ac 15^{20}, though some interpret it of marriage within the prohibited degrees (Lv 18^{20}). The Jews allowed proselytes to marry even with their nearest relatives, and, according to John Lightfoot (*Hor. Heb.*, new. ed., Oxford, 1859, iv. 132), the case of incest in Corinth (1 Co $5^{1ff.}$), where a Christian had married his father's wife, while the father was possibly still alive, arose out of this custom. This is highly doubtful. In Ac $15^{20.\,29}$ *πορνεία* is used in the general sense of immorality. We are not concerned in this article with the vexed question of what constituted fornication in the case of re-marriage after divorce. Our Lord's teaching on this point is doubtful, owing to the absence of the qualifying expression in Mark, although the existence of the qualification in Matthew indicates that in the early Church re-marriage was allowed to the guiltless party. Whether, again, marriage within the prohibited degrees constituted *πορνεία* is not discussed in the NT.

But from the richness of the phraseology for sensual sins we can gather how wide-spread and multiform this evil was. We find uncleanness (*ἀκαθαρσία*), licentiousness (*ἀσέλγεια*) often side by side with *πορνεία* (2 Co 12^{21}, Gal 5^{19}, Eph 4^{19}). So often is *πλεονεξία* found alongside *πορνεία* that many are inclined to regard the former as itself a form of sensuality. But it is best to regard both as characteristic sins of heathendom. Others associate them psychologically, saying that forgetfulness of God compels the creature to either one or other (Bengel and Trench). The NT seems to have a genetic account of this sin (fornication) in more than one place. Our Lord (Mk 7) deduces it from evil thoughts; St. Paul from the desire of evil things (1 Co 10^{8}), from the lusts of the flesh (Gal 5^{19}), and from *ἀδικία* (1 Co $6^{13ff.}$). The lists of vices, however, are not arranged in groups following a psychological order. They have their counterparts in pagan literature (see Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, p. 406 ff.; and Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*[2], Tübingen, 1909, p. 238 f.). They vary in different places. The connexion between drunkenness and vice is also recognized (Eph 5^{18}; cf. *Test. Jud.* xvi. 1). Groupings of vices and virtues early arose, arranged in connected lists for catechetical and homiletic purposes, but the order is variable (cf. Hermas, *Vis.* 3). There was no public opinion in paganism to suppress fornication. *Hetairai* moved about the streets freely, and often played a large rôle in public affairs. One thinks of Phryne and others. Religious associations sanctioned vice. The temples

had their courtesans (*ἱερόδουλοι*; see Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. [Oxford, 1895], 94 f.). The cult of Aphrodite Pandemos at Corinth may be mentioned, as well as smaller cults like that of the Cabiri at Thessalonica and the Chaldæan Sybil at Thyatira. Trade-gilds (*ἐργασίαι*), which were numerous, afforded means of corruption. Almost everywhere the air was tainted, so that to have no intercourse with fornicators was like going out of the world. Christianity never formed itself into a ghetto, and so the danger of moral pollution was always present. The very fact that the pagan gods were represented as prone to sensuality had a degrading influence on ordinary morality, however much the stories of the gods may have been ridiculed or allegorized in enlightened coteries. 'If a god does so, why should not I a man?' (Terence, *Eunuch.* III. v. 42). Ancient custom, the callosity of public feeling, the contamination of commerce and religion, the sanctions of libertine enlightenment—all these had to be combated and overcome in the interests of purity.

(3) *πορνεία* is sometimes used also to indicate apostasy from God—so often in Revelation. This meaning lies very near the surface whenever the word occurs in conjunction with idol-worship or meats offered to idols. In the Apostolic Decree this thought is latent. To buy meat in the open market was dangerous—forbidden in Ac 15^{20}, Rev $2^{14.\ 20}$, though by St. Paul it was allowed. He bases the right on the law of expediency, but he recommends regard for the weak brother's conscience (1 Co 8^{4-13} 10^{18}, Ro $14^{20f.}$). The Greek Church still regards this law of meats as binding, though the Western Church followed St. Paul from early times. But everywhere fornication is prohibited. At Thyatira, as at Corinth, some defended fornication on Gnostic grounds, as Jezebel; but not only fornication but idol-meats also are prohibited by the seer. The Christians had to break away from their trade-gilds to avoid contamination; and this involved serious sacrifice. The example of Israel tempted by Moabitish women to apostasy and lust at Balaam's instigation was a warning (Rev 2^{14}, 1 Co 10). See art. NICOLAITANS. It is probable that we can understand the conjunction of fornication and idol-meats in Rev $2^{14.20}$ and 1 Cor. only on the early Christian view of demonic influence acting through food and thus tempting to lust (see B. W. Bacon in *Expositor*, 8th ser. vii. [1914] 40 ff.).

2. Attitude of Christianity towards fornication.—Christianity opposed fornication in every form, not only overt acts but even lustful thoughts. There were things that should not even be named among Christians. It saw in marriage a preventive against fornication; St. Paul, though desiring the unmarried to remain as they were, yet, rather than run the risk of incontinence or the fire of lust, allowed them to marry. So strong was the reaction against impurity that St. John regards the chaste unmarried (*παρθένοι*) as a select group (Rev 14^{4}). Fornication is a sin against the body; it is a defilement of God's temple; it is a violation of the self in a special sense; for it the wrath of God comes on men, and God's judgment awaits it. The very beginning of sanctification is incompatible with fornication. St. Paul condenses into one sentence the Christian attitude: 'Flee from fornication' (1 Co 6^{18}). It is directly opposed to God's righteousness, and St. John brands fornicators with the opprobrious terms *κύνες*,* 'dogs,' 'defiled' (Rev 17^{4} 18^{3}, etc.). These cannot enter the city of God. St. Paul's dealing with the Corinthian case indicates that fornication excludes from church fellowship.

* Perhaps he has in mind sodomy (*παιδοφθορία* or pæderasty of Ro 1^{27}, 1 Ti 1^{10}, 1 Co 6^{9}, *Didache*, 2 f.).

LITERATURE.—See Commentaries on relevant passages; W. M. Ramsay, *Letters to the Seven Churches*, London, 1904; E. v. Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., do. 1904; J. G. W. Uhlhorn, *The Conflict of Christianity*, Eng. tr., New York, 1879; O. Zöckler, *Askese und Mönchtum*[2], Frankfurt am M., 1897; and for literature on Apostolic Age generally see Dobschütz, p. 380.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

FORTUNATUS.—Fortunatus was one of three deputies from the Church in Corinth who visited St. Paul in Ephesus, perhaps bearing letters, and to whom he refers in 1 Co $16^{17.\ 18}$. Nothing more is known of him. It seems unlikely that all the deputies would belong to one household, as Weizsäcker (*Apostol. Age*, Eng. tr., i.[2] [1897] 305) suggests, or that all were slaves (so T. C. Edwards, *ad loc.*). Clement refers to a Fortunatus (in *Ep. ad Cor.* § 65) as accompanying his messengers from Rome to Corinth, but distinguishes him from them; the name, however, is too common for identification (see ACHAICUS and STEPHANAS).

J. E. ROBERTS.

FOUNDATION.—In the NT, 'foundation' represents two different Greek words: (*a*) *καταβολή* (active, except in He 11^{11}, and always in the phrase *καταβολὴ κόσμου*); (*b*) *θεμέλιος, -ον* (pass.), with both a literal and a figurative meaning (*HDB*, art. 'Foundation'). Cheyne (*EBi*, art. 'Foundations,' 1558) says '"corner-stone" and "foundation-stone" are synonymous terms in the Hebrew Scriptures.' The metaphorical sense of the word chiefly has religious importance for students of the NT, and will be noted as it occurs in the apostolic writings. The figurative use of *θεμέλιος* goes back to our Lord's Parable of the Wise Builder—*ὃς ἔσκαψε καὶ ἐβάθυνε, καὶ ἔθηκε θεμέλιον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν*—'who digged and went deep and laid a foundation upon the rock' (Lk 6^{48}).

The significance of the word in the Epistles will be found in an exegesis of the passages, viz.: (1) in Ro 15^{20} St. Paul expresses his determination not to build upon another man's foundation: *ἵνα μὴ ἐπ' ἀλλότριον θεμέλιον οἰκοδομῶ*. He covets the work of a pioneer on new ground, for in the wide field of evangelization (*εὐαγγελίζεσθαι*), with so much to do and so little done, all narrow jealousies are senseless and to be avoided. He is not desirous to preach in occupied fields; his ambition is to spread the gospel and not to make it the subject of rivalry. The rivalries of the Christian Church in heathen lands, while whole tracts are lying unevangelized, are a sad sight.

(2) To the Church of Christian Corinth, St. Paul writes: *ὡς σοφὸς ἀρχιτέκτων θεμέλιον ἔθηκα*, 'as a wise master-builder, I laid a foundation' (1 Co 3^{10}), and again: *θεμέλιον γὰρ ἄλλον οὐδεὶς δύναται θεῖναι παρὰ τὸν κείμενον, ὅς ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*, 'for other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ' (1 Co 3^{11} RV). J. E. McFadyen (*The Epistles to the Corinthians*, London, 1911, p. 50) translates the phrase 'alongside of (*παρά* with acc.) the one laid' and comments: '*Jesus* is the foundation: the church is founded upon a Person, not upon a system of truths . . . so that this name is a confession,—the earliest, simplest, profoundest of the church.' So F. W. Robertson (*Expos. Lectures on St Paul's Epp. to the Corinthians*, London, 1873, pp. 48, 49): 'Christianity is Christ. . . . Christianity is a Life, a Spirit'—'"That I may know Him, and the power of His resurrection, and the fellowship of His sufferings, being made conformable unto His death".' Thus St. Paul lays down once for all 'the absolute religious significance of Jesus, in all the relations of God and man' (J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, London, 1908, p. 23). Denney (p. 380 ff.), in the interests of faith and Christian unity, pleads for such a simplification of creeds as will bind men to Christ in the light of St. Paul's

declaration that the building is related to the foundation-stone alone, and not to anything laid alongside: 'We remain loyal to our Lord and Saviour only because He has apprehended us, and His hand is strong' (p. 411).

(3) In Eph 2^{20} St. Paul describes believers as ἐποικοδομηθέντες ἐπὶ τῷ θεμελίῳ τῶν ἀποστόλων καὶ προφητῶν, 'Being built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' The latter are of course NT teachers and exhorters (the omission of the article before prophets indicates members of the same class). They had a special message and function to the Church already gathered out of paganism, in contrast to the missionary and pioneer work of the apostles.

Considerable variety of opinion has been expressed as to the meaning of 'the foundation of the apostles and prophets.' A careful summary is given by Salmond (*EGT*, 'Ephes.,' 1903, p. 299) of the possible interpretations of the article: (*a*) gen. of *apposition* = the foundation which consists of apostles and prophets; (*b*) gen. of *originating cause* = the foundation laid by them; (*c*) gen. of *possession* = the apostles' foundation on which they themselves were built. Ellicott (*Ephesians*[8], 1864, *in loc.*) favours (*a*), so that St. Paul by a change of metaphor (1 Co 3^{11}) presents the apostles and prophets as themselves the foundation, and Christ as the corner-stone 'binding together both the walls and the foundations.' But the consensus of interpretations tends to (*b*), the gospel of the apostles and prophets (*HDB*, ii.), the doctrines which they preached (H. C. G. Moule, *Cambridge Bible*, 1886, *in loc.*, also Appendix F, 168 f.). G. G. Findlay (*Expositor's Bible*, 'Ephes.,' 1892, p. 152) combines (*a*) and (*b*)—'These men have laid *the foundation*—Peter and Paul, John and James, Barnabas and Silas, and the rest. They are our spiritual progenitors, the fathers of our faith. We see Jesus Christ through their eyes; we read His teaching, and catch His Spirit in their words. . . . Nor was it their word alone, but the men themselves—their character, their life and work—laid for the Church its historical foundation. This "glorious company of the apostles" formed the first course in the new building. . . . They have fixed the standard of Christian doctrine and the type of Christian character.' In a lesser degree this is true of all religious founders and teachers. For generations the churches bear the impress of the men who gave them their beginning.

(4) The figure of 'the foundation' is used in an unusual form (condensed metaphor) in 1 Ti 6^{19}: ἀποθησαυρίζοντας ἑαυτοῖς θεμέλιον καλὸν εἰς τὸ μέλλον, 'laying up in store for themselves a good foundation against the time to come' (cf. Sir 1^{15}: καὶ μετὰ ἀνθρώπων θεμέλιον αἰῶνος ἐνόσσευσε, 'and with men she [Wisdom] built a foundation of everlastingness'). The somewhat involved metaphor is perhaps due to a reminiscence of our Lord's Parable (Lk 16^{9}), but specially of Mt 6^{20} where the verb is the same and also the duty enjoined: θησαυρίζετε δὲ ὑμῖν θησαυροὺς ἐν οὐρανῷ, 'lay up for yourselves treasures in heaven.' Bengel (*Gnom., in loc.*) with a happy illustration gives the sense 'Mercator naufragio salvus, thesauros domum praemissos invenit.' Cheyne (*loc. cit.*) favours the emendation κειμήλιον, 'gift' or 'valued memorial,' which straightens out the metaphor but at the expense of the text. If there were any authority for the reading, one might agree that this 'must surely be right.'

(5) In 2 Ti 2^{19} ὁ μέντοι στερεὸς θεμέλιος τοῦ θεοῦ ἕστηκεν, 'Howbeit the firm foundation of God standeth' (RV), the Church itself is described as the foundation of a still greater building—'the holy temple in the Lord in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God in the Spirit' (Eph $2^{21.22}$). 'The term "foundation," here used for the Church of God on earth, is remarkable, and points to a great truth: that, after all, this life is but a beginning, and that "His Church" here is but a foundation—is only the first and early storey of that glorious Church the Divine Architect has planned, and will complete in heaven' (Ellicott, *in loc.*; cf. also He 11^{10}). This 'foundation,' in reminiscence of ancient custom as to foundation-stones, bears a two-fold inscription, expressing both its origin and purpose: 'The Lord knoweth them that are his' ('the Lord will show who are his, and who is holy' [Nu 16^{5}]) and 'let every one that nameth the name of the Lord depart from unrighteousness.'

(6) In He 6^{1} there occurs the warning μὴ πάλιν θεμέλιον καταβαλλόμενοι, 'not laying again (and again) a foundation.' The meaning is apparent from the opening words of the chapter: 'wherefore let us cease to speak of the first principles of Christ, and press on unto perfection (full growth).' 'Let us be borne on to perfection' in 'personal surrender to an active influence' (Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1892, p. 143). The subject is the duty of progress, and the contrast is between the elementary (νήπιος [5^{13}]) and the full grown (τέλειος) in the Christian life. The different elements that constitute the foundation, which is not to be laid again, are three, taken in pairs: (i) personal attitudes of heart and mind: repentance from dead works and faith toward God; (ii) church ordinances: baptism and laying on of hands; (iii) leading beliefs: resurrection and judgment. These are to be accepted once for all—they are the foundation. In the subjects alluded to as foundation facts there is perhaps a reference to some well-known formula for the instruction of the catechumen; perhaps the allusion is to the usual evangelistic presentation of the gospel. 'The phrase implies that certain things have been done and certain teaching has been given to the readers at the outset of their Christian life as a basis on which more advanced teaching may be built' (A. S. Peake, 'Hebrews' in *Century Bible*, 1902, p. 141). But such a foundation needs to be laid only once, and the use of it is for subsequent building; therefore progress not only in knowledge, but towards the full maturity of Christian character, is incumbent on all believers.

He 6^{1} has, it may be feared, been but a counsel of perfection in certain church circles, while 'to preach the gospel' has often meant a formal and dry presentation of a few elementary truths, that by wearisome repetition have had all their freshness rubbed away. Yet this has been called 'dwelling on fundamentals.' But we do not dwell on a foundation; we build upon it. Many modern evangelistic efforts split upon this rock, and the falling away of professed converts has often arisen from the refusal of them or their spiritual guides 'to have done with the elementary doctrines and to go on towards full growth.' The complaint is sometimes heard that the first fresh and joyful emotions are so soon lost; and to revive and recover these, men are tempted, or invited, to go back in thought and desire to some former visitation of the Spirit. But the remedy is not back, but forward. We cannot recover the emotions that are behind, but we can have other emotions and more joyful experiences new-born, by going forward to explore more deeply the great things of God. Therefore the Apostle says: let us surrender ourselves to the influence which will carry us on. 'The influence and the surrender are continuous (φερώμεθα) and not concentrated in one momentary crisis' (Westcott, *op. cit.* p. 143).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works cited throughout the article, reference may be made to **W. N. Clarke**, *What shall we think of Christianity?* 1899, pp. 56-105; **Phillips Brooks**,

The Candle of the Lord, 1892, pp. 68, 69; S. A. Cook, *The Foundations of Religion*, in The People's Books; J. Alcorn, *The Sure Foundation*, 1893, p. 3; W. E. Chadwick, *Social Relationships in the Light of Christianity*, 1910, p. 154.

W. M. GRANT.

FOUR.—See NUMBERS.

FRANKINCENSE (λίβανος).—Frankincense, which is mentioned (Rev 18[13]) as part of the vast merchandise of Imperial Rome, is a gum-resin yielded by certain species of trees of the genus *Boswellia*. In ancient times the most famous of these grew in Hadramant, S. Arabia. To obtain the frankincense a deep incision is made in the trunk of the tree, and below the incision a narrow strip of bark is peeled off. As the Heb. לְבוֹנָה (from which the Gr. is derived) signifies, the resin exudes as a *milk-like* juice (*spuma pinguis*, Pliny, xii. 14), which in about three months attains the necessary degree of consistency. Frankincense was sold in semi-opaque, round, or ovate tears or irregular lumps, which were covered with a white dust as the result of their friction against one another. It was valued for its sweet odour when burned, and it often served for illumination in place of oil lamps. As it was one of the ingredients of incense, great quantities of it were required for the sacrificial ritual. As a perfume it was used for the care of the body and for the flavouring of wine. It was also in high repute as a medicine.

JAMES STRAHAN.

FREEDOM OF THE WILL.—1. Introduction.—Properly speaking, the phrase 'the freedom of the will' is a misnomer. As Locke pointed out, the question is not whether the will is free, but whether man is free. Either the will is in the same psychological category as the desires, in which case it is obviously limited by a man's mental universe and his powers of concentration, or it is identical with the man's self. It is quite evident that a man is not determined always by external force, and that neither others nor he himself can always predict what he will do. But this alone does not make him free. On the other hand, set any two men among the same alternatives, and their attitude will be different; in each case it will be conditioned by education, tastes, habits, range of perceptions—in fact, by the whole previous life, by all that goes to make up what we call character. Yet the consciousness of freedom persists; we *feel* that between given alternatives we have the power of effective choice. Hence, the antinomy has often been solved by the word 'self-determination'; but this only moves the difficulty further back. What of the self which determines? Is that distinct from the other self? If so, what is its relation to environment and character? And if not, how can anything be the agent of its own determination?

The interest of the question is great, but it is speculative or else merely juristic; that is, whatever the answer may be, men will continue to form their own ends and pursue them, and to 'weight the alternative' in trying to influence the conduct of others. It is not determinism, but fatalism, which has any power to influence conduct, and fatalism is something entirely different. The only result of determinism in practical life is in the formation of judgments with regard to personal responsibility and the infliction of punishment. Punishment would become, what it is indeed at present often held to be, non-retributive; it would be only disciplinary and deterrent. But this too would leave a man's way of conducting his own life untouched.

The theoretical problem is hardly noticed in the NT. The interest of the NT writers is predominantly practical. All that does not directly or indirectly affect a man's relation to his universe is ignored. At the same time, the intellectual world of the NT is identical with that of the OT, but invaded and fertilized by the conceptions of the Incarnation and Redemption of Christ. For the thought of the OT, the problem of freedom did not exist. Not only were there no practical considerations to call attention to it; it was excluded by the heartiness with which the Hebrew mind accepted the two convictions of the responsibility of man and the omnipotence of God. Even for Ezekiel, who came nearest to realizing the antinomy, the problem was one of individual and social responsibility rather than of freedom and necessity (see 14, 18, 33). On the other hand, God can always intervene, though man may still be answerable (1 K 22[22f.], Am 3[6], 2 S 24[1], compared with 1 Ch 21[1]).

2. The attitude in Acts.—The same ingenuous yet serviceable attitude (to pass over instances in the Gospels) is found in the Acts of the Apostles. While actions are regularly spoken of (as in all normal literature) as originated by their agents, yet new powers, unattainable otherwise, are bestowed by the Spirit (*e.g.* 2[4]), whose coming, however, may be hastened or caused by prayer (8[18]). Men may be frustrated in some purpose by the Spirit of Jesus (16[7]), constrained by the Word (18[5]), or bound in the spirit (20[22]). So, too, they may act in ignorance (3[17]); or sin may even be the result of Satan's 'filling their heart' (5[3], but contrast v.[9]). But this interference with normal powers of choice is neither felt to limit man's freedom, nor does it affect the writer's faith therein. The conception of some Divine power as temporarily displacing a man's control over his speech or thought was by no means strange to the Hebrews, or to the Greeks and Romans, who had not learnt to think in terms of the sub-conscious; and when we, forgetting or improving on our philosophy, say 'he was not himself,' they would have said 'God, or some evil spirit, entered into him' (1 S 16[14]; cf. Verg. *Æn.* vi. 77 ff.). But while cases of more or less permanent possession by demons were familiar, the entrance of the Spirit of God was felt chiefly on special occasions (Ac 19[13ff.]; cf. 4[8] 6[3]).

This persistence of familiar categories of thought in the presence of new experiences is seen especially in references to the Holy Spirit. He 'falls upon' the disciples; he gives them to speak with 'other tongues' (cf. also 18[5] 20[23]); but from the Acts alone it is impossible to say how far this is regarded as permanent; we must go to the Epistles for descriptions of the power of the Spirit in renewed lives, quickened hopes, and abiding impulses of joy; and although the choicest graces of the Christian life are set down as the fruit of the Spirit (as opposed to the works of the flesh, Gal 5[19-22]), yet they are all subjects of exhortation as well (*e.g.* Ro 12[18], Ph 2[18]).

3. St. Paul's view of the problem.—But when we turn to St. Paul, we find a definite recognition and discussion of the problem of freedom. Yet it is not the freedom of the will or even of the self. It appears in two forms, each arising from St. Paul's own experience or observation, and each approached only when necessitated by some unavoidable antagonism. First, the actual experience of slavery to sin, or (what to St. Paul himself was involved in this) to the Law. Second, the apparent inability of an individual or groups of individuals (Esau, Pharaoh, Israel) to will what is right because of some dealing of God with them. A third aspect is also suggested, though St. Paul seems to offer a formula for its solution without recognizing its difficulty. What is the relation of the redeemed soul to God's indwelling and inworking? Yet a fourth form of the problem appears, which is predominantly ethical. What actions am I as a Christian man at liberty to perform? What

restraints, if any, am I bound to observe? This, however, springs naturally out of the first form of the problem. It will be advisable to consider these in order.

(1) *The problem of freedom from sin and from the Law.*—To St. Paul, as a Hebrew sprung from Hebrews, the great end of man is righteousness. It was to him more than an end: it was a passion. But he felt it to be unattainable: a mountain height which he had no strength to scale. His life was one long fruitless struggle towards it. He could only describe that life as a bondage, as if he had been sold like a slave to a master who would always prevent him from following his own wishes (Ro 7^{14}), or as if he were actually tied to a weight which kept him from moving—the weight of a dead body (v.^{24}). This master was sin; but as in a fevered dream the patient sometimes imagines his own pain to be external to himself and torturing him, so St. Paul speaks of sin as something external, exercising an alien and hateful tyranny over him which can only end in death (5^{21}). It is not that his will is not free; it is not that he cannot will in a particular way; it is that he cannot act as he wills. The compulsion is external. And this tyranny further makes a tyrant of what should have been a guide, namely, the Law. The term 'law,' it must be remembered, is used by St. Paul in at least three ways: for the Law of Moses, for the natural law, written 'on the heart' of the Gentiles, and for the Law of Moses considered as a system of law in general. Now the Law, either as known to the Gentiles, or revealed more fully to the Jews, with its lists of forbidden acts, should have helped man to righteousness; but, enslaved as he was, it only pointed out in detail what he had no power to do, thus making his tyrant doubly hateful, and himself doubly a slave (2^{14} 3^{20}).

Now, it will be observed that there is no metaphysics here, and no psychology, though it may be that St. Paul is giving us data for both. He is simply stating his own experience—an experience which in his case was happily only temporary, and which, as he believed, was intended to be only temporary for others. No conclusions could be drawn from it as to the will in general. For what happened? In this hopeless extremity a solution was found in Christ. St. Paul could not free himself; but Christ, as the Son of God, was free; and through His reconciliation the spirit of freedom, of sonship, of life, was sent forth ($8^{1f.\ 15}$, Gal 4^{6}). To exercise faith in Christ was to be placed, so to speak, where Christ was, *i.e.* in the position of one to whom complete righteousness was possible and actual. We cannot consider here the *rationale* of St. Paul's conception of the Atonement (see art. ATONEMENT); but just as his active and untiring mind worked out into a Divine drama what to most of his contemporaries was the simple experience of the consciousness of forgiveness of sins through Christ, so, to him, ability to do right was imaged forth as the change from being the slave of a tyrant to being a son in the house of his father. He is no longer kept from doing what he longs to do; he does it as if he had been born to do it. And this is what has happened: he has been born anew, he is a new creature.

Yet we must be careful not to drive the figure too far; or rather, we must be prepared to go far enough. The change has not simply been wrought for him, but in him. It is not merely a change from a master to a father; but from the spirit of a slave to that of a son, by the spirit of sonship. Cowed and overpowered before, acquiescing, with a true slave's mind, in the very things he hated, now he is confident, self-controlled as a son; not an emancipated slave, apt to mistake a broken chain for a charter of licence; his freedom from sin is freedom for righteousness. He can thus speak of the old Law as replaced by a new one. He is actually a slave once more; but a slave to Christ. He has gained his freedom, only to surrender it; or rather, he has surrendered it, only to find it in a form which is entirely stable and absolutely satisfying (2 Co 3^{17}, no more 'veils, reservations, inconsistencies' now [A. Menzies, *Second Ep. to Cor.*, 1912, *ad loc.*], 5^{14}, Ro 7^{6}, Gal 5^{8}; Christians are even slaves to one another, because slaves to Him whose law is love: Ro 8^{2} 6^{18}; cf. 1 P 2^{16}, Jn $8^{34ff.}$).

This experience St. Paul regarded as normal for all Christians. But in the Galatian church he was confronted with a return to the Jewish Law by those who ought to have learnt that circumcision could profit nothing. This raised once more the question of freedom. To go back to the Law was to go back to bondage; not, however, to the exact type of bondage from which St. Paul himself had been delivered at his conversion. There, the real tyrant had been sin, and the Law, coming in upon it, had made it appear in its true character (Ro 5^{20} 7^{13}). But at the same time its hold upon its prisoner was tightened. Here the Law is regarded in its other aspect, as a *παιδαγωγός*, a boy's slave-attendant; and thus as an integral part of the Divine plan (Gal 3^{24}). Man is intended to live as a son in his father's house, with a son's freedom; but before this is possible, he must obey; he has to submit himself to attendants (who, in a Hellenic or Roman household, would themselves generally be slaves). Only as he grows up and 'puts away childish things' does he leave behind him this régime, and become a son in actuality. But, having once left this state of things behind, to return to it is preposterous. It is like preferring the state of the handmaid to that of the wife, Hagar to Sarah; or leaving Jerusalem, our mother, for the barren heights of Sinai (4^{24-30}). It is not simply refusing to live as a son; it is rejecting the spirit of sonship, bestowed on him, which made such a life possible.

This is what the Galatians were doing in listening to their Judaizing teachers. It was more than a relapse from freedom to bondage; it was a relapse from Spirit to flesh. Instead of the free impulse of the Spirit within them, or of Christ's living in them, they were being guided by rules which demanded a merely external obedience and appealed to merely selfish desires, aptly symbolized by an operation on the external surface of the body. The case might not be so serious if entire obedience to these rules could ever be given. But even if this were possible, the spirit of a life so lived would still be hopelessly wrong. Freedom is life; and its absence is nothing less than death.

This is not the place to discuss St. Paul's whole view of the relation of the Law and the works of the Law to grace. But the bearing of the question on freedom will be best seen by comparing the position of St. Paul with that of Kant. At first sight, the two might seem to be absolutely opposed. Kant finds freedom just where St. Paul denies its presence—in strict obedience to the Moral Law. But law has a very different meaning for Kant and for St. Paul. Law to Kant is essentially that which does not speak from without but from within. It appeals to no interested motives, either of hope or fear; it promises no rewards, threatens no punishments. It speaks with the sole authority of reason; its voice is the voice of the man himself. It is the experience of his true and proper rational self. 'The will is not subject simply to the law, but so subject that it must be regarded as itself giving the law, and on this ground only subject to the law' (Kant, 'Metaph. of Morals,' in *Theory of Ethics*, ed. Abbott, 1879, p. 70f.). Hence, only by obedience to it is freedom possible; for freedom is not determination by oneself; it is obedience to oneself. To be influenced by

anything else is to recognize the right of an external authority, to relate oneself, as a Stoic would say, to things outside one's power. But this recognition of external authority is just what St. Paul means by the Law; whether he thinks of it as the assessor of a tyrant, as in Romans, or the slave-attendant in the father's house, as in Galatians. And what Kant calls law, St. Paul calls sonship. The difference—for of course there is a difference—is that Kant is barely a theist, St. Paul is wholly a Christian. Where Kant is conscious only of an imperative within his emancipated breast, St. Paul is conscious of a Divine Power who has sent forth the spirit of sonship into him, and a Saviour who has lifted him clean out of the sweep of every influence of heteronomy. Freedom, for Kant, is obedience to self; for St. Paul, obedience to a Person in whose will he acquiesces with enthusiasm. Both systems, however, are definitely opposed to Butler's expedient of placing 'reasonable self-love' on a level with conscience. In so far as Butler's conception of conscience corresponds with Kant's categorical imperative, reasonable self-love leads to sheer heteronomy; and if we may compare obedience to conscience with the new life of freedom which, in St. Paul's view, is enjoyed by the Christian, self-love is nothing more than obedience to the flesh which the Christian has crucified with the passions and lusts thereof (Gal 5^{24}).

One word, however, may usefully be added at this point with reference to Spinoza, as enthusiastic an exponent of freedom as Kant or St. Paul. Human freedom Spinoza defines as 'a form of reality which our understanding acquires through direct union with God, so that it can bring forth ideas in itself, and effects outside itself, in complete harmony with its nature, without, however, its effects being subjected to any external causes, so as to be capable of being changed or transformed by them' (*Short Treatise on God, Man, and Human Welfare*, ch. xxvi.). In the moral system of Spinoza, God is as central as in that of Kant He is peripheral; and since God alone has freedom, the soul can be really free only through union with God. Such a view lays every pantheist open to one retort: if God is substance, or the All, and therefore universally immanent, how can union with Him be a thing which the soul may possess or lack? Spinoza does not attempt to grapple with this difficulty. St. Paul, on the other hand, does not habitually think in terms of union with God, either in the sense of Spinoza or of the Fourth Gospel. The centre of his system is not God, as a Divinely immanent Being, so much as the will of God, with which his own will has been brought to move in entire conformity. With St. Paul, freedom implies no merging in a wider Being; the man who is a Christian is like the son who not only lives in his father's house, but moves in the atmosphere of perfect sympathy and understanding, confidence and obedience (cf. also He 3^{6}). The thought underlying the references to freedom in Jn $8^{32\text{-}36}$ is substantially the same. There is no mention of law, but sin is felt to mean slavery; and freedom is only attained through the gift of the Son. Through Him we know the truth, and recognize and receive the message which the Son brings of the Father's love and of His purpose that men through faith in the Son should be, as He is, members of the Divine family (cf. 15^{15}). This breaks the slavery: to believe in the Son makes the believer himself a son.

(2) *Relation of individual will to purpose of God.*—We now pass to the second question, which seems to touch more closely the familiar questions of modern philosophy. Two things, however, are here to be noticed. The discussion is not philosophical, but religious: it deals with the relation of the human will to the purpose of an omnipotent God. And it is not general but specific: how can we explain the fact that the Jews have been rejected? And this leads to a third point, namely, that the question of freedom is raised only by accident. The real question is approached thus. In Ro 8 the Apostle's thought has reached the victorious love of Christ. But the Jews are outside. Is then God's promise to them broken by the rejection of His people? No: to suppose this would be to limit God's power; for He was supreme enough to put conditions on that promise (Isaac was chosen, and not Ishmael; Jacob, and not Esau). Thus, St. Paul carries the supremacy of God further than his opponents; his argument is similar to that of the prophets, who had to oppose the rooted Israelite belief that Jahweh *must* save His people. But the argument does not stop here. God's will is not capricious. His real purpose is to secure 'the righteousness which is of faith' (9^{30}), which the Jews rejected. Hence, a new element enters into the discussion: human responsibility. As far as the Jews themselves are concerned, faith is open to all (10^{8}), and preaching can be heard by all (10^{21}). Thus, the Jews have only themselves to thank for their fate. Then, St. Paul returns to his original question. Are God's people rejected? (11^{1}). No, their revolt was their own sin; the salvation of the remnant is His grace. But if there is revolt, God confirms, yet only so as to over-rule; it is all the better for the Gentiles, and, in the end, for the Jews also. Next, St. Paul turns to the Gentiles: 'You too will find that resistance is followed by severity. But, behind all, is goodness. If there has been blindness, it is in part; the gifts and calling of God are without repentance' ($11^{21\text{-}29}$).

A contradiction between chs. 9 and 10 has often been felt. This is because St. Paul in ch. 9 is looking at only one side, viz. God's power to shut out or reject. But we must remember that he is arguing about Isaac, not Ishmael; Jacob, not Esau. It is the same with his reference to Pharaoh (9^{17}). He is writing as a Jew, and his purpose in mentioning Pharaoh is to show the sweep of God's power, not the limitations of Pharaoh's freedom. Otherwise, he would doubtless have written in accordance with the general principle which we find in ch. 1: 'God gave them up' (vv.$^{24.\ 26}$; cf. also Ac 13^{46}, 'we turn to the Gentiles,' 18^{6}). Two analogies will illustrate St. Paul's thought: that of a disease, in which morbid conditions and acts, if persisted in, become hopeless; and that of family life, wherein conditions are laid down by a father to fulfil his desire of mutual love—if the son refuses to accept these conditions, he is rejected. These are not analogies simply; they show the working of the same universal law. St. Paul's view of freedom is not atomic. Are we free at any given moment? No, we are conditioned by our past, and by our environment. To St. Paul, the past can be made up for; and the environment is one of love. Hence, St. Paul's conclusion: mercy is the supreme law. All are 'shut up' unto disobedience, in order to come under the scope of mercy; *i.e.* all are allowed to suffer the inevitable results, both of ignorance and of rejection, so that God's mercy may have its way with them (Ro 11^{32}).

If, however, there were any inclination to press ch. 9 as identifying St. Paul with a specific speculative opinion, it would be enough to point out that his whole attitude, to both Jews and Gentiles, belies it. Practice even went beyond theory: men might be 'given up'; but this did not prevent a single appeal to them. If St. Paul turned to the Gentiles in one town, he would go straight to the synagogue in the next. Thus the two questions, though apparently unrelated in St. Paul's mind, really point to the same general view. The

spiritual, like the natural, world rests on certain sequences: if A takes place, then B follows. We are responsible for choosing or not choosing A, and so for the consequent presence or absence of B. The only modifications are that (*a*), if we may judge from the practice of St. Paul and of all early Christian evangelists, we are never justified in acting as if the consequences of evil were finally fixed; and (*b*) even when the time for choice seems to have gone by, and man, racially or individually, is dead in trespasses and sins, the atoning death of Christ provides means for another appeal to the will (see art. ATONEMENT). In reality, therefore, freedom and necessity are not exclusive states. If psychology, in common with all observation, would point out that choice is never unconditioned, religious insight shows that it is never to be treated as non-existent.

(3) *Relation of redeemed soul to God's indwelling and inworking.*—The third form of the question of freedom arises when St. Paul is analyzing the distinctively Christian experience. Here also puzzling antinomies are met with. The Christian is in Christ, saved; he shows the fruit of the Spirit; all things are his. Yet he must watch and pray, and 'buffet his body' (1 Co 9^{27}); his salvation is not complete; it needs working out. Each Epistle ends with practical exhortations, often quite elementary. Here St. Paul takes refuge in what seems a contradiction in terms: 'work out your own salvation . . . for it is God that worketh in you' (Ph 2^{12}). The meaning here is, however, 'you must no longer be dependent on me; you must live your life yourselves as Christians; and you need not be apprehensive; for it is God that worketh in you.' The exact question of the relation of the human to the Divine will is not raised here (see art. WILL); but a conception is implied which is of the first importance. When a man is freed, *i.e.* made a son instead of a slave, he is not simply transferred to a new kind of obedience; he is entered by a new spirit; his freedom is the freedom of the Father Himself; he suffers no cancelling of personality; nor is he really subjected again to law in any full sense; he attains the only freedom which is complete. But this is obviously not freedom of choice; nor can God's freedom be so described: it is rather freedom of unimpeded activity; not self-determination, but self-manifestation (see artt. GOD, UNION WITH GOD).

(4) *What actions is a Christian at liberty to perform?*—The fourth form is practical and ethical, raised by a community which, newly rescued from the licence of heathenism, recognizes the need of laws for its guidance as well as of guidance for its attitude to law. This was particularly necessary for a community of Gentile converts, at once containing a Jewish leaven which held to the whole body of Mosaic restrictions (cf. the discussions in the *Aboda Zara*), and, apart from this, liable to various puzzles, *e.g.* about food which, offered for sale in heathen markets, had been contaminated by connexion with idolatry. On such points 'strong' and 'weak' brethren would easily differ. 'We are free from the Jewish Law; but how far does that freedom take us?' St. Paul is unhesitating; he does not even refer to the Jerusalem Decree (Ac 15^{29}); he replies: 'all things are lawful; freedom is absolute; but not all things are expedient; and the inexpedient must be avoided' (1 Co 6^{12} 10^{23}). Was this a back-stairs way for the return of law? Not in reality. The contrast is expressed later in 'all things do not build up' (v.^{23}). There is for the Christian no body of Jewish regulations; but the Christian is not therefore left to do as he likes. That would, in the end, involve falling under the old tyranny of desire and passion. He gained his freedom from law by coming into the family of God. The new relation to God means a new relation to men. His freedom is that of a member of a free society. Obviously this means that he will always act in full recognition of his fellow-members. To deny their claims would be to deny his own existence. It would destroy freedom and everything else. He can no more do that which will hinder his brother's life than he can take the limbs of Christ and join them to a harlot. But is not this, then, after all, simply exchanging one law for another? Yes; the difference is that under the old Law there could be no acquiescence, and hence there was always a stimulus to disobedience and sin. The essence of the new Law is that the Christian sees in it the expression of the life that he has chosen. It becomes once more the embodiment of the real Torah ('law,' properly and by derivation 'instruction') as we meet it, *e.g.*, in Ps 119, the actual outworking in detail of the experience of the grace of God in the heart.

4. Other NT books.—The remaining NT writings call for little notice. The well-known passage in St. James (1^{25}) speaks of the law of freedom into which the doer of the word looks, as opposed to the careless glance at the reflexion of himself in a mirror, as it were, which is cast by the man who is only a hearer. There is nothing except propinquity to suggest that St. James is here referring to what a few verses later he calls the royal law: 'thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself' (2^{8}); and he says nothing further in explanation of a phrase which would have aptly summarized St. Paul's argument. But a metaphor which he had just used (1^{18}), though with no direct reference to freedom, may be referred to at the close of this article, as summing up one aspect of NT teaching: 'of his own will he brought us forth by the word of truth.' The paragraph begins with a call to resist temptation; it goes on to show the inevitable results of attending to the suggestions of evil; it ends with the assertion that God brought us forth to be first-fruits, as it were, of His own creation—that is, around man's freedom of choice lies God's purpose of blessing and salvation; and we complete the NT view if we add that the fulfilment of this purpose means a freedom which is no more of choice but of absolute oneness with the great orbital movement of God's love.

5. Apostolic Fathers.—These two views—of St. Paul and St. James—are implied, sometimes more, sometimes less clearly, in the Apostolic Fathers. But they are only implied; and in general, we find the two opposite convictions, of man's choice and God's omnipotence, held with hardly a suspicion that they might be opposed. Here, as elsewhere, the sub-Apostolic Age is far nearer to the OT, or to the early chapters of Acts, than to the Pauline and Johannine writings. In 1 Clem. the Corinthians are said to have conflict for all the brotherhood, that the number of God's elect might be saved (2). We are not justified through ourselves, but through faith (32). None can be found in love, save those to whom God shall vouchsafe it (50). A similar paradox is found in Ignatius, *Ep. ad Ephes.* 8: 'let none deceive you, as indeed ye are not deceived, seeing ye belong wholly to God.' Ignatius himself dies of his own free-will (ἑκών), yet as a freedman (ἀπελεύθερος) of Christ; and he will rise free in Him (*ad Rom.* 4). So in the *Ep. Barn.*: 'Before faith, the heart is given up to evil' (16); and even now, accurate knowledge of salvation is necessary lest the Evil One should enter and fling us away from our life (2).

LITERATURE.—For an exposition of the relevant passages, see the Commentaries, especially Sanday-Headlam on *Romans* (5*ICC*, 1902), and Lightfoot on *Galatians* (51876). For the theory of Freedom as a part of Christian Ethics, see I. A. Dorner, *System of Christian Ethics*, Eng. tr., 1887, pp. 253-283; T. B. Strong, *Christian Ethics*, 1896, pp. 245-251, pp. 35-46;

G. F. Barbour, *A Philosophical Study of Christian Ethics*, 1911, pp. 326-354. For fuller discussions of the Pauline doctrine, see J. B. Mozley, *A Treatise on the Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*², 1878; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, 1897; F. R. Tennant, *The Origin and Propagation of Sin*², 1906; E. Weber, *Das Problem der Heilsgeschichte nach Röm. 9-11*, 1911; see also artt. (in addition to those referred to above) on GRACE, LAW, LIBERTY, SIN.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

FRIENDS, FRIENDSHIP.—The terms themselves are rarely found in the apostolic writings. Ac 10[24] mentions the friends of Cornelius, 19[31] the Asiarchs as friendly to St. Paul in an hour of peril at Ephesus, 27[3] friends of the same Apostle at Sidon; 12[20] reveals Blastus in the character of 'a friend at court.' Ja 2[23] reminds us that Abraham was called the friend of God, and no doubt inculcates the lesson that those who walk in the patriarch's footsteps may attain the patriarch's blessing; 4[4] that 'the friendship of the world is enmity with God,' and that 'whosoever would be a friend of the world maketh himself an enemy of God.' The only other reference is 3 Jn[14], 'The friends salute thee. Salute the friends by name.'

It has often been pointed out that friendship occupies an apparently much smaller place in the NT than in the OT or than in the writings of pagan antiquity. But this is only a superficial view. The name may not be conspicuous, but the reality is there. There are some who hesitate to speak of the relationship of Jesus to the Twelve and to the wider circle of disciples which included the household at Bethany, the goodman of Jerusalem at whose house the Last Supper was eaten, and the women who so affectionately ministered to the Master, as one of friendship. To do this is to deny the humanity of Jesus—a loss that nothing can compensate. That there were elements in this relationship that transcended friendship as ordinarily conceived and experienced all will admit; but friendship as we know it was none the less there, and Jesus was not only giver but receiver. When, for example, Martha was feverishly busy with domestic cares, Mary was with Jesus, not saying much perhaps, nor even listening in that hour to parable or precept, but ministering to Him the 'one thing needful'—the quiet, loving, sympathetic response to One who eased a heavy spirit to her as He could not do to His uncomprehending apostles.

When we pass from the Gospels to the passages enumerated at the beginning of this article there are only two that need even a brief comment. The 'friends' at Sidon whom St. Paul was permitted to visit probably mean Christians in that city; the more usual term would be 'brethren' (ἀδελφοί). In 3 Jn[14] the word may have the same force, but there is probably behind it an allusion to a more intimate and personal relationship. But 'friends' (οἱ φίλοι) did not become a technical name for Christians in these early days. As Harnack puts it (*Mission and Expansion of Christianity*², 1908, i. 421), 'the term οἱ φίλοι did not gain currency in the catholic church owing to the fact that οἱ ἀδελφοί was preferred as being still more inward and warm.' The Gnostics of the 2nd cent., on the other hand, were more addicted to its use, and Valentinus wrote a homily 'On Friends,' while Epiphanius, the son of Carpocrates, founded a gild of friends on the Pythagorean model. Among the first generation of Christians the glow of love was cast over all the old relationships of life, and family and friendly associations alike were sublimated in the sense of belonging to the household of God. The bond that held the soul to Christ held also all who were thus bound; and that which had hitherto been called friendship was so enriched and quickened that the old term was felt to be inadequate for its newly reinforced content. Thus instead of 'friends' and 'friendship' we read much of 'brothers' and 'fellowship' (κοινωνία).

As has been said, the reality was there—the kinship of spirit, the association in service, the giving and taking, the mutual self-sacrifice, the oneness of aim and purpose, the reciprocal opening of the heart—all that we associate with true friendship. The greatest of that generation might indeed have said of himself, as Myers has said of him in his *St. Paul*:

> 'Paul has no honour and no friend but Christ,'

and that:

> 'Lone on the land and homeless on the water
> Pass I in patience till the work be done.'

But he would be quick to add:

> 'Yet not in solitude if Christ anear me
> Waketh him workers for the great employ,
> Oh not in solitude, if souls that hear me
> Catch from my joyaunce the surprise of joy.
> Hearts I have won of sister or of brother
> Quick on the earth or hidden in the sod,
> Lo every heart awaiteth me, another
> Friend in the blameless family of God.'

We have only to think of the travelling comrades of the Apostle—of Barnabas and Silas, of Timothy and Mark, of Luke and Titus, of Priscilla and Aquila—to realize that, so far from being friendless, he enjoyed the richest resources of that relationship that were to be had in that age. So far as we know, he never laboured alone, except in Athens. In his letters he nearly always associates with himself one or more of his colleagues as joint authors, and those who have been named above were the ablest Christian thinkers and workers of the time. And when he speaks of others, like Urban, Epaphroditus, Clement, and Philemon, as his fellow-workers, or, like Andronicus, Junias, and Aristarchus, as his fellow-prisoners, or, like Archippus, as his fellow-soldiers, it would be very puerile criticism to say that because he does not term them technically his friends there was no friendship between him and them. In the vicissitudes of travel, in the new campaigns that were undertaken, in the different problems that each province and city presented, in the failures and successes that attended his mission, there must have been that close-knit sympathy and entire fellowship that mark the intercourse of friends. Nor can we hesitate to apply the word to the intimacy that existed between the Apostle and those who became responsible for the work of Christ and the guidance of the Church in every place where it was established. Wherever he worked there were those who delighted to be known as the friends of St. Paul and whom he was well pleased to call his friends.

In the churches themselves the term 'brethren' would be held to include all that was involved in friendship. Despite the shadows of the Apostolic Age and the imperfections of a nascent infantile Christianity, it is not hard to discern the signs of true friendship. The records of the 2nd cent. continue the tale, and the affectionate loyalty of Christians to each other in times of peril deeply impressed their enemies and persecutors. In some cases, as in earlier days with Peter and John, Andrew and Philip, the friendship preceded and was sanctified by the Christian tie, in others it grew out of that bond.

A. J. GRIEVE.

FRUIT.—1. The word in its literal sense.—Before considering the use of this term in spiritual metaphor it will be convenient to enumerate those passages in the apostolic writings where it is employed in its natural sense. (*a*) *General.*—These are Ja 5[7. 18] (in illustration of patience and prayer), Ac 14[17] (God's gift of rain and fruitful seasons), 1 Co 9[7] (in support of the apostles' right to sustenance;

cf. 2 Ti 2^6), Rev 18^{14} 22^2—passages which, like some of the others, are on the borderland between the literal and the symbolic. Jude ^{12} compares the 'ungodly' of the day with 'trees in late autumn when the fruit is past.' In Ac 2^{30} the word is used in its physiological sense.

(*b*) *Specific.*—References to specific fruits are not numerous. Ja 3^{12} asks whether a fig-tree can yield olives or a vine figs. St. Paul in Ro $11^{17ff.}$ uses the curious idea of grafting a wild olive on to a good olive tree ('contrary to nature,' v.^{24}) to illustrate the participation of the Gentiles in the promises made to Israel. Rev 11^4 identifies the 'two witnesses' (perhaps St. Peter and St. Paul) with the 'two olive trees' of Zec 4; and Rev 6^{13} in its mention of a fig-tree casting her unripe figs in the spring tempests recalls Is 34^4. Rev 14^{14-20} is a vision of the harvest and vintage of the earth when the grain and the grapes are fully ripe. St. Paul's use of the grain of wheat in the great Resurrection argument of 1 Co 15 is familiar to all, and is an echo of Christ's word in Jn $12^{24.25}$.

2. The term in spiritual metaphor.—We may begin our study of the spiritual lessons inculcated under the image of fruit with another passage from Corinthians. In 1 Co 3^9 the Apostle reminds his readers that they are 'God's husbandry,' *i.e.* His 'tilth' or 'tilled land.' This recalls the Parable of the Vineyard spoken by Jesus (Mt 21, Lk 20); Christian churches and lives are fields and gardens from which the owner who has spent love and time and care over them may reasonably expect good results, 'fruit unto God' (Ro 7^4). And those too who are His overseers, those who plant and water, naturally look for produce and the reward of their toil. Thus the Apostle hopes, as he looks forward to his visit to Rome, that he may 'have some fruit among' the people of that city as he had in Corinth and Ephesus (Ro 1^{13}). Two passages in Phil. may be glanced at here: (*a*) the difficult reference in 1^{22}, which probably means that, though death would be gain, yet if continuance in living means fruitful labour ('fruit of work'=fruit which follows and issues from toil), St. Paul is quite ready to waive his own preference; (*b*) 4^{17}, where, thanking the Philippians for their kindly gift, he says he welcomes it not so much for himself as on their behalf; it is a token that they are not unfruitful in love, and it will, like all such evidences of Christian thought and ministry, enrich the givers as much as the recipient (cf. 2 Co 9^6).

(1) The way is now clear for a brief survey of the main topic—*the fruits of the new life in Christ Jesus.* The 'fruit of the light,' says St. Paul (Eph 5^9), 'is in all goodness and righteousness and truth,' and the more familiar passage in Gal 5^{22} speaks of the 'fruit of the Spirit' as 'love, joy, peace, longsuffering, kindness, goodness, faithfulness, meekness, self-control.' Trees are known by their fruit, and the existence of these virtues in an individual or a community are the surest, if not the sole, signs that the life is rooted with Christ in God, that the branches are abiding in the True Vine. It was the Apostle's greatest joy when he could congratulate a church like that at Colossæ on its share in the fruit-bearing which the gospel was accomplishing wherever it was proclaimed and accepted (Col 1^6), when it bore fruit in every good work (v.^{10}). The fruit of the new life is regarded in Ro 6^{22} as sanctification. On the other hand, St. James (3^{17}) gives it as one of the characteristics of the 'wisdom that is from above'—which is perhaps his way of speaking of the Spirit—that it is 'full of . . . good fruits,' by which he no doubt means 'good works.' In the next verse he says that 'the fruit (*i.e.* the seed which bears the fruit) of righteousness is sown in peace for them that make peace.' The 'fruit of righteousness' is an OT phrase, and meets us again in Ph 1^{11} and He 12^{11}, where 'righteousness,' or conformity to the highest moral standard, is described as the 'peaceful fruit' of discipline patiently endured.

Returning to the *locus classicus*, Gal 5^{22}, it is worth noticing that St. Paul introduces the nine virtues which he enumerates as one 'fruit.' Like the chain of graces in 2 P 1^{5-7}, they are all linked together as though to suggest that the absence of any one means the nullity of all. We need not press too heavily the suggestion that the nine fall into three groups describing (*a*) the soul in relation to God; (*b*) its attitude to others (this is to make 'faith'=faithfulness, and though St. Paul usually thinks of faith as the basis of Christian character, he was not so rigidly systematic as not to see in it, or at least in an increase of it, a *fruit* of the Spirit); (*c*) principles of daily conduct. There is more perhaps in the antithesis between the 'works' of the flesh (v.^{19}) and the 'fruit' of the Spirit. Yet the dispositions enumerated show themselves in good works, though these are not expressly specified, being infinitely varied and adaptable to changing conditions. The list may be supplemented, for example, by He 13^{15}, where 'praise' is the fruit of a thankful heart expressed by the lips, and Ro 15^{28}, where the generosity of the Gentile Christians towards the Judæan poor is the fruit of the spiritual blessing which St. Paul's converts had received.

(2) *The unfruitful.*—The other side of the picture can be briefly dismissed. Those who walk in darkness are spoken of as unfruitful (Eph 5^{11}). 'What fruit had you then in those things of which you are ashamed?' asks St. Paul in Ro 6^{21}, though we might possibly translate, 'What fruit had you then?—Things (gratifications of sense) of which you are now ashamed.' In Ro 7^4 the Apostle describes the unregenerate life as producing fruit 'unto death,' and if we desire an enumeration of these poisonous products we shall find them in Gal 5^{19-21} (cf. Col 3^{5-9}). For the final harvesting we have the picture of Rev 14.

(3) *The time of fruit-bearing.*—It is the will of Jesus that His disciples should bear 'much fruit'; in His words on this theme (Jn 15) He does not seem to contemplate the possibility of bearing a little. It is much or none. The trouble is that churches and individuals only too often look like orchards stricken by a blight, and where a little fruit is found it is not so mellow as it might be. We need not be in too great a hurry to see the full fruit in young lives. There is a time for blossom and a time for ripe fruit, and the intervening stage is not attractive though it is necessary. There is a time for the blade and a time for the full corn in the ear, but before we get this harvest there is the period of the green and unsatisfying ear. We sometimes speak of a harvest of souls following on a series of revival or mission services; but it is only the blade pushing up into the light—the harvest is still far distant.

A day now and again with a fruit-grower on his farm will have much to teach the preacher as to natural law in the spiritual world. He will learn amongst other things how vital is the process of pruning, and how no stroke is made at random. He will learn how to guard the nascent life against frosts and chills, its need of nutriment from soil and sun and rain. The wonderful exploits of the Californian fruit-grower, Luther Burbank, will open up a whole universe of possibilities; the story of what irrigation and scientific culture have done in Australia will show how deserts may become orchards. And as palm trees are said to bear their heaviest clusters in old age, the life that abides in Christ may be confident of escaping the reproach of crabbed and withered senility—it shall bring forth fruit in old age. But it need not wait for old age—it shall be like the tree of life that bears its fruit every month—fruit that is for the delectation and the healing of the world.

A. J. GRIEVE.

FULNESS.—The word to be considered is *pleroma* (πλήρωμα). Nouns of the -μα termination properly denote the result of the action signified

by the cognate verb; and therefore πλήρωμα (from πληροῦν = 'to fill,' or, metaphorically, 'to fulfil') primarily means that which possesses its full content, an entire set or series, a completed whole regarded in its relation to its component parts, or in contrast with a previous deficiency of any of these parts. The full crew of a ship or 'strength' of a regiment is a pleroma; the soul becomes a 'pleroma of virtues by means of those three excellent things, nature, learning, and practice' (Philo, *de Prœmiis et Pœnis*, 11).

This is the sense in Gal 4^4: 'when the fulness of the time came,' *i.e.* when the entire measure of the appointed period had been filled up by the lapse of successive ages. So the 'fulness' of the Jews (Ro 11^{12}) and of the Gentiles (Ro 11^{25}) is the full complement, the entire number contemplated (however determined—by predestination or otherwise). Lightfoot in his classical discussion of the word (see Literature) denies any other than this passive sense; but his argument is far from convincing. When we think of a pitcherful of water, we may regard the water as a completed entity, which by successive additions has reached its full quantity and become a pleroma of water; but much more naturally we think of it as that which fills the pitcher, and is its pleroma. This active sense must be accepted in Mt 9^{16}, Mk 2^{21}, where τὸ πλήρωμα can only mean the patch that fills the hole in the worn-out garment; in Mk 8^{20}, where σπυρίδων πληρώματα inevitably means 'basketfuls'; in 1 Co 10^{26}, where 'the earth and the pleroma thereof' cannot be made to signify anything else than 'the earth and all that it contains,' the abundance that fills it. So also in Ro 13^{10}, 'love is the pleroma of the law,' the context ('he that loveth his neighbour has fulfilled the law') shows that pleroma is not to be taken passively, as the law in its completeness; but actively, as that which fills up the whole measure of the law's demands.

The use of the word as a theological term is confined in the NT to those closely related writings, Colossians, Ephesians, and the Fourth Gospel. In Col 1^{19} it is predicated of Christ that 'it pleased the Father that in him the whole pleroma should dwell,' and in 2^9, with greater precision of statement, 'in him dwelleth the whole pleroma of the Godhead in a bodily fashion' (cf. Jn 1^{14}). Here the meaning of the word is beyond dispute. All that God is is in Christ; the organic whole of Divine attributes and powers that constitute Deity (θεότης) dwells permanently in Him.

The term with such an application is a startling novelty in NT phraseology, and is an instructive example of the hospitality of early Christian thought, of the promptitude with which it appropriated from its complex intellectual and religious environment such categories as it could convert to its own use. Since the connotation of the word is assumed to be familiar to the Apostle's readers, it is evident that it must have played an important part in the speculations of the Colossian heresy, as it did also in the Hermetic theology (R. Reitzenstein, *Poimandres*, 1904, p. 26). In the developed Gnostic systems of the 2nd cent., and especially in the scheme of Valentinus, the conception of the Pleroma became increasingly prominent, as signifying the totality of the Divine emanations. But for a full account of the Gnostic usage, the reader is referred to Lightfoot's exhaustive note (see Literature) or, in briefer compass, to the artt. 'Pleroma' in *HDB* and 'Fulness' in *DCG*.

The problem with which religious thought was wrestling, as for centuries it had done and was still to do, was how to relate the transcendent God to the existent universe, to effect a transition from eternal spirit to the material or phenomenal, from the absolutely good to the imperfect and evil. And in Colossæ the solution was sought not in a Gnostic series of emanations, but, on the lines of Judaistic speculation, in a hierarchy of 'principalities,' 'dominions,' and 'powers,' the στοιχεῖα who ruled the physical elements and the lower world, among whom the Divine Pleroma was, as it were, distributed, and to whose generally hostile rule men were continually subject. Against this doctrine, without denying the existence and activity of such beings, St. Paul lifts up his magnificent truth of the 'Cosmic Christ' and his vision of a 'Christianized universe.' Christ is not one of a series of mediators; in Him the whole Pleroma dwells. He is not only Head of the Church, but Head over all things, delivering His people from bondage to the hostile elements, and translating them into His own Kingdom, that new cosmic order in which God will finally reconcile all things unto Himself.

In Ephesians the emphasis is not so much upon Christ's possession of the Divine Pleroma as upon His communication of it to the Church. The Church is His Body, 'the pleroma of him that filleth all in all' (1^{23}; for exegetical details, see Armitage Robinson *in loc.*). Whether πλήρωμα be understood in an active sense (the Church is Christ's complement, that by which He is completed as the head is by the body) or in a passive sense (the Church is Christ's fulness, because His fulness is imparted to it and dwells in it), the result is practically the same—the one sense implies the other. The Church is the living receptacle and instrument of all that is in Christ, all grace and truth, all purpose and power. But the ideal character thus claimed for the Church is yet to be achieved in the sphere of human aspiration and effort. Its rich diversity of gifts and ministries is bestowed for this very end, that 'we all' may be brought to that unity and many-sided completeness of spiritual life in which we shall collectively form a 'perfect man,' attaining thus to the 'measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (4^{13}). And, as in the Apostle's thought the fulness of the Godhead descends through the One Mediator to the Church, so again it ascends through Him to the first creative source. The end of all prayer and of all attainment is 'that we may be filled unto all the fulness of God' (3^{19}). The Church, redeemed humanity in its vital spiritual unity, grown at last to a 'perfect man,' to the 'fulness of Christ,' which is the 'fulness of God'; God thus possessing in man the fulfilment of His eternal purpose, His perfect image, the consummate organ of His Spirit—even this is possible to Him who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think (3^{20}).

LITERATURE.—Artt. 'Pleroma' in *HDB*, 'Fulness' in *DCG*; C. F. A. Fritzsche, *Pauli ad Romanos Epistola*, 1836–43, ii. 469ff.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians*[8], 1879, p. 257 ff.; J. Armitage Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903, p. 255 ff.; H. A. W. Meyer, *Commentary on the NT*, 'Philippians and Colossians,' 1875, 'Ephesians and Philemon,' 1880; Erich Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*[7] in Meyer's *Kommentar zum NT*, 1902; D. Somerville, *St. Paul's Conception of Christ*, 1897, p. 156 ff.; J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, 1908, p. 29 ff.; M. Dibelius, *Die Geisterwelt im Glauben des Paulus*, 1909; W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, 1907, p. 267.

ROBERT LAW.

FUTURE LIFE.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

G

GAD.—See TRIBES.

GAIUS (Γάϊος = Caius, a Latin name, very common as a Roman prænomen).—**1.** In 1 Co 1[14], a member of the Church of Corinth, baptized by St. Paul, who points out that in his case, as in the case of Crispus and in that of 'the household of Stephanas,' he thus deviated from his usual practice. Crispus was 'the ruler of the synagogue' (Ac 18[8]), and Gaius was presumably also a convert of some importance.

2. In Ro 16[23], a member of the Church of Corinth, whom St. Paul in the postscript to Romans calls his 'host' and the host of 'the whole church,' and whose salutations are sent to the readers of the letter. He was evidently a man of position and means (the greeting from him immediately precedes that from Erastus, 'the treasurer of the city'), whether his hospitality took the form of keeping open house for Christians and Christian visitors like the Apostle at Corinth or of allowing the Christians to meet for common worship and edification under his roof.

Everything points to the identification of **1** and **2**. The same Gaius who was converted and baptized on St. Paul's first visit to Corinth entertained him on his second visit. Now it is perhaps easier to believe that this Corinthian would have friends, whom he would wish to salute, at Ephesus rather than at Rome, and these salutations in Ro 16[23] are thought by some scholars to point to an Ephesian destination of the passage. But as Lightfoot remarks, in the Apostolic Church personal acquaintance was not necessary to create Christian sympathy (*Biblical Essays*, 1893, p. 305).

3. In Ac 19[29], a companion of St. Paul, who with Aristarchus was seized at Ephesus. They are described as 'men of Macedonia' (Μακεδόνας), there being very little support for another reading, 'a man of Macedonia,' referring to Aristarchus only.

4. In Ac 20[4], a companion of St. Paul, who accompanied him from Greece to Asia Minor. He is described as 'of Derbe' (Δερβαῖος), possibly intentionally to distinguish him from **3**.

Attempts have been made to identify **3** and **4**. It is natural to do so, as the passages stand so close together. Emendations of the text have been suggested by which 'of Derbe' is taken with 'Timothy,' but these are purely conjectural, and Timothy was apparently a Lystran (Ac 16[1. 2]). See W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 280.

5. In 3 Jn[1], the person to whom 3 John is addressed. He is described as 'the beloved' (ὁ ἀγαπητός), and is commended for his hospitality (v.[5]). Nothing is known of this Gaius, and there is no reason to suppose him to have been any one of those of the same name associated with St. Paul.

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

GALATIA (Γαλατία).—Galatia was the name given by Greek-speaking peoples to that part of the central plateau of Asia Minor which was occupied by Celtic tribes from the 3rd cent. B.C. onwards. It corresponded to the Roman *Gallogræcia*, or land of the Gallogræci (= Ἑλληνογαλάται [Diodorus, v. xxxii. 5]), who were so named in distinction from the Galli of Western Europe. Manlius in Livy (xxxviii. 17) professes to despise them—'Hi jam degeneres sunt: mixti, et Gallogræci vere, quod appellantur.'

About 280 B.C., the barbarians who had been menacing Italy for a century began to move eastward. A great Celtic wave swept over Macedonia and Thessaly. Under the leadership of Leonorios and Lutarios a body of 20,000 invaders—half of them fighting men, the rest women and children—crossed into Asia at the invitation of Nicomedes, king of Bithynia, who desired their help in his struggle with his brother (Livy, xxxviii. 16). His success, however, proved costly both to himself and to his neighbours, for his new barbaric allies established themselves as a robber-State and became the scourge of Asia Minor, exacting tribute from all the rulers north and west of Taurus, some of whom were fain to purchase exemption from their degradations by employing them as mercenary soldiers.

Attalus I. of Pergamos (241–197) was the first to check the fierce barbarians. Defeating them in a series of battles, which are commemorated in the famous Pergamene sculptures, he compelled them to form a permanent settlement with definite boundaries in north-eastern Phrygia. The Galatian country, an irregular rectangle 200 miles long from E. to W. and about 100 miles wide, became 'in language and manners a Celtic island amidst the waves of eastern peoples, and remained so in internal organization even under the empire' (T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*[2], 1909, i. 338).

Like Cæsar's Gaul, the country was divided into three parts, formed by the rivers Halys and Sangarius. The Tectosages settled round Ancyra, the Tolistobogii round Pessinus, and the Trocmi round Tavium. According to Strabo (XII. v. 1), the three tribes 'spoke the same language and in no respect differed from one another. Each of them was divided into four cantons called tetrarchies, each of which had its own tetrarch [or chief], its judge, and its general. . . . The Council of the twelve tetrarchies consisted of 300 men who assembled at a place called the Drynemetum.'

The term 'Galatians,' which at first denoted only the Gaulish invaders, was in course of time extended to their Phrygian subjects, and the 'Galatian' slaves who were sold in the ancient markets had really no Celtic blood in their veins. For two centuries the proud conquerors formed a comparatively small ruling caste in the country, like the Normans among the Saxons of England. As a military aristocracy, whose only trade was war, they left agriculture, commerce, and all the peaceful crafts to the Phrygian natives. Averse to the life of towns and cities, the chieftains established themselves in hill-forts (φρούρια [Strabo, XII. v. 2]), where they kept up a barbaric state, surrounded by retainers who shared with them the vast wealth they had acquired by their many conquests. For siding with Antiochus the Great in his war with Rome, and frequently breaking their promise to refrain from raiding the lands of their neighbours, the Galatians ultimately brought on themselves a severe castigation at the hands of Cn. Manlius Vulso in 189 B.C. (Livy, xxxviii. 12–27, Polyb. xxii. 16–22). About 160 B.C. they obtained a large accession of territory in Lycaonia, including the towns of Iconium and Lystra. Thereafter they came under the influence of the kings of Pontus, but Mithridates the Great (120–63 B.C.), doubting their loyalty, ordered a massacre of all their chiefs, and this savage and stupid act at once drove the whole nation over to the Roman side. Their new alliance proved greatly to their advantage, and at the settlement of the affairs of Asia

Minor by Pompey in 64 B.C., Galatia was made a Roman client-State. Three chiefs (tetrarchs) were appointed, one for each tribe, of whom the ablest and most ambitious, Deiotarus, the friend of Cicero (*ad Fam.* viii. 10, ix. 12, xv. 1, 2, 4), contrived to seize the territories of the others, and, in spite of the hostility of Julius Cæsar, ultimately got himself recognized as king of all Galatia. He died in 40 B.C., and four years later his dominions were bestowed by Mark Antony on Amyntas, the Roman client-king of Pisidia, who had formerly been the secretary of Deiotarus. This brave and sagacious Gaul, 'whose career was in many points parallel to that of Herod in Palestine' (H. von Soden, *Hist. of Early Christian Lit.*, Eng. tr., 1906, p. 59 f.), transferred his allegiance from Antony to Augustus after Actium, and became the chief instrument in establishing the *Pax Romana* in southern Asia Minor. Having overthrown Antipater the robber-chief, he added Derbe and Laranda to his dominions, but lost his life in an attempt to subdue the Homanades of Isauria. Galatia then ceased to be a sovereign State, and was incorporated in the Roman Empire (in 25 B.C.).

Cæsar (*Bell. Gall.* vi. 16) says of the Western Gauls, 'Natio est omnis Gallorum admodum dedita religionibus.' But the faith which the invaders of Asia brought with them did not live long in the new environment. The unwarlike Phrygians whom they subdued were in one respect inflexible, and, as in so many instances, 'victi victoribus leges dederunt.' If the Phrygian religion, with its frenzy of devotion, its weird music, its orgiastic dances, its sensuous rites, made a profound impression even upon the cultured Greeks, one need not wonder that the simple Gallic barbarians were fascinated by the cult of Cybele, and that their chiefs were soon found by the side of the native rulers in the great temple of Pessinus. There 'the priests were a sort of sovereigns and derived a large revenue from their office' (Strabo, XII. v. 3). When the old warlike spirit of the Gauls languished, as it naturally did after the establishment of a peaceful provincial government, the two races gradually approximated in other things than religion, but a long time was needed for their complete amalgamation. 'In spite of their sojourn of several hundred years in Asia Minor, a deep gulf still separated these Occidentals from the Asiatics' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* i. 338). Even in the 4th cent. the far-travelled Jerome found at Ancyra, alongside of Greek, a Celtic dialect differing little from what he had heard in Trèves (Preface to *Commentary on Galatians*).

The province Galatia included the greater part of the wide territory once ruled by Amyntas, viz. Galatia proper (the country of the three Galatian tribes), part of Phrygia (including Antioch and Iconium), Pisidia, Isauria, and part of Lycaonia (with Lystra and Derbe). For nearly a century Galatia was the eastern frontier province, and every fresh annexation to it marked the progress of the Empire in that direction.

Paphlagonia was added in 5 B.C., Amasia and Gazelonitis in 2 B.C., Romana Pontica (forming with Amasia the district of Pontus Galaticus [Ptolemy, v. vi. 3]) in A.D. 34, and Pontus Polemoniacus (the kingdom of Polemon II. [Ptolemy, v. vi. 4]) in A.D. 63. The south-eastern part of the province was somewhat contracted in A.D. 41 by the gift of a slice of Lycaonia, including Laranda, to Antiochus of Commagene (called after him Lycaonia Antiochiana), so that Derbe became the frontier town and customs' station. Ptolemy defines the province in his *Geog.* v. 4, and Pliny in his *HN* v. 146, 147.

Antioch and Lystra (*qq.v.*) were made Roman colonies by Augustus; Iconium and Derbe (*qq.v.*) were remodelled in Roman style by Claudius, and named Claud-Iconium and Claudio-Derbe. In these cities, planted in the most civilized and progressive part of central Asia Minor—the region traversed by the great route of traffic and intercourse between Ephesus and Syrian Antioch—many Greeks, Romans, and Jews swelled the native Phrygian and Lycaonian populace.

The meaning of 'Galatia' is one of the *questiones vexatæ* of NT exegesis. Are 'the churches of Galatia' (Gal 1^2; cf. 1 Co 16^1) to be sought in the comparatively small district occupied by the Gauls, about Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, or in the great Roman province of Galatia, which included Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe? In the absence of definite information, we have to make probability our guide, and to the present writer the balance of evidence appears to favour the South Galatian hypothesis. The chief difficulty is created by the simultaneous use of a Roman and a non-Roman nomenclature. It was the policy of the Imperial government to stamp an artificial unity upon all the diverse parts of a province, often with but little regard to historical traditions and local sentiments. The old territorial designations were of course still popularly used, but among all who looked at things from the Imperial standpoint—*e.g.* the Roman governor, the *coloni* of cities founded by the Romans, the *incolæ* of semi-Roman towns, and the Roman historians—such terms as Galatia and Galatæ, Asia and Asiani, Africa and Afri, denoted the province and the people of the province.

Tacitus (*Hist.* ii. 9) mentions 'Galatiam ac Pamphyliam provincias'; in *Ann.* xiii. 35 he says, 'et habiti per Galatiam Cappadociamque dilectus'; and in *Ann.* xv. 6 he has 'Galatarum Cappadocumque auxilia.' An Iconian inscription to an Imperial officer (*CIG* 3991) designates his administrative district Γαλατικὴ ἐπαρχεία, or 'Galatic province'. Pliny frequently uses 'Galatia' as designating the province (*HN* v. 27, 95, etc.). For other instances see T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, 1909, i. 184 f.

The crucial question is whether St. Paul assumed the Imperial standpoint and wrote like a Roman. Zahn (*op. cit.* i. 175) holds that 'he never uses any but the provincial name for districts under Roman rule, and never employs territorial names which are not also names of Roman provinces.' The Apostle's employment of the terms Achaia, Macedonia, Dalmatia, Judæa, Arabia, Syria, and Cilicia is regarded as consistently Imperial. Of the divisions of Asia Minor he names only Asia and Galatia, and 'it is unlikely that he meant by these anything else than the Roman provinces so called, for the very reason that he mentions no districts of Asia Minor whose names do not at the same time denote such provinces' (*op. cit.* i. 186). Ramsay similarly maintains that St. Paul always thinks and speaks with his eye on the Roman divisions of the Empire, *i.e.* the Provinces, in accordance with his station as a Roman citizen and with his invariable and oft-announced principle of accepting and obeying the existing government. This view is contested by the South Galatian theorists. Mommsen, *e.g.*, held that 'it is inadmissible to take the "Galatians" of Paul in anything except the distinct and narrower sense of the term' (quoted in Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 96), and P. W. Schmiedel contends that 'it is quite unpermissible to say of Paul that he invariably confined himself to the official usage' (*EBi* ii. 1604). Both the old, or North Galatian, hypothesis and the new, or South Galatian, are championed by an apparently equal number of distinguished scholars.* It is certain that St. Paul's first mission north of Taurus was conducted in the Greek-speaking cities of Antioch and Iconium (which were Phrygian),

* Among the North Galatian theorists are Lightfoot, Jowett, H. J. Holtzmann, Wendt, Godet, Blass, Holsten, Lipsius, Sieffert, Zöckler, Schürer, von Dobschütz, Jülicher, Bousset, Salmon, Gilbert, Findlay, Chase, Moffatt, Steinmann; among the South Galatians are Perrot (who first popularized the theory in his *de Galatia Provincia Romana*, 1867), Renan, Hausrath, Pfleiderer, Weizsäcker, O. Holtzmann, von Soden, J. Weiss, Clemen, Belser, Gifford, Bartlet, Bacon, Askwith, Rendall, Weber.

Lystra and Derbe (which were Lycaonian)—all in the *Provincia Galatia*, but far from Galatia proper. The historian gives a graphic account of the founding of churches in these four cities (Ac 13[14]–14[23]), and from these churches St. Paul got some of his fellow-workers (16[1] 20[4]). What more natural, ask the South Galatian theorists, than that this much-frequented district should become the storm-centre of a Judaistic controversy, and that the Apostle should write the most militant and impassioned of all his letters in defence of the spiritual liberty of the converts of his pioneer mission? On the North Galatian theory, the founding of churches, say in Pessinus, Ancyra, and Tavium, and their subsequent development, had much more to do with the extension and triumph of apostolic Christianity among the Gentiles—which was St. Luke's theme—than the planting of the South Galatian churches, and the historian who manifests no interest in North Galatia stands convicted of shifting the centre of gravity to the wrong place. It is difficult, however, to believe that the mission in which the Apostle was welcomed 'as an angel from heaven, as Christ Jesus' (Gal 4[14]), and the thrilling experiences which must have filled his mind and heart at the moment when he joined St. Luke in Troas (Ac 16[11]), are alluded to in no more than a single ambiguous sentence (16[6]), which Ramsay characterizes as 'perhaps the most difficult (certainly the most disputed) passage' in the whole of Acts (*Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 74 ff.).

The North Galatian school accounts for the historian's neglect of Galatia proper, and for the curtness of his narrative at this vital point (Ac 16[6-8]), by his desire 'to get Paul across to Europe' (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 94); but another explanation seems more natural.

'I would rather say that the writer passed on rapidly, because the journey itself was direct, and uninterrupted by any important incident such as the supposed preaching and founding of churches in Northern Galatia. St. Paul's mission to Europe was, according to the indications given in the narrative, the divinely appointed purpose of the whole journey. Twice he is forbidden to turn aside from the direct route between Antioch and Troas. "To speak the word in Asia," "to go into Bithynia," would each have been a cause of much delay; and in each case the Apostle found himself constrained by the Spirit's guidance to go straight forward on his appointed way. One of these Divine interpositions occurred before, and one after the supposed digression into Northern Galatia. Do they not make an intermediate sojourn in that district, which must have been of long duration, and of which the writer gives no hint whatever, quite inconceivable?' (E. H. Gifford, in *Expositor*, 4th ser., x. [1894] 15).

Similarly Renan (*Saint Paul*, 1869, p. 128): 'The apostolic group thus made almost at one stretch a journey of more than one hundred leagues, across a little-known country, which, from an absence of Roman colonies and Jewish synagogues, did not offer them any of the facilities which they had met with up to that time.'

It is sometimes confidently asserted that the South Galatian theory 'is shipwrecked on the rock of Greek grammar' (F. H. Chase, in *Expositor*, 4th ser., viii. [1893] 411, ix. [1894] 342). On the second missionary tour St. Paul and Silas 'went through the region of Phrygia and Galatia (*τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*), having been forbidden of the Holy Ghost to speak the word in Asia' (Ac 16[6]), and in the third tour 'they went through the region of Galatia and Phrygia (*τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν*) in order, stablishing all the churches' (18[23]). Ramsay interprets both the Greek phrases as 'the Phrygo-Galatian country,' *i.e.* the *regio* which is ethnically Phrygian and politically Galatian, accounting for the variation by the fact that in the one instance the district was traversed from west to east, and in the other from east to west. He takes the phrases to denote, in part or in whole (here his exegesis wavers), the South Galatian country which St. Paul had already evangelized in his first tour. Now it must be admitted that if the modern theory, which Ramsay has so long and strenuously advocated, were bound up with this interpretation, there would be no little difficulty in accepting it. For the natural reference of the words 'they went through (*διῆλθον*) the Phrygo-Galatic region, having been forbidden (*κωλυθέντες*) . . . to speak the word in Asia' is to a district east of Asia and north of Iconium and Antioch, South Galatia being now left behind. Ramsay, however, contends that *κωλυθέντες* is not antecedent to, but synchronous with, the verb *διῆλθον*, and translates 'they went through the Phrygo-Galatic region forbidden . . . to speak the word in Asia.' The grammatical point is fully discussed by E. H. Askwith (*The Epistle to the Gal.*, 1899, p. 34 ff.), who produces a number of more or less similar constructions (cf. Gifford, *loc. cit.* 16 ff.). *ἀσπασάμενοι* in Ac 25[13] would be the most striking parallel, but here Hort thinks that some primitive error has crept into the text. And at the best the proposed exegesis, admittedly unusual, is very precarious, while the South Galatian theory is really independent of it. Many advocates of this theory prefer the alternative offered by Gifford, who holds (*loc. cit.* p. 19) that in the present context 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia' can only mean 'the borderland of Phrygia and Galatia northward of Antioch, through which the travellers passed *after* "having been forbidden to speak the word in Asia."' This is substantially the view of Zahn (*op. cit.* i. 176; cf. 189 f.), who is willing to make a further concession. 'It could be taken for granted, therefore, in spite of the silence of Acts, which in 16[6] mentions merely a journey of the missionaries through these regions, that Paul and Silas on this occasion preached in Phrygia and a portion of North Galatia; and that the disciples . . . whom Paul met on the third missionary journey to several places of the same regions (Ac 18[23]) had been converted by the preaching of Paul and Silas on the second journey.' Only, as Zahn himself is the first to admit, 'everyone feels the uncertainty of these combinations.'

The present tendency of the North Galatian theorists is greatly to restrict the field of the Apostle's activity in Galatia proper. Lightfoot's assumption that he carried his mission through the whole of North Galatia is felt to be 'as gratuitous as it is embarrassing' (Schmiedel, *EBi*, ii. 1606). Tivium and Ancyra are now left out of account, and only 'a few churches, none of them very far apart,' are supposed to have been planted in the west of North Galatia (*ib.*); but the more the sphere of operations is thus limited, the more difficult does it become to believe that 'the churches of Galatia' are to be sought exclusively in this small and hypothetical mission-field, while the great and flourishing churches of South Galatia are heard of no more.

The following points, though severally indecisive, all favour the South Galatian theory. (1) The baneful activity of Judaizers in Galatia suggests the presence of Jews and Jewish Christians in the newly planted churches, and there is abundant evidence of the strength and prominence of the Jews in Antioch (Ac 13[14-51] 14[19]), Iconium (14[1]), and Lystra (16[1-3]; cf. 2 Ti 1[5] 3[15]), whereas even Philo's inflated list of countries where Jews were to be found in his time (*Leg. ad Gaium*, xxxvi.) does not include Galatia proper, and among the Jews who made the journey to Jerusalem at Pentecost there were Asians and Phrygians but apparently no Galatians (Ac 2[9]). (2) The writer of Acts, who in general uses ethnographic rather than political terms, avoids 'Galatia,' which would have been taken to mean Old Galatia, and twice employs the phrase 'Galatic region.' Ramsay's view is that the term 'Galatic' excludes Galatia in the narrow sense, and that 16[6], in the light of contemporary

usage, implies that St. Paul did not traverse North Galatia (*Church in the Roman Emp.*, p. 81). The evidence for a definite usage, however, is scanty, 'Pontus Galaticus' (which occurs in Ptolemy and inscriptions) not being quite a parallel case; and other explanations of the phrase 'Galatic region' are certainly admissible (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 93). (3) The pronoun ὑμᾶς in Gal 2^5 seems to imply that the Galatian churches existed when St. Paul was contending for the spiritual freedom of the Gentiles at the Jerusalem Council, which was held before the journey on which, according to the old theory, he preached in North Galatia. Some think that St. Paul here merely claims to have been fighting the battle of the Gentiles, or the Gentile Christians, generally; but in that case he would probably have said 'you Gentiles' (Eph 2^{11} 3^1). (4) It is possible to make too much of the parallel between Gal 4^{14}, 'ye received me as an angel of God, as Christ Jesus,' and the account of the Apostle's remarkable experience at Lystra, where the people regarded him and Barnabas as gods (Ac $14^{11\text{-}14}$). Still the coincidence, as Zahn says (*op. cit.*, p. 180), is probably more than 'a tantalising accident.' The pagans who acclaimed the coming of Jupiter and Mercury would be likely enough, when partially Christianized, to think themselves recipients of a visit of angels. Even Lightfoot (*Galatians*[5], 1876, p. 18) admits that here is one of the 'considerations in favour of the Roman province.' (5) The charge which the Judaizers apparently made against the self-constituted Apostle of freedom of being still a preacher of circumcision (Gal 5^{11}) is best explained by a reference to the case of Timothy (Ac $16^{1\text{-}3}$), in which the South Galatian churches had a special interest, Timothy being a native of Lystra. (6) The repeated allusion to Barnabas (Gal $2^{1.\ 9.\ 13}$), who was one of the founders of the South Galatian Church, would have much less appositeness in an Epistle addressed to North Galatia, where that apostle was not personally known. It is true that he is referred to once in each of two other letters (1 Co 9^6, Col 4^{10}), but in both cases there were special reasons for the mention of his name (Zahn, *op. cit.*, p. 179). (7) While some of St. Paul's helpers came from South Galatia (Ac 16^1 20^4), and while Gaius and Timothy *may* have been delegated by 'the churches of Galatia' (1 Co 16^1) to carry their offerings to the saints at Jerusalem (a somewhat doubtful inference from Ac 20^4), North Galatia did not, as far as is known, provide a single person 'for the work of ministering.' (8) There is evidence that Christianity penetrated North Galatia much more slowly than South Galatia. 'Ancyra and the Bithynian city Juliopolis (which was attached to Galatia about 297) are the only Galatian bishoprics mentioned earlier than 325: they alone appear at the Ancyran Council held about 314' (Ramsay, *Hist. Com. on Gal.*, 1899, p. 165).

The Roman character of the nomenclature in 1 P 1^1 is rarely questioned. It is evidently the writer's purpose to enumerate all the provinces of Asia Minor, with the exception of Lycia-Pamphilia, where 'the elect' were still few (as may be inferred from Ac 13^{13} 14^{25}), and Cilicia, which was reckoned with Syria ($15^{23.\ 41}$). And just as he includes the Phrygian churches of the Lycus valley—Colossæ, Laodicea, and Hierapolis (Col 1^2 2^1)—the Church of Troas (Ac $20^{6\text{-}12}$), and the Churches of the Apocalypse (Rev 1^{11}), in the province of 'Asia,' so he reckons the Churches founded by St. Paul in Lycaonia and Eastern Phrygia as belonging to the province of 'Galatia.'

In 2 Ti 4^{10} the RV has 'Gaul' as a marginal alternative to 'Galatia.' ℵ and C actually read Γαλλία instead of Γαλατία, and, besides, the latter word was often applied by Greek writers to European Gaul. If it could be assumed that St. Paul was able to carry out his purpose of going westward to evangelize Spain, he might be supposed to have visited Southern Gaul *en route*, and Crescens might afterwards have gone to this region. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 4), Epiphanius (*Hær.* li. 11), and Theodoret (*in loco*) certainly understand that Gaul is meant; and the early Christian inhabitants of that country naturally liked to believe that their Church had been founded by an apostolic emissary, if not by an apostle. But they had nothing better to base their belief upon than conjecture, and it is much more likely that the reference is here to Asiatic Galatia, since the other places named in the context—Thessalonica and Dalmatia—are both east, not west, of Rome.

The meaning of Γαλάται in 1 Mac 8^2 is disputable. The RV says that Judas Maccabæus (*c.* 162 B.C.) 'heard of the fame of the Romans, that they are valiant men. . . . And they told him of their wars and exploits which they do among the Gauls,' etc. A reference to Spain in the next verse might suggest European Gauls, but on the whole it is much more likely that reports of Manlius's victories over the Celtic invaders of Asia Minor had come to the ear of the Jewish leader.

LITERATURE.—J. Weiss, art. 'Kleinasien' in *PRE*[3]; W. M. Ramsay, art. 'Galatia' in *HDB*; P. W. Schmiedel, art. 'Galatia' in *EBi*. The chief contributions to both sides of the Galatian controversy are given by J. Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911, pp. 90-92. The important monographs of V. Weber—*Die Abfassung des Galaterbriefs vor dem Apostelkonzil* (1900) and *Der heilige Paulus vom Apostelübereinkommen bis zum Apostelkonzil* (1901)—are South Galatian, while those of A. Steinmann—*Die Abfassungszeit des Galaterbriefes* (1906), and *Der Leserkreis des Galaterbriefes* (1908)—are North Galatian.

JAMES STRAHAN.

GALATIANS, EPISTLE TO THE. — 1. The Apostle, the Galatians, and the Judaizers.—The 'churches of Galatia' to which the Epistle is addressed (1^2) owed their Christianity to the preaching of St. Paul (1^8). Humanly speaking, one may say that their conversion was due to an accident. Apparently the Apostle had set out with some other goal in view, but he was led to visit Galatia, or was detained there, because of some bodily ailment (4^{13}). The nature of his malady was such as made him painful to behold (4^{14}), but in spite of it the Galatians welcomed him 'as an angel from heaven,' and listened eagerly while he proclaimed to them Christ crucified as the only way of salvation (3^1). They accepted his glad tidings and were baptized (3^{27}). They had made a good start in the Christian race (5^7), strengthened by the gift of the Holy Spirit, whose presence within them was visibly manifested in works of power ($3^{3\text{-}5}$).

Once again* St. Paul visited the Galatian churches. A little plain speaking was necessary concerning certain matters of doctrine and conduct (1^9 5^{21} 4^{16}), yet on the whole it would seem that he found no grave cause for alarm.

Subsequently, however, the steadfastness of the Galatian Christians was greatly disturbed by the appearance of Judaistic opponents of St. Paul (1^7 3^1 5^{10}), who denied both his apostolic authority and the sufficiency of the gospel which he preached. From the form in which the Apostle cast his defence of himself and of his teaching (Gal 1-2, 3-5), it is not difficult to deduce the doctrinal position of these disturbers and the arguments by which they bewitched the Galatians (3^1).

'The promise of salvation,' said they, 'is given to the seed of Abraham alone ($3^{7.\ 16.\ 29}$). Gentiles like the Galatians, who wish to be included in its scope, must first be incorporated into the family of

* The implied antithesis τὸ πρότερον (4^{13}) is not τὸ δεύτερον but τὸ νῦν. The contrast is not between the first and the second of two visits, but between the former happy state of things and the changed circumstances at the time of writing. The expression τὸ πρότερον has no bearing on the number of St. Paul's visits to Galatia (Askwith, *Galatians*, p. 73 *f.*).

Abraham. This means, not only that they must be circumcised, but also that they must undertake to keep the whole of the Mosaic Law ($4^{10.\ 21}$ 5^{2} 6^{12}). Only on these conditions, by exact performance of all the works of the Law, can a Gentile win his way to membership in the Christian Church ($2^{16.\ 21}$). St. Paul was silent about these conditions because he wished to curry favour with you (1^{10}), yet on occasion even he has declared by his action that circumcision is binding upon Gentile Christians (5^{11}). But it must be remembered that he is not an apostle in the same sense as our teachers, the great apostles of the circumcision, Peter, James, and John. They received their authority directly from Jesus Christ; his was derived from them. They preach the whole truth, he withholds a part' (1^{9}–2^{14}).

The effect of this insidious reasoning was like that of leaven in a lump of dough (5^{9}). St. Paul's authority was undermined, and it seemed likely that his labour would prove to have been wasted (4^{11}). With amazing rapidity (*οὕτως ταχέως* [1^{6}]) the Galatians were turning aside from the gospel of Christ to the perverted gospel of the Judaizers (1^{7}). They were minded to give up the freedom Christ had won (5^{1}), and to take upon them the yoke of the Law with all its burdens (4^{10}).

At the time when St. Paul first heard of their defection, he was for some reason unable to pay a visit to Galatia (4^{20}). To meet the needs of the moment, therefore, he wrote a letter to the Galatians, denying the insinuations of his opponents with respect to his subordination to the apostles at Jerusalem, and pointing out the fatal consequences of the error into which the Galatians were being led—an error which, pressed to its logical conclusion, was equivalent to the statement that Christ's death was gratuitous and unnecessary (2^{21}).

To the attack on his personal authority he replies by stating the facts of his immediate Divine call to apostleship, and of his relations with the apostles of the circumcision (1^{9}–2^{14}). In answer to the Judaizers' insistence on the necessity of circumcision and the observance of the Law, he sets forth the true position of the Law in God's scheme of redemption. It was a temporary provision, inserted parenthetically between the promise to Abraham and its fulfilment in Christ. The Law itself bears witness of its own impotence 'to justify' (3^{9-11}), and now that its purpose is served it has become a dead letter. The gospel of Christ declares that we are 'justified by faith and not by works of law' (2^{16}).

Finally, the Apostle meets the charge of pleasing men by exposing the motives of the Judaizers, whose main object was to escape persecution and to gain applause ($6^{12.\ 13}$ 4^{17}); with this he contrasts his own self-sacrificing love for his converts (4^{19}) and the hardships he has suffered for his fearless proclamation of the truth (5^{11} 6^{17}).

2. Summary of the Epistle.—The Epistle falls into three main divisions.

A. *Chiefly historical* (1^{1}–2^{14}).

1^{1-5}. The customary salutation is so framed, with its insistence on the writer's apostolic authority, as to lead up to the main subject of the Epistle.

1^{6-10}. The usual thanksgiving for past good progress is displaced by an expression of astonishment at the Galatians' sudden apostasy, a denunciation of the false teachers, and a declaration of the eternal truth of St. Paul's gospel.

1^{11}–2^{14}. This gospel was derived from no human source, but was directly revealed by Jesus Christ. Obviously it could not have been suggested by the Apostle's early training, which was based on principles diametrically opposed to the gospel freedom (1^{11-14}). Nor could he have learnt it from the earlier apostles, for he did not meet them till some time after his conversion (1^{15-17}). When at length he did visit Jerusalem, he saw none of the apostles save Cephas and James, and them only for a short time. Finally, he left Jerusalem unknown even by sight to the great majority of Christians (1^{18-24}).

When he visited Jerusalem again, fourteen years later, he asserted the freedom of the Gentiles from the Law by refusing to circumcise Titus.* On this visit he conferred privately with the apostles of the circumcision, on terms of absolute equality. They on their side commended the work he had already done amongst Gentiles, and treated him as a fellow-apostle (2^{1-10}). His independent apostolic authority was further demonstrated at Antioch, where he publicly rebuked St. Peter for virtually denying the gospel by refusing to eat with Gentiles (2^{11-14}). The particular argument used by St. Paul against St. Peter gradually expands into the general argument which forms the second section of the Epistle.

B. *Principally doctrinal* (2^{15}–4^{31}).

2^{15-21}. St. Peter himself and all Jewish Christians, by seeking justification through faith in Jesus Christ, tacitly admitted the impossibility of attaining salvation through works of the Law. St. Paul's own experience had taught him that only after realizing this impossibility, which the Law itself brought home to him, had he come to know Christ as a vital power within. If salvation were attainable by obedience to the Law, then would the Cross be superfluous.

3^{1-9}. The Galatians must be bewitched, after having experienced the reality of justification by faith, to turn to works of law as a more perfect way of salvation. Faith, not works of law, makes men true children of Abraham and inheritors of the blessing bestowed on him.

3^{10-18}. The Law brings no blessing but a curse, to free us from which Christ died a death which the Law describes as accursed. Through faith in Him we receive the fulfilment of the promise made to Abraham—a promise which is older than the Law and cannot be annulled by it.

3^{19}–4^{11}. The Law was a temporary provision to develop man's sense of sin, and to make him feel the need of salvation. It was the mark of a state of bondage, not contrary to, but preparing for, the gospel. Under the Law we were in our spiritual minority. Now, as members of Christ, we have reached the status of full-grown men. Being one with Him, we are the true promised seed of Abraham. We have outgrown the limitations of childhood and come to the full freedom of spiritual manhood as sons and heirs of God. How then can the Galatians desire to return to the former state of bondage?

4^{12-20}. The Apostle begs them to pause, appealing to their recollection of his personal intercourse with them, which he contrasts with the self-interested motives of the false teachers.

4^{21-31}. The witness of the Law against itself is illustrated by an allegorical interpretation of the story of Sarah and Hagar. Hagar, the bondwoman, and her descendants stand for the old covenant and its followers, who are in bondage to the Law. These are thrust out from the promised inheritance and remain in bondage. But Isaac, the child of promise, born of a free woman, represents the true seed of Abraham, namely, Christ, and them who are united to Him by faith. These possess the inheritance, for they are free.

C. *Mainly hortatory* (5^{1}–6^{18}).

5^{1-12}. The Galatians should therefore cling to the

* The 'Western Text,' which omits *οἷς οὐδέ* (2^{5}), implies that Titus *was* circumcised. This is also a possible interpretation of the generally accepted reading. On the whole question see K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, p. 275 ff.

freedom which Christ has won for them. To follow the Judaizers and accept circumcision is to break away from Christ and return to bondage under the yoke of the Law.

5^{13-26}. Yet liberty must not be confused with licence. The fundamental Christian law of love declares that true freedom is freedom to serve others. The works which result from the indwelling of Christ's Spirit cannot possibly be mistaken, nor can those of the flesh.

6^{1-10}. The freedom of Christian service must be practically manifested, in forbearance and brotherly love and liberality.

6^{11-18}. Peroration, summing up the main points of the Epistle, and the final benediction. The Apostle calls attention to the fact that at any rate for these closing verses he has dispensed with the services of the customary amanuensis, and written his message in his own large handwriting (6^{11}). Possibly the words ἐγραψα τῇ ἐμῇ χειρί may refer to the whole Epistle.

3. Leading ideas.—(*a*) *Righteousness and justification.*—St. Paul and his Judaistic opponents alike expressed their teaching in conventional Jewish terminology. Both agreed that the object of all religion is the attainment of 'righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη [2^{21} 3^{21} 5^{5}]). The metaphor underlying the word 'righteousness' is forensic, and has its roots far back in the usage of the OT. In its most primitive sense the word 'righteous' (δίκαιος, Heb. צַדִּיק) is used to describe that one of two litigants whom the judge pronounces to be 'in the right.' 'Righteousness' (δικαιοσύνη, Heb. צֶדֶק or צְדָקָה) is the status of one who is in the right. The verb which denotes the action of the judge in pronouncing him 'righteous' (Heb. הִצְדִּיק) is represented by the Greek word δικαιοῦν and the English 'to justify' (Lk 7^{35}). Used in the religious sense, 'righteousness' means the status of one who is in a right relation towards God, in a state of acceptance with God. 'To justify' (δικαιοῦν) is to declare one to be in a state of righteousness (cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], p. 28 ff.).

(*b*) *Works and faith.*—The fundamental difference between St. Paul and his opponents was not concerning the nature of righteousness, but concerning the way in which it may be attained. The Judaizers maintained that righteousness is the reward of man's own effort. It is the fruit of perfect obedience to the will of God. The Law of Moses is the most complete expression of the Divine will for man. Whether for Jew or Gentile, therefore, righteousness, the condition of salvation, depends upon an exact performance of all the Mosaic ordinances. We are 'justified by works of the law' ($2^{16.\ 21}$ 5^{4}).

St. Paul exposes the fundamental defect of this position. The doctrine of 'justification by works' takes no account of the inborn weakness of human nature. If righteousness be attainable by perfect obedience to the Law, then the Incarnation was unnecessary. Christ's death was superfluous and meaningless (2^{21}), for men can save themselves. But experience shows that human nature is so constituted as to be incapable of perfect obedience. The search for justification by works has been tried and has failed. Those who sought most eagerly have been most acutely conscious of their failure (2^{15-19}). The Law could not help them. All it could do was to make clear the Divine commands, and pronounce sentence on such as failed to keep them (3^{12}). From its sentence no man escapes. The actual result of the giving of the Law was to teach man by bitter experience that 'by works of the law shall no flesh be justified' (2^{16}).

But that righteousness which man cannot win by his own individual efforts he can now receive as a free gift won for him by Christ (1^{3} $3^{13.\ 14}$). On man's side the one condition of justification is 'faith.' Faith is much more than mere intellectual belief. It is an entire surrender of the whole self to Christ, the conscious act of entering into vital union with Him. This union is no mere metaphor, but a living personal reality. At baptism the believer 'puts on Christ' (3^{27}). Thenceforward he is 'in Christ,' 'Christ is formed in him' (4^{19}), until he can say, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me' (2^{19-20}). Thus 'they that are of faith' (3^{9}) are justified, not, as by a legal fiction, by the imputation to them of a righteousness which is not really their own, but because, as members of Christ, they have become living parts of that perfect human nature which alone is completely righteous, *i.e.* in complete union with God. Christ's righteousness is theirs because they are one with Him (3^{28}).

But there can be no justification without the faith which is absolute self-surrender. Christ must be everything or nothing. If men persist in relying on their own unaided power to obtain righteousness by works, they cut themselves off from Christ and have no share in the righteousness which human nature has achieved in Him (5^{2}).

(*c*) *The Law and the promise.*—God made a promise to Abraham, that in him and in his seed all nations should be blessed (3^{9}). That promise is fulfilled in Christ. He is the true seed of Abraham ($3^{17.\ 29}$), and the blessing received by the human race is the gift of the Spirit (3^{14}), which is the evidence of man's justification. But, when the promise was given, no mention was made of works or law. The Scripture speaks only of the 'faith' of Abraham (3^{6}). The promise given to Abraham was of the nature of a covenant signed and sealed. The Law, therefore, which came more than 400 years later, cannot annul it or add to it a new clause insisting on the necessity of works ($3^{15.\ 17}$). The promise came first; the Law came later. The promise is absolute, the Law conditional. The promise was spoken directly by God; the Law was issued through mediators, human and angelic (3^{14}). These facts prove that the Law is subordinate and inferior to the promise, though it would be impious to imagine a contradiction between the two, since one God gave both (3^{21}). The Law had a real purpose to serve. By its exact definition of transgressions and the consequent deepening of man's sense of sin and helplessness (3^{19}), it prepared the way for his acceptance of the fulfilment of the promise, the offer of justification by faith in Christ. But now that the promise is fulfilled the Law is no longer necessary ($3^{23.\ 25}$).

(*d*) *Christology.*—The Divinity of Christ is taken for granted (4^{4}). The reality of His human nature is indicated by references to His birth of a woman (4^{4}), His nationality (3^{16}), His Crucifixion (3^{1}), and His Resurrection (1^{1}). That He is man not individually but inclusively (*i.e.* not '*a* man' but 'man'), is shown by the whole argument of the Epistle, which rests on the conviction that 'by faith' all men may share the power of His perfect human nature ($2^{19.\ 20}$ 4^{19}).

His redemptive work centres in His death. He 'gave himself for our sins,' thereby 'delivering us from the present age with all its evils' (1^{4}). He 'redeemed' us from the curse pronounced by the Law, by Himself 'becoming a curse for us' ($3^{13.\ 14}$ 4^{5}), *i.e.* by dying a death which the Law describes as accursed (Dt 21^{23}).*

(*e*) *The Holy Spirit.*—The indwelling of the Holy

*תְּלוּיַת אֱלֹהִים קְלָלַת means not that 'a curse rests on him who is impaled,' but that 'his unburied corpse is an insult to the God of the land which by its presence it defiles.' St. Paul quotes the LXX, which takes אֱלֹהִים wrongly as subjective genitive. St. Paul means simply 'Christ died a death in connexion with the outward circumstances of which the Law mentions a curse.'

Spirit is the evidence of our adoption into the family of God (4[5. 6]). His presence is manifested in the inward sense of sonship (4[6]), and outwardly in works of power (3[5]) and in the manifold Christian graces (5[22f.]). He is personally distinct from the Father and the Son, yet the three act as one. 'The Father sends the Spirit of the Son' (4[6]).

4. Relation to other books of the NT.—(*a*) *Galatians and Acts.*—The autobiographical details given by St. Paul in Gal 1[13]–2[14] cover a period of which a second account is provided by the writer of Acts. The task of reconciling the two narratives is beset by many difficulties, most of which centre round St. Paul's two visits to Jerusalem.

(1) The Epistle asserts that St. Paul's conversion was followed by a visit to Arabia, a 'return' to Damascus, and then, 'after three years,' a visit to Jerusalem. This visit is described as being of a purely private nature. St. Paul saw none of the apostles except St. Peter and St. James, and departed to Syria and Cilicia unknown even by sight to the faithful in Judæa (1[16-23]).

Acts, on the other hand, seems to imply that after his conversion St. Paul returned directly from Damascus to Jerusalem (9[23-26]). The expression *ὡς δὲ ἐπληροῦντο ἡμέραι ἱκαναί* (9[23]) suggests that the Apostle spent a considerable time at Damascus, but nothing is said concerning any visit to Arabia. Moreover, the description in Acts of his visit to Jerusalem differs considerably from that in the Epistle. It speaks of a period of public preaching sufficiently widely known to give rise to Jewish plots against his life (9[23f.]). If this be true, it is difficult to believe that St. Paul's stay in the city was limited to fifteen days (Gal 1[18]), or that he was unknown by sight to the Christians of Judæa, unless it be assumed that 'Judæa' means the outlying districts exclusive of Jerusalem (cf. Zec 12[8] 14[14]).

Yet it is clear that both accounts refer to the same visit, for both place it between St. Paul's return from Damascus and his departure to Cilicia (Ac 9[30], Gal 1[21]). Nor do the two narratives appear irreconcilable, when the different objects with which they were written are borne in mind. St. Paul's purpose was to give a complete account of his movements so far as they brought him into contact with the apostles. Consequently, in connexion with his visit to Jerusalem, he omits everything except his intercourse with Cephas and James. The object of the writer of Acts was to trace the growth of the Church. He might well omit, as irrelevant to his purpose, all mention of St. Paul's visit to Arabia, which the Apostle himself describes as a temporary absence in the course of a long stay in Damascus (*ὑπέστρεψα* [Gal 1[17]]).

(2) Gal 2[1-10] describes a second occasion, when St. Paul visited Jerusalem in company with Barnabas, and interviewed the apostles of the circumcision. According to Acts, St. Paul and Barnabas went up to Jerusalem together twice:* (*a*) during the famine of A.D. 46 (Ac 11[30] 12[25]); (*b*) at the time of the so-called Council of Jerusalem (Ac 15[2]) some years later. By Ramsay, Lake, Emmet, and other scholars, the visit of Gal 2[1-10] is identified with (*a*); by Lightfoot, Zahn, and the majority of modern critics with (*b*).

In favour of the former identification it is urged:

(i.) That the natural inference from the language of the Epistle is that St. Paul's second interview with the other apostles occurred during his second visit to Jerusalem, and Acts places his second visit in the time of the famine; (ii.) that, in three details at least, the circumstances of Gal 2[1-10] agree with the account of Ac 11[27-30]: the journey was suggested 'by revelation' (Gal 2[1], Ac 11[27]); St. Paul's companion is Barnabas (Gal 2[1], Ac 11[30]); each account mentions the relief of the poor (Gal 2[10], Ac 11[29]).

In support of the alternative view it is argued:

(i.) That in Ac 15 and Gal 2[1-10] the chief persons are the same—St. Paul and Barnabas on the one hand, St. Peter and St. James on the other; (ii.) the subject of discussion is the same, *i.e.* the circumcision of Gentile converts; (iii.) the result is the same, *i.e.* the exemption of Gentile converts from the enactments of the Law, and the recognition by St. Peter, St. James, and St. John of the apostleship of St. Paul and Barnabas (Lightfoot, *Gal.*[5], p. 123 ff.).

The acceptance of either view involves difficulties. Against the former it has been objected:

(i.) That Acts does not mention any meeting between St. Paul and the three in connexion with the 'famine visit,' but rather suggests that they were absent from Jerusalem at the time. This is not a serious difficulty. The argument from silence is always precarious, and the only passage which suggests that the apostles were not in Jerusalem is the statement that, from the house of John Mark's mother, St. Peter went *εἰς ἕτερον τόπον* (Ac 12[17]), which need not necessarily mean that he left the city.

(ii.) That the language of Gal 2[2] (*τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον*) implies that St. Paul had already done much missionary work amongst Gentiles, whereas the events of Ac 11[27-30] took place before his first missionary journey. It is doubtful, however, if this objection has any weight, in view of the fact that at any rate fourteen years had elapsed since the Apostle first realized his special vocation to preach to the Gentiles (Ac 22[21]).

(iii.) That it is chronologically impossible. The date of the famine (and therefore of St. Paul's visit to Jerusalem) is fixed by the independent evidence of Josephus between A.D. 46 and 48. On this theory, therefore, the date of St. Paul's conversion would be not later than A.D. 33, even if the fourteen years of Gal 2[1] are reckoned from that event, and as early as A.D. 30, if they are reckoned from his first visit to Jerusalem (Gal 1[18]). Most recent students of NT chronology, however (except Harnack, who accepts the date A.D. 30), place St. Paul's conversion between A.D. 33 and 37. The difficulty is real but not fatal. All chronological schemes for the period A.D. 29–46 are merely tentative, and those who argue for the later date usually take their stand on the assumption that the visit of Gal 2 is the same as that of Ac 15.

The alternative theory, that Gal 2 and Ac 15 refer to the same occasion, presents special difficulties of its own.

(i.) St. Paul's account of his dealings with the mother church is incomplete. He is guilty of concealing his second visit to Jerusalem, and thereby his personal defence against the Judaizers is invalidated. The usual answers to this objection are: (*α*) St. Paul omits his second visit because he did not meet the apostles on that occasion (see above), or (*β*) St. Paul refers only to those visits of which his adversaries had given a distorted account.

(ii.) The most obvious inference from the narrative of Gal 2 is that St. Paul's dispute with Cephas at Antioch (2[11]) took place *after* the apostolic meeting at Jerusalem* (2[1-10]). But such a dispute is quite incomprehensible if the relation between Jewish and Gentile converts had already been settled. It is just possible, however, that the quarrel occurred *before* the meeting. It may be that the absence from 2[11] of the *ἔπειτα* of the earlier sections (1[18-21] 2[1]) indicates that the writer is no longer following strict chronological order.

(iii.) Ac 15 states that the Council of Jerusalem

* McGiffert (*History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, p. 172 ff.) is almost alone in arguing that the two visits of Ac 15 and Ac 11 are really one and the same.

* 'Gal 2[11-16] forms the climax, from St. Paul's point of view, in his triumphant assertion of the free Christian rights belonging to Gentile converts' (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 101).

dealt with and settled the very question which St. Paul discusses in the Epistle. It is incredible that the Apostle should describe a private interview with the three which occurred at the time of the Council without alluding either to the Council itself or to its decrees, although the official decision, that Gentiles need not be circumcised, would have provided a conclusive argument against the Judaizers. Again, St. Paul could not truthfully have said *οὐδὲν προσανέθεντο* (Gal 2^6), after accepting the 'Gentile food restrictions' * passed by the Council (Ac 15^{29}). These objections are as weighty as any argument from silence can be. They are satisfactorily met only by the assumption that the Acts' account of the Council is wholly or partly unhistorical.

The identity of the visit of Gal 2^{1-10} must be left uncertain. If it be that of Ac 11, the narrative of Galatians is free from difficulties, but some alteration is necessary in the generally accepted chronology of the primitive Apostolic Age. If it be that of Ac 15, doubt arises as to the historicity of the Acts' account of the Council, and the reason for St. Paul's silence concerning his second visit to Jerusalem must be left to conjecture.

See, further, ACTS OF THE APOSTLES, II. 2 (*b*).

(*b*) *Galatians and Romans.*—'Almost every thought and argument in the Epistle to the Galatians may be matched from the other Epistle' (*sc.* Rom. [Lightfoot, *Gal.*[5], p. 45]). A detailed comparison of the parallel passages shows that this agreement exists not only in general ideas, but also in unusual turns of expression and argument such as would not arise inevitably from the nature of the subject (*ib.*). More or less consciously the writer must have had the one Epistle in mind when he wrote the other, and there can be no doubt as to which is the earlier† of the two. 'The Epistle to the Galatians stands in relation to the Roman letter, as the rough model to the finished statue' (*ib.* p. 49). Yet it cannot be argued from the close connexion between the two Epistles that they must have been written about the same time. Even after the lapse of several years, it would be quite natural for a writer returning to an old topic to slip into the old arguments and the old expressions.

(c) *Galatians and St. James.*—The subject of 'faith and works' is treated in the Epistle of St. James (2^{14-26}). The same OT illustration (Gn 15^6) is used as in Gal., but the conclusion—'faith is vain apart from works' (2^{20})—seems to be a direct contradiction of St. Paul's teaching. Yet the contradiction is only apparent, for the two writers use the terms 'faith' and 'works' in totally different senses. To St. James 'faith' means intellectual assent to a proposition (2^{19}), 'works' are the manifold Christian virtues. To St. Paul 'works' are acts of obedience to the Law considered as the ground of salvation, 'faith' is a personal relation to Christ. The statement that 'faith is made complete by works' (Ja 2^{22}) is almost exactly equivalent to the assertion, 'by the hearing of faith ye received the Spirit . . . the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace,' etc. (Gal 3^2 5^{22}).

5. The locality of the Galatian churches.—The question of the identity of the Galatian Christians is the centre of a fierce controversy. The point at issue is the meaning of 'Galatia' in 1^2 (1 Co 16^1). Two rival theories hold the field:

(1) *The North Galatian theory—i.e.* that 'Galatia' means the old kingdom of Galatia, the region inhabited by the descendants of the Gauls who settled in Asia Minor in the 3rd cent. B.C. (see Lightfoot, Salmon, Chase, Jülicher, Schmiedel, etc.).

(2) *The South Galatian theory—i.e.* that 'Galatia' signifies the larger Roman province of that name, which included, together with Galatia proper, those portions of the old kingdoms of Phrygia and Lycaonia in which lay Antioch, Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium. The Epistle to the Galatians was addressed to the Christian communities of these cities (see Ramsay, Zahn, Rendall, Bartlet, Bacon, Askwith, Lake, etc.).

In itself either meaning of 'Galatia' is admissible. Which one is intended by St. Paul must be decided by the internal evidence of the Epistle itself, and the information supplied by the account given in Acts of St. Paul's travels.

(*α*) *Evidence of Acts.*—The Apostle undoubtedly visited the cities of S. Galatia more than once (Ac 13. 14. 16). Have we any grounds for supposing that he ever visited Galatia proper? This is the first question to be faced. The only evidence for such a visit is derived from two phrases of doubtful meaning, which occur in the narrative of the second and third missionary journeys (Ac 16^6 18^{23}).

(*a*) *The meaning of* *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* (Ac 16^6).—The crucial point is the exact significance of Ac 16^6. The preceding verses tell how the Apostle passed through Syria and Cilicia (15^{41}) to Derbe and Lystra (16^1). Thence, it seems to be implied, he went on to Iconium ($16^{2ff.}$). His next undisputed stopping-place was somewhere on the borders of Bithynia 'over against Mysia.' The route by which he travelled thither is concealed in the words, *διῆλθον δὲ τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν, κωλυθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος λαλῆσαι τὸν λόγον ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ.* What is the district described as *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν*?

(i.) It is argued that the participle *κωλυθέντες* must be retrospective. The missionaries went through *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν because* they had received the prohibition against preaching in Asia, and consequently *after* they had received it. But such a prohibition was not likely to be given before they had actually entered Asia, or were on the point of doing so. It follows, therefore, that the journey through *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* began only when the cities of S. Galatia were left behind. Since, then, the 'Galatic region' is distinguished from S. Galatia, it can only be Galatia proper. *Φρυγίαν* must be a noun (cf. Ac 2^{10} 18^{23}), and the whole phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* must mean 'Phrygia (Asiana) and (some North) Galatic region.' The strength of this explanation is that it needs no serious straining of grammar or syntax. Its weakness is firstly that it involves an inconsistency: *διέρχεσθαι* in Acts seems to have the special sense of 'making a *preaching* journey,' and Phrygia Asiana, where *ex hypothesi* such a journey was made, lay in the region where preaching was forbidden; secondly, it gives no explanation of the absence of the article before *Γαλατικὴν χώραν*, nor any real reason for the use of *Γαλατικὴν χώραν* instead of *Γαλατίαν*.

(ii.) The alternative explanation rests on the conviction that the single article in the phrase *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* proves conclusively that one single district is in view. *τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν* means that region which is both Phrygian and Galatian, 'the Phrygo-Galatic region.' The only district which really answers to this description is that part of the old kingdom of Phrygia which was included in the Roman province of Galatia, *i.e.* the country which extended westward from Iconium to Antioch and beyond, south of the Sultan Dagh.

That St. Paul had passed through the whole of S. Galatia before he was forbidden to preach in Asia is a mere assumption. At Iconium two

* This difficulty would disappear if we could accept as original the 'Western' text of Ac 15^{29}, which by omitting the words *καὶ πνικτῶν* transforms the 'food law' into a 'moral law' (see K. Lake, *op. cit.* p. 48 ff.).

† The only modern scholar of repute who places Romans before Galatians is C. Clemen (*Chronol. der paulin. Briefe*, Halle, 1893).

roads lay before him—one to the north, leading *via* Laodicea into Phrygia Asiana, the other to the west, leading to Phrygia Galatica. It is permissible to suppose that Iconium was the point at which he became conscious of the Divine command not to preach in Asia, and that, because of it, he chose the western rather than the northern road. Sooner or later he was bound to enter Asia; but, by taking the western road, he was enabled to travel as long as possible through a region where missionary work was allowed.*

The chief objections to this interpretation of the phrase are: (*a*) in the NT Φρυγίαν is elsewhere used only as a noun (Ac 2^{10} 18^{23}); (*b*) it is straining language to give καί the force of 'or'; καί suggests two districts, not one (cf. τὴν Μακεδονίαν καὶ Ἀχαΐαν [19^{21} and 27^{5}]).

(*β*) *The meaning of* τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν καὶ Φρυγίαν (Ac 18^{23}).—Of this phrase, which indicates the route by which St. Paul started on his third journey, only one translation is possible, *i.e.* 'the Galatic region and Phrygia.' The exact meaning attached to the expression will depend on the interpretation given to the words of Ac 16^{6}. It can be adapted to either of the alternatives.

(i.) On the first hypothesis, τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν will mean 'Galatia proper' as in 16^{6}, and Phrygia will be 'Phrygia Asiana.'

(ii.) On the second, τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν signifies that part of the province of Galatia in which were Derbe, Lystra, and Iconium (Lycaonia Galatica). 'Phrygia' means either 'Phrygia Galatica' (*i.e.* the district described in 16^{6} as τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν) or 'Phrygia Galatica *and* Phrygia Asiana,' for the Apostle would have to pass through both regions in order to reach Ephesus by way of τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη (Ac 19^{1}). The absence of any further definition of Phrygia in Ac 18^{23} is naturally explained by the fact that on this occasion preaching in Asia was not forbidden.

The impartial critic must admit that the evidence of these two passages is not sufficient to prove conclusively whether St. Paul ever visited N. Galatia or not. In favour of the N. Galatian interpretation, it must be granted that it represents the most straightforward and obvious reading of the verses, and that it gives a uniform meaning to the phrases τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν and Φρυγίαν. Yet it fails to explain some things—*e.g.* why the writer of Acts should say τὴν Γαλατικὴν χώραν where Γαλατίαν would be sufficient, and why he should state in the same verse that (*a*) preaching in Asia was forbidden, (*b*) therefore the Apostle preached in Asia. Again, the Acts usually tells its story at greater length when the gospel is being taken into a new district for the first time, but passes over as briefly as possible second visits to places already evangelized. The extreme brevity of the reference to τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (16^{6}) suggests that it is not new ground to the missionaries.

The S. Galatian interpretation avoids these special difficulties, but only at the cost of some forcing of interpretation and straining of grammar. The great stumbling-block to its acceptance is the fact that when Acts is actually speaking of the S. Galatian cities, it does not describe them politically as 'Galatian,' but ethnographically—'Antioch in Pisidia' (13^{14}), 'Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia' (14^{6}). The contribution of Acts towards the discovery of the destination of the Galatian Epistle is simply this. St. Paul certainly visited the cities of S. Galatia; he may or may not have visited N. Galatia.

* The contention that κωλυθέντες may be predicative, and therefore that the prohibition may have been given at the close of the journey through τὴν Φρυγίαν καὶ Γαλατικὴν χώραν (Askwith, p. 35 ff.), cannot be regarded as proved.

(*b*) *Evidence of the Epistle itself.*—This evidence is slight, and is claimed by both sides.

(*a*) *For the N. Galatian theory* it is claimed that:

(i.) St. Paul addresses his readers as Γαλάται (3^{1}). This term applies only to the people of N. Galatia. The inhabitants of Antioch, Derbe, and Lystra were Phrygians and Lycaonians. But it is difficult to see what other general term could be used to include the inhabitants of all these cities. It was true politically if not ethnographically.

(ii.) Assuming that Gal $2^{1\text{-}10}$ refers to the time of the Council, we should expect, on the S. Galatian theory, that some reference to the evangelizing of Antioch, Derbe, and Lystra would follow Gal 1^{21}. It would also be natural to look for some mention in Ac 13. 14 of the Apostle's illness (Gal 4^{13}).

(*β*) *For the S. Galatian theory* it is urged that:

(i.) The circumstances of the conversion of the Galatians ($4^{12\text{-}15}$) correspond closely to the account of the evangelizing of S. Galatia given by Ac 13^{14}–14^{22}. The arguments of St. Paul's sermon at Antioch in Pisidia reappear in Galatians (Ramsay, *Gal.*, pp. 399–401).

(ii.) The repeated mention of Barnabas ($2^{1.\ 9.\ 13}$) implies that he was personally known to the readers. But Barnabas was no longer with St. Paul on his second journey.

(iii.) The reference to the circumcision of Timothy, supposed to lie behind Gal 5^{11}, is more naturally understood if St. Paul was writing to Timothy's native place.

None of these arguments taken singly or combined are strong enough to bear the weight of either theory.*

(*c*) *A priori arguments.*—Zahn (*Introd. to NT*, i. 177), who accepts the S. Galatian view of Ac 16^{6} 18^{23}, brings against the N. Galatian theory of the Epistle's destination two *a priori* arguments.

(*a*) It is not likely that the churches of N. Galatia would have been dismissed so briefly in Acts if they had been the centre of a fierce controversy; nor is it probable that the important churches of S. Galatia should be left with scarcely a trace of their subsequent development in the NT.

(*β*) It is strange that Judaistic teachers from Jerusalem, setting out to oppose St. Paul's influence, should have passed by the cities of S. Galatia without starting any considerable anti-Pauline movement, and begun their campaign in the unimportant churches of a remote district.

The only force such arguments could have would be to strengthen a theory proved independently. By themselves they have little weight.

Summary.—The equal division of opinion even amongst critics of the same school suggests that the evidence is insufficient. Absolute impartiality demands an open verdict. If St. Paul did actually found churches in N. Galatia, it is the most natural—though not inevitable—conclusion that the Epistle was addressed to them. The Apostle undoubtedly founded the churches of S. Galatia, but the arguments which have been advanced prove no more than the possibility that they were the recipients of the letter.

6. Date and place of writing.—It is generally agreed that St. Paul wrote his letter to the Romans from Corinth on the eve of his departure to Jerusalem at the close of his third missionary journey. Most scholars fix the actual date + A.D. 58. This gives the *terminus ad quem* for dating the Galatian Epistle (see above, **4**).

The *terminus a quo* is not so easily determined.

* Arguments which have been used, but which are now abandoned, are: (*a*) that the fickle temperament of the Galatians of the Epistle points to the N. Galatians, who were partly of Celtic descent (Lightfoot); (*b*) that N. Galatia was not likely to be visited by a sick man (Gal 4^{13}), owing to the difficulty of the journey; (*c*) that the legal terms used in the Epistle would be intelligible to S. Galatians but not to N. Galatians (Ramsay).

The Epistle itself supplies but few hints. These are: (*a*) More than fourteen—perhaps more than seventeen—years have elapsed since St. Paul's conversion, during which he has paid at least two visits to Jerusalem (1^{18}–2^{14}). (*b*) St. Paul has paid at least two visits to his readers before writing the Epistle (1^{9} 5^{21} 4^{16}).

As to the place of writing, one suggestion alone is given. St. Paul implies that some reason prevented him from visiting Galatia when he wrote the Epistle, though he longed for a personal interview with his converts (4^{20}).

(*a*) *Date on the N. Galatian theory.*—If the N. Galatian theory be accepted, the choice of dates is limited. The Epistle must have been written during St. Paul's third missionary journey, after his second visit to Galatia (Ac 18^{23}), and before the end of his sojourn at Corinth—*i.e.* either (i.) while the Apostle was on his way from Galatia to Ephesus, or (ii.) during his stay at Ephesus (Ac $19^{1.\ 10}$), or (iii.) during his journey through Macedonia, or (iv.) early in his stay at Corinth (Ac $20^{1ff.}$).

There is little to choose between these suggestions. The objection brought against (i.) and (ii.), that from Ephesus it would be easy to pay a visit to Galatia, is not serious. The obstacle in St. Paul's way (Gal 4^{20}) need not necessarily have been the length of the journey. On the other hand, Lightfoot's attempt to prove by a comparison of the thought and language of the two letters that Galatians must be later than 2 Cor. cannot be regarded as convincing (*Gal.*[5], p. 49).

(*β*) *On the S. Galatian theory.*—Some supporters of the S. Galatian hypothesis are willing to agree with their opponents as to the date of the Epistle (*e.g.* Askwith, p. 99 ff.). Others avail themselves of the opportunity given by this theory of placing the Epistle earlier in St. Paul's career.

(i.) Ramsay suggests that it was sent from Syrian Antioch just before the beginning of St. Paul's third missionary journey (*St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 189 ff.). A serious objection to this date is the fact that the Epistle does not suggest that St. Paul is planning a visit to Galatia, but rather the reverse (4^{20}).

(ii.) Various points in the course of the *second* missionary journey have been suggested: (*a*) Macedonia (Hausrath), or (*b*) Athens (L. Albrecht, *Paulus*, Munich, 1903, pp. 114 f.; C. Clemen, *Paulus*, Giessen, 1904, i. 396 f.), or (*c*) Corinth (Zahn, Bacon, Rendall). The arguments used in favour of (*b*) and (*c*) are that the Epistle must be placed as soon as possible after St. Paul's second visit to Galatia, and at a time which will explain the absence of any mention of Silas and Timothy. Silas and Timothy were not with St. Paul at Athens or at the time of his arrival in Corinth.

(iii.) But any date subsequent to the Council of Jerusalem makes it very difficult to explain the silence of the Epistle with regard to the Council itself and to its decrees. To some scholars this argument alone seems sufficient to prove conclusively that the Epistle was written *before* the Council (see Calvin, Beza, Bartlet, Round, Emmet, Lake). Consequently, it is suggested that St. Paul wrote from Antioch just before going up to the Council of Jerusalem (W. A. Shedd, *ExpT* xii. [1900–01] 568; Round, *Date of Galatians*), or in the course of his journey from Antioch to Jerusalem (C. W. Emmet, *Expositor*, 7th ser., ix. [1910] 242 ff.; Lake). This theory would be very attractive if the absolute historicity of Ac 15 could be established, but grave doubts exist on this point (cf. *EBi*, art. 'Council of Jerusalem').

Summary.—The date of the Epistle is almost as difficult to determine as its destination. To a large extent the two questions are intertwined. If it can be proved, on independent grounds, that the Epistle must have been written before the events which lie behind the narrative of Ac 15, then the S. Galatian theory must be accepted, and the visit of Gal 2^{1-10} identified with that of Ac 11, or with some visit unrecorded in the Acts. On the other hand, if the N. Galatian theory can be established on independent grounds, the date of the Epistle is confined within narrow limits, and is in any case later than the Council. Unfortunately, conclusive proof of either position cannot be obtained.

7. Authenticity and permanent value.—(*a*) *Authenticity.*—That Galatians is a genuine Epistle written by St. Paul to his converts has never been questioned except by those eccentric critics who deny the existence of any authentic Pauline Epistles (*e.g. EBi*, art. 'Paul'). Such a theory scarcely needs refutation. Its supporters cut away the ground from beneath their own feet. If no genuine works of St. Paul have survived, no standard of comparison exists by which to decide what is genuinely 'Pauline' and what is not (cf. Knowling, *The Witness of the Epistles*, pp. 133–243). External testimony to the genuineness of Galatians is as strong as can be expected in view of the scantiness of the records of the sub-Apostolic Age. It is quoted as Pauline by Irenæus (*c.* A.D. 180) and Clem. Alex. (*c.* A.D. 200); it is cited by Justin Martyr (*c.* A.D. 150) and Athenagoras (*c.* A.D. 170); it is included in the canon of Marcion (*c.* A.D. 140) and in the old Latin version of the NT. Earlier still, clear references to its phraseology are found in Polycarp (*Phil.* iii. 5 [*c.* A.D. 110]).

The internal evidence of the Epistle is irresistible. It is unmistakably the work of a real man combating real opponents. It contains nothing which would explain its motive if it were a forgery, and much that no forger would be likely to have written. The question with which it deals belongs to a very early stage in the history of the Church. The existence before A.D. 70 of large churches of Gentiles who had not been compelled to accept circumcision, proves conclusively that by that time the controversy about Gentile circumcision was a thing of the past. Consequently the Epistle must have been written within St. Paul's lifetime, and no valid reason remains for denying the traditional belief that he wrote it.

(*b*) *Permanent value.*—The value of the Epistle is unaffected by uncertainties concerning its date and destination. It is the most concise and vigorous, as Romans is the most systematic, expression of St. Paul's evangel. It displays the Apostle's power of penetrating to the heart of things. He passes beyond the immediate question of circumcision and the observance of the Jewish Law to the ultimate principle which lies beneath.

Universal experience has shown that men cannot by their own efforts attain perfect righteousness. The power to overcome the inherent weakness of human nature is God's free gift to man in Christ. But man must receive it on God's own terms, 'by faith'—that is, by the complete self-surrender which brings him into vital union with Christ's perfect humanity. Such self-surrender is possible to all who realize their own utter helplessness (cf. Mt. 18^{3}); but if 'life eternal' (6^{8}) were dependent on the complete obedience to God's will of unaided human nature, it would be for ever beyond man's reach. The truth on which St. Paul so strongly insists lies at the very heart of the Christian faith, and is a living message to all ages.

In pressing home his point, the Apostle uses the dialectic methods of the Rabbinic school in which both he and his opponents received their training—*e.g.* the play on the word κατάρα (3^{13}); the argu-

ment of 3^{16}, which is based on the use of the singular σπέρμα, although the noun is collective and in this sense has no plural; the allegorical use of the story of Hagar and Ishmael ($4^{21ff.}$).

This style of reasoning no longer appeals to us with any force, but it must be remembered that these are not the real arguments on which the Apostle's teaching rests. He uses the OT in the manner most natural to a Jew of the 1st cent. to support and illustrate a conclusion really reached on independent grounds. The ultimate basis of the Apostle's doctrine of 'justification by faith' is his own personal experience, both of the hopelessness of the search for righteousness by works, and of the sense of peace and new power which came to him when he could say, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me' (2^{20}; cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], p. 26 f.).

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F. S. MARSH.

GALBA.—Servius Sulpicius Galba (after his elevation to the purple, Servius Galba Imperator Cæsar Augustus), son of Servius Sulpicius Galba and Mummia Achaica, and great-grandson of Quintus Lutatius Catulus, was born on 24 Dec. 5 B.C. and died in his seventy-third year (15 Jan. A.D. 69). His native place was near Tarracina (modern Terracina) on the Appian Way by the sea. He was adopted by his stepmother, and took the names of Lucius Livius Ocella in consequence. Both Augustus and Tiberius are said to have predicted that he would become Emperor. He attained the dress of manhood in A.D. 14 and married Æmilia Lepida. After her death and that of their two sons he remained unmarried. His friendship with Livia, the widow of Augustus, gave him great influence from the start. On her death (A.D. 29) he inherited largely, but his inheritance was reduced by the Emperor Tiberius, Livia's son. He was, however, permitted to hold senatorial offices before the legal age. It is recorded that when as prætor he gave exhibitions to the people, he showed elephants walking on tightropes, a sight up to that time unknown in Rome. About A.D. 31 or 32 he was for one year *legatus pro prætore* (governor) of the province of Aquitania (S.W. Gaul). He held office as consul for six months of A.D. 33. Having been thereafter appointed *legatus pro prætore provinciæ Germaniæ Superioris* (governor of S. Germany), he held in check the barbarians who had already invaded Gaul. As *legatus* in 41 he conquered the Chatti and gained a great reputation as a general. He attended the Emperor Claudius on his expedition to Britain (see under CLAUDIUS), and attained the proconsulship of Africa, the blue ribbon of a senatorial career. Besides being awarded triumphal ornaments, he was elected to various priesthoods. His last ordinary promotion was to the governorship of the province of Hispania Tarraconensis, which he held for eight years, from A.D. 60 to 68. In the latter year, as the result of long dissatisfaction with the Neronian government, C. Iulius Vindex, *legatus pro prætore provinciæ Galliæ Lugudunensis*, revolted from Nero, and Galba gave him his support. Vindex, however, was defeated by the legions in Germany, and committed suicide. Galba was then himself saluted *Imperator* by his soldiers. Though he declared himself representative of the Senate and People of Rome, the Senate adjudged him a public enemy. When the news of the death of Nero reached him, he accepted the title of Cæsar from his soldiers, and marched to Rome. Elected consul for the second time for A.D. 69, he was put to death on 15 Jan. 69, and buried in his suburban villa near the Via Aurelia.

As Galba's rule lasted only seven months, there is little to say about it. That he was an able general there can be no doubt whatever. He is credited also with other virtues, which, like those of Vespasian, serve to recall the old Roman type. He was the earliest of all the Emperors not of Cæsarian blood, and he first manifested clearly that the election to the principate lay in the hands of the army. Supported by the prætorian guards, the 'household troops' at Rome, he was recognized by the Senate, a deputation from which met him at Narbo Martius (Narbonne). A number of pretenders arose about the same time, but were mercilessly crushed. What ruined Galba was on the one hand his lack of the genius for rule, and on the other his parsimony. One of Tacitus' immortal phrases has reference to him: 'omnium consensu capax imperii, nisi imperasset' (*Hist.* i. 49). He used severity where it was uncalled for, and thus alienated many who would have settled down quietly under the new régime. He stirred up against himself one of his supporters, M. Salvius Otho (see OTHO), who expected to be adopted by Galba as his successor in the Empire. The soldiers declared him *Imperator* and put Galba to death.

LITERATURE.—The chief authorities are Tacitus, *Historiæ* bk. i.; Plutarch, *Galba* (ed. E. G. Hardy, London, 1890); Suetonius, *Galba*; Dio Cassius, lxiii.-lxiv., etc., and inscriptions. The facts are given most succinctly in P. de Rohden and H. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani sæc. i. ii. iii.*, pars iii., Berlin, 1898, p. 284 ff. (no. 723). See also the relevant parts of the modern Histories of the Roman Empire (V. Duruy [Eng. tr., London, 1883–86], J. B. Bury [do. 1893], etc.); A. von Domaszewski, *Gesch. der römischen Kaiser*, Leipzig, 1909, ii. 79–85; E. G. Hardy, *Studies in Roman History*, London, 1906, pp. 295–334 (a valuable comparison of the leading ancient authorities), also 2nd series of the same work, do. 1909, pp. 180–157.

A. SOUTER.

GALILEE.—Galilee is seldom mentioned in the NT outside the Gospels. The only references are in the early chapters of Acts (1^{11} 5^{37} 9^{31} 10^{37} 13^{31}). Most of the apostles belonged to this northern province (1^{11} 13^{31}). Judas, the leader of an agitation in the days of the enrolment of Quirinius, is described as 'of Galilee' (5^{37}). After Saul's conversion, peace descended upon the Christians in Galilee, as well as in Judæa and Samaria (9^{31}). Walking in the fear of the Lord and the comfort of the Holy Spirit, their numbers greatly increased.

1. The name.—The name 'Galilee' is derived from the Heb. גָּלִיל (*Gālîl*), through the Gr. Γαλιλαία and the Lat. *Galilæa*. The Hebrew word, denoting 'ring' or 'circle,' was used geographically to describe a 'circuit' of towns and villages. As applied to this particular district in north-western Palestine, the form used is either הַגָּלִיל, '*the* district' (Jos 20^{7} 21^{32}, 1 K 9^{11}, 2 K 15^{29}, 1 Ch 6^{76}), or גְּלִיל הַגּוֹיִם, 'district of the nations' (Is 9^{1}). Given originally to the highlands on the extreme northern border, this name gradually extended itself southwards over the hill-country till it reached and eventually included the Plain of Esdraelon (G. A. Smith,

HGHL[4], pp. 379 and 415). For the most part, however, Esdraelon seems to have been a frontier or arena of battle, rather than an actual part of Galilee.

2. The boundaries.—The natural boundaries of Galilee never agreed with its political frontiers. The natural limits are Esdraelon, the Mediterranean Sea, the Jordan valley, and the gorge of the river Litany. But the actual borders have shifted from time to time. At the period of widest extension, they may be set down as the Kasimiyeh or Litany gorge on the N., the southern edge of Esdraelon on the S., Phœnicia (which always belonged to Gentiles) on the W., and the Upper Jordan (with its two lakes) on the E. These boundaries, excluding Carmel and the area of the lakes, enclosed a province about 50 miles long by 25 to 35 miles broad —an area of about 1600 square miles. Within these limits lay 'a region of mountain, hill, and plain, the most diversified and attractive in Palestine' (Masterman, *Studies in Galilee*, p. 4).

3. The divisions.—Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 1) gives the divisions, in his time, as two, called the Upper Galilee and the Lower. The Mishna (*Shebuth* ix. 12) states that the province contained 'the upper, the lower, and the valley.' The latter are certainly the natural divisions. The mountains separate very clearly into a higher northern and a lower southern group, and the 'valley' is the valley of the Upper Jordan.

(*a*) *Upper Galilee* is less easily characterized physically than Lower. 'It appears to the casual observer a confused mass of tumbled mountains, to which not even the map can give an orderly view' (Masterman, p. 11). It is in reality 'a series of plateaus, with a double water-parting, and surrounded by hills from 2000 to 4000 feet' (G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[4], p. 416). The central point is Jebel Jermak (3934 ft.), the highest mountain in western Palestine. The scantier water supply of Upper Galilee is compensated for by the copiousness of the dew-fall throughout the later summer months.

(*b*) *Lower Galilee* is easier to describe. It consists of parallel ranges of hills, all below 2000 ft., running from W. to E., with broad fertile valleys between. The whole region is of great natural fertility, owing to abundance of water, rich volcanic soil, the gentleness of the slopes, and the openness of the plains. The great roads of the province cross this lower hill-country. The dividing-line between Upper and Lower Galilee is the range of mountains running right across the country along the northern edge of the Plain of Rameh.

(*c*) *The Valley* consists of the Upper Jordan and its two lakes, Huleh and Gennesaret. The river, taking its rise from springs and streams in the neighbourhood of Banias and Tel-el-Kadi, flows south in a steadily deepening channel, through Huleh, till it empties itself into the Sea of Gennesaret, at a depth of 689 ft. below sea-level. It has fallen to this depth in about 19 miles. Six miles north of the lake, the river is crossed by the 'Bridge of the daughters of Jacob,' on the famous Via Maris of the Middle Ages, the principal thoroughfare between Damascus and the Mediterranean ports. The Lake of Galilee could never be sufficiently praised by the Jewish Rabbis. They said that Jahweh had created seven seas, and of these had chosen the Sea of Gennesaret as His special delight. It had rich alluvial plains on the north and south, a belt of populous and flourishing cities round its border, abundance of fish in its depths, and a climate that attracted both workers and pleasure-seekers to its shores. At the beginning of the Christian era, it presented a reproduction in miniature of the rich life and varied activities of the province as a whole.

4. The physical characteristics.—These are principally two: (*a*) abundance of water, and (*b*) fertility of soil. As to (*a*), the words of the ancient promise, 'for the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land, a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths springing forth in valleys and hills' (Dt 8[7]), are literally true of Galilee, particularly in its southern half. Large quantities of water are collected during the rainy season among the higher slopes and plateaus, and are thence dispersed by the rivers and streams over the lower-lying tracts, where they become stored in springs and wells. There are the two lakes already mentioned—Huleh, 3½ miles long by 3 miles wide (the Samechonitis of Josephus, but probably not the Waters of Merom of Jos 11[5.7] [cf. Masterman, *Studies in Galilee*, p. 26 f., and *EBi* iii. 3038]); the Lake of Galilee (Gennesaret), 13 miles long by 8 miles broad at its widest point. Round its shores are the ruins of at least nine ancient cities or towns. These are Chorazin, Capernaum, Magdala, Tiberias, Tarichæa, Hippos, Gamala, Gergesa, and Bethsaida. The principal rivers of the province are the Jordan, the Litany, the Kishon, and the Belus. In addition to these lakes and rivers, there are many greater streams and innumerable springs and wells. These waters, together with the copious dews of the summer, give Galilee the advantage over Samaria and set it in marked contrast to Judæa.

As to (*b*), all authorities unite in celebrating the natural wealth of Galilee. The other half of the promise made to the Hebrews was also true of this highly favoured province. It was 'a land of wheat and barley, and vines and fig trees and pomegranates; a land of oil olives and honey; a land wherein thou shalt eat bread without scarceness, thou shalt not lack any thing in it' (Dt 8[8. 9]). Josephus bears witness that the soil was universally rich and fruitful, and that it invited even the most slothful to take pains in its cultivation (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 2). Even to-day, when such large tracts lie uncultivated, no part of Palestine is more productive. The chief products were oil, wine, wheat, and fish. 'In Asher, *oil* flows like a river,' said the Rabbis, who also held that it was 'easier to raise a legion of olive trees in Galilee than to raise one child in Judæa.' Gischala was the chief place of manufacture. There were also large stores at Jotapata during the Roman War. Considerable quantities were sent to Tyre and to Egypt. Made from the olive trees, the oil was used principally for external application, for illumination, and in connexion with religious ritual. *Wine* was made in many quarters of the province, the best qualities coming from Sigona; while *wheat* and other grains were plentifully raised all over Lower Galilee, especially round about Sepphoris and in the fields of the Plain of Gennesaret. The *fish*, for which the province was always noted in ancient times, was caught in the inland lakes, particularly in the Lake of Galilee. It formed a large part of the food of the lake-side dwellers, and a considerable trade was carried on by the fish-catchers and fish-curers of the large towns on the shore. The best fishing-grounds were, and still are, at el-Bataiha in the north, and in the bay of Tabigha, at the N.W. corner. Tarichæa, in the south, was another centre of the industry. In addition to the above-mentioned commodities, Galilee produced flax from which fine linen fabrics were woven, pottery, and a rich dye made from the indigo plant. The prosperity of the province was enhanced by its proximity to the Phœnician ports, and by the network of highways which crossed it in all directions.

5. The inhabitants.—To-day Galilee possesses a remarkably mixed population, and its inhabitants are physically finer than those of the southern provinces (cf. Masterman, pp. 17–20). In apostolic times, the same was true. Along the western and

northern borders were the Syrophœnicians (Mk 7^{26}), or Tyrians (as Josephus calls them), while from the east nomadic Bedouins were continually pressing in upon the lower-lying tracts. But besides these Semitic elements, Greeks and Græcized Syrians were distributed over parts of the land (Masterman, p. 120), and Romans made their influence felt throughout a large area of the province. Only in the more secluded towns among the hills would Jewish life be preserved in its characteristic purity. In spite, however, of the mingling of nationalities, the Galilæans were thoroughly and patriotically Jewish during the 1st cent. of the Christian era. Wherever a true Jew settled abroad, he kept himself distinct from his neighbours, clinging tenaciously to his religion and to his racial customs. And the same thing happened with the Jew at home, when Gentile immigrants settled within his borders. His contempt for foreigners and foreign ways helped him to keep his own character and traditions intact. The Galilæans were industrious workers—the bulk of them being cultivators of the soil or tenders of the fruit-trees. They were brave soldiers too, as may be learned from the chronicles of Josephus.

'The Galilæans are inured to war from their infancy, and have been always very numerous; nor has their country ever been destitute of men of courage' (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 2).

There does not seem to be any sufficient ground for the dislike and contempt in which the Galilæans were held by their religiously stricter brethren of Judæa. Possibly they were less exact in their observance of tradition. But they were devoted to the Law, and their country was well supplied with synagogues, schools, and teachers. If they were less orthodox, from the Pharisaic standpoint, the Messianic hope burned brightly in their souls, and they crowded to the ministry of Jesus. They were certainly more tolerant and open-minded than the Judæans, and it was from them that Jesus chose most of the men who were to give His teaching to the world.

The population of Galilee in apostolic times was considerably greater than it is to-day. At the present time, it is estimated to be somewhere about 250,000 (including children), spread over an area of 1341 square miles and inhabiting some 312 towns and villages. This gives 186 to the square mile. Josephus' figures mean that the population in his day amounted to something like three millions. He speaks of 204 cities and villages (*Vita*, 45), the smallest of which contained above 15,000 inhabitants (*BJ* III. iii. 2). This estimate, in spite of the arguments of Merrill (*Galilee in the Time of Christ*, pp. 62–67), can hardly be correct. Good reasons have been given for believing that 400,000 is a much more likely figure, which means a population of 440 to the square mile. A village of 1,500 inhabitants is reckoned to be a very large one to-day, and the largest towns (with the exception of Safed) contain fewer than 15,000 people. See Masterman, pp. 131–134.

6. History and government.—At the partition of west Palestine among the twelve tribes, Galilee fell to the lot of Issachar, Zebulun, Asher, and Naphtali, who did not drive out the original inhabitants. The population, therefore, continued to be a mixed one, and the borders of the province were constantly being pressed upon by foreigners. In 734 B.C., Tiglath-Pileser III. carried away most of the inhabitants, and after this depopulation very few Jews re-settled in the district till the extension of the Jewish State under John Hyrcanus (135–104 B.C.). At this time, or a little later, Galilee became thoroughly judaized. The settlers were placed under the Law, and quickly developed a warm patriotism, which made them ever afterwards zealous and persistent champions of their national rights and traditions. Later on, the province was the principal scene of our Lord's life and ministry. Later still, it succeeded Judæa as 'the sanctuary of the race and the home of their theological schools' (G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[4], p. 425).

From 4 B.C. to A.D. 39, Herod Antipas was tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa, by appointment of the Roman Emperor. Antipas appears to have been a capable ruler on the whole. Like his father, he was fond of building and embellishing cities. He re-built and fortified Sepphoris, his first capital, and a little later erected a new capital city on the west shore of the lake, calling it Tiberias, after the Emperor whose favour he enjoyed. Having secured the banishment of Antipas in A.D. 39, Herod Agrippa I. received the tetrarchy of Galilee, in addition to the territories of Philip and of Lysanias which he had previously obtained. From Claudius (in A.D. 41) he also obtained Judæa and Samaria, thus establishing dominion over all the land formerly ruled by Herod the Great. After Agrippa's death, in A.D. 44, Claudius reverted to the method of government by procurator—a change which greatly displeased the Jews as a whole and especially stirred the animosity of the zealots. Under the administration of the new procurators, the people's patience became exhausted, and in the time of Gessius Florus (A.D. 64–66) the revolt began which ended in the destruction of the Jewish State. In the spring of A.D. 67 Vespasian assembled his army at Ptolemais and began the reduction of Galilee. This was accomplished in the course of the first campaign, despite the courage and persistence of the inhabitants. But it was not till after the lapse of another three years that Jerusalem fell (A.D. 70) and the Jewish State was dissolved.

Though the general administration of Galilæan civil affairs lay (till A.D. 44) with the tetrarchs, the details of daily life were regulated by the Jews' own religious laws (*DCG* i. 633). The Sanhedrin at Jerusalem exercised the chief authority, but there were also local 'councils' (Mt 5^{22} 10^{17}) which had limited jurisdiction. But, throughout the whole period, over all and influencing all, was the firm rule of Rome.

LITERATURE.—Artt. in *HDB* ii. 98–102 (S. Merrill), *DCG* i. 632–634 (G. W. Thatcher), and *PRE*[3] (Guthe); G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[4], 1897, chs. xx.–xxi.; S. Merrill, *Galilee in the Time of Christ*, Boston, 1881, London, 1885; V. Guérin, *Description . . . de la Palestine*, pt. iii.: 'Galilée,' Paris, 1880; F. Buhl, *GAP*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896, §§ 18–19, 68, 113–123; E. Schürer, *HJP*, 1885–91 (index); E. W. G. Masterman, *Studies in Galilee*, Chicago, 1909; A. Neubauer, *La Géog. du Talmud*, Paris, 1868, §§ 188–240; *SWP* i. [1861]. A. W. COOKE.

GALLIO.—Gallio governed Achaia as a proconsul of prætorian rank. His name was Marcus Annæus Novatus; but he was adopted by L. Junius Gallio, a Roman orator, and took his name. He was the elder brother of Seneca the philosopher, to whose influence at court he may have owed his governorship. There is no other direct evidence that Gallio governed Achaia than St. Luke's statement (Ac 18^{12}). But Seneca's reference to Gallio's catching fever in Achaia and taking a voyage for a change of air so far corroborates St. Luke. Gallio came to Corinth, the residence of the governor, during the time of St. Paul's labours there (*c.* A.D. 50–53).* Angered by the conversion of prominent members of the synagogue, the Jews took advantage of the new governor's arrival to lay a charge against St. Paul which they tried to put in such a serious light as to merit a severe penalty. But Gallio was not so complaisant or inexperienced as they hoped. He elicited the true nature of their complaint, and, cutting short the trial, he abruptly dismissed the

* On the exact date of Gallio's proconsulship see art. DATES, III. 3.

case as referring only to interpretations of Jewish law, not to any civil wrong or any moral outrage of which Roman law took cognizance.

Two effects of this decision are noted. (*a*) It was a snub which gave the Greek bystanders grounds for venting their *animus* against the Jews, by seizing and beating Sosthenes, the ruler of the synagogue. This seems the true interpretation of a scene which has been supposed to describe Jews beating a Christian—or even their own leader—in revenge for their defeat. But such a savage and illegal protest against Gallio's decision could not have passed unnoticed by him; on the other hand, a public demonstration against the unpopular and disputatious Jews whom he had just dismissed might appear to him a rough sort of justice which he could afford to overlook, especially as it put the seal of popular approval on his action (see SOSTHENES).

(*b*) The decision seems to have influenced St. Paul in another direction. Gallio being governor of Achaia, his judgment would become a precedent and would have far-reaching influence. It gave St. Paul a new idea of the protection he could gain from the Roman law. Although Judaism was a *religio licita*, evidently the Imperial Government did not consider Christian preaching illegal. This amounted to a declaration of freedom in religion of immense value to Christians. From this point of view Gallio's treatment of the Jewish complaint was a landmark in St. Paul's missionary labour, and did a great deal to confirm his confidence in Roman protection for his preaching.

Gallio's private character is eulogized by Seneca in glowing terms. He was very lovable and fascinating; amiable, virtuous, just, and witty. The casual glimpse we get of him in Ac 18[12-17] shows him in a favourable light as governor. The clause 'Gallio cared for none of these things' does not bear in the least the interpretation put upon it by proverbial Christian philosophy. No doubt he had more than a touch of the Roman aristocrat's contempt for religious quarrels and for all Jews. But he appears as an astute judge, seeing quickly into the heart of things, firm in his decisions, and not too pompous or punctilious to turn a blind eye to a bit of rough popular horseplay. He seems to have shared the fortunes of his more famous brother, and was put to death by Nero.

LITERATURE.—*HDB*, art. 'Gallio,' *ib.* art. 'Corinth,' i. 481; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, pp. 257–261, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, pp. 250, 346–349; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, *ad loc.*; F. W. Farrar, *Seekers after God*, ed. 1879, pp. 16–21.

J. E. ROBERTS.

GAMALIEL (גַּמְלִיאֵל, Γαμαλιήλ, 'reward of God'). —**1.** Son of Simon and grandson of Hillel, a 'pharisee, a doctor of the law, had in honour of all the people,' and a member of the Sanhedrin, who intervened in the trial of St. Peter and the other apostles (Ac 5[33-39]). He is also represented by the Apostle Paul as his early teacher (Ac 22[3]). Gamaliel was a representative of a broader and more liberal school among the Pharisees, the school of Hillel as opposed to that of Shammai. He was interested in Greek literature and encouraged his students to study it. His teaching tended towards a broader and more spiritual interpretation of the Mosaic Law, and encouraged the Jews to friendly intercourse with foreigners, allowing poor strangers equal rights along with Jews to the gleanings of the corn, while he exerted himself for the relief of wives from the abuses of the law of divorce and for the protection of widows from the greed of children (*Gittin* 32, 34). He was held in such esteem that it is related in the Mishna (*Sota* ix. 15), 'with the death of Gamaliel the reverence for the law ceased and purity and abstinence died away.'

Gamaliel's attitude towards the apostles has been variously estimated. His advice to let them alone is supported by the reason 'if this counsel or work be of men, it will come to naught: but if it be of God, ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God' (Ac 5[38. 39]). Some see in this the mark of a humane, tolerant, generous, liberal-minded man (C. D. Ginsburg in Kitto's *Bibl. Cycl.*, *s.v.* 'Gamaliel I.'); others regard it as the statement of a time-server without definite convictions, and incline to compare him unfavourably not only with the apostles, but with his colleagues in the council, who were consistent and convinced traditionalists. Perhaps the view of Milligan (in *HDB* ii. 106) is the most satisfactory. He is of the opinion that Gamaliel's conduct is to be attributed rather to a 'prudential dread of violent measures than to a spirit of systematic tolerance.' The persecuting zeal of his pupil Saul of Tarsus does not seem to indicate that universal tolerance was part of the systematic teaching of Gamaliel, though a pupil may depart from the views he has been taught.

The influence which Gamaliel on this occasion exercised in the Sanhedrin has been explained by the acceptance of a Rabbinic tradition to the effect that he was president of the Sanhedrin; but not until after the destruction of Jerusalem, when the priesthood had lost its importance, do we find a Rabbi occupying this position (cf. A. Edersheim, *History of the Jewish Nation*, 1896, Appendix iii., p. 522 ff.; also Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. 257, 431). The influence of Gamaliel is better accounted for by the predominating influence of the Pharisaic party, which was represented in the Sanhedrin (Ac 23[6]; Jos. *BJ* II. xvii. 3, *Vita*, 38, 39), and also by the personal influence of the man himself. The importance of this latter factor is borne out by unanimous Rabbinic tradition and is attested by the fact that Gamaliel was the first among the seven teachers who received the title Rabban—a higher form of Rabbi, which in the form Rabboni is applied to the risen Jesus by Mary Magdalene (Jn 20[16]). Another incident bearing upon his commanding position in the Sanhedrin is related in the Mishna (*Edajoth* vii. 7). The council had recognized the need for appointing a leap-year, but, as Gamaliel was absent, resolved that their decision should take effect only if it received the subsequent sanction of their leading man.

The tradition that Gamaliel was a secret Christian and was baptized by St. Peter and St. Paul is purely legendary (cf. A. Neander, *Hist. of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, ed. Bohn, i. [1880] 46 ff.). He died *c.* A.D. 57–58.

The historical events referred to in the speech ascribed to Gamaliel in Ac 5[36ff.] have given rise to much discussion. According to St. Luke's narrative, he speaks of a rising under Theudas as taking place before the rising of Judas of Galilee (A.D. 6). Josephus (*Ant.* XX. v. 1) refers to a rising under a certain Theudas which was put down by the procurator Cuspius Fadus (*c.* A.D. 46). Is the Theudas of St. Luke identical with the Theudas of Josephus? Has one or other historian erred as to his facts, or were there two risings under two men of the same name, one in A.D. 6 and the other in 46? Or are we to suppose that the whole speech of Gamaliel in Acts is unhistorical? For further discussion of these questions see art. THEUDAS.

2. Gamaliel II., grandson of the former and the third teacher to receive the title Rabban, the most outstanding Jewish scholar at the end of the 1st century. He presided over the court of Jabne, recognized as the highest Jewish authority of the day. He is often confused with **1** (Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. 35).

3. Gamaliel III., son of R. Juda-ha-Nāsi (*Aboth* ii. 2), the fifth scholar to receive the title Rabban. He is credited with having expressly recommended the combining of the study of the Law with manual labour or business activity (Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. 379).

4. The last Ethnarch or Patriarch of the Jews, deposed by the Emperor Theodosian II. in the year 415 (Schürer, *GJV*[4] iii. 121).

LITERATURE.—G. Milligan, in *HDB* ii. [1899] 106; C. D. Ginsburg, in Kitto's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*[3], ii. [1864] 60-61; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4], 1901-11; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 156. W. F. BOYD.

GAMES.—The word 'games,' which is not found in the AV, appears twice in the RV, viz. in 1 Co 9[25] and 2 Ti 2[5]. In the former passage ἀγωνιζόμενος, 'striving,' is the Greek term employed, and in the latter ἀθλῇ (and ἀθλήσῃ), 'contend.' It will be seen that in each case 'in the games' is supplied in accordance with the obvious sense of the verb. This provides a starting-point for the discussion of the numerous references to games that are found in the NT, the Gospels being left out of account.

1. Metaphors of St. Paul.—ἀγών, with derivatives, both simple and compound, supplies most of the material. This word is itself derived from ἄγω, 'gather,' which reveals the spectacular nature of the games of antiquity. While private games of many kinds were known and practised, either as simple pastimes, or for the exhibition of skill, or to satisfy the gambling instinct, games of a public order predominated, and this was more than ever the rule in the Apostolic Age. The difference remarked by Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xl. § ii. [ed. Bury, vol. iv.[2], 1908, p. 218]) between the games of Greece and Rome was now very pronounced: 'the most eminent of the Greeks were actors, the Romans were merely spectators.' While the demand of the age was for spectacles, a supply of competitors had still to be found; which means that professional athletes existed, who in the case of Rome seem to have been mostly imported from Greece. It is perhaps significant of the spirit of the times that the strictly professional term (ἀθλέω) is but rarely used in the NT (2 Ti 2[5]; cf. Ph 1[27] 4[3], He 10[32]). Degeneracy had set in, and the onlookers were out of all proportion to the trained athletes who provided the sport.'

This being the case, it is all the more surprising to find that metaphors and similes drawn from the sphere of athletics should enter so largely into the language of the NT, in particular into the letters of St. Paul. It has been customary to explain this feature of the Apostle's writings as the outcome of his experience and from his actual presence at great athletic assemblies, but now the idea is gaining ground that he drew rather upon the word-treasury of past generations, and used such figures of speech because they had become stereotyped in language and arose naturally to the mind. The same fondness for the imagery of the athletic ground has been remarked in Philo (*HDB* v. 206[b]; W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, 1908, p. 294), and the opinion is widely entertained that St. Paul owed the particular metaphor of the race (*e.g.* 1 Co 9[24ff.]) to the Stoics, with whom it was a favourite idea (C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, Eng. tr., 1912, p. 67). Lightfoot has called attention to the striking similarity in this respect, as in many others, between the language of St. Paul and that of Seneca (*Philippians*[4], 1878, pp. 288 and 290).

Modern exegesis has brought to view the full scope of the imagery from games, obscured in the renderings of the AV, which are retained for the sake of euphony in the RV (*e.g.* 1 Ti 6[12] and 2 Ti 4[7], literally, 'strive the good strife,' 'I have striven the good strife'). It is not apparent that in 2 Ti 4[7] the figure of speech in the first two clauses is uniform and drawn from the athletic ground (contrast 2[3-5]). An improved reading of 1 Ti 4[10], incorporated in the RV, gives ἀγωνιζόμεθα, 'strive,' instead of ὀνειδιζόμεθα, 'suffer reproach' (AV). The same idea of contest or striving, with the same basal form ἀγών, appears in Ro 15[30], 1 Co 9[25], Ph 1[30], Col 1[29] 2[1] 4[12], 1 Th 2[2], He 12[1. 4], Jude[3]. Specific features of the athletic contest are found in 'course' (δρόμος; Ac 13[25] 20[24], 2 Ti 4[7]), 'run' (τρέχω; Ro 9[16], Gal 2[2] 5[7], Ph 2[16], 2 Th 3[1], I P 4[4]), 'press on' (διώκω; Ph 3[12ff.]), 'stretching forth' (ἐπεκτεινόμενος; Ph 3[14]). κατὰ σκοπόν ('mark,' AV, 'goal,' RV; Ph 3[14]), while relevant, is not technical to racing (*HDB* iii. 244).

Thus far the language is suggestive of the stadium, particularly of the foot-race, although it is not forbidden to think of the hippodrome and of chariot-racing. Another event in the games is recalled by the expressive term πυκτεύω (1 Co 9[26]), rendered by 'fight,' 'box' (RVm), and the no less expressive δέρων (v.[26]), 'beating,' and ὑπωπιάζω (v.[27]), 'buffet' or 'bruise' (under the eye). ἡμῖν ἡ πάλη, 'our wrestling' (Eph 6[12]), seems like an intrusion of the imagery of the athletic ground into the metaphor of the complete warrior.

Not the least interesting part of the Pauline figures of speech now being considered is related to the laws and regulations governing the public games, both beforehand and during the actual contest (1 Co 9[24ff.]), and the conditions attending the giving of the prize (στέφανος, 'crown' or 'wreath'). The reward to the victor follows upon the decision of the umpires (βραβευταί), and the herald's announcement (κηρύσσειν; cf. 1 Co 9[27]). βραβεῖον (Ph 3[14]) is the word used for the prize bestowed according to the laws of the games (compare βραβεύετω, Col 3[15], 'rule,' 'arbitrate,' RVm, and καταβραβευέτω, 2[18], 'rob you of your prize'). The immediate prize in the shape of a wreath suggests the idea of something better than itself, not only in connexion with the actual contest, where further honours were afterwards bestowed upon the victor, but also in the Christian thought of St. Paul (1 Co 9[25], Ph 4[1], 1 Th 2[19], 2 Ti 4[8]) and other NT writers (Ja 1[12], 1 P 5[4], Rev 2[10] 3[11] 4[4] etc.). Some reluctance has been felt to admit the use by Jewish writers of this figure drawn from the ceremonial of the heathen games (R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*, 1865, p. 76 f.), but it is probable that they were indirectly indebted to this outstanding phase of ancient life (*HDB* iv. 555[b]; cf. Ramsay, *op. cit.*, p. 290 f.).

While we are willing to believe that the profitable aspect of bodily training (1 Ti 4[8]) was not altogether in abeyance during the Apostolic Age, we are chiefly impressed by the historical evidence for the gross degeneracy of the public games during the 1st cent. A.D. For this deterioration the Romans must be held responsible. It is not necessary to dwell on the details of the lust for blood, both human and animal, which disfigured the public displays of the Imperial city and to a less extent of the provinces. The motto of the age was 'bread and races' (*panis et circenses*), and coupled with this was the cry: 'The Christians to the lions!' (*Christiani ad leones*). The Christians thus had a tragic interest in the *ludi circenses*, especially in the cruel displays of the amphitheatre. St. Paul's experience at Ephesus may be taken as typical. There he fought with beasts (ἐθηριομάχησα, 1 Co 15[32]), an expression which is generally understood figuratively (see art. BEAST), but which is considered by McGiffert (*Apostolic Age*, 1897, p. 280) and von Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, i.[2] [1897] 385) as setting forth actual fact. In the same city the Apostle and his friends Gaius and Aristarchus came near experiencing the violence of the mob in the theatre

(Ac 19[23ff.]), which was the recognized place of assembly, and even of execution following judgment (Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 3). Originally designed for scenic exhibitions of a bloodless type, the theatre had developed, or rather had deteriorated, into the amphitheatre with its wholesale butcheries.

The theatre supplies NT writers with two similes: *θέατρον* = *θέαμα*, 'a spectacle,' 1 Co 4[9], and *θεατριζόμενοι* (He 10[33]), translated by 'gazingstock.' In addition to this the atrocities of the amphitheatre doubtless underlie many of the references to persecutions, being most patent in 1 Co 15[32] and 2 Ti 4[17]: 'I was delivered out of the mouth of the lion.' It should be noted that this last-named experience has also been refined into a proverb (C. Clemen, *op. cit.*, p. 134; *EBi* iv. 5090 n.). Considerable uncertainty attaches to the language of He 12[4]: 'Ye have not yet resisted unto blood,' in which it is tempting to see a repetition of St. Paul's metaphor from boxing (1 Co 9[26f.]), or even a reference to the extreme penalty of martyrdom suffered by some, after the example of 'the author and perfecter of our faith.' The blood may have been shed in sight of the circle of spectators in the amphitheatre (cf. *περικείμενον*, He 12[1]).

2. History and archæology.—The Jews were not exempt from the current treatment of those who had incurred the wrath of the State. At Cæsarea Titus caused more than 2,500 Jews to be slain in a day, fighting with the beasts and with one another (Jos. *BJ* VII. iii. 1; cf. VII. ii. 1). Under this same monarch a commencement was made to the building of the Colosseum, which was dedicated and first used for gladiatorial and other exhibitions (e.g. *venationes*) in the reign of Vespasian (A.D. 80). The provinces soon learned to copy the evil example of the mother country (W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 317 ff.).

Already in the East, under Hellenic influence, ample provision had been made to satisfy the craze for public amusements. In the cities of the Decapolis there were in some instances two amphitheatres, while some possessed a *ναυμαχία*; and annual *Παγκράτια* or games of all kinds were held (G. A. Smith, *HGHL*[4], 1897, p. 604). King Agrippa I. continued the policy of Herod the Great, building at Berytus a theatre and an amphitheatre, and giving exhibitions both there and at Cæsarea (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vii. 5, viii. 2; cf. Ac 12[19-23]). When Roman influence fully pervaded the East, the zest for sports and for blood became still more pronounced. Nero himself lent patronage, but not lustre, to the Grecian games, and took a personal part in them (A.D. 67). In the Roman province of Asia festivals with games were held, probably under the presidency of the Asiarchs (*HDB* i. 172). The climax was reached in the 2nd cent. A.D. (see Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 317 f.). Confirmation of the wide-spread love of sport at this time is found in the well-preserved ruins of trans-Jordanic towns—*e.g.* Gerasa, Philadelphia, and elsewhere (G. A. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 598 ff.; E. Huntington, *Palestine and its Transformation*, 1911, pp. 280 f., 295).

Such facilities for games even on the verge of the Empire speak for the universal practice of heathendom. The Christians stood aloof from these displays, and became steeled against them more and more with the lapse of time. In the 3rd cent. 'no member of the Christian Church was allowed to be an actor or gladiator, to teach acting, or to attend the theatre' (A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*[2], 1908, i. 301).

According to the Talmud, the religious leaders of the Jews were only slightly less rigid, although they could not altogether prevent attendance at the theatre and participation in games of chance (E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [1885] 32 f., 36).

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Games' in *HDB*, *SDB*, *Imperial Bible Dict.*, Smith's *Dict. of Class. Antiquities*, Seyffert's *Dict. of Class. Antiquities* (ed. Nettleship and Sandys); 'Games, Classical,' in *EBr*[11]; 'Games and Sports' in *JE*, 'Games (Hebrew and Jewish)' in *ERE*; E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ch. xii. (ed. Bury, vol. i.[4], 1906, p. 343 ff.); W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*[8], 1888, i. 271 ff.; E. Renan, *Les Apôtres*, 1866, ch. xvii.; S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904, pp. 234-244; F. W. Farrar, *The Life and Work of St. Paul*, 1897, Excursus iii., p. 698 f.; W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome in the Age of Cicero*, 1908, pp. 285-318; L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, tr. J. H. Freese and L. A. Magnus, ii. 1-130; T. G. Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, 1910, p. 260 ff.; S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, iii. [1912] 102-121; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4] ii. [1907] 47-52, 60 f., 67 (Eng. tr., *HJP* II. i. 23-28, etc.).

W. CRUICKSHANK.

GANGRENE (Gr. *γάγγραινα*, 'an eating, spreading sore,' from *γραίνειν*, 'to gnaw,' AV 'canker.' Two very early translations of 2 Ti 2[17] may be cited: 'Ase holi writ seið, "hore speche spret ase caunere"' [*Ancr. Rules*, 98, ann. 1225; see 'canker' in *OED*]; 'The word of hem crepith as a kankir' [Wyclif, *Bible*, ed. 1382; changed to 'canker' in 1388 ed. The Vulgate has 'ut cancer']).—Until about A.D. 1600, 'canker' signified corroding ulcerations generally, and was earlier derived from Italian and medical Latin *cancrena*. 'Gangrene' is the term applied to necrosis or mortification of a part of the animal body, attacking especially the extremities, which, as it moves upward, unless arrested, involves more and more healthy tissue, and finally results in death. In its figurative use it symbolizes anything that slowly but surely and malignantly corrupts, depraves, and consumes what is good. The cause of the 'gangrene' referred to in 2 Ti 2[17] is incipient Gnosticism, which subverted the Christian teaching concerning the resurrection, alleging that it had occurred already, in opposition to the belief of the apostles that the resurrection was future, being not merely spiritual but involving the whole man. In Ja 5[3] 'cankered' in the AV is in the RV translated 'rusted.'

C. A. BECKWITH.

GARLANDS (Gr. *στέμματα*).—This word is found only once in the NT, and it is used in connexion with heathen sacrifices. In the temples of the ancient world it was customary to make large use of floral decoration, and especially of wreaths or garlands, on the occasion of religious festivals. Often the priests, the worshippers, and, in particular, the sacrificial victims, were adorned with such wreaths of flowers or leaves at the time of sacrifice. The Romans had a specific name for the wreath or garland worn by the priest and worshippers when taking part in sacrificial worship—the *corona sacerdotalis*, or 'priestly garland.' We have repeated references in classical writers of both Greece and Rome to the practice of adorning the sacrificial beasts with garlands or fillets of flowers or leaves (cf. Virgil, *Æneid*, v. 366; Euripides, *Heracleidæ*, 529). This association of garlands with heathen worship led the early Christians to object to their use altogether (cf. Tertullian, *de Corona Militis*).

In Ac 14[8-18] we are told that, on the healing of a lame man by the Apostles Paul and Barnabas at Lystra in Asia Minor, the people imagined the wonder-workers to be incarnations of the gods Jupiter and Mercury, and declared, 'The gods are come down to us in the likeness of men' (v.[11]). In accordance with this idea, and probably also with a view to reaping the fruits of the religious excitement that had been aroused, the priest of Jupiter brought forth oxen and garlands to the gates of the city for sacrifice (v.[13]). The garlands here were wreaths or chaplets of flowers or leaves intended for the victims and probably also for those taking part in the service.

The Gr. word *στέφανος*, which is usually translated 'crown' in the English version, is more cor-

rectly rendered 'wreath' or 'garland,' and, like the στέμματα (fillets) of Ac 14[13], consisted of leaves or flowers, and was not only used in sacrifices but awarded as a prize to victors in war or at the games (cf. art. CROWN). W. F. BOYD.

GARMENT.—See CLOTHES.

GATE.—Two terms, πύλη and πυλών, are rendered 'gate' in EV, but in certain cases the latter is differentiated by 'porch,' 'portals' (Mt 26[71], Rev 21, RVm *passim*). The distinction between the two seems to turn upon architectural features. Where the entrance alone is contemplated, πύλη is used; but where the whole complex of buildings bound up with the entrance is present to view, πυλών is the term employed. The **pylon** is associated mainly with Egyptian Temples, and consists of the imposing towers flanking the gate by which access was given to the court. When the space between these towers was filled in above, the entrance became a portal, and in this sense the term is employed for private houses as well. An interesting example falling within this period is Ac 12[13], where mention is made of τὴν θύραν τοῦ πυλῶνος. This shows that the portal or gateway was closed by means of a door placed at the end fronting the street. The passage may have been closed in similar fashion at the other end, which opened on the court (see, further, DOOR). A similar use with reference to a private house occurs in Ac 10[17]. In each case the singular is used. With these we have to contrast Ac 14[13], where the plural is found. Opinion is divided as to whether a private entrance, or the city gate, or the sanctuary precincts should here be understood. The most reasonable interpretation is that the πυλῶνες go together with the Temple buildings outside the city (Lystra), being near the point where sacrifice was wont to be made. Barnabas and Paul 'sprang forth,' or 'rushed out,' as probably from the city gate as from a private house. The remaining instances may be classed together (Rev 21[12. 13. 15. 21. 25] 22[14]), where the marginal reading 'portals' gives the best conception of what is represented.

In cases where the gate of a city is referred to, πύλη is the usual term. It is used thus of Damascus (Ac 9[24]) and Philippi (Ac 16[13]—here AV renders 'city'—a not unnatural substitution). With these instances may be ranked He 13[12]—Christ suffering without the gate (of Jerusalem). We remark the singular form in all but one instance (Ac 9[24], where the plural is warranted). There is one example to be classed alone, which shows how an entrance was filled up. It is found in Ac 12[10], where the epithet 'iron' applied to gate is attached to πύλη (it would not suit πυλών). Modern structures lead us to think of iron throughout, but it is more likely the gate was of wood and faced with iron. That the more solid form was not impossible we gather from the Temple doors (Jos. *BJ* VI. v. 3; cf. discoveries at Pompeii, and Vergil, *Æn.* vi. 552–4). If we accept the addition of Cod. Bezæ, seven steps led down from this gate to the level of the street.

The Beautiful Gate of the Temple (Ac 3[2. 10]) has been treated under art. DOOR. Although it is spoken of as a gate (πύλη), we have reason to think this was a portal of a very elaborate type (*SDB*, art. 'Temple'). W. CRUICKSHANK.

GAUL.—See GALATIA.

GAZA (Γάζα).—Gaza, the most southern of the five chief cities of Philistia, was important as the last place of call on the road to Egypt. It was 'the frontier city of Syria and the Desert, on the south-west, as Damascus on the north-east' (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, London, 1877, p. 259). Writing about the beginning of the Christian era, Strabo (XVI. ii. 30) describes it as 'once famous, but razed by Alexander [the Great] and remaining deserted' (καὶ μένουσα ἔρημος). The last clause can scarcely be correct, for Gaza was a strong city in the time of Jonathan the Maccabee (1 Mac 11[61f.]), and it stood a year's siege before it was destroyed by Alexander Jannæus in 96 B.C. (Jos. *Ant.* XIII. xiii. 3). This was Old Gaza (ἡ παλαιὰ Γάζα), so called by Diodorus and Porphyry (see the references in Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [Edinburgh, 1885] 70). New Gaza (ἡ νέα Γάζα) was built by Gabinius, Governor of Syria (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. v. 3), apparently at some distance from the former site (Jerome, *Onomast.*, ed. Lagarde, Göttingen, 1870, p. 125). In the time of Claudius, Mela describes it as 'ingens et munita admodum' (i. 11). It is said to have been destroyed by the Jews in A.D. 65 (Jos. *BJ* II. xviii. 1), but the ruin cannot have been more than partial. In the time of Eusebius and Jerome it was still a notable Greek city, where paganism stoutly resisted Christianity; and it played an important part in the time of the Crusades. To-day it is a flourishing town of 16,000 inhabitants, built on and around a hill rising 100 ft. above the plain, and separated from the sea by three miles of yellow sand-dunes. Well watered, with broad gardens, and a great olive grove stretching northwards, it drives a considerable trade with the nomadic Arabs.

Gaza is mentioned once in the NT (Ac 8[26]): 'Arise,' said the angel of the Lord to Philip, 'and go toward the south (marg., at noon) unto the way that goeth down from Jerusalem to Gaza: the same is desert' (αὕτη ἐστὶν ἔρημος). It is a much-disputed point whether 'the same' refers to the way or to Gaza. (1) If the former interpretation, which is the ordinary one, is right, the tract which the road traversed was 'desert' only in a qualified sense, for the writer expressly states that in passing through it Philip came upon water, in which he baptized the eunuch. The guiding angel's words may refer merely to the solitariness of the road, being spoken 'to bring out Philip's trustful obedience, where he could not foresee the end in view' (J. V. Bartlet, *Acts* [Century Bible, 1901], p. 214), or simply to prepare him for the uninterrupted interview which he enjoys with the eunuch. It is always possible that 'the same is desert' is a remark added by the narrator himself. (2) G. A. Smith (*HGHL*, London, 1897, p. 186 ff.) and Cheyne (*EBi*, 1650) hold that 'the same' (αὕτη) refers to Gaza. The former, to whom it seems impossible to describe any route from Jerusalem to Gaza as desert, suggests that while New Gaza was built by the seashore, the road to Egypt passed the inland and at least comparatively deserted Old Gaza. This view, however, puts a strained meaning upon 'the same,' while Schürer (II. i. 71) holds that the new city, to which αὕτη would naturally refer, also lay inland, probably a little distance to the south of the old. Some scholars (Beza, Hilgenfeld, Schmiedel, and others) have contended that 'the same is desert' is an explanatory gloss. Schmiedel suggests that it was set down in the margin by a reader who had been misled by Strabo, and then incorporated in the text.

LITERATURE.—See, in addition to the works mentioned above, E. Robinson, *Biblical Researches in Palestine*, London, 1841, p. 373 ff.; V. Guérin, *Description géographique . . . de la Palestine*, pt. i.: 'Judée,' Paris, 1869; L. Gautier, *Souvenirs de Terre-Sainte*, Lausanne, 1897, p. 116 ff.; T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1909, ii. 433.

JAMES STRAHAN.

GEHENNA.—See HELL.

GENEALOGIES.—The value attached by the Hebrew people to genealogies is seen in the long

and, to modern readers, somewhat wearisome, lists of Scripture. Their exaggerated importance was in some measure due to family pride, which loved an old descent; and therefore it was considered a laudable ambition to build up legendary pedigrees of heroes and founders such as are met with, *e.g.*, in the *Book of Jubilees*. As Judaism became politically impotent, it took to dreaming of the glories of the past, and there sprang up a 'rank growth of legend respecting the patriarchs and other heroes' (Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, Cambridge and London, 1894, p. 136). This genealogical matter is found in Hebrew and in Greek, and appears in both Philo and Josephus.

In the genealogies a religious interest is also apparent. We know from the NT how obstinately the later Judaism clung to the merely positive and perishable precepts of the Law, and how at the same time, under a narrow and literal doctrine of inspiration, the attempt was made to extract nourishment for the spiritual life from every part of the OT. The most fantastic doctrines were drawn, even from the names in the genealogical lists, in the interests of a supposed edification.

For a time Judaism bitterly opposed the Church; then, entering it as Judaistic Christianity, it sought to capture the new movement, in the interests of a sect, by binding upon it the yoke of the Law, which Peter, in the Jerusalem Council, said 'neither our fathers nor we were able to bear' (Ac 15[10]). 'Lastly, it becomes a fantastic heresy inside the Church, and sinks into profane frivolity. "Pretended revelations are given as to the names and genealogy of angels; absurd ascetic rules are laid down as 'counsels of perfection,' while daring immorality defaces the actual life"' (Plummer, *The Pastoral Epp.* [Expos. Bib., London, 1888], p. 34; also *Expositor*, 3rd ser., viii. [1888] 42); cf. Rev 2[9] 'I know the blasphemy of them which say they are Jews and they are not.'

With this 'unwholesome stuff' (Hort, p. 137) there was combined the doctrine of æons of the Jewish philosopher Philo—the incipient Gnosticism of the Colossian heresy. The γνῶσις of the NT is the special lore of those who interpreted mystically the OT, especially the Law (cf. Hort, pp. 139–144). This so-called Gnosticism may be traced through Philo, the Book of Wisdom, and Sirach, 'back to the Persian speculations with which the Jews became familiar during the Captivity' (Dods, *Introd. to NT*, London, 1888, p. 141 f.). This is the situation, atmosphere, and tendency lying behind the stern rebukes of the Pastoral Epistles.

In 1 Ti 1[4] the warning is given, μηδὲ προσέχειν μύθοις καὶ γενεαλογίαις ἀπεράντοις, αἵτινες ἐκζητήσεις παρέχουσι, 'neither to give heed to fables and endless genealogies, the which minister questionings.' These genealogies are 'legendary pedigrees of Jewish heroes' and 'haggadic embroidery of Jewish biographies' (Moffatt, *LNT*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 406, 408). They are called ἀπέραντοι (ἄπαξ λεγ. in NT)—'endless,' because they led nowhere, and, where all meanings were equally possible and equally worthless, one interpretation was as good as another. 'They minister questionings'—that was their end. 'Fanciful tales merely tickle the ears and loosen the tongue. They have no relation to the serious business of life. . . . They end in conversation, not conversion' (J. Strachan, *The Captivity and the Pastoral Epistles* [Westminster NT, London, 1910], p. 203, where Köhler is quoted [p. 205]: 'the author can think of no more striking contrast than that between the endless prattle of the false teachers and the gospel of the glory of the blessed God' [1 Ti 1[11]]). Life is a stewardship of God (οἰκονομία θεοῦ), but this 'trashy and unwholesome stuff,' which occupied 'men's minds to the exclusion of solid and life-giving nutriment' (Hort, p. 137), hinders the fulfilment of the trust of life. It is contrary to sound doctrine. It does not belong to the healthy (ὑγιαινούσῃ) mind. In Tit 3[9] the warning is repeated: 'shun foolish questions and genealogies.'

The scornful method adopted by the Pastoral Epistles of dealing with these 'silly questions and genealogies' has been objected to as un-Pauline, and is cited as an argument for the late date of the Epistles. Without raising the question of authorship, one may feel, on general considerations, that, in the interests of the Church, the question was a vital one—should Christianity be allowed to degenerate into a blend of Mosaism and Gentile philosophy or theosophy? Even in religious controversy, rank growths are not to be eradicated with a pair of tweezers. Moffatt's rejoinder (*EBi* 5083) to McGiffert (*Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 402) may be regarded as justified and satisfactory: 'This movement [represented by fables, genealogies, etc.] is met by . . . methods, which seem denunciatory merely because we no longer possess any statement of the other side, and are, therefore, prone to forget that such rough and decisive ways are at times the soundest method of conserving truth. . . . Firmness and even ridicule have their own place as ethical weapons of defence.' See FABLE.

W. M. GRANT.

GENERATION (γενεά, 1 P 2[9]: 'a chosen generation,' AV = γένος ἐκλεκτόν = 'an elect race,' RV).—The use of γενεά in the NT closely reproduces, as in the LXX it translates, the Hebrew דּוֹר. The two words, however, reach their common significance from different directions. Etymologically, γενεά expresses the idea of kinship. It signifies descent, or the descendants, from the same ancestral stock; then those of the same lineage who are born about the same time; then the lifetime of such (measured from birth of parent to birth of child), or, more generally, an 'age' or lengthened period of time. The root-idea of דּוֹר, on the other hand, is a period of time: hence it comes to mean the people whose lifetime falls approximately within a given period, and finally acquires the genealogical sense of a 'generation' (see Liddell and Scott and *Oxford Hebrew Lexicon*, *s.v.*).

In the apostolic writings, the primary meaning of the word is (*a*) the body of individuals of the same race who are born about the same time (He 3[10], Ac 13[36], AV and RVm); but this sense usually passes into that of (*b*), the period covered by the lifetime of such (Ac 13[36] RV, 14[16] 15[21], Eph 3[5]); and thus the plural, γενεαί, comes to mean (*c*) all time, past or future, as consisting in the succession of such periods. In Col 1[26], 'the mystery hath been hid from the ages and from the generations,' the 'generation' is a subdivision of the 'age' and is added for the sake of emphasis, and in Eph 3[21] the Apostle, struggling to express the idea of the Eternal Future, not only describes it as 'the age of ages' (the age whose component parts are themselves ages), but adds to the picture the endless succession of 'generations' which constitute each 'age'—'unto all the generations of the age of ages' (cf. Ps 102[24], *Enoch* ix. 4). Finally (*d*) the word is used, as often in the OT (Dt 32[5. 20], Ps 12[7] 24[6] etc.), with a moral connotation, as in Ph 2[15] and Ac 2[40]. In the latter passage the term has an eschatological colouring. 'This crooked generation' is the present, swiftly transient period of the world's history, which is leading up to the Day of Judgment and the New Age.

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Bibl.-Theol. Lexicon of NT Greek*[3], 1880; Grimm-Thayer, *Greek-English Lexicon of the NT*[2], 1890; Theodor Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, Eng. tr., 1881, vol. v. p. 245 n.

ROBERT LAW.

GENTILES (τὰ ἔθνη, 'the nations,' as opposed to Israel, ὁ λαός. The opposition comes out clearly in Lk 2[32], Ac 26[17. 23], Ro 15[10]. Cf. *'am* and *gōyîm* in Dt 26[18. 19] 32[43], Is 42[6]. In Ro 11[13] 15[27] 16[4], Gal 2[12. 14], Eph 3[1] ἔθνη=Gentile Christians; but in 1 Co 12[2], Eph 2[11] 4[17], 1 Th 4[5] St. Paul lays stress upon the moral separation of such from the ἔθνη [cf. Harnack, *Expansion*, i. 67, n. 1]. The Vulg. has *gentes* for ἔθνη, but nearly always *Gentilis* for Ἕλλην [Ἑλληνίς]. This may have led our translators to render Ἕλλην six times by 'Gentile' [uniformly 'Greek,' however, in RV]. When the Koine [vernacular and business Greek] became the international language, those Jews who spoke it began to apply the handy designation of 'Greeks' to all non-Jews in order to distinguish them from themselves; hence the phrase Ἰουδαῖοι τε καὶ Ἕλληνες came to be the colloquial equivalent of ὁ λαὸς καὶ τὰ ἔθνη. But there are passages in the NT where Ἕλληνες appears to retain its proper national sense [Ac 16[1. 3] 21[28], Ro 1[14], 1 Co 1[22], Gal 2[3], Col 3[11]; cf. Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, i. 373; Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, p. 51]).—*Introductory.*—The account of what occurred at Pisidian Antioch when St. Paul and Barnabas preached there the second time (Ac 13[44ff.]) may be taken as a short outline of the principal part of the history of the Apostolic Age. The Jews, filled with jealousy, contradict and rail at the preaching of the gospel. The two apostles then speak out boldly, and say: 'It was necessary that the word of God should first be spoken to you. Seeing ye thrust it from you . . . lo, we turn to the Gentiles.' The Gentiles receive the word with joy, and many of them believe. The history of the Apostolic Age is mainly the history of how Christ was brought to the Gentile world, and how the Jewish nation 'hardened its heart more and more against the appeal of Christianity' (Harnack, *op. cit.* p. xxx). Add another important feature to the history of this period—that the door which was set wide open for the admission of the Gentiles into the Kingdom of God was kept wide open in spite of the attempt of a large section of the Judæo-Christian Church to shut it—and the outline is complete.

1. The Gentiles and the purpose of God.—When we speak of God's revealing Himself, we mean His opening man's eyes to such a sight of His nature and will as meets a universal want of man's spirit. We believe that, since man's history began, there has never been an age or a country in which 'the Father of spirits' has not entered into close relation with His spiritual children. We agree with Justin Martyr when he says that the wise heathen lived in company with 'The Word,' and that all that they have truly said is part of Christianity (*Apol.* i. 46, ii. 13). The revelation which most concerns us is the special one contained in the Holy Scriptures. In the OT, it disclosed certain fundamental principles which, when we study them in the light of Christianity, we perceive to have been also promises of a purpose of mercy for the whole world. One is *the Unity of God.* This implied that God should be the one object of worship to the whole human race. Another is *His entering into successive covenants with men of various periods.* This pointed to a progressive purpose which should finally be realized in His drawing all men unto Himself. Further, *the announcement of His design of blessing all the families of the earth* through that family which He chose to be the special depositary of His revealed will, was virtually His calling Abraham and his descendants to be fellow-workers with Himself in bringing all nations to love and obey Him. Those principles and promises, understood now in the light of the gospel, convey to us the assurance that the cause of the salvation of the Gentiles is to be found 'in the bosom and counsel of God.'

2. The OT and the Gentiles.—When we turn our attention to the OT on its human side, we meet with a confusing variety of opinions respecting the Gentiles. There is no consistency of view, no authoritative standard of judgment whereby conflicting utterances may be reconciled; and the effect of this is often depressing to those readers who do not bear in mind that 'we have the treasure in earthen vessels,' or that the instruments whom God employed in revealing His will were imperfect men. OT writers often speak of the Gentiles in the language of reprobation. In Ps 9[17] the *gōyîm* are synonymous with the *r'shā'îm*, 'the wicked' (cf. Dt 9[5]); they are the *'am-nābhāl*, 'the foolish people,' in Ps 74[18] (cf. Sir 50[26]); they are the *b'nē-nēkhār*, 'the strangers' (in a hostile sense), 'whose mouth speaketh vanity, and their right hand is a right hand of falsehood,' in Ps 144[11] (ct. Zeph 3[13]). Israel is strictly prohibited from 'walking in their statutes,' or following their idolatrous practices (*hukḳôth hag-gōyîm* [Lv 18[3] 20[23], 2 K 17[8]]).

The virtues of individual Gentiles, it is true, are often referred to with approval. The native chiefs of Canaan treat Abraham with respect; the Pharaoh who makes Joseph lord of his house calls him 'a man in whom the spirit of God is'; the daughter of the Pharaoh of the oppression is moved with compassion at the sight of the child Moses, and brings him up as her son; Jethro receives Moses when an exile into his family, guides him in the desert, and instructs him in the art of governing; Rahab and Ruth 'take refuge under the wings of the God of Israel,' and their names are in the regal genealogy; Ittai the Gittite cleaves to David, when almost all have forsaken him; the Queen of Sheba comes to hear the wisdom of Solomon; the Tyrian Hiram supplies him with materials when building the Temple, having been 'ever a lover of David'; the widow of Zarephath, nearly destitute herself, feeds the famishing Elijah; and Naaman, the Syrian general, confesses his faith in the God of Elisha as the one true God; Ebed-melech, an Ethiopian slave, rescues Jeremiah from death, and is rewarded with a promise of personal immunity from danger; Job, an Arabian shaikh, is the lofty teacher of how 'to suffer and be strong'; Cyrus the Persian is the Lord's anointed, and the deliverer of His people.

Nor is the fundamental principle of the unity of the human race (Gn 1–11), or of God's having 'made of one every nation of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth' (Ac 17[26]), ever lost sight of by OT writers. He who brought up Israel from Egypt, Amos says (9[7]), is the same God who brought the Philistines from Caphtor and the Syrians from Kir. But neither in this saying nor in the later one about 'all the nations over whom my name has been called' (cf. Driver on Am 9[12]) does the prophet voice the belief that He who made all 'loveth all,' or will admit all into the covenant of His grace.

Very little is taught by the pre-Exilic prophets as to the world being Israel's mission-field, but much is said about God's chastising the nations. In the great post-Exilic book of national consolation the proof of Jahweh's Godhead is followed by the proclamation of salvation to all mankind: 'Look unto me and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth' (Is 45[22]). When we read those words, and 'the Servant of the Lord Songs,' with their bright outlook on the Gentile world, the expectation is raised that the missionary calling of Israel is about to be fulfilled. It is true that a beginning was made, but only by the Jews of the Dispersion. The home-Jews, led by Nehemiah, took the course of setting up an impenetrable fence between them and their nearest neighbours. E. G. Hirsch says that the necessities of the situation justified the narrower policy in this case (*JE* v. 616[a]). But we cannot

fall in with this view, when we think of the books of Job, Jonah, and Ruth—of the larger hope of the later Psalmists (Ps 67, 87, 100, 117, 145), and the remarkable assertion of Malachi (1[11]) that the name of God is honoured by the sincere worship offered to Him among the Gentiles from East to West.

From the Wisdom Literature the national feeling against Gentiles is almost entirely absent. But it is far otherwise with Jewish apocalyptic, the Book of Daniel and its numerous extra-canonical successors—far inferior to it in religious value—in which much true spiritual insight is mixed with carnal views and human passion. The noble Maccabæan struggle, which was contemporaneous with the rise of this class of literature, saved Israel from becoming hellenized; but it had the result also of intensifying the exclusiveness and intolerance of which Tacitus speaks (*Hist.* v. 5: 'adversus omnes alios hostile odium').

The teaching of the OT respecting the Gentiles may be characterized as hostile, hesitating, and hopeful by turns. It is to be observed that in many of its most liberal utterances a position of superiority is assigned to Israel. The Gentiles are still servants, not equals. In Is 60[14] they come and bend at Israel's feet as suppliants and vassals. Even in Is 19[23-25], while Egypt and Assyria are admitted into covenant with God, Israel is still distinguished as His inheritance, His peculiar possession. 'His house shall be called a house of prayer for all peoples' (Is 56[7]), but it is Jewish feasts that the nations shall keep there (Zec 14[16-19]), and they shall be joined to Israel by absorption, not by co-ordination (Is 45[20-25], Jer 12[16], Zeph 3[9], Zec 8[20-23]). A great concession in the direction of equality is made in Is 66[21], if it be Gentiles whom God is to take to minister in His sanctuary; but the promise may relate to Jews of the Dispersion. In the magnificent prophecy of Is 2[2-4], Mic 4[1-4] the Temple-mountain is still the centre from which the laws of God go forth to the subjects of a kingdom of universal peace. But the material and spiritual elements in this prophecy are combined in a way that the Christian Church will not fully comprehend before the coming of a glory that shall be revealed.

3. Christ and the Gentiles.—Was there present to the mind of Christ, while accomplishing the work of Him that sent Him, a purpose of salvation that included the Gentiles? Did He look beyond 'the lost sheep of the house of Israel' to other sheep far off from the mountains of Canaan, who had also to be sought and found? When Satan showed Him the kingdoms of the world, did He turn away from the sight of the world with the repugnance of a Jew of His time, or did the sight move Him to compassion, and enkindle a great hope in His heart? It is not easy to see how the Christian Church can cease believing that Christ had a purpose of mercy for the world, and the expectation of subduing it unto Himself, unless she is to revise her whole doctrine of the Person of her Lord. 'The day and the hour' may be unknown to Christ as the Son, but the Father's purpose of love for the world cannot be unknown; if He be the Son, He must have made that purpose His own.

It has been contended that although His preaching contained 'a vital love of God and men, which may be described as "implicit universalism," the Gentile mission cannot have lain within the horizon of Jesus.' It was the Spirit of Jesus that led His disciples to the universal mission, but He issued no positive command to them to undertake it (Harnack, *Expansion*, i. 40 ff.). This conclusion is based upon an exhaustive, but biased, exposition of the relevant texts in the Synoptic Gospels, the Fourth being set aside with the frank avowal that it 'is saturated with statements of a directly universalistic character' (p. 47). It is to be admitted that the view in question largely owes its air of credibility to that perplexing feature of the narrative of Acts—the delay of the original apostles in undertaking the Gentile mission. On this delay, which is one of the unsolved problems of Apostolic Christianity, something will be said later. At present, let us endeavour to appreciate the strength of our position by surveying its defences.

(1) As the fundamental principle of the unity of God implied that He was the God of all nations upon earth, so our Saviour's calling Himself 'the Son of man' expressed His universal relation to the human race. And if a reference to Dn 7[13f.] be admitted, His using the title also pointed to His coming Lordship over the world. There is thus an antecedent probability that Mt 28[18-20], which so well agrees with the meaning of the title, is a genuine utterance of the Risen Lord.

(2) He accepted the confession at Cæsarea Philippi, 'Thou art the Christ,' with an emotion of which we feel the glow every time we read Mt 16[16, 17]. It follows that, from the time when the Voice from heaven had proclaimed Him to be God's Beloved Son, and from the beginning of His 'training of the Twelve,' Jesus had been conscious of His right to 'the name in which all the hopes of the OT were gathered up' (*EBi* iii. 3063). The announcement of His Death and Resurrection which immediately followed showed what His being the true Messiah meant for Him, although His disciples were 'slow of heart to believe' that it could mean what He said. The OT picture of the suffering Saviour, placed as it was side by side with that of the ruling descendant of David, became, as Ed. König says (*Expositor*, 8th ser., iv. [1912] 113, 118), dimmed in the centuries preceding His Advent. Christ relumined the whole picture by His suffering, and then by His being 'the first by the resurrection of the dead to proclaim light both to the people and to the Gentiles' (Ac 26[23]).

(3) To His limiting the mission of the Twelve to Galilee and Judæa on His first sending them forth (Mt 10[5, 6]), we may apply the words of Is 28[16]: 'He that believeth shall not make haste.' It was consistent with the highest wisdom not to propel them into a wider field than the one in which, with the training they had hitherto received, they could labour with profit. His words, 'Go not into any way of the Gentiles,' reveal His wisdom in another way. By giving His disciples this charge, He abstained from needlessly offending His fellow-countrymen, to whom it was His first object to commend the gospel. His heart's desire for them was that they might be saved; He called the season of His earthly activity among them 'the acceptable year of the Lord' (Lk 4[19]), and, after His departure to heaven, extended their opportunity of 'knowing the things which belonged unto their peace' (cf. Lk 19[42]) for forty years (cf. He 3[9, 17]). In the story of the Syrophœnician, we hear Jesus first telling His disciples that He limited His own mission of healing, as He had previously limited theirs, to the afflicted in Israel; but in another moment we see Him recognizing in the illustrious faith with which a poor Gentile woman met His refusal of her petition the indication of His Father's will that those limits should be transcended, and that His saving mercy should go forth to all, without distinction of race, who had faith like hers to receive it. The words reported by St. Mark (7[27]), 'Let the children *first* be filled,' also suggest that Jesus had in view, when He spoke them, the Gentiles, who should not have long to wait before they too could come to His full table.

(4) If the Gospel of Mark was written 'at the latest in the sixth decade of the first century' (Harnack, *Date of the Acts*, p. 126), and 'was known

to both the other Synoptists in the same form and with the same contents as we have it now' (Wellhausen, *Einleitung*, p. 57, quoted in Burkitt, *Gospel Hist. and its Transmission*, p. 64), it follows that the sayings, 'The gospel must first be preached unto all the nations' and 'Wheresoever the gospel shall be preached throughout the whole world' (13[10] 14[9]), were put on record in little more than twenty years after they were spoken. 'The Kingdom of God shall be taken away from you and given to a nation bringing forth the fruits thereof,' is, as Burkitt says (*op. cit.*, p. 188), the motto, the special doctrine, of St. Matthew's Gospel. This sentence occurs in one of the last parables of judgment (21[43]), but other sayings reported before lead up to it, as: 'Many shall come from the east and west'; 'The field is the world'; 'The last shall be first, and the first last' (8[11] 13[38] 20[16]). From St. Luke's account of our Lord's discourse at Nazareth it is clear that His hearers understood the references to the ministries of Elijah and Elisha as pointing to the admission of Gentiles into the Kingdom (4[28]). In Luke, too, Samaritans are exhibited as excelling Jews in compassionate and grateful love (10[33] 17[16]). The value of his report of the commission given by our Lord to His disciples in the upper room (24[47-49]), and repeated at the Ascension (Ac 1[8]), is heightened by the fact that 'it seems now to be established beyond question that both books of this [Luke's] great historical work were written while St. Paul was still alive' (Harnack, *Date of the Acts*, p. 124).

(5) Finally, as a historical account of certain incidents and crises in the life of Christ which showed Him to be the Son of God (Jn 20[31]), the Fourth Gospel claims to have the authority of an eye-witness behind it. The truth of this claim has never been disproved. This Gospel is the crowning proof that there was present to the mind of our Lord from the beginning a purpose of salvation which comprehended the Gentile world. It clinches the argument, it is the keystone of the arch. For here Jesus calls Himself 'the light of the world,' speaks of 'giving his flesh for the life of the world,' and of 'sending his disciples into the world in like manner as the Father sent him into the world'; to the woman at the well He speaks of the hour when, not the coming to God at the ancient sanctuaries, but the coming to the Father 'in spirit and truth,' will be the mark of the sincere worshipper; He resides two days with the Samaritans; He proclaims to the leaders of the Jewish Church that He has 'other sheep, not of this fold,' whom He must bring, and who will recognize in His voice that of their Shepherd; above all, on the eve of those sufferings whereby He was to enter into His glory, He beholds in certain Greeks desiring to see Him a prospect so satisfying to His heart that, in the exultation of His saving love, He cries: 'And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me.' The preservation of such sayings as these made the work of this Evangelist a gospel of consolation to the Gentile churches of Asia Minor at the close of the 1st cent.; and the assurance of the members of St. John's immediate circle is now ours: 'We know that his witness is true' (21[24]).

4. Preparation of the Gentile world for Christ.—That Christ came into a world which God had slowly been preparing in the course of ages for His appearing was perceived by St. Paul and St. John, each from his own special point of view. St. Paul is thinking of Christ as the Redeemer from sin and its curse when he says that 'God sent forth his Son in the fulness of the time,' and again, that 'Christ died for the ungodly in due season' (Gal 4[4], Ro 5[6]). St. John is thinking of Christ as the Incarnate Word when he says: 'There was the true light, even the light which lighteth every man coming into the world' (1[9] RV; cf. 6[33] tr. by Gwatkin: '[The Bread] is ever coming down, and ever giving life unto the world'). This fascinating subject also engaged the attention of many early Christian writers. Its interest has been heightened in our day by the fuller knowledge brought us by archæological research and the study of comparative religion. Thus it is now more clearly seen that Christianity, as Pfleiderer said, came as 'the ripe fruit of ages of development in a soil that was already prepared' (*Early Christian Conception of Christ*, 1905, p. 152).

(1) *Philosophy.*—The early Fathers often spoke of Greek philosophy as a *προπαρασκευή* or *προπαιδεία* for Christ. Plato, whose *Timæus* marks the transition from the polytheism of early Greek ages to monotheistic belief, exercised a profound influence on religious thought and speculation during the two or three centuries preceding our Saviour's birth; and his teaching was still a living force, although, when St. Paul visited Athens, 'its Acropolis was still as full of idols as it could hold' (Ac 17[16] [Gwatkin]). The Epicureans and Stoics who encountered the Apostle on that occasion (v.[18]) represented the two chief Schools of the period; and both Schools, the one by the gentle humanity of its teaching, the other by its moral earnestness, are justly regarded as having a place in the preparation for the Christian faith. The Stoic philosophy, with its watchwords 'Endure' and 'Refrain,' was that with which the Roman mind had most affinity; and its great teacher Seneca († A.D. 65) commended self-discipline and self-renunciation as the true healing of the diseases of the soul, with a passion approaching that of the Christian preacher (Dill, *Roman Society*, 298, 321; cf. Tertullian, *de Anima*, xx: 'Seneca sæpe noster: . . .').

(2) *Religion.*—'The world,' says Dill, 'was in the throes of a religious revolution, and eagerly in quest of some fresh vision of the Divine'; and he has traced in his great work the rise and progress of that 'moral and spiritual movement which was setting steadily, and with growing momentum, towards purer conceptions of God, of man's relations to Him, and of the Life to come' (*op. cit.*, pp. 82, 585). The old Roman religion, which from the Second Punic War had been falling into decay, was revived by Augustus as the formal religion of the State, but could not retard the progress of this movement. People sought satisfaction for their religious cravings and emotions in the rites and mysteries of Eastern lands, which had little in common with old Roman religious sentiment; especially in the worship of Mithra, which, as recent investigation has shown, contained a moral element that made it a real help to a truer and purer life, till in the light of the higher and more effectual help to sanctification held out in Christ it too faded away and was forgotten.

(3) *The Empire and social life.*—The most signal illustration of the historical preparation of the Gentile world for Christ is seen in the vast extent and wonderful cohesion of the Roman Empire. Its political unity, though not of such a nature as to lead in any marked degree to the recognition of human brotherhood, yet materially helped the diffusion of the message of the Cross and the Resurrection which made men conscious of a new fellowship with each other. Communication between the Imperial city and her officials at a distance was easy and rapid: sandy wastes, trackless mountains, and broad rivers presenting no barriers which she had not been able to overcome. The subject peoples enjoyed under the Romans peace, prosperity, and freedom; and 'just and upright

governors were the rule and not the exception' (Dill, p. 3). The good treatment which St. Paul received from Roman officials has often been commented upon; less frequently has it been noted that his missionary journeys were never impeded by military movements or interrupted by an outbreak of hostilities in any part of the Empire.

As to the state of society in Rome and the provinces, attention has been so concentrated upon its darker side, that what there was in it of 'virtue and praise' (Ph 4^8) has been unduly lost sight of. The lines of Arnold's well-known poem (*Obermann Once More*), in which he depicts the ennui, hardness, and impiety of the old Roman world (cf. Seneca, *de Brev. Vit.* xvi. 'tarde ire horas queruntur . . . transilire dies volunt'), are oftener quoted than those in which he also does justice to the sense of void and unslaked thirst which led it to the gospel whereby hope lived again. The intense indignation at corruption and baseness that barbs the pen of a Juvenal or a Tacitus bears witness that in a considerable part of society a high standard of virtue still existed. Roman inscriptions, though they hold out no hope of a life beyond, testify to the affectionate regard in which family life was held. Household slavery had its compensations: masters often treated their slaves as humble friends, and felt that they had a moral duty towards them apart from the legal conventions of Rome (for instances, see Dill, p. 181 f.). Many manumitted slaves rose to honourable positions in the service of the State (*ib.* p. 100). Still another kind of preparation for Christianity is found in the institution of the *sodalitia* or *collegia*, which were 'nurseries . . . of the gentle charities and brotherliness' which 'the young Church' was able to teach with greater effect and with more Divine sanctions (*ib.* p. 271). Enough has been said to indicate the moral resources that lay still undeveloped in Roman society, waiting to be changed into the spiritual wealth of the Kingdom of God (Is $60^{5.\ 11}$ RV).

5. The Gentile mission.—The call of Jesus, 'Lift up your eyes, and look on the fields, that they are white already unto harvest' (Jn 4^{35}; cf. Mt $9^{37.\ 38}$), was not addressed to the disciples with reference to the coming to Him of the men of Sychar only. It had a wider bearing. At the great harvest festival of Pentecost, which followed the forty days during which He had manifested Himself to them as the Risen Lord, the Twelve made their first day's ingathering of about 3,000 souls; and it was clearly foreshown to them by word and sign that those that were far off were to be made nigh (Ac $2^{3.\ 5.\ 11.\ 17.\ 39}$). We should have expected that the apostles, after having been so amply endowed and encouraged for the work of 'making disciples of all the nations,' would have proceeded to adopt measures for entering upon that work. Their delay in undertaking the Gentile mission has been accounted for on the ground that the giving witness at Jerusalem of the Resurrection of the Lord Jesus, and the piloting of the newly launched vessel of the Church, engrossed their attention. But when we study carefully the history of how the Gentile mission was started, we perceive that the Twelve, bold and resolute as the Spirit of Jesus had made them in the face of Jewish opposition, were far from being well qualified for immediately undertaking it. Their question at the Ascension (Ac 1^6) showed that they did not share the wide outlook of Jesus; their mental horizon was still limited by their national feelings. They had, as the event proved, to count but loss much that at present appeared gain to them, before they could go out into the world and build a Church in which there should be no middle wall of partition. The terms on which Gentiles were to be received had not been explicitly laid down by Jesus in His parting commission: that He had given the apostles other important directions besides those which are recorded is an idea that we cannot entertain. He had made them fully acquainted with the nature of the work to be done, and had promised them the guidance of His Spirit. But the guidance of the Holy Spirit was not intended to supersede the use of their own understanding, or the knowledge that they were to gather from the teaching of events, as to the practical form which this new departure should take.

This is best illustrated by the case of Peter. The first thing that seems to have shaken his Jewish prejudices was the sight of what the grace of God effected among the Samaritans through the gospel (Ac $8^{14f.}$); the next, the miraculous conversion of Saul the persecutor (9^{27-28}). We may conjecture that to have time for meditation upon what the latter event meant for the Church was one purpose of Peter's residence at Joppa; and there, while he gazed from the house-top over the waters of the Mediterranean, he received his singular vision, and heard the Voice that interpreted it, 'What God hath cleansed, that call not thou common.' But, having baptized Cornelius and other Gentiles, he did not proceed a step further in the direction pointed out by the Voice which he had heard; the discouraging reception which his admitting a Gentile met with at Jerusalem may partly explain this. Philip the evangelist's baptism of a Gentile had preceded Peter's; we cannot help wondering whether some connecting link existed between Peter's visit to Cornelius of Cæsarea and Philip's residence there (Ac 8^{38-40} 21^8).

As far as we can make out, it was not till eight years after Peter's vision that some unknown Cypriote and Cyrenian Jews of the Dispersion took the momentous step of 'preaching the Lord Jesus' to the Gentiles at Antioch (Ac 11^{20}, where Ἕλληνας is the true reading). The Gentile mission is thus for ever bound up with the very name of 'Christians'; for 'the disciples were called Christians first in Antioch' (11^{26}). We hear the decisive hour of this mission strike in Ac 13^{1-4}: these four verses are among the most important that St. Luke ever wrote.

The work in 'the third city of the Empire' had been greatly blessed. The question was, Could it be extended? Ought the Christians of Antioch to make a serious effort to propagate the gospel in the lands beyond Syria, in Asia Minor and the islands? Barnabas and Saul were well aware that the Lord designed them for a wider mission than that in which they were now engaged; had the time for it arrived? They referred the matter to the congregation, hoping that an expression of the Divine will would be given through one of their gifted prophets. This hope was fulfilled. The Holy Ghost said: 'Separate unto me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them.' The way was then clear; uncertainty was at an end. Another meeting of the congregation was held, probably on the next Lord's day, at which, with fasting and prayer, and by 'the laying on of hands'—the already 'familiar and expressive sign of benediction'—the two apostles were solemnly set apart for the mission; and, having been 'let go,' or 'bidden God speed,' by the whole congregation (ἀπέλυσαν; Ramsay, *St. Paul*, p. 67), they immediately set forth on their new enterprise. 'So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost, went down to Seleucia, and from thence they sailed to Cyprus' (Barnabas's island, to which he would naturally feel that missionary work was first of all due). The Creator-Spirit, who with His Divine breath called the Church into being at Pentecost, thus proclaimed Himself to be the Author of missions and the Patron of missionaries, signifying

that their work of showing the things of Christ to all the nations upon earth was His work, and making their preaching of them effectual unto salvation in every part of the Empire. After this, St. Luke's principal object is to describe the triumphant progress of the gospel from Antioch to Rome.

It does not fall within the scope of this article to trace the history of the attempt made by a large section of the adherents of Judaistic Christianity to obstruct and even to wreck the Gentile mission. Before St. Paul's missionary labours were ended, it was evident that this attempt had completely failed. The energetic remonstrance which he had addressed to St. Peter at Antioch on his withdrawing himself from table-fellowship with the Gentiles, and of which we may infer from 1 Co 3^{22} that St. Peter had acknowledged the justice, probably had an important effect in settling the question of Gentile rights. Fourteen or fifteen years later, St. Paul had the happiness of testifying to what his eyes had seen of 'the mystery of God' now revealed, 'that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs, and fellow-members of the body, and fellow-partakers of the promise in Christ Jesus through the gospel' (Eph 3^{6}). While Gentile Christianity increased, Judaistic Christianity decreased, and, after losing its local centre at Jerusalem, it became 'the shadow of a shade.' In the striking words of Guthe (*EBi* 2277), 'When Christianity and Judaism gradually separated, it was as if a mighty river had changed its bed: a feeble current still crept along the old channel, but the main, the perennial stream flowed elsewhere.' (For the countries in which the Gentile mission had gained a footing before the close of the Apostolic Age, see Gwatkin, *Early Church Hist.* i. 113.)

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JAMES DONALD.

GENTLENESS.—See MEEKNESS.

GHOST.—See HOLY SPIRIT.

GIDEON (Γεδεών).—Gideon was a man of valour who, according to Jg 6–8, received a visit from Jahweh's messenger, overturned the altar of Baal, saved Israel from the hand of Midian, chastised the men of Succoth, and finally refused a crown. He is merely named in Hebrews (11^{32}) among the ancients who wrought great deeds by faith, time failing the author to recount the achievements of all his heroes. JAMES STRAHAN.

GIFTS.—We may distinguish for the purpose of this article between gifts and giving generally, and the particular endowments which are connoted by the term χαρίσματα, translated in AV and RV 'gifts.'

1. General.—It is clear that in the Apostolic Age the Church had learnt the implications of the fact of the Incarnation. From the literature of the time we note the connexion between the gift of God's grace in Christ, the 'unspeakable gift' (2 Co 9^{15}), and the ethical practice of Christ's followers. The Greek verbs δίδωμι and δωρέομαι are hallowed by new associations and duties to which both the theology and ethic of Christianity give notable contributions. Specific deeds of charity and kindness (see ALMS) enter naturally, as the result of our Lord's teaching, into Christian practice (see art. CHRISTIAN LIFE for the appointment of deacons and systematic giving in the Church). The generosity of Stephanas (1 Co 16^{15}), which impelled him at his own expense to journey to the Apostle with Fortunatus and Achaicus (his slaves), is singled out by St. Paul for special mention, as setting forth a new duty to the Church on the lines of the old Greek λειτουργία or service done to the State. The same Epistle (1 Co 16^{1}) emphasizes the duty of the Christian community in the matter of the collection (*q.v.*): St. Paul insists on the duty of supporting not only the Church and its ministry but also poorer churches at a distance (2 Co 8^{1-5} 9^{12-13}) and of supplying a portion for the communion-meal, while his eulogy of cheerful giving (2 Co 9^{7}) in general sets the standard and model of Christian liberality and of systematic gifts to spiritual objects, to the support of the poor and helpless (cf. Aristides, *Apol.* xv.), as well as to the furtherance of the gospel. Philanthropy is bound up with the Christian life and can never be dissociated from it.

The group of words translated 'gift' (δῶρον, δωρεά, δόμα, δόσις, δώρημα) forms an interesting study, upon which see note on Ja 1^{17} in J. B. Mayor's Commentary (^{3}London, 1910). δώρημα (Ja 1^{17}, Ro 5^{16}) is used of a gift of God, and so is δωρεά wherever we find it in the NT; δῶρον is used of offerings to God; δόμα (except in Eph 4^{8}, a quotation from LXX) is used of human gifts; while δόσις may refer to either a human or a Divine gift. The use of δωρεά as the 'free gift' of God, springing from His χάρις, or 'grace,' is found in Ac 2^{38} 8^{20} 10^{45} 11^{17}, Ro $5^{15.\ 17}$, 2 Co 9^{15}, Eph 3^{7} 4^{7}, He 6^{4}, and is also used by apostolic writers like Clement (cf. 1 Clem. xix. 2, xxiii. 2, xxxii. 1) and Ignatius (*Smyrn.* vii. 1).

Christ is pre-eminently the gift of God's voluntary favour to the race, and is at once the type and source, along with the Holy Spirit, of all spiritual impartations and endowments. It remains to add that all gifts of love are gifts to God in the apostolic teaching. Gifts of the sacrificial order are mentioned by the author of Heb. in connexion with the Jewish priesthood only to be elevated into the region of Christian thought and to be liberated from the externalism and legalism of the Mosaic system. The gifts of the one High Priest, 'the mediator of a better covenant,' are inward; the new law is written on the heart, and the covenant is one of forgiveness and grace (He 5^{1} $8^{1ff.}$). Likewise, the approach to God by the believer is 'a new and living way' in that it is by the medium of the soul and conscience, unaccompanied by outward gift or sacrifice, except that, like his Lord, the believer offers *himself*, or rather his body (cf. Ro 12^{1}). This is the foundation of all giving, as St. Paul hints in 2 Co 8^{5}, the giving up of self to God being the act that hallows all other gifts. The sanctions of Christian magnanimity, practical sympathy, and liberality are rooted in Christian doctrine, and especially its doctrine of God as the eternal love eternally imparting itself and historically manifest in the gift of His Son. The grace of God and His kindness (φιλανθρωπία) have both appeared (Tit 2^{11} 3^{4}); and

the Apostle asks elsewhere 'shall he not with him also freely give (χαρίσεται) us all things?' (Ro 8^{32}).

2. Special.—The quotation last given reminds us that χάρισμα ('charism'), formed from the verb χαρίζομαι, means a 'free gift,' not of right but of bounty. Unlike δωρεά, which has a similar meaning, χάρισμα comes to be used almost in a technical sense in Christian terminology, of gifts or qualifications for spiritual service. F. J. A. Hort (*The Christian Ecclesia*, London, 1897, p. 153 f.) thus defines χάρισμα as used by St. Paul and by one other writer only in the NT, namely St. Peter:

'In these instances it is used to designate either what we call "natural advantages" independent of any human process of acquisition, or advantages freshly received in the course of Providence; both alike being regarded as so many various free gifts from the Lord of men, and as designed by Him to be distinctive qualifications for rendering distinctive services to men or to communities of men.'

Even in the passages in the Pastoral Epistles which refer to the charism of Timothy (1 Ti 4^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{6}) Hort does not regard the specific gift of the young Apostle as a supernatural endowment suddenly or by miraculous means vouchsafed for a special mission or service: 'it was a special gift of God, a special fitness bestowed by Him to enable Timothy to fulfil a distinctive function' (p. 185); but also an original gift, capable of being wakened into fresh life * by his own initiative; it was so distinctive as to mark Timothy out as a fit colleague of St. Paul himself, the fitness being authenticated to the Apostle by a prophetic oracle or message, and consecrated by a solemn act of benediction—the laying on of the hands of the body of elders. Schmiedel (*EBi*, *s.v.* 'Spiritual Gifts') distinguishes between the non-technical use of χάρισμα in such passages as Ro 5^{15} (where the term means 'the whole aggregate of God's benevolent operation in the universe'; cf. Ro 1^{11} 6^{23} 11^{29}, 2 Co 1^{11}), and its technical use elsewhere, where 'charism' and 'charisms' denote distinctive aptitudes on the part of Christians; cf. Ro 12^{6} (where 'the grace of God' is mentioned as the source of the several capacities designated), 1 Co 7^{7} $12^{4.\ 9.\ 28.\ 31}$, 1 P 4^{10}. In the great passage of Eph 4^{11} (with which Justin Martyr, *Dial.* c. *Tryph.* xxxix. is to be read) the term χάρισμα is not mentioned, but it is implied in the words 'He gave' (αὐτὸς ἔδωκεν) with which the specification of functions or services commences. The term is not found in the Apostolic Fathers; in the *Did.* i. 5 it is used only once, and then of temporal blessings in the general sense.

The *locus classicus* for charisms is 1 Co 12^{4-12} and v.^{28}, which has to be studied along with Eph 4^{11}. The latter, which specifies the ministries of apostles, prophets (see PROPHECY, PROPHET), evangelists, pastors, and teachers, indicates the types of Christian service which tended to become permanent in the life of the Church. The Corinthian passage, on the other hand, in addition to the more stable and authorized modes of ministry, mentions several others of a special order, perhaps peculiar to the Corinthian Church with its exuberant manifestations of spiritual energy, and certainly, as the evidence of later Church history shows, of a temporary character, and exhausting themselves (cf. H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, London, 1909, p. 320) in the Apostolic or sub-Apostolic Age. The Apostle mentions 'diversities of gifts,' 'diversities of ministrations' (διακονιῶν), and 'diversities of workings' (ἐνεργημάτων); these are but different aspects of the same function; but, whereas the two last are appropriately related to the Lord Christ and God the Father, χαρίσματα are regarded as the graces bestowed by the Holy Spirit (cf. a similar three-fold relationship with the three Persons of the Trinity in Eph 4^{4}). St. Paul mentions, first, charisms of the *intellectual* order, 'the word of wisdom' and 'the word of knowledge'; second, *miraculous* gifts: (*a*) 'faith,' (*b*) 'gifts of healing,' (*c*) 'workings of miracles'; third, 'prophecy,' or the *gift of spiritual instruction*; fourth, 'discerning of spirits,' or the *gift of discrimination*, the discerning between the true and the false; and finally, 'tongues' and 'the interpretation of tongues' (see TONGUES), or *ecstatic* powers and the power of interpreting them. Then in 1 Co 12^{28} we have the following classification: 'God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps (ἀντιλήμψεις), governments (κυβερνήσεις, literally 'pilotings'), divers kinds of tongues'; this is a classification of charisms in order of spiritual rank and dignity. It has been suggested that 'helps' and 'governments' indicate the services rendered respectively by 'deacons' and 'bishops,' in which case we have here 'the faint beginnings of the separation of offices' (T. C. Edwards, *Com. on 1 Cor.*^{2}, London, 1885, *in loc.*). The absence of any reference to officials later designated as 'bishops,' 'presbyters,' 'deacons,' 'pastors' (in Eph 4^{11}), suggests a rudimentary church organization, or rather a purely democratic government in the Christian community at Corinth; and it may be that the profusion of services and functions with the accompanying perils of spiritual pride and disorder suggested to the Apostle the necessity of the more disciplined and edifying forms of service and administration which afterwards prevailed in the apostolic churches. In fact, this is the burden of the Apostle's teaching in 1 Co 14, following on the exhortation to 'covet earnestly "the greater charisms"' (1 Co 12^{31}), and the noble hymn (1 Co 13) which sets forth love as 'a still more excellent way' in that it transcends all the χαρίσματα and is the real foundation of the Church. It is love that is to regulate the use of the spiritual gifts, inasmuch as under its influence the individual will subordinate himself to another, will avoid ostentation and self-advertisement, and will do all things 'decently and in order'—that is, he will keep his own place and exercise his particular functions, so that unity may be attained in variety, and each several capacity may be subordinated to the good of the Church as a whole.

As to the meaning and nature of the charisms, guidance must be sought in the particular articles which deal specifically with them; nor can we enter into a detailed examination of the problems which such a classification as 'faith,' 'gifts of healing,' 'workings of miracles' creates. Suffice it to say that, though love is the charism *par excellence*, the fount and source of all others, faith is second only to it in the order of ethical dignity. It is a charism out of which spring others described in 1 Co 12^{9} as 'charisms of healing,' where the plural appears to indicate different powers for healing different forms of disease, and 'workings of powers or miracles.' The relation of faith and its offspring prayer to healing and miracles generally is clearly seen in the Gospels which record our Lord's cures and in His declaration that faith is the sole condition of miracle-working (cf. Mt 17^{20}, Mk 11^{23-24}); while the use of physical means such as oil (see the notable passage in Ja 5^{14}) in combination with prayer is paralleled not only by our Lord's method, but by the method employed by the Twelve in Mk 6^{13}. The charisms of miracle-working lasted down to the 2nd cent., if we may trust the evidence of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* ii. 6); they never were intended, as the extreme faith-healer of to-day contends, to supersede the efforts of the skilled physician; they represent the creative

* Cf. 1 Co 12^{31}, where the two-fold idea of the Divine origin of charisms and the necessity of human effort to attain them is suggested.

gift, the power of initiating new departures in the normal world of phenomena, which is rooted in faith (see A. G. Hogg, *Christ's Message of the Kingdom*, Edinburgh, 1911, pp. 62–70); and as such reveal a principle which holds good for all time.

To sum up, an examination of the passages in apostolic literature which treat of spiritual gifts inevitably brings us to the conclusion that the life of the early Church was characterized by glowing enthusiasm, simple faith, and intensity of spiritual joy and wonder, all resulting from the consciousness of the power of the Holy Spirit; also that this phase of Spirit-effected ministries and services was temporary, as such 'tides of the Spirit' have since often proved, and gave way to a more rigid and disciplined Church Order, in which the official tended more and more to supersede the charismatic ministries. At first, as E. v. Dobschütz remarks (*Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1904, p. 283), this strikes us as 'a limitation and a moral retrogression'; but on reflexion we see that while the principle of spiritual gifts as originating in the individual with the immediate action of the Holy Spirit is a permanent truth for the Christian consciousness, the transient character of many of the charismatic gifts is due largely to the abuses to which they were liable. The growing ethical standard of the Church rejected all self-chosen teachers or ministers who were proved by the test of character to be without a Divine call. By their fruits they were known; and the *χάρισμα*, which, however admirable in itself, was not associated with personal worth and holy influence, could not in the nature of things be recognized as making for edification and order in the Church life. The particular injunctions in the Pastoral Epistles as to the character of bishops and deacons point to a developing sense of Christian fitness in the official life of the Church and a growing feeling for the honour of Christianity. Thus, sooner or later, the true charismatic was sifted from the false charismatic, whose personal vanity and self-seeking nullified all usefulness. The increase of discipline of course had its own perils. Sometimes, as in Jn 3, we detect the narrow intolerance which resented any new influence or development in the Church life, Diotrephes being a type of mind which is ecclesiastically conservative and 'so loses impulses of the greatest value' (E. v. Dobschütz, *op. cit.*, p. 221 f.). To Diotrephes the Ephesian John is a charismatic itinerant preacher, whose letters must be withheld from the Church and whose messengers must not be welcomed. Here we see the seed of conflict, which was afterwards to germinate into the Montanist controversy. But the authority of St. Paul determined once for all the inner character of Christian community life. His symbol of the single body with many members (Ro 12^{4}, 1 Co $12^{12\text{-}27}$) shows that he aimed at a unity in which the witness of the individual should have free play and yet be subordinated to the welfare of the community. The Christian Church gave full scope to the individual *χάρισμα*; nevertheless, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit the impulse towards association, so far from being overpowered, was most powerfully intensified by the encouragement which St. Paul (cf. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*, Eng. tr.[2], i. 433) gave to the development of spiritual capacity in the individual. While pointing to errors of unregulated spiritual enthusiasm, he none the less pleads with his converts to 'quench not the Spirit' and 'despise not prophesyings' (1 Th 5^{19}).

LITERATURE.—On the general subject of Christian giving the following works may be consulted: G. Uhlhorn, *Christian Charity in the Ancient Church*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1883; A. Harnack, *Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr.[2], London, 1908, vol. i. ch. 4. For spiritual gifts (*χαρίσματα*), in addition to the works quoted above, the following authorities may be consulted: R. Sohm, *Kirchenrecht*, Leipzig, 1892; H. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes*, Freiburg i. B., 1899; H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des Heiligen Geistes*[3], Göttingen, 1909; T. M. Lindsay, *The Church and the Ministry in the Early Centuries*[2], London, 1903; together with artt. by Cremer on 'Geistesgaben' in *PRE*[3] (Leipzig, 1899) and Gayford in *HDB* on 'Church.'

R. MARTIN POPE.

GIRDLE.—The references to girdle (*ζώνη*), the article itself being either expressed or implied, admit of a three-fold classification: (1) The girdle in everyday use, which (*a*) was put on before one went forth (Ac 12^{8}), and (*b*) was laid aside indoors (Ac 21^{11}). From the fact that such a girdle could be used to bind hands and feet, we may infer that it was of soft material, such as linen. (2) The girdle as an article of military wear, which enters into the metaphor of Eph $6^{13\text{ff.}}$. This transfers us to quite another environment, and to a girdle whose materials were stiffer, *e.g.* leather or metal, or a combination of these. Presumably (1) and (2) were worn upon the loins, and their use was such as to give rise to the figure of speech which is found in 1 P 1^{13} (cf. Lk 12^{35}), viz. girding up the loins (of the mind). (3) The girdle in its ornamental aspect, as appearing in Rev 1^{13} 15^{6}. The epithet 'golden' is to be taken as applicable to cloth and not metal, *i.e.* the gold was inwrought in a girdle of linen material (cf. Dn 10^{5}, a similar passage, where 'pure gold of Uphaz' [Heb.] is rendered *βυσσίνῳ* in LXX). A noteworthy difference emerges in the location of the girdle, loins (Dan.) being replaced by breasts in Rev. (*πρὸς τοῖς μαστοῖς* [1^{13}], *περὶ τὰ στήθη* [15^{6}]). The girdle is thus an 'upper' girdle, and is suggestive of Greek and Roman custom. See also the description in Josephus, *Ant.* III. vii. 2. Cf. art. APRON.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

GLASS.—See HOUSE, MIRROR, SEA OF GLASS.

GLORY.—It is not proposed to embrace in this article all the words which our English versions render by 'glory'; it is confined to the most important of these—*δόξα*.

As applied to men and things, *δόξα* has two principal meanings: (1) honour, praise, good repute (2 Co 6^{8}, 1 Th 2^{6}); (2) that which by exciting admiration brings honour or renown; a natural perfection (1 P 1^{24}: 'the glory of flesh'; 1 Co $15^{40.\ 41}$: 'glory of the celestial . . . the terrestrial,' etc.; 1 Co 11^{15}: 'long hair is a glory to a woman'); or a circumstance which reflects glory upon one (1 Th 2^{20}: St. Paul's converts are a 'glory' to him; Eph 3^{13}: St. Paul's sufferings are a 'glory' to his converts; 2 Co 8^{23}: worthy Christians are the 'glory' of Christ; Rev $21^{24.\ 26}$: the kings of the earth and the nations bring their 'glory' into the New Jerusalem. Cf. Hag $2^{7\text{-}9}$).

Minor significations are (*a*) that which is falsely regarded as bringing honour to oneself (Ph 3^{19}), and (*b*) persons endued with glory (Jude ^{8}, 2 P 2^{10}= 'dignities' in both AV and RV, the reference probably being to angelic powers).

In the numerous and important passages where the idea of 'glory' is associated with God and the heavenly world, with Christ, Christians, and the Christian life here and hereafter, we find the same two principal meanings. There is the glory which belongs to the Divine Being in itself, in which God manifests Himself to His creatures, so far as such manifestation is possible, and the glory which He receives back from His creatures; the outshining (*Erscheinungsform*) of the Divine nature, and the reflexion of that outshining in the trust, adoration, and thanksgiving of men and angels, as also in the silent testimony of His works, and especially by the results of the Divine redemption in the character and destiny of the redeemed.

I. **1. The glory which is native to the Being of**

God.—To the modern mind the chief difficulty of this conception, as presented in the NT, is due to that fusion in it of the physical, the rational, and the ethical, which is characteristic of biblical psychology throughout. In biblical thought these elements are conceived not abstractly, as if constituting separate spheres of being, but as they are given in experience, as inter-dependent and integral to the unity of life. Thus, whatever ethical content comes to be associated with the Glory of God, the basis of the conception is physical—the splendour which is inseparable from the Divine Presence in the celestial world. In the OT, when Jahweh lifts the veil that hides Him from mortal eyes, the medium of theophany is always Light, a supra-mundane but actually visible radiance (which is localized and assumes a definite uniformity in the Shekinah-glory).

For later Judaistic developments, see Weber's *Jüdische Theologie*, pp. 162 ff., 275 ff. In apocalyptic the 'glory' is definitely associated with the sovereignty of God in the heavenly world (*1 En.* xxv. 3), and is especially connected with the Divine Throne (*ib.* ix. 4, xiv. 20). In the *Ascension of Isaiah* (x. 16, xi. 32) it is equivalent to the Person of God; God is ἡ μεγάλη δόξα. δόξα in this sense of 'radiance' is unknown to ordinary Greek literature. Deissmann's suggestion, that this may have been an ancient meaning which survived in the vernacular and so passed into the dialect of the LXX, seems more probable than Reitzenstein's, who, on the ground of certain magical papyri, claims for it an origin in Egyptian-Hellenistic mysticism.

In the NT the same idea lies behind the use of the concept δόξα. Wherever the celestial world is projected into the terrestrial, it is in a radiance of supernatural light (Mt 17^5, Ac 26^{13}, Mt 28^3, Ac 12^7, etc.); and this is ultimately the radiance that emanates from the presence of God, who dwells in 'light unapproachable' (1 Ti 6^{16}). To this the term δόξα is frequently applied—at Bethlehem (Lk 2^9), and at the Transfiguration (2 P 1^{17}); the 'glory' of God is the light of the New Jerusalem; Stephen looking up saw the 'glory of God' (Ac 7^{55}); and the redeemed are at last presented faultless before the presence of His glory (Jude ^{24}; cf. *1 En.* xxxix. 12).

With St. Paul the conception is less pictorial; the rational and ethical elements implicit in it come clearly into view. With him also the δόξα is fundamentally associated with the idea of celestial splendour, to which, indeed, his vision of the glorified Christ gave a new and vivid reality; but the idea of revelation, of the Glory as God's self-manifestation, becomes prominent. St. Paul's thought does not rest in the symbol, but passes to the reality which it signifies—the transcendent majesty and sovereignty that belong to God as God; and for St. Paul the most sovereign thing in God, divinest in the Divine, is the sacrificial sin-bearing love revealed in the Cross. God's glory is displayed in His mercy (Ro 9^{23}), in the 'grace which he freely bestowed upon us in the Beloved' (Eph 1^6); its perfect living reflexion is in the face of Jesus Christ (2 Co 4^6). Yet it is the glory, not of an ethical ideal, but of the Living God, God upon the Throne, self-existent, supreme over all being. It is especially associated with the Divine κράτος (Col 1^{11}, Eph 3^{16}) and πλοῦτος (Ro 9^{23}, Ph 4^{19}, Eph 3^{16}) by which the Apostle expresses the irresistible sovereign power and the inexhaustible fullness of God in His heavenly dominion. Believers are 'strengthened with all power, according to the κράτος of his glory,' *i.e.* in a measure corresponding with the illimitable spiritual power signified by the glory which manifests the Divine King in His supra-mundane Kingdom. Every need of believers is supplied 'according to his riches in glory, in Christ Jesus' (Ph 4^{19}), *i.e.* according to the boundless resources which belong to God as Sovereign of the spiritual universe, and are made available through Christ as Mediator. Christ is raised from the dead through 'the glory of the Father' (Ro 6^4). The precise sense of this expression has not yet been elucidated (in *Pss.-Sol.* xi. 9 there is what seems to be a parallel to it: ἀναστήσαι Κύριος τὸν Ἰσραὴλ ἐν ὀνόματι τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ), but it would seem that the 'glory of the Father' is practically equivalent to the κράτος, the sovereign act of Him who is the 'Father of glory' (Eph 1^{17}). To formulate is hazardous; but perhaps we may say that for St. Paul the δόξα is the self-revelation of the transcendent God, given through Christ, here to faith, in the heavenly world to that more direct mode of perception which we try to express by saying that faith is changed to sight.

2. The Divine glory as communicated.—(*a*) As originally given to man, it has been lost (Ro 3^{23}).

According to Rabbinic doctrine, when Adam was created in the image of God, a ray (יקר) of the Divine glory shone upon his countenance, but among the six things lost by the Fall was the יקר, which went back to heaven (Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*, p. 222). At Sinai the יקר was restored to the children of Israel, but was immediately lost again by their unfaithfulness (*ib.* p. 275). There can be little doubt that this pictorial rendering of spiritual truth lies behind the Apostle's peculiar mode of expressing the fact of man's universal failure to represent the Divine ideal (see Sanday-Headlam *in loc.*). The same allusion may possibly serve to explain the obscure passage, 1 Co 11^7.

(*b*) But the departed glory is more than restored in Christ, the second Adam, to whom as the Image of God it belongs (2 Co 4^4), who is the Lord of Glory (1 Co 2^8), and in whose face it shines forth in the darkened hearts of men, as at the Creation light first shone upon the face of the earth (2 Co 4^6). Here the conception is emphatically ethical; it is above all the glory of Divine character that shines from the face of Christ and in the hearts of believers. Yet here again the glory is not that of an ethical ideal merely; it is the full, indivisible glory of the Living God of which Christ is the effulgence (ἀπαύγασμα [He 1^3]).

(*c*) By Christ as Mediator the Divine glory is communicated, not only to believers, but to every agency by which He acts: the Spirit (1 P 4^{14}, Eph 3^{16}), the gospel (2 Co 4^4, 1 Ti 1^{11}), the 'mystery'—God's long-hidden secret, now revealed, the eternal salvation of men by Christ (Col 1^{27}). The whole Christian dispensation is characterized by 'glory' (2 Co 3^{7-18}). As the inferior and temporary nature of the old dispensation is typified in the veiled and fading splendour of Moses, its mediator, the perfection and permanence of the new are witnessed in the unveiled and eternal glory of Christ, which is reflected partly here, more fully hereafter, on His people (a merely figurative interpretation is excluded by the very terms εἰκών and δόξα). Their transfiguration is in process—already the 'Spirit of glory and the Spirit of God' rests upon them (1 P 4^{14}); at His appearing it will be consummated (Ph 3^{21}, Jn 3^3).

(*d*) In the majority of cases in which 'glory' is predicated of Christ, of Christians, and of the environment of their life, the sense is distinctly eschatological. The sufferings of Christ are contrasted with their after-glories (1 P $1^{11.\ 21}$); also those of believers (1 P 4^{13}, 2 Th 2^{14}, Ph 3^{21}). As already in Jewish eschatology, δόξα is a technical term for the state of final salvation, the Heavenly Messianic Kingdom in which Christ now lives and which is to be brought to men by His Parousia. This is the 'coming glory' (Ro 8^{18}), 'about to be revealed' (1 P 5^1), the 'inheritance of God in his saints' (Eph 1^{18}) unto which they are prepared beforehand (Ro 9^{23}), called (1 P 5^{10}), led by Christ (He 2^{10}); it is their unwithering crown (1 P 5^{11}), the manifestation of their true nature (Col 3^4), their emancipation from all evil limitations (Ro 8^{21}); in the hope of it they rejoice (Ro 5^2); for it they are made meet by the indwelling of Christ (Col 1^{27}) and by the discipline of the present (2 Co 4^{17}).

II.—The second chief sense in which 'glory' is predicated of God or Christ is that which may be termed *ascriptional* in contrast with essential. Passing over the strictly doxological passages, we note that 'glory' is given to God (or to Christ) (*a*) by the character or conduct of men: by the strength of their trust (Ro 4^{20}), in eating, drinking, and all that they do (1 Co 10^{31}), by thanksgiving (2 Co 4^{15}), brotherly charity (2 Co 8^{19}), the fruits of righteousness (Ph 1^{11}), repentance and confession of sin (Rev 16^{9}); (*b*) by the results of God's own saving work, the Exaltation of Christ (Ph 2^{11}), the faithful fulfilment of His promises in Christ (2 Co 1^{20}), the reception of both Jews and Gentiles into the Church (Ro 15^{7}), the predestination of believers to the adoption of children (Eph 1^{6}), the whole accomplishment of that predestination, by faith, the sealing of the Spirit, and final redemption (Eph 1^{14}), by the marriage of the Lamb, the final and eternal union of Christ with the redeemed, sanctified, and glorified Church (Rev 19^{7}).

LITERATURE.—There is, so far as known to the present writer, no satisfactory monograph on the subject, either in English or in German. W. Caspari, *Die Bedeutungen der Wortsippe* כבד *im Hebräischen*, Leipzig, 1908, is not without value for the student of the NT. H. A. A. Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conception of the Last Things*, London, 1904; P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, Tübingen, 1903; F. Weber, *Jüdische Theologie*[2], Leipzig, 1897; B. Weiss, *Bibl. Theol. of NT*, Eng. tr.[3], Edinburgh, 1882-83, i. 396, ii. 187; O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, Eng. tr., London, 1877, i. 135. Commentaries: Sanday-Headlam ([5]1902), and Godet (1886-87) on *Romans*; Erich Haupt, *Die Gefangenschaftsbriefe*[7], in Meyer's *Krit.-Exeget. Kommentar*, 1902; J. B. Mayor on *James* ([3]1910), *Jude*, and *Second Peter* (1907); artt. 'Glory' in *HDB*.

ROBERT LAW.

GNOSTICISM.—Gnosticism (Gr. γνῶσις, 'knowledge') is the name of a syncretistic religion and philosophy which flourished more or less for four centuries alongside Christianity, by which it was considerably influenced, under which it sheltered, by which at last it was overcome. *Gnosis* is first used in the relevant specific sense in 1 Ti 6^{20}: γνῶσις ψευδώνυμος—'science falsely so-called.' By Christian writers the word 'Gnostics' was at first applied mainly to one branch: the Ophites or Naasenes (Hippol. *Philos.* v. 2: 'Naasenes who call themselves Gnostics'; cf. Iren. I. xi. 1; Epiphan. *Hær.* xxvi.). But already in Irenæus the term has a wider application to the whole movement. Gnosticism rose to prominence early in the 2nd cent. though it is much older than that, and reached its height before the 3rd century. By the end of the latter century it was waning.

The above description will require justification. What may be termed the popular view of Gnosticism has been to regard it as a growth out of Christianity, an overdone theologizing on the part of Christians, who under foreign influences simply carried to extreme lengths what had been begun by apostles. Meantime it may be said that, in the view of the present writer, such a theory is an entire misconception, and historically untenable. Gnosticism and Christianity are two movements originally quite independent, so much so that it would scarcely be an exaggeration to say that, had there been no Christianity, there could still have been Gnosticism, in all essentials the Gnosticism we know.

1. Authorities.—Of the vast literature produced by Gnostics little has survived, and what has survived is almost entirely from the last stages of the movement. We may mention as survivals *Pistis Sophia*, the Coptic-Gnostic texts of the *Codex Brucianus*, the two *Books of Jeu*, and an unnamed third book described by C. Schmidt, 'Gnost. Schriften in kopt. Sprache aus dem Codex Brucianus' (*TU* viii. [1892]). Then we know something of works deeply tinged with Gnosticism, such as the *Acts of Thomas*. But our chief sources of knowledge are the writings of those Fathers who oppose Gnosticism, and who often give lengthy quotations from Gnostic works. These fragments have been carefully collected by Hilgenfeld in his *Ketzergeschichte*. Most important of the Fathers for our purpose are Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* i. 4), Hippolytus (*Philosophoumena*), Clement of Alexandria (*Stromateis, Excerpta ex Theodoto*), Tertullian (*adv. Marcionem, adv. Hermogenem, adv. Valentinianos*), Epiphanius (*Panarion*).

2. Main features of Gnosticism.—Gnosticism has often been described as a hopelessly tangled mass of unintelligible fantastic speculations, the product of imagination in unrestrained riot, irreducible to order. In its various, and especially its later forms, it shows a wealth of details which are fantastic, but, if we do not lose ourselves in too keen a search for minutiæ, we shall find in it an imposing and quite intelligible system. Probably Gnostics themselves regarded as unessential those details which to us seem so fantastic (cf. Rainy, *Ancient Catholic Church*, p. 119). Gnostic schools generally were at one in holding a system the main features of which were as follows.

(1) *A special revelation.*—The word γνῶσις has misled many into thinking that Gnostics are essentially those who prize intellectual knowledge as superior to faith. By *gnosis*, however, we have to understand not knowledge gained by the use of the intellect, but knowledge given in a special revelation. Not greater intellectual power than the Christians possessed, but a fuller and better revelation, was what the Gnostics claimed to have. They took no personal credit for it; it had been handed down to them. Its author was Christ or one of His apostles, or at least one of their friends. In several cases they professed to be able to give the history of its transmission. Thus Basilides claims Glaukias, an interpreter of St. Peter (*Strom.* vii. 17 [766], 106 f.), or Matthias (Hipp. vii. 20). Valentinus claims Theodas, an acquaintance of St. Paul's (*Strom. loc. cit.*). The Ophites claim Mariamne and James (Hipp. v. 7). Or they appealed to a secret tradition imparted to a few by Jesus Himself (so Irenæus frequently).

(2) *Dualism.*—This is the foundation principle of all Gnostic systems, and from it all else follows. In the ancient world we meet two kinds of dualism, one in Greek philosophy, the other in Eastern religion. Greek dualism was between φαινόμενα and νούμενα, between the world of sense-appearance and the realm of real being. The lower was but a shadow of the higher; still it was a copy of it. The contrast was not, to any great extent at least, between the good and the evil, but between the real and the empty, formless, unreal. Eastern dualism, on the other hand, drew a sharp distinction between the world of light and the world of darkness, two eternal antagonistic principles in unceasing conflict. In Gnosticism we have a primarily Eastern dualism combined with the Greek form. The world of goodness and light is the *Pleroma* ('fullness'), *i.e.* the realm of reality in the Greek sense; the kingdom of evil and darkness is the *Kenoma* ('emptiness'), the phenomenal world of Greek philosophy. Hence the Gnostic dualism comes to be between God and matter, two eternal entities, and the ὕλη ('matter') is essentially evil.

(3) *Demiurge.*—As the Gnostic surveyed the world of matter, he found patent traces of law and order ruling it. How did matter, in itself evil and lawless, come to be so orderly? The Gnostic took the view of Nature which J. S. Mill took, and argued that either the Creator was not all-good or He was not all-powerful. The Gnostic reasoned that the world which with all its order is yet so imperfect cannot be the work of God who is wholly good and all-wise; it must be the production of

some far inferior being. The world, then, it was taught, was the work of a Demiurge—a being distinct from God. The character of this Demiurge was variously conceived by different schools; some, *e.g.* Cerinthus, made him a being simply ignorant of the highest God. The tendency became strong, however, to make him hostile to God, an enemy of Light and Truth (the *blasphemia Creatoris*). The God of the Jews was identified with this Demiurge. As to the origin of the Demiurge, some held him to belong *ab initio* to the realm of evil. But the characteristic view was that he was a much-removed emanation from the Pleroma. This theory of emanations is a prominent feature of most of the systems, and it is here that Gnosticism ran into those wild fancies that to some make the whole system so phantasmagoric. The view was that from God there emanated a series of beings called 'Æons,' each step in the genealogy meaning a diminution of purity; and the Demiurge was the creation of an Æon far down, indeed the very lowest in the scale. Nature and human nature, then, are productions of a Demiurge either ignorant of, or positively hostile to, the true God. While in a few schools there was only one Demiurge, most spoke of seven as concerned in cosmogony. The origin of this is clear. The seven are the seven astronomical deities of Perso-Babylonian religion. The fusion of Persian and Babylonian views resulted in those deities, originally beneficent, being conceived of as evil (Orig. *c. Cels.* vi. 22; Zimmern, *KAT*[3] ii. 620 ff.).

(4) *Redemption.*—Christian and Gnostic agree in finding in this world goodness fettered and thwarted by evil. They differ entirely in their conception of the conflict. The familiar Christian view is that into a world of perfect order and goodness a fallen angel brought confusion and evil. The common Gnostic view is that into a world of evil a fallen Æon brought a spark of life and goodness. The fall of this Æon is variously explained in different systems, as due to weakness (the Æon furthest from God was unable to maintain itself in the Pleroma), or to a sinful passion which induced the Æon to plunge into the Kenoma. Howsoever the Æon fell, it is imprisoned in the Kenoma, and longs for emancipation and return to the Pleroma. With this longing the world of Æons sympathizes, and the most perfect Æon becomes a Redeemer. The Saviour descends, and after innumerable sufferings is able to lead back the fallen Æon to the Pleroma, where He unites with her in a spiritual marriage. Redemption is thus primarily a cosmical thing. But in redeeming the fallen Æon from darkness, the Saviour has made possible a redemption of individual souls. To the Gnostic, the initiated, the Saviour imparts clear knowledge of the ideal world to be striven after, and prompts him so to strive. The soul at all points, before and after death, was opposed by hostile spirits, and a great part of Gnostic teaching consisted in instructing the soul as to how those enemies could be overcome. Here comes in the tangle of magico-mystical teaching, so large an element of the later schools. All sorts of rites, baptisms, stigmatizings, sealing, piercing the ears, holy foods and drinks, etc., were enjoined. It was important also to know the names of the spirits, and the words by which they could be mastered. Some systems taught a multitude of such 'words of power'; in other systems one master word was given, *e.g. caulacau* (Iren. I. xxiv. 5).

(5) *Christology.*—Gnosticism in union with Christianity identified its Saviour, of course, with Jesus. As to the connexion see below. All Christianized Gnostics held a peculiar Christology. Jesus was a pure Spirit, and it was abhorrent to thought that He should come into close contact with matter, the root of all evil. He had no true body, then, but an appearance which He assumed only to reveal Himself to the sensuous nature of man. Some, like Cerinthus, held that the Saviour united Himself with the man Jesus at the Baptism, and left him again before the Death. Others held that the body was a pure phantom. All agreed that the Divine Saviour was neither born nor capable of death. Such a view of Christ's Person is Docetism, the antithesis of Ebionism.

(6) *Anthropology.*—Man is regarded as a microcosm. His tripartite nature (some had only a bipartism)—spirit, soul, body—reflects God, Demiurge, matter. There are also three classes of mankind—carnal (ὑλικοί), psychic (ψυχικοί), spiritual (πνευματικοί). Heathen are hylic, Jews psychic, and Christians spiritual. But within the Christian religion itself the same three classes are found; the majority are only psychic, the truly spiritual are the Gnostics. They alone are the true Church.

(7) *Eschatology.*—While Gnostics alone were certain of return to the Kingdom of Light, some at least were disposed to think charitably of the destiny of the psychics, who might attain a measure of felicity. Gnostics denied a resurrection of the body, as we should expect. The whole world of matter was to be at last destroyed by fires springing from its own bosom.

(8) *Old Testament.*—While there existed a Judaistic Gnosticism, represented by Essenes, Gnostic Ebionites, and Cerinthus (*qq.v.*), who with various modifications accepted the OT, the great mass of Gnostics were anti-Judaistic, and rejected the OT. This followed logically from their identification of the God of the Jews with the Demiurge, an ignorant, and in some cases an evil, Being. No doubt they found also some plausible support in Pauline anti-legalism. We can see here what ground some schools could have for making heroes of the characters represented as wicked in the OT. If it was inspired by an ignorant or wicked Being, truth would be found by inverting its estimates.

Such in outline is Gnosticism as a system, though schools varied in detail under every heading (cf. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*; P. Wernle, *Beginnings of Christianity*, Eng. tr., London, 1903–04; Schaff, *Church History*, 'Ante-Nicene Christianity').

(9) *Gnostic cultus and ethic.*—The full development of these (as of the whole system), of course, lies outside our period, but of the latter we see the tendencies in the NT itself; and it is desirable to say something of the former, to make our sketch of the main features of Gnosticism complete.

(*a*) As to *cultus*, Gnosticism produced two opposite movements which are comparable with puritanism and ritualism respectively. The abhorrence of matter led some consistently to the utmost simplicity of worship. Some rejected all sacraments and other outward means of grace, and the Prodicians rejected even prayer (Epiphan. *Hær.* xxvi.; Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 15 [304], vii. 7 [722]). On the other hand, many groups, especially the Marcosians, went to the opposite extreme with a symbolic and mystic pomp in worship. This, while inconsistent with the Gnostic views of matter, is in line with the ideas of magico-mystical salvation indicated above. Sacraments were numerous, rites many and varied. It seems clear that they led the way in introducing features which became characteristic of the Catholic Church. They were distinguished as hymn-writers (Bardesanes, Ophites, Valentinians). The Basilideans seem to have been the first to celebrate the festival of Epiphany. The Simonians and Carpocratians first used images of Christ and others (see *Church Histories* of Schaff, Kurtz, etc.).

(*b*) The *ethic* also took two directions—one to-

wards an unbridled antinomianism, the other towards a gloomy asceticism. Antinomian Gnostics (*e.g.* Nicolaitans, Ophites) held that sensuality is to be overcome by indulging it to exhaustion, and they practised the foulest debaucheries. The Ascetics (*e.g.* Saturninus, Tatian) abhorred matter, and strove to avoid all contact with flesh as far as possible. This led them to forbid marriage and indulgence in certain kinds of food. This ethic in both branches is the unfailing outcome of the primary dualism characteristic of Gnosticism. Wherever dualistic notions are influential, we find this twin development of antinomianism and asceticism. In the NT we find both kinds of error referred to (see below). It is to be remembered that neither by itself is sufficient to indicate Gnosticism. There are many sources conceivable, for asceticism especially.

3. Origins.—The older view was that Gnostics are Christian heretics, *i.e.* errorists within the Church who gradually diverged from normal Christianity, under an impulse to make a philosophy of their religion. To fill up the blanks of the Christian revelation, they adopted heathen (mainly Greek) speculations. Mosheim was among the first to perceive that the roots of what is peculiar in Gnosticism are to be sought in Eastern rather than in Greek speculation. In recent times there has taken place a thorough examination of all Gnostic remains, and knowledge of Eastern speculation has advanced. The result of the two-fold investigation has been to show that Gnosticism is far more closely in affinity with Eastern thought than had been imagined, not only in its deviations from Christianity, but as a whole.

It is well known that the age with which we deal was marked by nothing more strongly than by its *syncretism*. All the faiths and philosophies of the world met, and became fluid, so to say. Strange combinations resulted, and were dissolved again for lack of something round which they might crystallize. Alike in philosophy and religion, attempts were made to establish by syncretism a universal system out of the confusion. Gnosticism owes its being to that syncretism. In view of the lack of definite information, any attempt to trace or reconstruct its actual history must be made with diffidence. Probably we should regard its primary impulse as philosophical rather than religious. It was an answer to the problem, Whence comes evil? (Tert. *de Præsc. Hær.* vii.; Euseb. *HE* v. 27; Epiphan. *Hær.* xxiv. 6). This led to the other question, What is the origin of the world? Oriental thought identified the two questions. In the origin of the world was involved the existence of evil. A full explanation of the one included an explanation of the other.

In Perso-Babylonian syncretism, we take it, Gnosticism has its primary root, and from that alone many of its features may be plausibly derived. To this is to be added some influence of *Judaism*. There was a syncretistic Judaism of varied character. We know definitely of three forms: (1) Essenic (see art. ESSENES); (2) Samaritan, which had been going on for centuries B.C., and from which sprang the system of Simon Magus (with his predecessor Dositheus, and his successor Menander), who is distinguished by the Fathers as the parent of Gnosticism; (3) Alexandrian, represented mainly by Philo, who produced an amalgam of Judaism with Greek philosophy. Probably it would be justifiable to add as a fourth example the Jewish Ḳabbālā. It is a body of writings unfolding a traditional and, partly at least, esoteric doctrine. Its most characteristic doctrines are found also in the two Gnostic leaders, Basilides and Valentinus (A. Franck, *La Kabbale*, Paris, 1843, p. 350 ff.). It is difficult, however, to prove that the Ḳabbālā is not later than Gnosticism, though there is practical certainty that its history was a long one before it took final shape.

A third and very important element manifest in the fully developed Gnostic systems is *Greek philosophy*. Genetically, then, Gnosticism may be defined as largely a syncretistic system rising from Perso-Babylonian religion, modified to some extent, difficult to estimate, by Judaism, and in some particulars borrowing from, and as a whole clarified by contact with, Greek philosophy. These elements might be effective in very varied degrees, and produced varied systems as this or that element predominated. But from those three sources, apart altogether from Christianity, Gnosticism in all essentials may be derived. And all three were in active interaction before the appearance of Christianity. An important consideration follows, viz. that it is absolutely no proof of a late date for any NT writing that it contains allusions to even a comparatively well-developed Gnosticism.

4. Connexion with Christianity.—How is this connexion to be conceived or explained? What did Gnosticism owe to Christianity? Before Christianity we picture Gnosticism as vague, fluid, unstable. When Christianity was thrown into the mass of floating opinions in the ancient world, it afforded the vague Gnostic movements a point round which they could crystallize and attain a measure of permanence and definiteness, so that out of more or less loose speculations systems could be built. Men imbued with Gnostic views (the loose elements of the system described) would easily find points of resemblance between themselves and Christianity. It dealt in a way with the very problems that interested the Gnostic. And in apostolic teaching, especially in St. Paul, there were many points which it took little ingenuity to transform into Gnostic views. The world was to be overcome; it lay in wickedness; the flesh was to be mortified; there was a law in the members warring against the spirit. Divorced from the general teaching of the apostles, this could be claimed as just the Gnostic position. It is, we take it, a misconception to regard such apostolic teaching as the starting-point of Gnosticism. In our view Gnosticism had already a considerable history, and had attained a considerable development as a system, before Christianity appeared. But in such teaching Gnosticism found points of attachment to Christianity, and other points might be adduced. Gnosticism then came to shelter within the Church, never learning her essential spirit, but going on its own evolution. Growing at first from distinct roots of its own, it twined itself about the Church and became a parasite.

It is not easy to answer the question, Is the *soteriology* of Gnosticism borrowed from Christianity, or is it too an independent thing? Some points are quite plain which may justify our accepting the latter alternative. It is clear that between the Gnostic Σωτήρ (Saviour) and the historical Jesus there is no discernible likeness. The redemption of the fallen Æon by the Soter has nothing to do with a historical appearance on earth and in time. The Gnostic redemption-story is a myth, an allegory, not a historical narrative. But under the influence of Christianity, laborious attempts were made to bring this soteriology into union with the Christian account of the historical Jesus. The attempt was not a success. 'In this patchwork the joins are everywhere still clearly to be recognized' (*EBr*[11] xii. [1910] 157[a]). Indeed some Gnostics made no secret of the difference between their Soter and the Christ of ordinary Christians—the Soter was for Gnostics alone, Jesus Christ for 'Psychics' (Iren. I. vi. 1). The fact that one school required its members to curse Jesus

is not without significance in the same direction. The most probable view is that Gnosticism in all its elements was independent of Christianity, but strove to put over itself a Christian guise, and represent itself as a fuller Christianity. But even the master minds which formulated the great systems of the 2nd cent. were baffled to conceal effectively what could not be hidden, the essentially alien nature and origin of their speculative flights.

5. Allusions in the NT.—In the NT there are several clear indications that the invasion of Christianity by Gnosticism is already in progress.

(1) We note regarding Simon Magus (Ac $8^{9ff.}$) only this, that in the narrative we have an allegory of what we conceive the relation of Gnosticism to Christianity to have been. He was attracted to the apostles, was baptized, and still remained in the 'bond of iniquity.' For this alone he may well be named the father of the Gnostics (see art. SIMON MAGUS).

(2) There are some passages which seem not only to be designed to state the Christian position, but to be directed against errors characteristic of Gnosticism: (*a*) against Docetism; most striking is He 2^{14-18}; (*b*) against the demiurgic idea (Jn 1^{3}, He 1^{2}, Col $1^{16ff.}$).

(3) A definite polemic against errorists who are almost certainly Gnostics is found in the following passages:

(*a*) *Colossians.*—The errorists in question claim a superior knowledge ($2^{8.18}$), pay great regard to angels—beings intermediate between God and man (v.^{18})—teach asceticism (vv.$^{21.23}$); and probably their demiurgic notion is refuted in 1^{16}. These are the elements of Gnosticism, and most likely the Colossian errorists are Judaistic Gnostics of the same type as Cerinthus.

(*b*) *Pastoral Epistles.*—The references to Gnosticism are so clear here that some find in them a main ground for assigning a late date to the Epistles. Gnosticism has already appropriated the name γνῶσις (1 Ti 5^{20}). The errorists profess a superior knowledge (Tit 1^{16}, 2 Ti 3^{7}). Their profane and vain babblings (2 Ti 2^{16}), old wives' fables (1 Ti 4^{7}), foolish questions and genealogies (Tit 3^{9}), denial of the resurrection of the body (2 Ti 2^{18}), asceticism and depreciation of 'creatures' (1 Ti $4^{3.4}$), and in other cases their antinomianism (2 Ti 3^{6}, Tit 1^{16})—all are tokens of Gnosticism.

(*c*) *Peter and Jude.*—The gross errorists denounced in 2 P 2 and Jude show close affinity with the Ophite sect, the Cainites (*q.v.*) (Hippol. viii. 20; *Strom.* vii. 17 [767]; Epiph. *Hær.* xxxviii.). They made Cain their first hero; and, regarding the God of the Jews as an evil being, and the Scriptures as, in consequence, a perversion of truth, honoured all infamous characters from Cain to Iscariot, who alone of the apostles had the secret of true knowledge. Naturally, they practised the wildest antinomianism, holding it necessary for perfect knowledge to have practical experience of all sins. The 'filthy dreamers,' who 'speak evil of dignities' and 'go in the way of Cain,' are certainly closely allied to this position.

(*d*) *1 John.*—There is throughout a contrast between true knowledge and false. Beyond reasonable doubt the Epistle has mainly, if not exclusively, Cerinthus in view. He is interesting in the history of heresy for his combination of Ebionite Christology with a Gnostic idea of the Creator (see art. CERINTHUS). It is mainly the former that is in view in 1 John (2^{22} $4^{3ff.}$), but $2^{4.9}$ are directed against Gnostic antinomianism.

(*e*) *Revelation.*—Here we have definite mention of a Gnostic sect, by name the Nicolaitans ($2^{6.15}$). They derived their name from *Nicolas* of Ac 6^{5}. 'They lead lives of unrestrained indulgence, . . . teaching that it is a matter of indifference to practise adultery, and to eat things sacrificed to idols' (Iren. *Hær.* I. xxvi. 3). Clem. Alex. (*Strom.* iii. 4 [436 f.]) says that the followers of Nicolas misunderstood his saying that 'we must fight against the flesh and abuse it.' What Nicolas meant to be an ascetic principle, they took to be an antinomian one.

We have notice of another branch of antinomian Gnosticism in 2^{20}, where the 'prophetess Jezebel' in Thyatira is 'teaching and seducing' the faithful.

Gnosticism thus plays no inconsiderable part in the NT itself. It is, however, to exaggerate that, to find references to Gnosticism in verses where terms occur that afterwards became technical terms in Gnostic systems, viz. *pleroma* (*e.g.* Eph 1^{23}), *æon* (*e.g.* Eph 2^{2}), *gnosis* (frequently). These had meaning before Gnostic systems made them peculiarly their own, and the passages in question may be understood without any reference to Gnosticism.

6. Concluding remarks.—If it be difficult to indicate accurately what Gnosticism owed to Christianity, it is no less difficult to determine to what extent Christianity was permanently influenced by Gnosticism. Theological prejudice will always affect the answer, and some will find in the Christological and other definitions of Œcumenical Councils a fruit of what Gnostics began. It is easy to see what indirect service Gnosticism rendered Christianity. In opposition to Gnosticism the Church was compelled (*a*) to develop into clear system her own creed; the true γνῶσις had to be opposed to the false; (*b*) to determine what writings were to be regarded as authoritative; against the Gnostic schools, each with its own pretended special revelation, the Church formed a Canon of what were generally regarded as authentic apostolic writings; (*c*) to seek for a just view of the relation of Judaism to Christianity, and of the permanent value of the OT which Gnostics rejected. This is, it may be said, an unsolved problem still. In opposition to Gnosticism the Church was perhaps betrayed into the other extreme, as, to secure permanent authority for every part of the OT, a fanciful system of allegorizing was adopted.

As to direct influence, we have indicated above that Gnostics led the way in some developments of worship which found a permanent place in the Catholic Church. Probably also they led the way to the magical conception of Sacraments which became so prominent. The clearness with which the false character of Gnosticism was perceived, and the successful struggle against it, are among the most remarkable and praiseworthy things in the history of the early Church. It remains to be said that the various phenomena which constitute Gnosticism have appeared again and again in the history of the Church since then. Its speculative flights into regions where revelation does not guide and reason cannot follow; its special new revelations; its view of the world as essentially evil in itself; its stern asceticism or antinomian excess—all have appeared repeatedly.

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W. D. NIVEN.

GOAD (*κέντρον*).—This was a pole about 8 ft. in length, carried by Eastern ploughmen. Armed at one end with a spike and at the other with a chisel-shaped blade, it was used now to urge the yoked beasts to move faster, now to clean the share. Only one hand being required to hold and guide the light plough, the other was free to wield the goad. The kicking of oxen against the goad (AV the **pricks**) suggested a popular metaphor for futile and painful resistance—*σκληρόν σοι πρὸς κέντρα λακτίζειν* (Ac 26[14]; all uncials omit these words in 9[5]). The same figure is found in Pind. *Pyth.* ii. 173; Æsch. *Prom.* 323; Eurip. *Bacch.* 795; Terence, *Phorm.* I. ii. 28. JAMES STRAHAN.

GOAT (*τράγος*).—The Greek word signifies a 'he-goat' (Lat. *hircus*), and is used in the LXX as the equivalent of the Heb. words עַתּוּד, עֵז, שָׂעִיר (all = 'he-goat'). The only NT references to the 'goat' outside the Gospels are in the Epistle to the Hebrews (9[12. 13. 19] 10[4]). In 9[12. 19] it is associated with calves (*i.e.* bullocks), and there is doubtless an allusion in these two passages to the sacrificial rites of the Day of Atonement. On this occasion, the high priest offered up a bullock as a sin-offering for himself (Lv 16[11]), and a goat as a sin-offering for the people (Lv 16[15]). The usual phrase to designate sacrifices in general is used in 9[13] 10[4], 'bulls and goats' or 'goats and bulls.'

The general meaning of 9[12ff.] is quite clear. The writer says: 'if—and you admit this—the blood of goats and bullocks, as on the Day of Atonement, could sanctify unto the cleanness of the *flesh*, how much more could the Blood of Christ, the Divine-Human sacrifice, cleanse the *conscience* from dead works to serve the living God!'

In 10[4] the writer abandons his rhetorical style and categorically asserts that 'it is impossible for the blood of bulls and goats to take away sins.' He here uses the general term for sacrifices, and thereby denies that any of the sacrifices of the old Law ever did or ever could 'take away sins.'

Many different breeds of domesticated goats are known in Syria, the most common of which is the *mamber* or ordinary black goat. These animals attain a large size, and pendent ears about a foot long are their most characteristic feature. Their peculiar ears are apparently alluded to in Am 3[12]. They generally have horns and short beards. Another breed found in N. Palestine is the *angora*, which has very long hair. Goats supplied most of the milk of Palestine (cf. Pr 27[27]), and the young were often killed for food, being regarded as special delicacies, as they are to-day (cf. Gn 27[9], Lk 15[29]). Their long silky hair was woven into curtains, coverings of tents, etc. (cf. Ex 35[26], Nu 31[20]), and as goat's-hair cloth, called *cilicium*, was made in the province of which Tarsus, the birth-place of St. Paul, was the capital, and was exported thence to be used in tent-making, it is reasonable to suppose that the Apostle was engaged in this very trade (Ac 18[3]). Their skins were sometimes used as clothing, and doubtless the hairy mantle of the prophets (cf. Zec 13[4]) was made of this material (cf. also He 11[37]), but they were more often converted into bottles. The early inhabitants of Palestine (cf. Gn 21[19], Jos 9[4], 1 S 25[18], Mt 9[17], Mk 2[22], Lk 5[37]), just like the modern Bedouins, utilized the skins of their cattle and their flocks for the purpose of storing oil, wine, milk, or water, as the case might be. The animals whose skins were generally chosen for the purpose were the sheep and the goat as at the present day, while the skin of the ox was used for very large bottles. The legs, or at all events the lower part of the legs, together with the head, are first removed, the animal is next skinned from the neck downwards, great care being taken to avoid tearing the skin; all apertures are then carefully closed, and the neck is fitted with a leather thong which serves as a cork.

In view of the numerous uses which the goat has been made to subserve, it is not surprising to find that it was highly valued in ancient times even as it is now. A large part of the wealth of Laban and of the wages he paid to Jacob consisted of goats, while 'a thousand goats' is mentioned as one of the principal items in Nabal's property (1 S 25[2]). They thrive in hilly and scantily watered districts, where they are much more abundant than sheep, and pasture where there is much brush-wood, the luxuriant grasses of the plains being 'too succulent for their taste' (Tristram in Smith's *DB*[2] 1200[b]). They are largely responsible for the barrenness of the hills, and the general absence of trees in Palestine.

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P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

GOD.—1. General aspects of the apostolic doctrine.—The object of this article is to investigate the doctrine of God as it is presented in the Christian writings of the apostolic period; but, in view of the scope of this Dictionary, the teaching of our Lord Himself and the witness of the Gospel records will be somewhat lightly passed over.

The existence of God is universally assumed in the NT. The arguments that can be adduced, *e.g.* from the consent of mankind and from the existence of the world, are only intended to show that the belief that God is is reasonable, not to prove it as a mathematical proposition. But undoubtedly the fact that the doctrine is by such arguments shown to be probable will lead man to receive with more readiness the revealed doctrine of God's existence. The biblical writers, however, did not, in either dispensation, concern themselves to prove a fact which no one doubted. Ps 10[4] 14[1] 53[1] are no exceptions to this general consent. The ungodly man (the 'fool') who said in his heart 'There is no God,' did not deny God's existence, but His interfering in the affairs of men. 'The wicked . . . saith, He will not require it. All his thoughts are, There is no God.'

The apostolic doctrine of God as we have it in Acts, Revelation, and the Epistles does not come direct from the OT. It presupposes a teaching of our Lord. At first this teaching was in the main handed down by the oral method, and the Epistles, or at least most of them, do not depend on any of our four Gospels, though it is quite likely that there were *some* written evangelic records in existence even when the earliest of the Epistles were written (Lk 1[1]). St. Paul, writing on certain points of Christian teaching, tells us that he handed on what he himself had received (1 Co 11[2-23] 15[3]; the expression *ἀπὸ τοῦ κυρίου* in 11[23] probably does not mean 'from the Lord without human mediation': it was tradition handed on from Christ).

In approaching the apostolic writings we must bear in mind two points. (*a*) The NT was not intended to be a compendium of theology. The Epistles, for example, were written for the immediate needs of the time and place, doubtless without any thought arising in their writers' minds of their being in the future canonical writings of a new volume of the Scriptures. We should not, therefore, *a priori* expect to find in them any formulated statement of doctrine. (*b*) There is a considerable difference between the Epistles on the one hand and the Gospels on the other in the presentation of doctrine. The Gospels are narratives of historical events, and in them, therefore, the gradual unfolding of Jesus'

teaching, as in fact it was given, is duly set forth. This is especially the case with the Synoptics, though even in the Fourth Gospel there is a certain amount of progress of doctrine. At the first the doctrines taught by our Lord are set forth, so to speak, in their infancy, adapted to the comprehension of beginners; and they are gradually unfolded as the Gospel story proceeds. In the Epistles, on the other hand, the writer treats his correspondents as convinced Christians, and therefore, though he instructs them, he plunges at once *in medias res.* There is no progress of doctrine from the first chapter of an Epistle to the last.

The question we have to ask ourselves is, What did the apostles teach about God? Or rather, in order not to beg any question (since it is obviously impossible in this article to discuss problems of date and authorship), we must ask, What do the books of the NT teach about God?

2. Christian development of the OT doctrine of God.—It is an essential doctrine of the NT writers that a new and fuller revelation was given by the Incarnation and by the fresh outpouring of the Holy Ghost.

(*a*) *The revelation by the Incarnate.*—That the Son had made a revelation of old by the part which He took in creation (see below, **6** (*e*)) is not explicitly stated, but is implied by Ro 1^{20}, which says that creation *is* a revelation of God's everlasting power and Divinity (*θειότης*, 'Divine nature and properties,' whereas *θεότης* is 'Divine Personality' [see Sanday-Headlam, *ICC*, 1902, *in loc.*]). But the Incarnate reveals God in a fuller sense than ever before: 'God . . . hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in [his] Son' (He $1^{1f.}$). The revelation by the Incarnation is a conception specially emphasized in the Johannine writings, not only in the Gospel, but also in the First Epistle and the Apocalypse. The Prologue of the Gospel says that 'God only begotten' (or 'the only begotten Son' [see below, **6** (*c*)]) 'which is in the bosom of the Father, hath declared him' (Jn 1^{18}). 'What he hath seen and heard, of that he beareth witness' (3^{32}). The revelation of the Son is the revelation of the Father (14^{7-11}). The 'life which was with the Father' was manifested and gave a message about God (1 Jn 1^{2-5}). The revelation of eternal life which is in the Son was made when God bore witness concerning His Son ($5^{10f.}$). This new and fuller revelation is that with which the Apocalyptist begins his book (Rev 1^{1}): 'the revelation (apocalypse) of Jesus Christ, which God gave him to shew unto his servants' (see Swete, *Com. in loc.*, who gives good reasons for thinking that the revelation made by Jesus, rather than that made about Jesus, is meant; cf. Gal 1^{12}).

We find the same teaching, though in a somewhat less explicit form, in the Pauline Epistles. Christ is 'the power of God and the wisdom of God . . . made unto us wisdom from God' (1 Co $1^{24.30}$). In Him 'are all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge hidden' (Col 2^{3}). In the new 'dispensation of the fulness of the times' God has 'made known unto us the mystery of his will' (Eph $1^{9f.}$, a passage where 'mystery' specially conveys the idea of a hidden thing *revealed*, rather than one kept secret). To St. Paul personally Jesus made a revelation (Gal 1^{12}; see above). That our Lord made a new revelation is also stated in the Synoptics: 'Neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal [him]' (Mt 11^{27}; cf. Lk 10^{22}). So in Acts, Jesus bids the disciples 'wait for the promise of the Father, which [said he] ye heard from me' (1^{4}); and St. Peter (10^{36}) calls the new revelation 'the word which [God] sent unto the children of Israel, preaching good tidings of peace by Jesus Christ (he is Lord of all).' Sanday (*HDB* ii. 212) points out that the passages about our Lord being the 'image' of God, and 'in the form of God' (see below, **6** (*c*)), express the fact that He brings to men's minds the essential nature of God.

(*b*) *The revelation by the Holy Ghost.*—The new revelation of the nature of God by the full outpouring of the Spirit, in a manner unknown even in the old days of prophetical inspiration, is also, as far as the promise is concerned, a favourite Johannine conception (see especially Jn 14–16). The promise is, however, alluded to by St. Luke (Lk 24^{49}, Ac 1^{4}), and its fulfilment is dwelt on at great length in Acts, which may be called the 'Gospel of the Holy Spirit,' and in which the action of the Third Person in guiding the disciples into all the truth (Jn 16^{13}) is described very fully. Jesus gave commandment to the apostles 'through the Holy Ghost' (Ac 1^{2}). The guidance of the Spirit is described, *e.g.*, in $2^{17f.}$ 8^{9} 10^{19} 11^{12} 13^{2} $16^{6f.}$ 20^{23} 21^{11}, though these passages speak rather of the practical leading of the disciples in the conduct of life rather than of the teaching of the truth. St. Paul says that 'the things which eye saw not' (he seems to be paraphrasing Is 64^{4}) have been revealed by God 'unto *us*' (*ἡμῖν* is emphatic here) 'through the Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God' (1 Co $2^{9f.}$; so v.^{13}). It is the Holy Spirit only who can teach us that 'Jesus is Lord' (12^{3}).

3. Attributes of God in the NT.—Before considering the great advance on the OT ideas made by the Christian doctrine of God, we may notice certain Divine attributes which are emphasized in the NT, but which are also found in the OT.

(*a*) *God is Almighty.*—The word used in the NT (as in the Eastern creeds) for this attribute is *παντοκράτωρ*, chiefly in the Apocalypse (1^{8} 4^{8} 11^{17} 15^{3} $16^{7.14}$ $19^{6.15}$ 21^{22}), but also in 2 Co 6^{18}, as it is used in the LXX, where it renders *ṣᵉbhā'ôth* and *Shaddai*. We notice in each instance in Rev. how emphatically it stands at the end: 'the Lord God, which is and which was . . . the Almighty,' 'the Lord God, the Almighty'; not 'Lord God Almighty' as AV (the AV translates the word by 'omnipotent' in Rev 19^{6} only). The word *omnipotens* occurs in the earliest Roman creed.—But what does 'Almighty' imply? To the modern reader it is apt to convey the idea of omnipotence, as if it were *παντοδύναμος*, *i.e.* 'able to do everything,' on account of the Latin translation *omnipotens*. So Augustine understands the word in the Creed (*de Symbolo ad Catechumenos*, 2 [ed. Ben. vi. 547]), explaining it, 'He does whatever He wills' (Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 22). Undoubtedly God is omnipotent, though this does not mean that He can act against the conditions which He Himself makes—He cannot sin, He cannot lie (Tit 1^{2}, He 6^{18}; so 2 Ti 2^{13} of our Lord). As Augustine says (*loc. cit.*), if He could do these things He would not be omnipotent. But this is not the meaning of 'Almighty.' As we see from the form of the Greek word (*παντοκράτωρ*), and as is suggested by the Hebrew words which it renders, it denotes sovereignty over the world. It is equivalent to the 'Lord of heaven and earth' of Ac 17^{24}, Mt 11^{25}. Everything is under God's sway (see Pearson, *Expos. of the Creed*, art. i., especially notes 37–43). The Syriac bears out this interpretation by rendering the word *aḥīdh kûl, i.e.* 'holding (*or* governing) all.'

(*b*) *God is 'living.'*—He has 'life in himself' (Jn 5^{26}). He is 'the living God' (Rev 7^{2}), 'that liveth for ever and ever' (10^{6}); and therefore is eternal, the 'Alpha and Omega, which is and which was and which is to come' (*ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος*), 'the beginning and the end' (Rev 1^{8} 21^{6}; cf. 16^{5})—these words are here (but not in 22^{13}; see below, **6** (*e*)) rightly ascribed by Swete to the Eternal Father. 'One day is with the Lord as

a thousand years, and a thousand years as one day' (2 P 3[8]; cf. Ps 90[4]; see also Ro 1[20]).

(*c*) *God is omniscient.*—He knows the hearts of all men (*καρδιογνῶστα πάντων*, Ac 1[24]; cf. 15[8]; the prayer in 1[24] is perhaps addressed to our Lord); He knows all things (1 Jn 3[20]). St. Paul eloquently exclaims: 'O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and the knowledge of God!' (Ro 11[33]), and ascribes glory 'to the only wise God,' *i.e.* to God who alone is wise (16[27]; the same phrase occurs in some MSS of 1 Ti 1[17], but 'wise' is there an interpolation). Even the uninstructed Cornelius recognizes that we are in God's sight (Ac 10[33]). Such sayings cannot but be a reminiscence of our Lord's teaching that 'not one of them is forgotten in the sight of God' (Lk 12[6]). They are summed up in the expressions 'God is light' (1 Jn 1[5]) and 'God is true' ('This is the true God,' 1 Jn 5[20]; for the reference here see A. E. Brooke's note in *ICC*, 1912, *in loc.*). God 'cannot lie'; see above (*a*).

(*d*) *God is transcendent.*—This Divine attribute had been exaggerated by the Jews just before the Christian era, but it is nevertheless dwelt on in the apostolic writings. The 'things of God' are indeed 'deep,' so that man cannot, though the Spirit can, 'search them out' (1 Co 2[10f.]; cf. Job 11[7]). God, who 'only hath immortality,' dwells 'in light unapproachable, whom no man hath seen nor can see' (1 Ti 6[16]; cf. Jn 1[18], 1 Jn 4[12. 20]). He is spirit (Jn 4[24] RVm) and invisible (Col 1[15], 1 Ti 1[17], He 11[27]), unchangeable (He 6[17f.]; cf. Mal 3[6], Ps 102[27]), infinite, omnipresent (Ac 7[48] 17[24. 27]; cf. Ps 139[7ff.]). These statements do not mean, however, that God is altogether unknowable by men; for God in His condescension reveals Himself to man (see above, **2**).

(*e*) *God is immanent.*—That God dwells in man is stated several times. 'God is in you indeed,' says St. Paul (1 Co 14[25] AV and RVm; RV text has 'among'; the Gr. is *ἐν ὑμῖν*). 'There is one God and Father of all, who is over all, and through all, and in all' (Eph 4[6]). 'God abideth in us' (1 Jn 4[12]). His 'tabernacle is with men' and He 'shall dwell with them . . . and be with them' (Rev 21[3]). For the immanence of the Son and the Spirit in man see below, **6** (*e*) and **7**.

(*f*) *Moral attributes.*—God is *love* (1 Jn 4[8. 16]); love is His very nature and being, and therefore love is the foundation of all true religion; love is of God (v.[7]; see Brooke's notes on these verses [*op. cit.*]). The love of God is specially emphasized by Christianity; cf. also Jn 3[16] (the kernel of the gospel message), Ro 5[5-8] 8[31-39], 2 Co 13[14], Col 1[13] ('the Son of his love'), 2 Th 3[5], 1 Ti 2[4] (desire of universal salvation), 1 Jn 2[5] 3[1]. The 'love of God' may be God's love for us, or our love for God; but the latter, as St. John teaches (see above), comes from the former.

God is *holy*. This attribute is emphasized both in the OT (Lv 11[44]) and in the NT (1 P 1[15f.]). The four living creatures cry 'Holy (*ἅγιος*), holy, holy is the Lord God, the Almighty' (Rev 4[8]; cf. Is 6[3]). 'Thou only art holy' (*ὅσιος*)* cry the conquerors (Rev 15[4]; cf. 16[5])—a striking comment on the ascription of holiness to our Lord and to the Spirit (below, **6** (*e*), **7**). Brooke (*op. cit.*) thinks it unnecessary to determine whether 'the Holy One' in 1 Jn 2[20] is the Father or the Son.

God is *just*; He has no respect of persons (Ac 10[34], Ro 2[11], Gal 2[6], 1 P 1[17]; cf. Dt 10[17]).

He is *righteous* (for the meaning of this see below, **6** (*e*)); St. Paul not only speaks of the 'righteous judgment' (*δικαιοκρισία*, Ro 2[5]; cf. 2 Th 1[5]), but of the 'righteousness' (*δικαιοσύνη*), of God (Ro 1[17] 3[22] 10[3]). On this phrase, *δικαιοσύνη θεοῦ*, see an elaborate investigation by Sanday in *HDB* ii. 209-212; it was familiar to the Jews, and to them meant the personal righteousness of God. Many commentators take it, as used in the NT, to mean the righteous state of man, of which God is the giver. But in either case it predicates righteousness of God. In Ph 3[9] we find *τὴν ἐκ θεοῦ δικαιοσύνην*, 'the righteousness which is of God.' The Apocalyptist also emphasizes this attribute (Rev 15[3] 16[5-7]).

God is *merciful* (Ro 11[32] 15[9], etc.). This is really the same attribute as love; but it is not the same as the Musulman idea of the mercy of God, which can scarcely be distinguished from indifference. Love and justice combined produce the true Divine mercy.

He is the God of *hope* (Ro 15[13]). A despairing pessimism is rebellion against the good God who makes us to hope, and who promises to overthrow Satan.

He is the God of *peace* (Ro 15[33] 16[20], 1 Th 5[23], 2 Th 3[16], He 13[20]).

(*g*) *God is Creator and Saviour.*—That God the Father is the Maker of the world is again and again insisted on (Ac 14[15-17] 17[25-29], Ro 1[20-25] 11[36], 1 Co 3[9], Eph 2[10] 3[9] [cf. v.[14f.]], Col 1[15f.], He 1[2] 4[4] 12[9] [the spirits of men], Ja 1[17f.] ['the lights,' the heavenly bodies], Rev 4[11] 10[6]). Man was made in God's likeness (1 Co 11[7], Ja 3[9]). That God made the world was also much emphasized by the sub-apostolic writers (Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 20), in opposition to the Gnostic conception of a Demiurge, an inferior God who was Creator, and who was more or less in opposition to the supreme God. (For God the Father as *Saviour*, see below, **6** (*e*); for the part of the Son and of the Spirit in creation see below, **6** (*e*), **7**).

4. The Fatherhood of God.—We now pass to the great developments made by the Christian doctrine of God. In the OT it had been freely taught that God was Father; but the conception scarcely went further than a fatherhood of the chosen people. '*Israel* is my son, my first born. . . . Let my son go that he may serve me,' is Jahweh's message to Pharaoh (Ex 4[22]). The Deuteronomist goes no further (8[5] 32[6], and especially 14[1f.]: 'Ye are the children of the Lord your God . . . for thou art an holy people unto the Lord thy God, and the Lord hath chosen thee to be a peculiar people unto himself above all peoples that are upon the face of the earth'). The restrictive words of Ps 103[13] are very significant: 'Like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth *them that fear him*.' The prophets made no advance on this. To *Judah and Israel* God says: 'Ye shall call me, My father' (Jer 3[19]; cf. Is 63[16] 30[1. 9], Mal 1[6]); 'When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt' (Hos 11[1]).

The NT greatly develops this doctrine. It teaches that God is Father of all men, though in a special sense Father of believers. But, above all, God is the Father of our Lord in a sense quite unique.

(*a*) *The Father of our Lord.*—Jesus ever makes a difference between the Father's relationship to Himself and to the rest of the world. The striking words of the twelve-year-old Child: 'Wist ye not that I must be in my Father's house?' (or 'about my Father's business,' *ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου*, Lk 2[49]) are the first indication of this. Jesus speaks of 'my Father' and 'the Father' and 'your Father,' but never of 'our Father,' though He teaches the disciples to use these words (Mt 6[9]). In Jn 20[17] the Evangelist represents our Lord as using what would otherwise be an unintelligible periphrasis: 'My Father and your Father, and my God and your God.' This same distinction is kept up in the rest of the NT. Thus in Ro 8[3] St. Paul calls our Lord God's 'own Son' (*τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν*), in a manner in which we could not be designated 'sons'; we can only be 'conformed to the image of his Son, that he might

* The word *ὅσιος* (equivalent to the Latin *pius*) 'represents God as fulfilling His relation to His creatures, even as He requires them to fulfil theirs towards Himself' (Swete, *Com. in loc.*).

be the firstborn among many brethren' (v.[29]), while Jesus is 'his own Son' (τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ, v.[32]; cf. Col 1[13]: 'Son of his love'). St. Paul exhibits a fondness for the phrase 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' (Ro 15[6], 2 Co 1[3], Eph 1[3]; cf. Col 1[3] 'God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ'), which is re-echoed by St. Peter (1 P 1[3]), and in the Apocalypse (Rev 1[6]: 'his God and Father'). (On the other hand, in Eph 1[17] we read: 'the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory.') In Rev 3[21] our Lord is speaking, and uses the words 'my Father.' This distinction is at the root of the Johannine title 'Only-begotten,' applied to our Lord (1 Jn 4[9], Jn 1[14. 18] 3[16. 18]). See ADOPTION, ONLY-BEGOTTEN.

(*b*) *The Father of all men.*—This relationship is expressly affirmed by St. Paul in his speech at Athens (Ac 17[28f.]). God has created us; 'in him we live and move and have our being, as certain even of your own poets have said, For we are also his offspring.' And he endorses this heathen saying by continuing: 'Being then the offspring of God,' etc. (v.[29]). We may compare our Lord's saying: 'that ye may be sons of your Father which is in heaven, for he maketh his sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and the unjust' (Mt 5[45]); 'he is kind towards the unthankful and evil' (Lk 6[35]). The same thought seems to be at the root of St. Paul's saying that all fatherhood (πᾶσα πατριά) in heaven and earth is named from God the Father (Eph 3[14f.]; see FAMILY). 'There is one God and Father *of all*, who is over all, and through all, and in all' (Eph 4[6]). 'To us there is one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him' (1 Co 8[6]). In several passages in the Epistles where we read 'our Father' (Ro 1[7], 1 Co 1[3], 2 Co 1[2], Eph 1[2], Ph 4[20], etc.), there is no special restriction to God's relationship to Christians, such as we find with regard to the chosen people in the OT passages. St. James speaks of 'the Father of lights' (Ja 1[17]), *i.e.* of the created heavenly bodies. And the writer of Hebrews refers to a universal Fatherhood due to creation. As contrasted with the 'fathers of our flesh,' God is 'the Father of spirits'—the Author not only of our spiritual being but of all spiritual beings (He 12[9]; see Westcott, *Com. in loc.*).

(*c*) *The Father of believers.*—Side by side with the doctrine of universal fatherhood is the special relationship of God to believers, not only as Saviour (1 Ti 4[10]) but as Father. Here the apostolic writers ascribe to Christians the prerogatives of the chosen people in the old covenant. This special fatherhood is brought out in the passages where St. Paul applies the metaphor of adoption to Christians (Ro 8[14-17. 23], Gal 4[5f.], Eph 1[5]; see ADOPTION; cf. also 1 P 1[17], 1 Jn 3[1f.], Jn 1[12], etc.).

(*d*) *'The Father' in general.*—In many passages we find the absolute expression 'the Father,' comprehending any or all of the above meanings, as, *e.g.*, 1 Co 8[6], Gal 1[1], Eph 5[20] ('give thanks in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ to God, even the Father'), Col 1[12], Ja 3[9] RV ('the Lord and Father'), 1 Jn 2[13. 15f.]; and 2 P 1[17], 1 Jn 1[2], where there is a special reference to our Lord.

The word 'Father' stands at the head of most Christian creeds, but it is probable that it was not originally in that of Rome. The Creed of Marcellus of Ancyra, an early Western specimen, though coming from an Eastern bishop, begins: 'I believe in Almighty (παντοκράτορα) God' (Epiphanius, *Haer.* lxxii. 3). The language of Tertullian (*de Virg. vel.* 1—one of his later works) leads us to suppose that the creed used by him began similarly; he speaks of 'the rule of believing in one only God omnipotent, the Creator of the universe, and His Son Jesus Christ.' But thenceforward it appears in the Western creeds (see Swete, *Apostles' Creed*, p. 19 f.).

5. The Holy Trinity.—(*a*) *The technical terms* by which the Christian Church has expressed the faith that it derived from the Scriptures were not invented for a considerable time after the apostolic period. Thus no one would expect to find the terms 'Trinity' and 'Person' in the NT. It is usually said that the word 'Trinity,' referred to God, was first used by Theophilus of Antioch (*ad Autol.* ii. 15; *c.* A.D. 180), as far as extant Christian literature is concerned. This is true, but the context shows that it was not then an accepted technical term. The first three days of creation are said to be 'types of the trinity (τριάς), God, and His Word, and His Wisdom.' Theophilus goes on to say that the fourth day finds its antitype in man, who is in need of light, so that we get the series: God, the Word, Wisdom, Man. Swete justly remarks that an author who could thus 'convert the Divine trinity into a quaternion in which Man is the fourth term, must have been still far from thinking of the Trinity as later writers thought' (*Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, p. 47). Or we should perhaps rather put it that Theophilus did not use the *word* 'Trinity' in the technical sense which immediately afterwards is found; as when Tertullian speaks of 'the Trinity of the one Godhead, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit' (*de Pudic.* 21; cf. *adv. Prax.* 2), and as when Hippolytus says: 'Through this Trinity the Father is glorified, for the Father willed, the Son did, the Spirit manifested' (*c. Noet.* 14).

The words which we render 'Person' (ὑπόστασις, πρόσωπον, *persona*) are of a still later date, and at first exhibited a remarkable fluidity of signification. Thus ὑπόστασις was used at one time to denote what is common to Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, what we should call the Divine 'substance,' at another it was used to distinguish between the Three; so that in one sense there is one ὑπόστασις in the Holy Trinity, in the other there are three. With regard to the word 'Person,' the student must necessarily be always on his guard against the supposition that 'Person' means 'individual,' as when we say that three different men are three 'persons'; or that 'Trinity' involves tritheism, or three Gods. These technical expressions are but methods of denoting the teaching found in the NT that there are distinctions in the Godhead, and that, while God is One, yet He is not a mere Monad. These technical terms are not found in the apostolic or sub-apostolic writers; with regard to the second of them, it may be remembered that the idea of personality was hardly formulated in any sense till shortly before the Christian era; and its application to theology came in a good deal later.

(*b*) *The name 'God' used absolutely.*—In considering the distinctions in the Godhead taught by the NT, it must be borne in mind that, when the name 'God' is used *absolutely*, without pronoun or epithet, it is never, with one possible exception, applied explicitly to the Son as such or to the Spirit as such. It is, indeed, most frequently used without any special reference to the Person. But it is often, when standing absolutely, used in *contrast* to the Son or to the Spirit, and then the Father is intended. Instances of this are too numerous to mention; but we may take as examples Ac 2[22] ('Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God . . . by mighty works . . . which God did by him'), 13[30] ('God raised him from the dead'), Ro 2[16] ('God shall judge the secrets of men . . . by Jesus Christ'), Eph 4[30] ('the Holy Spirit of God'). This is sometimes the case also when 'God' is not used absolutely, as in Ac 3[13] ('the God of our fathers hath glorified his Servant [παῖδα] Jesus'), 5[30] ('the God of our fathers raised up Jesus'), 22[14], Ro 1[8] ('I thank my God through Jesus Christ'). In Rev 3[2, 12] our Lord calls the Father 'my God'; compare the similar Pauline phrases quoted above, 4 (*a*). See below, 8.

The one possible exception is Ac 20[28]: 'to feed the church of God which he purchased with his own blood.' This is the reading of ℵB and other weighty authorities (followed by AV and RV text), but ACDE read 'the Lord' instead of 'God.' The balance of authority is in favour of the reading 'God,' and it is decidedly more difficult than the other variant. At first sight, to say the least, the word 'God' (if read) must refer to our Lord, and yet this usage is unlike that of the NT elsewhere, and a scribe finding *θεοῦ* would readily alter it to *κυρίου* because of the strangeness of the expression. Thus both because of superior attestation, and because a difficult reading is ordinarily to be preferred to an easier one, *θεοῦ* has usually been accepted here (so WH, ii. [1882] Appendix, p. 98). To get rid of the strangeness of the expression, it has been suggested that the reference is to the Father, and that 'his own blood' means 'the blood which is his own,' *i.e.* the blood of Christ who is essentially one with the Father; but this seems to be a rather forced explanation. A somewhat more probable conjecture (that of Hort) is that there is here an early corruption, and that the original had 'with the blood of his own Son.' The best reading of the last words of the verse, supported by overwhelming authority, is *διὰ τοῦ αἵματος τοῦ ἰδίου*; and this conjecture supposes that *υἱοῦ* has dropped out at the end (cf. Ro 8[32]). However this may be, it would seem that the verse as we have it in ℵB was so read by Ignatius, and gave rise to his expression 'the blood of God' (*Eph.* 1)—a very early instance of what later writers called the *communicatio idiomatum*, by which the properties of one of our Lord's natures are referred to when the other nature is in question, because of the unity of His Person (see 6 (*b*)). Another early instance is perhaps to be found in Clement of Rome (*Cor.* ii. 1): *τὰ παθήματα αὐτοῦ* ('his sufferings'), *θεοῦ* having just preceded; but the reading, though accepted by Lightfoot, is not quite certain. On these two passages see Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 'S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp[2],' 1889, ii. 29 f., 'S. Clement of Rome,' 1890, ii. 13–16. Tertullian uses the expression 'the blood of God' (*ad Uxor.* ii. 3).

(*c*) *Trinitarian language.*—In the NT teaching the Son and the Spirit are joined to the Father in a special manner, entirely different from that in which men or angels are spoken of in relation to God. Perhaps the best example of this is the apostolic benediction of 2 Co 13[14], which has no dogmatic purpose, but is a simple, spontaneous prayer, and is therefore more significant than if it was intended to teach some doctrine. The 'grace of our Lord,' the 'love of God,' and the 'communion of the Holy Ghost' are grouped together, and in this remarkable order. In many passages Father, Son, and Spirit are grouped together, just as the Three are mentioned together in the account of our Lord's Baptism (Mt 3[16f.]), only in a still more significant way. Thus in Ac 5[31f.] we read that God exalted Jesus to be a Prince and a Saviour, and gave the Holy Ghost 'to them that obey him.' Stephen, being full of the Holy Ghost, saw the glory of God, and Jesus standing at the right hand of God (7[55]). The Holy Ghost is in one breath called by St. Paul the 'Spirit of God' and the 'Spirit of Christ' (Ro 8[9]). See also 1 Co 12[3-6] ('the Spirit of God . . . Jesus is Lord . . . the same Spirit . . . the same Lord . . . the same God'), Ac 2[33], 1 P 1[2] ('foreknowledge of God the Father,' 'sanctification of the Spirit,' 'sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ'), Tit 3[4-6] ('the kindness of God our Saviour' [the Father], 'renewing of the Holy Ghost,' 'through Jesus Christ our Saviour'), 1 Jn 4[2], and especially Jude [20], where the writer's disciples are bidden to pray in the Holy Spirit, to keep themselves in the love of God, and to look for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the greeting of all the Pauline Epistles but one, the Father and Son are joined together as the source of grace and peace; *e.g.* 'Grace to you and peace from God our Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (Ro 1[7]); the only exception being Col 1[2] RV, which has 'grace to you and peace from God our Father.' And this Pauline usage is also found in 2 Jn [3]. It is difficult to conceive the possibility of this *zeugma* unless our Lord be God. With this compare St. James's description of himself as 'a slave of God and of the Lord Jesus Christ' (Ja 1[1]), and many other passages such as 'one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we unto him; and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him' (1 Co 8[6]; see above, 4 (*b*)); 'in the sight of God and of Christ Jesus' (2 Ti 4[1]); 'fellowship with the Father and with his son Jesus Christ' (1 Jn 1[3]); 'he that denieth the Father and the Son' (2[22]); 'the same hath both the Father and the Son' (2 Jn [9]); 'the Lord God, the Almighty, and the Lamb are the temple thereof' (Rev 21[22]); 'the throne of God and of the Lamb' (22[1. 3]).

These expressions are the counterpart of our Lord's words in the Fourth Gospel: 'I am in the Father and the Father in me' (Jn 14[10]). We might try the effect of substituting for 'Son' and 'Spirit' the names of 'Peter,' 'Paul,' or even of 'Michael,' 'Gabriel,' to see how intolerable all these expressions would be on any but the Trinitarian hypothesis. St. Paul uses a similar argument in 1 Co 1[13]: 'Was Paul crucified for you, or were ye baptized in the name of Paul?'

These passages are taken from the NT outside the Gospels. The Fourth Gospel, which is full of the same doctrine, is here passed by. But one passage of the Synoptics must be considered. How did St. Paul come by the phraseology of his benediction in 2 Co 13[14]? Some would say that he invented it, and was the real founder of Christian doctrine (see below, 9). For those who cannot accept this position—and the Apostle betrays no consciousness of teaching a new doctrine, but, as we have seen (above, 1), professes to hand on what he has received—the only conclusion can be that the benediction is based on teaching of our Lord. In the Synoptics there is one passage (Mt 28[19]) which would at once account for St. Paul's benediction. According to this, our Lord bade His followers 'make disciples of all the nations, baptizing them into the name (*εἰς τὸ ὄνομα*) of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost.' This passage has been criticized on three grounds. (1) It has been said not to be an authentic part of the First Gospel. This, however, is not a tenable position (see BAPTISM, § 4); but it is important to distinguish it from the view which follows. (2) It has been acknowledged to be an authentic part of Mt., but said to have been due to the Christian theology of the end of the 1st cent., to the same line of thought that produced the Fourth Gospel; and not to have been spoken by our Lord. (3) In support of this it is urged that as a matter of fact, the earliest baptisms, as we read in Acts, were not 'in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost,' but 'in the name of the Lord Jesus,' or the like. But may there not be a mistake here on both sides? It is quite unnecessary to suppose on the one hand that the passages in Acts describe a formula used in baptism, or, on the other, that our Lord in Mt 28[19] prescribed one. All the passages may, and probably do, express only the theological import of baptism (for authorities, see BAPTISM as above).* It was not the custom of our Lord to make minute regulations, as did the Mosaic Law. He rather laid down general principles; and it would be somewhat remarkable if He made just one exception, in regulating the words to be used in baptism. (The justification of the Christian formula is the general consent of the ages, dating from immediately after the apostolic period.) Nor is it necessary to suppose that Mt 28[19] gives us—any more than the other Gospel records do—the *ipsissima verba* of Jesus. It is almost certain that such teaching, if given, would be much expanded for the benefit of the hearers, and that we have only a greatly abbreviated record. But that our Lord gave such 'Trinitarian' teaching in some shape on the occasion of giving

* We are not here concerned with the meaning of 'in' or 'into the name.' The argument is independent of the disputed interpretation of these words.

the baptismal command is the only way of accounting for the phenomena of Acts, Epistles, and Revelation. This would explain not only the apostolic benediction, but also the whole trend of the teaching of the NT outside the Gospels.

Having now considered the general scope of apostolic teaching with regard to distinctions in the Godhead, we must consider in particular the doctrine with regard to the Godhead of our Lord and of the Holy Ghost.

6. The Godhead of our Lord. — In historical sequence the realization of our Lord's Divinity came before the teaching which we have already considered. The disciples first learnt that their Master was not mere man, but was Divine; and then that there are distinctions in the Godhead.

(*a*) *Jesus is the Son of God.*—Of this the apostles were fully convinced. The passages are too numerous to cite, but they occur in almost every book of the NT, whether they give the title to our Lord in so many words, or express the fact otherwise (see above, § (*a*)). Before considering the meaning of the title, we may ask if the name παῖς ('child' or 'servant') applied to our Lord (Ac $3^{13.\ 26}$ $4^{27.\ 30}$) has the same signification. Sanday points out (*HDB* iv. 574, 578) that παῖς is taken in the sense of 'Son' in the early Fathers, as in the *Epistle to Diognetus* (viii. 9 f.; *c.* A.D. 150?). This may also be the meaning of St. Luke in Acts; but it is equally probable that he refers to the OT 'servant of Jahweh.' This is clearly the meaning in Mt 12^{18}, where Is 42^{1} is quoted: 'Behold my servant whom I have chosen,' etc.

But what is the significance of the title 'Son of God'? It was not exactly a new title when used in the NT, though Dn 3^{25} cannot be quoted for it ('a son of the gods,' RV; AV wrongly, 'the Son of God'). It is probable that Ps 2^{7} was the foundation of the Jewish conception of Messiah as Son.* And therefore the title 'Son of God' had probably a different meaning in the mouth of some speakers from that which it had in the mouth of others. Thus when the demoniacs called Jesus the Son of God (Mk 3^{11} 5^{7}, Mt 14^{33}, Lk 4^{41}), they would mean no more than that He was the promised Messiah, without dogmatizing as to His nature. The mockers at Calvary would use the word in the same sense. 'If thou art the Son of God' is the same as 'If thou art the Christ' (Mt 27^{40}). The Centurion, if (as seems probable) his saying as reported in Mk 15^{39}, Mt 27^{54} is more correct than that given in Lk 23^{47}, where 'a righteous man' is substituted for 'the Son of God,' would have borrowed a Jewish phrase without exactly understanding its meaning, and thus St. Luke's paraphrase would faithfully represent what was passing in his mind.

But Jesus gave a higher meaning to the title, and this higher meaning is the keynote of the teaching of His disciples. It is true that in Lk 3^{38} the Evangelist calls Adam a [son] of God (for 'son' see v.^{23}), as being created directly by God; but this is not the meaning in the NT generally. There seems to have been a suspicion in Caiaphas' mind of the higher meaning given to the title by Jesus, when he asked Him whether He was 'the Christ, the Son of God' (Mt 26^{63}). There is almost an approach here to the Johannine saying that the Jews sought to kill Him because He 'called God his own Father, making himself equal with God' (Jn 5^{18}). To the disciples the confession that Jesus was the 'Son of God' (11^{27}, Martha) or 'the Holy One of God' (6^{69} RV, Simon Peter) meant the belief that He partook of the nature of God. This, indeed, might have meant only that Jesus was a Divinely inspired man. But the teaching of Jesus lifts the title to the highest level (Mt 11^{27}, Jn $5^{19\text{-}26}$ 9^{35}, etc.; for St. John's own teaching see, *e.g.*, Jn $3^{35f.}$). In this sense there is only one 'Son of God,' who is the Only-begotten, the Beloved (μονογενής and ἀγαπητός are both translations of יָחִיד; see ONLY-BEGOTTEN). And so in the Epistles the title expresses the Divinity of our Lord. The apostolic message was to preach that Jesus is the Son of God (Ac 9^{20}, Jn 20^{31}). While the first Christian teachers proclaimed the true humanity of the Lord (*e.g.* Ro 1^{3}: 'concerning his Son who was born of the seed of David according to the flesh'), they also proclaimed His true Godhead (v.^{4}: 'declared to be the Son of God with power'). The saying of Justin Martyr (*Apol.* i. 22) exhibits no advance on apostolic doctrine: 'The Word of God was born of God in a peculiar manner' (ἰδίως).

The Arians distinguished 'Son of God' from 'God,' and denied that the 'Son' could be in the highest sense 'God.' The *Clementine Homilies* (which used to be thought to be of the 2nd or 3rd cent., but are now usually, in their present form, ascribed to the 4th [*JThSt* x. (1908–09) 457]) make the same distinction (xvi. 15). St. Peter is made to say: 'Our Lord . . . did not proclaim Himself to be God, but He with reason pronounced blessed him who called Him the Son of that God who has arranged the universe.' Simon [Magus] replies that he who comes from God is God; but St. Peter says that this is not possible; they did not hear it from Him. 'What is begotten cannot be compared with that which is unbegotten or self-begotten.' Sanday (*HDB* iv. 577b) refers to this passage as an isolated phenomenon; but now that the book has been with much probability assigned to the later date, we may say that the teaching just quoted was not heard of, as far as the evidence goes, till the 4th century.

(*b*) *Jesus is the Lord.*—The significance of this title (ὁ κύριος) in the Apostolic Age is not at once apparent to the European of to-day. The name 'Lord' seems to him applicable to any leader of religious thought. To the present-day Greek κύριε is no more than our 'Sir,' and ὁ κύριος is the way in which any gentleman is spoken of, as the French use the word *Monsieur*. But to the Greek-speaking Christian Jew of the 1st cent., ὁ κύριος had a much deeper signification; deeper also than the complimentary Aramaic title 'Rabbi' (lit. 'my great one'). For the Jews habitually used the word 'Lord' as a substitute for 'Jahweh.' That sacred name, though written, was not pronounced. In reading the Hebrew OT, 'Adonai' was substituted for it. And so the Hellenistic Jews, in reading their Greek translation of the OT, found ὁ κύριος where the original has 'Jahweh.' When, then, St. Paul declares that 'no man can say, Jesus is Lord, but in the Holy Spirit' (1 Co 12^{3}), or bids the Roman Christian 'confess with thy mouth Jesus as Lord' (Ro 10^{9} RV; cf. Ph 2^{11}), he does not mean merely that Jesus is a great teacher, but he identifies Him with 'the Lord' of the Greek OT, that is, with Jahweh. St. Peter uses the same identification when he says: 'Sanctify in your hearts Christ as Lord' (1 P 3^{15} RV; the AV reading is not supported by the best authorities); here he quotes Is 8^{13} LXX (κύριον αὐτὸν ἁγιάσατε), actually substituting τὸν Χριστόν for αὐτόν. (C. Bigg [*ICC*, 1901, *in loc.*] renders 'sanctify the Lord, that is to say, the Christ,' but this does not affect the present argument.) This identification is frequent in the NT. The title 'the Lord' is used both of the Father and of the Son. A remarkable passage is Ja $5^{4\text{-}15}$, where we read in quick succession of 'the Lord of Sabaoth,' 'the coming of the Lord,' 'the Lord is at hand,' 'the prophets spake in the name of the Lord,' 'the Lord shall raise (the sick man) up'; 'the Lord' means here sometimes the Father and sometimes the Son (in 3^{9} RV it is explicitly used of the Father). With this compare the way in which in 4^{12} God is said to be the one 'lawgiver and judge, who is able to save and to destroy,' while in 5^{9} Jesus is the judge who 'standeth before the doors.' The passage 1 Co 10^{9} would be still more striking if we could be sure

* We are not here concerned with the connexion between the thought of Israel as Son and Messiah as Son.

of the text. According to the AV and RVm, St. Paul speaks of the Israelites who sinned against Jahweh in Nu 21$^{5ff.}$ as 'tempting Christ'; but the reading τὸν Χριστόν is not quite so well attested as τὸν κύριον. Another identification of Jesus with Jahweh is to be seen in the taking over of the expression 'the day of the Lord' ('the day of Jahweh') from the OT (cf. Am 5^{18}, etc.) and the using of it to denote the return of Jesus, in 1 Th 5^{2}, 2 P 3^{10}, which have 'the day of the Lord,' and 1 Co 5^{5}, 2 Co 1^{14}, which have 'the day of [our] Lord Jesus.'

Again, Jesus is in the NT called 'Lord' in a manner which is equivalent to 'Almighty,' *i.e.* 'all ruling' (see above, **3** (*a*)); *e.g.* Ac 10^{36} ('he is Lord of all'), Ro 14^{9} ('Lord of the dead and the living'), Ph 3$^{20f.}$ ('the Lord Jesus Christ . . . is able even to subject all things unto himself'), 1 Co 2^{8} ('crucified the Lord of glory'—an approach to the *communicatio idiomatum* [see above, **5** (*b*)]), Rev 1^{5} ('ruler of the kings of the earth'), 17^{14} 19^{16} (the Lamb, the Word of God, is 'Lord of lords and King of kings'—a phrase used in 1 Ti 6^{15} of the Father); cf. He 1$^{2f. 8}$ ('the Son . . . upholding all things by the word of his power') and Ro 9^{5} ('who is over all'). God is commonly addressed by the disciples as 'Lord,' as in Ac 1^{24} (but see above, **3** (*c*)) 4^{29} (explicitly the Father; see v.^{30}) 10$^{4. 14}$ 11^{8}; and this is the way in which Saul of Tarsus and Ananias address the Ascended Jesus in their visions (Ac 9$^{5. 10. 13}$ [see v.$^{15f.}$] 22$^{8. 10. 19}$ 26^{15}; cf. Mt 25^{11}, etc.).

The title 'our Lord' for Jesus, which became the most common designation among the Christians, is not very common in the NT. In Rev 11^{15} it is used of the Father ('our Lord and his Christ'). In 11^{8} AV it is used of Jesus, but all the best MSS here have 'their Lord.' It is, however, found in Ja 2^{1} ('our Lord Jesus Christ [the Lord] of glory') and in 2 Co 13^{14}, 1 Ti 1^{14}, 2 Ti 1^{8}, He 7^{14} 13^{20}, 2 P 3^{15}, etc.

(*c*) *Our Lord's Divinity stated in express terms.*—Many of the passages about to be given in this subsection have been keenly criticized, but it is impossible to pass over the whole of them. This passage or that may possibly be explained otherwise than is here done, or in some cases the reading may be disputed; but the cumulative effect of the whole is overwhelming. Yet it must be remarked that the doctrine of the Godhead of our Lord does not depend merely on a certain number of leading texts. The language of the whole of the apostolic writings is inexplicable on the supposition that their authors believed their Master to be mere man, or even a created being of any sort, however highly exalted.

In Ro 9^{5} St. Paul says that Christ is 'over all, God blessed for ever.' Such is the interpretation of the AV and RV (RVm mentions the translations of 'some modern interpreters'), adopted 'with some slight, but only slight, hesitation' by Sanday-Headlam in their exhaustive note (*ICC in loc.*). The alternative interpretations insert a full stop, and make the latter part of the verse an ascription of praise to the Father.

In 2 Co 4^{4}, Col 1^{15} Christ is called the 'image' (εἰκών) of God; with this we must compare the remarkable passage, He 1$^{3ff.}$, where the Son is called 'the effulgence (ἀπαύγασμα; cf. Wis 7^{26}) of his glory and the very image of his substance' (χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ), and is declared to be higher than, and worshipped by, the angels, and to have eternal rule; the quotation from Ps 45$^{6f.}$, beginning 'Thy throne, O *God*,' is referred to the Son. It is remarkable that whereas no Epistle emphasizes our Lord's humanity so strongly as Hebrews, its beginning should dwell so forcibly on His Divine prerogatives. The meaning of these expressions 'image,' 'effulgence,' is seen by studying the passage Col 1$^{15ff.}$ with Lightfoot's notes (*Colossians*^{8}, 1879, *in loc.*). Christ is 'the image of the invisible God, the firstborn of all creation' (see FIRST-BORN for Patristic interpretations). But our Lord is not the 'image' of God in the same way as all men are (1 Co 11^{7}, Ja 3^{9}, Gn 1^{26}; Clement of Rome uses χαρακτήρ in the same sense [*Cor.* xxxiii. 4] though he quotes Gn 1^{26} with εἰκών). Christ is the revelation of the invisible God because He is His 'express image.' He is the 'firstborn of all creation,' as being before all creation, and having sovereignty over it (Lightfoot). There can be little doubt that St. Paul here refers to the pre-incarnate Christ as the earlier Fathers, and eventually the later Greek Fathers, held. He adds that 'in him all the fulness (πλήρωμα) dwells' (Col 1^{19}), and that 'in him dwelleth all the fulness of the Godhead bodily' (2^{9}): the totality of the Divine power and attributes (Lightfoot) are in the Incarnate Jesus.

In Ph 2$^{5-8}$ St. Paul says that our Lord 'being (ὑπάρχων) in the form of God, counted it not a prize [a thing to be grasped at] to be on an equality with God, but emptied (ἐκένωσε) himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of man.' This passage, which has given rise to the word 'Kenotic,' is elaborately treated by Lightfoot (see his *Philippians*^{4}, 1878, p. 111 f., and especially his appended Notes, pp. 127–137). It expresses Christ's pre-existence, for He 'emptied himself.' Of what He emptied Himself is seen from the preceding words. He was originally (ὑπάρχων, denoting 'prior existence,' but not necessarily 'eternal existence' [Lightfoot]) in the form of God, participating in the οὐσία of God. Yet He did not regard His equality with God as a thing to be jealously guarded, a prize which must not slip from His grasp.

We cannot lay great stress on Ac 20^{28}, for which see above, **5** (*b*), because of the uncertainty of the reading; but by all grammatical canons (though this has been denied) Tit 2^{13} must apply the name 'God' to our Lord: 'our great God and Saviour, Jesus Christ' (RV; τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ καὶ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ), and this interpretation is borne out by the word ἐπιφάνεια ('manifestation') which immediately precedes, and by the whole context, which speaks of our Lord (v.^{14}). The phrase in 2 P 1^{1} is similar: 'our God and Saviour Jesus Christ' (RV text).

The explicit ascription of Divinity is found frequently in the Johannine writings. In 1 Jn 5^{20}, indeed, the phrase 'This is the true God' may be applied either to the Father or to the Son (see above, **3** (*c*)); and in Jn 1^{18} the reading is disputed (see ONLY-BEGOTTEN); 'God only begotten' (μονογενὴς θεός) is somewhat better attested than 'the only begotten Son' (ὁ μονογενὴς υἱός) and is the more difficult reading; Westcott (*Com. in loc.*) judges both readings to be of great and almost equal antiquity, but on various grounds thinks that the former must be accepted. But, whatever view we take of these two passages, St. Thomas's confession, 'My Lord and my God' (20^{28}), is quite explicit; and so is the preface to the Fourth Gospel: 'The Word was with God, and the Word was God' (1^{1}), and so are our Lord's words, 'I and the Father are one' (ἕν ἐσμεν, 10^{30}). The Johannine doctrine of the Logos or Word, which cannot be altogether passed over even in an investigation which deals chiefly with the NT outside the Gospels (though the title 'Word of God' occurs only in Rev 19^{13} outside the Fourth Gospel, for He 11^{3} [ῥήματι θεοῦ] is no exception to this statement), is equivalent to the Pauline doctrine of the Image. The Logos is an eternally existent 'Person' through whom God has ever revealed Himself; who was in a true sense distinct from the Father, and yet 'was God' (Jn 1^{1}); who was incarnate, 'became flesh and tabernacled (ἐσκήν-

ωσεν) among us' (1[14]). The Logos is identified with Jesus Christ, whose glory the disciples beheld.

(*d*) *Pre-existence of our Lord.* — This is stated frequently in the NT. Besides the passages just quoted in (*c*), we may notice Ro 8[3] ('God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh'); 1 Co 10[4] (the Israelites of old 'drank of a spiritual rock that followed them, and the rock was Christ' [note the past tense 'was': it is not a mere type]); 15[47] ('the second man is of heaven'; the best MSS omit 'the Lord,' but this does not affect the present point; Robertson-Plummer, however [*ICC*, 1911, *in loc.*], think that the reference is to the Second Advent rather than to the Incarnation); 2 Co 8[9] ('though he was rich, for your sakes he *became poor*' (ἐπτώχευσε)—if He had no previous existence, there never was a previous time when He was rich); Col 1[17] ('he is before all things, and in him all things consist' [hold together]: see above (*c*)); 1 Ti 1[15] ('Christ Jesus came into the world'); 3[16] ('He who was manifested in the flesh': the reading θεός for ὅς [*i.e.* ΘC for OC], which would have made this verse an explicit statement of our Lord's Divinity, has 'no sufficient ancient evidence' [RVm], but this ancient hymn, as it appears to be, is good witness for the pre-existence); 2 Ti 1[9f.] ('which was given us in Christ Jesus before times eternal, but hath now been manifested by the appearing of our Saviour Christ Jesus'); He 1[6] ('when he bringeth in the firstborn into the world'); 1 P 1[20] ('who was foreknown indeed before the foundation of the world, but was manifested at the end of the times for your sake'); 1 Jn 3[5-8] (He 'was manifested'); 4[2] ('Jesus Christ is come in the flesh'). See also below (*e*). Some of these expressions might have been interpreted, though with difficulty, of an ordinary birth; but such an interpretation is impossible when we compare them all together.

With these passages from the Epistles we may compare a few examples taken out of the Fourth Gospel. The Word was 'in the beginning' and 'became flesh' (Jn 1[1, 14]). Jesus speaks of Himself, or the Evangelist speaks of Him, as 'he that cometh from above, he that cometh from heaven' (3[31]), 'whom thou hast sent' (17[3]), as 'he that descended out of heaven, even the Son of Man which is in heaven' (3[13]; the last four words are omitted by ℵ B and some other authorities, and are thought by WH [Appendix, p. 75] to be an early but true gloss). Pre-existence does not in itself imply Godhead; but, on the other hand, if our Lord was not pre-existent, He cannot be God.

(*e*) *Divine attributes ascribed to our Lord.*—At the outset of the apostolic period St. Peter speaks of Jesus as the 'Prince' (or 'Author,' ἀρχηγός) 'of life'; He *could* not be holden of death (Ac 2[24]). This resembles the sayings of the Fourth Gospel that Jesus has 'life in himself' (Jn 5[26]; see below, 8), and that He has power to lay down His life and to take it again (10[18]). Jesus 'abolished death and brought life and incorruption to light through the gospel' (2 Ti 1[10]). He is 'the first and the last, and the Living One,' who 'was dead' but is 'alive for evermore' and has 'the keys of death and of Hades' (Rev 1[17f.]); He is the 'Alpha and Omega' (22[13]), a title which had just before been given to the Father (1[8] 21[6]; see above, 3 (*b*)). The Lamb, as well as the Father, is the source of the river (Rev 22[1]) which is the gift of the Spirit (see Swete, *Com. in loc.*; cf. Jn 7[38f.]). Christ, being the Living One, is called '*our* life,' the giver of life to us, in Col 3[4]; cf. 2 Ti 1[10] as above, and Jn 6[57] ('he that eateth me, he also shall live because of me'; see 8). And therefore He is 'in us' (Ro 8[10], etc.).

Our Lord is represented as receiving the worship of angels (He 1[6]), and of the four-and-twenty elders (Rev 5[8f.]), and of the angels and living creatures and elders (vv.[11-14]). He took part in the creation of the world (Col 1[16], He 1[2, 10] 3[3], 1 Co 8[6], Ro 11[36], Jn 1[3]). Both He and the Father are called 'the Saviour.' The ascription of this title to the Father is characteristic of the Pastoral Epistles (1 Ti 1[1] 2[3] 4[10], Tit 1[3] 2[10] 3[4]; cf. 2 Ti 1[9]) and is also found in Jude[25] RV, Lk 1[47] (cf. Ja 4[12]); but it is given to our Lord in 2 Ti 1[10], Tit 1[4] 3[6] (in each case just after it had been given to the Father), as it is given in Eph 5[23], Ph 3[20], 1 Jn 4[14], 2 P 1[1, 11] 2[20] 3[2, 18], Lk 2[11], Jn 4[42], Ac 5[31] 13[23] (cf. also Jn 12[47], He 7[25]). His human name of Jesus was given Him with that very signification (Mt 1[21]). It was the foundation of the gospel message that 'Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners' (1 Ti 1[15]). It is in the same way that the Father is sometimes said to be the Judge, sometimes our Lord. The Father judges through the Son (Jn 5[22]; cf. Ja 4[12] with 5[9]). He that sat on the white horse 'doth judge and make war' (Rev 19[11]), though during His earthly ministry our Lord did not judge (Jn 8[15]). These two considerations, that Jesus is Saviour and Judge, might not be so conclusive as to His Divinity, if it were not for another office ascribed to Him, that of the One Mediator (1 Ti 2[5]). He is Himself man (v.[6]), or He could not mediate; and by parity of reasoning He is Himself God. A mediator must share the nature of both parties to the mediation. A mere man can only supplicate; God not incarnate can be merciful; but God incarnate alone can mediate.

The great attributes of God—love, truth, knowledge, holiness, righteousness (including justice)—are ascribed to our Lord. His *love* is spoken of in some of the most pathetic passages of St. Paul: 'the Son of God who loved me and gave himself up for me' (Gal 2[20]), 'the love of Christ which passeth knowledge' (Eph 3[19]; cf. 5[25]). The Apocalyptist declares that 'he loveth us and loosed us from our sins by his blood' (Rev 1[5]). It is because of this Divine attribute of love that 'Christ forgave' sinners (Eph 4[32]). His forgiving sins was a great scandal to the Jews (Mk 2[5-7, 10]). Well might they ask, from their point of view, 'Who can forgive sins but one, even God?' The forgiveness of sins by our Lord differs in kind, not in degree, from human absolutions pronounced by Christian ministers, who do not profess to be able to read the heart or to perform any but a conditional and ministerial action.—For the attribute of *truth* see Rev 3[7, 14] ('the Amen') 6[10] 19[11] (in these Jesus is [ὁ] ἀληθινός, the 'ideal or absolute truth,' not merely 'veracious'), Jn 1[14] ('full of grace and truth') 14[6] ('I am the way and the truth and the life'). Our Lord, then, is absolute Truth; and with this attribute is associated that of *knowledge*: 'He knew all men . . . he himself knew what was in man' (Jn 2[25]); without this He could not be the Judge (see also 1 Co 1[24, 30], Col 2[3]).—Most emphatically is our Lord called *holy*. His is an absolute sanctity (Rev 3[7]: 'He that is holy, he that is true'); not only the holiness of a good man who strives to do God's will, but absolute sinlessness. This attribute is insisted on with some vehemence in 2 Co 5[21], He 4[15] 7[26f.] ('holy' [ὅσιος; see 3 (*f*) note], 'separated from sinners'), 1 P 1[19] 2[22], 1 Jn 3[5]; note also Ro 8[3] ('in the *likeness* of sinful flesh'). Sanday-Headlam justly remark (*ICC in loc.*) that 'the flesh of Christ is "like" ours inasmuch as it is flesh; "like," and only "like," because it is not sinful.' For this attribute see also Ac 3[14] ('the Holy and Righteous One') 4[27], Rev 6[10]; and, in the Gospels, Mk 1[24], Jn 6[69], etc. Both the demoniacs in a lower sense and the instructed disciples in a higher one call our Lord 'the Holy One of God.' It was announced by Gabriel that from His birth Jesus should be called holy, the Son of God (Lk 1[35] RV).—Lastly, the attribute of *righteousness* is ascribed to our

Lord, *e.g.* in Ac 3[14] 22[14], 2 Ti 4[8], He 1[9], Ja 5[6], 1 P 3[18], Rev 19[11], as in Jn 5[30]. It is this attribute which assures a just judgment; but it includes more than 'justice' in the ordinary human sense; it embraces all that 'uprightness' stands for. (With the whole of this sub-section, cf. § 3 above.)

(*f*) *Christ's Godhead is not contrary to His true humanity.*—In weighing all the above considerations, we must remember the great stress that is laid in the NT on the true humanity of Jesus (*e.g.* Ac 17[31], Ro 1[3], 1 Ti 2[5], Rev 1[13]), though this does not come within the scope of this article. The apostles did not make their Master to be a mere Docetic or phantom man. Jesus really suffered in His human spirit as well as in His human body. But when we review all the passages given in the preceding paragraphs, and others like them, whatever deductions we may make because of a doubtful reading here or a questionable interpretation there, we cannot doubt that the apostles taught that Jesus is no mere man, or even a created angel, but is God. See further below, § 9.

7. Personality and Godhead of the Holy Ghost.—Much is said in the OT of the Spirit of God, who from the first had given life to the world (Gn 1[2] 2[7], Job 33[4]). The 'Spirit' in Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, is the Breath of God (רוּחַ, πνεῦμα, *spiritus*), who not only gave physical life at the first, but is the moving power of holiness. The Psalmist prays: 'Take not thy holy spirit from me' (Ps 51[11]). But the OT teachers had not yet learnt what Christian theology calls the *personality* of the Holy Ghost (see above, 5 (*a*)), though in the teaching about 'Wisdom,' which is in some degree personified in the OT, *e.g.* in Pr 8 and the Sapiential books of the Apocrypha, and also in the phraseology of such passages as Is 48[16] 63[10], they made some approach to it. In Christian times, while there has been on the whole little doubt about the Godhead of the Spirit (though in the 4th cent. the Arians asserted that He was a created being), yet men have frequently hesitated about His distinct personality, and have thought of Him merely as an Attribute or Influence of the Father. It is therefore important to investigate the apostolic teaching on the subject. We must first notice that the NT writers fully recognize that the Holy Spirit had worked in the Old Dispensation; He 'spake by the prophets' [the enlarged 'Nicene' Creed]; the words quoted from the OT are the words of the Holy Ghost (Ac 1[16] 28[25], 1 P 1[11], 2 P 1[21], Mk 12[36], etc.). The Pentecostal outpouring was not the first working of the Spirit in the world. But the apostolic writers teach a far higher doctrine of the Spirit than was known in the OT.

(*a*) *The Godhead of the Holy Ghost.*—We have already seen (above, 5 (*c*)) that the Spirit is in the NT teaching joined to the Father and Son in a manner which implies Godhead. The 'Spirit of God' (see below) must be God. When Ananias lied 'to the Holy Ghost,' he lied not 'unto men but unto God' (Ac 5[3f.]; cf. v.[9], where he and Sapphira are said to have 'agreed together to tempt the Spirit of the Lord'). With this we may compare Mk 3[29], where blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is said to have 'never forgiveness'; the ‖ Mt 12[31f.] adds: 'Whosoever shall speak a word against the Son of man it shall be forgiven him.' The inference is that if the Son is God, the Spirit is God.—Divine attributes are predicated of the Spirit. In particular, He is throughout named *holy*. We may ask why this epithet is so constantly given to Him, for it is obviously not intended to derogate from the Father or the Son. May not the reason be sought in the work of the Spirit? It is through Him that man becomes holy, through Him that God works on man. In this connexion we may notice two points. (1) In the OT we do not find the absolute title 'the Holy Spirit,' though the Spirit is called 'holy' in Ps 51[11] ('thy holy spirit') and Is 63[10f.] ('his holy spirit'). The use of the title 'the Holy Spirit' is a token of advance to the conception of personality; see below (*b*). (2) In the NT there is frequently a difference between the title when used without the article and when used with it, so that πνεῦμα ἅγιον ('Holy Spirit') is a gift or manifestation of the Spirit in its relation to the life of man, while the same words with the article (τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον or τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα) denote the Holy Spirit considered as a Divine Person (Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, p. 396 f.).—Again, *knowledge* of the deep things of God is predicated of the Spirit (1 Co 2[10f.]). He is the *truth* (1 Jn 5[7]; cf. Jn 15[26]). He is the Spirit of *life* (Ro 8[2]), and immanent in man (Ro 5[5] 8[9] 14[11], 1 Co 6[19] [cf. esp. 2 Co 6[16]] 7[40], Gal 4[6], Jn 14[17], etc.). He is *eternal* (He 9[14]; but on this verse see Swete, p. 61).

(*b*) *The Personality of the Holy Ghost.*—This needs careful consideration. Is He but an Influence of the Father? The NT writings negative this idea; for, though they join together the Spirit with the Father and the Son, as above, 5 (*c*), yet they represent the Spirit as being in a real sense distinct from both. In Jn 14[16] our Lord says: 'I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another (ἄλλον) Comforter.' He is *sent* by the Father (14[26]), proceeds from the Father (15[26]), and is sent by the Son from the Father (15[26] 16[7]). He is called by St. Paul in the same context 'the Spirit of God' and 'the Spirit of Christ' (Ro 8[9]). The Father is not the same Person as the Son, and if the Holy Ghost is the Spirit of both, He must be distinct from both. This is seen also, though in not quite so close and striking a context, in many other passages. He is called 'the Spirit of God' also in 1 Co 2[10f. 14] 7[40], Eph 4[30], Ph 3[3], 1 Th 4[8], 1 Jn 4[2. 13], as in Mt 12[28] (where the ‖ Lk 11[20] has 'the finger of God' instead, the meaning being that God works through the Holy Ghost); He is called 'the Spirit of your Father' in Mt 10[20]; and 'the Spirit of Christ' or 'of Jesus' or 'of the Son' in Ac 16[7] RV, Gal 4[6], Ph 1[19], 1 P 1[11]; note especially Gal 4[6]: 'God *sent forth* the Spirit of his Son into our hearts.' Again, that the Spirit is distinct from the Son is clear from Jn 16[7] ('if I go not away the Comforter will not come unto you, but if I go I will send him unto you') and v.[14] ('he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you').

Personal acts are frequently predicated of the Holy Ghost. In Ac 13[2. 4] we read: 'They ministered to *the Lord*, and *the Holy Ghost* said, Separate me Barnabas and Saul for the work whereunto I have called them. . . . So they, being sent forth by the Holy Ghost,' etc. In Ac 15[28] the formula which became the common usage of later Councils is used: 'It seemed good to the Holy Ghost and to us.' So we read that the Spirit wills (1 Co 12[11]), searches (1 Co 2[10]), is grieved (Eph 4[30]), helps and intercedes (Ro 8[26]), dwells within us (above (*a*)), and distributes gifts (1 Co 12[11]).

In the sub-apostolic period there is found some confusion between the Son and the Spirit: *e.g.* Hermas, *Sim.* v. 6, ix. 1; pseudo-Clement, *2 Cor.* ix., xiv.; Justin, *Apol.* i. 33. Thus Justin says: 'The Spirit and the Power which is from God must not be thought to be aught else but the Word who is God's First-begotten.' Hermas seems to identify the Spirit with the pre-existent Divine nature of Christ: 'The holy pre-existent Spirit which created the whole earth God made to dwell in flesh. . . . That Spirit is the Son of God.' But the meaning of these writers seems to be merely that the pre-existent Logos was spirit and was Divine. Swete (*Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, p. 31) remarks of this period that 'there was as yet no formal theology of the Spirit and no effort to create it; nor was there any conscious heresy. But the presence of the Spirit in the Body of Christ was recognized on all hands as an acknowledged fact of the Christian life.'

8. Subordination.—This is the term by which Christian theology expresses the doctrine that

there are not three sources in the Godhead, but that the Son and the Holy Ghost derive their Divine substance from the Father, and that, while they are equal to Him as touching their Godhead, yet in a real sense they are subordinate to Him. This, however, does not involve the Arian conception of a Supreme God and two inferior deities. It must be remembered that human language is limited, and unable to express fully the Divine mysteries; so that just as the technical terms 'Trinity,' 'Person,' may be misused in the interests of Tritheism, so 'subordination' may be misused in the interests of Arianism.

It is noteworthy that the 'spiritual Gospel,' as Clement of Alexandria calls Jn. (quoted in Eusebius, *HE* VI. xiv. 7), though it insists so strongly on the Godhead of our Lord, yet equally emphasizes the doctrine of subordination. It is the Father who, having 'life in himself,' gave 'to the Son also to have life in himself,' and 'gave all judgment unto the Son' (Jn $5^{22.\ 26}$). Jesus says: 'I live because of the Father' (6^{57}; cf. 10^{18}). It has been disputed whether Jn 14^{28} ('the Father is greater than I') refers to Jesus' humanity, as the Latin Fathers ordinarily explain it, or to His Divinity, as the Greek Fathers interpret; if to the latter, we have here a striking instance of subordination (see Liddon, *Bampton Lectures, 1866*[6], 1878, lect. iv. p. 199 f.). We find the same thing in St. Paul: 'The head of Christ is God' (1 Co 11^{3}); 'then shall the Son also himself be subjected to him that did subject all things unto him, that God may be all in all' (15^{28}); cf. 1 Co 8^{6}, 'of whom are all things.' Subordination is also suggested by the frequent phrase 'the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ' and the words 'my God' used by our Lord in Rev 3^{2} RV 3^{12}, and especially in Jn 20^{17}, where Jesus distinguishes 'my God' and 'your God' just as He distinguishes 'my Father' and 'your Father' (above, 4 (*a*)).

Both the Godhead and the subordination of our Lord are expressed by the phrases 'God of (ἐκ) God,' 'Very God of very God' of the Nicene Creed. The Father is the fount or source of Godhead, and there is none other.

The subordination of the Spirit is implied in much that has been quoted above. The very title 'the Spirit of God' denotes that He is subordinate to the Father and derives from Him. Note also Jn $16^{13ff.}$: 'He shall not speak from himself, but what things soever he shall hear, [these] shall he speak . . . he shall take of mine and shall declare it unto you,' with which we must compare 15^{15}: 'all things that I heard from my Father I have made known unto you.' This refers to the temporal mission of the Holy Ghost, and so, probably (at least in its primary aspect), does the saying that He 'proceedeth from the Father' (15^{26}). The procession of the Holy Ghost has been much discussed, and the controversy has been complicated by the addition of a word (*Filioque*) to the Nicene Creed by the Western Church; but most of those who have engaged in this theological warfare might probably agree in the statement that He who is 'the Spirit of Christ' proceeds, in eternity as well as in time, from the Father through the Son. In any case, procession involves what is meant by 'subordination.'

9. The Divine unity.—Although the apostolic writers emphasize the distinctions in the Godhead, they at the same time reiterate the OT doctrine that God is One. They show no consciousness of teaching anything but the unity of God. The saying of Dt 6^{4} (cf. Is 44^{8}) that 'The Lord our God is one Lord' is repeated by the Master in Mk 12^{29}. 'There is no God but one,' says St. Paul (1 Co 8^{4}; so v.[6]); 'There is one God,' 'the only God' (1 Ti 2^{5} 1^{17}). St. James makes the unity of God a common ground between his opponents and himself; even the demons believe [this] (Ja 2^{19}). As a matter of fact, Christianity was never seriously accused of polytheism. Aubrey Moore remarks (*Lux Mundi*[5], 1890, p. 59) that at the present day polytheism has ceased to exist in the civilized world; every theist is by a rational necessity a monotheist. And this tendency had begun at the commencement of the Christian era. But the Jews of that day made the Divine unity to be self-absorbed. The Divine attribute of love implies relations within the Divine Being; and hence the Jewish idea of God was a barren one, as is the Muhammadan idea to-day. The world needed a re-statement of the doctrine of God, and this was given by Christianity. The Christian doctrine steers its way between Tritheism, which postulates three Persons like three individuals, and Sabellianism, which teaches that Father, Son, and Spirit are but three aspects of God. It does not profess to be 'easy'; it was the desire for 'easiness' that led to Arianism and its cognates, which taught that the Son and the Spirit were inferior and created Divine beings; and, indeed, it was the same desire that led to all the old Christian heresies. But we need not expect that the 'deep things of God' (1 Co 2^{10}), which cannot adequately be expressed in human language, will be readily comprehensible to our limited human intelligence.

To whom is this re-statement of the doctrine of God due? Was it made in sub-apostolic times, or by the apostles, or by our Lord Himself? Those who deny that St. Paul wrote any Epistles, or at least any that have survived, and who make the Fourth Gospel, and perhaps the First, to be 2nd cent. writings, may take the first view. Only it is difficult to imagine what unknown genius in the sub-apostolic age could have made such a revolution in thought. This view, however, may safely be passed over, as involving a thoroughly false criticism of the NT books. More attention must be paid to the view that the re-statement of doctrine is due to St. Paul; that he was, in reality, the founder of Christian doctrine, and that the 'original Christianity is better represented by Ebionism.' It has been well pointed out by Gore (*Bampton Lectures*, 1891, Appended Note 26, p. 254 ff.) that this view is contrary to all the evidence. Those books of the NT which are most independent of St. Paul, such as the Second Gospel, the Epistle of St. James, and the Apocalypse, give the same doctrine that the Apostle of the Gentiles gives. There was no opposition on the subject of the Person of Christ between St. Paul and his judaizing opponents, as would certainly have been the case had Ebionism been the original Christianity. The re-statement of the doctrine of God was fully received at least within a generation of the Ascension. For example, Sanday points out (*HDB* iv. 573[a]) that the use of 'the Father' and 'the Son' as theological terms goes back to a date which is not more than 23 years from that event (1 Th $1^{1.\ 10}$). It is impossible to account for such a rapid growth unless the re-statement came from Him whose bond-servants the apostles loved to profess themselves. The concurrence of so many independent writers can only be due to the fact that 'grace and truth came by Jesus Christ. No man hath seen God at any time; God only begotten [*or* the only begotten Son], which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him' (Jn $1^{17f.}$).

LITERATURE.—Out of a vast number of works it is not easy to give a small selection which will be useful to the reader; and therefore only English works are here mentioned, and only those which bear on the apostolic period. Reference may be made to **J. Pearson**, *An Exposition of the Creed* (first published in 1659; a monument of theological learning, of which the foot-notes, giving the Patristic quotations, are specially valuable); **C. Gore**, *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (*Bampton*

Lectures, 1891); H. P. Liddon, *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (*Bampton Lectures*, 1866); *Lux Mundi*[5], 1890 (especially Essays iv., v., vi., viii.); H. B. Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*[3], 1899, *The Holy Spirit in the New Testament*, 1909, and *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, 1912; R. L. Ottley, *Aspects of the OT* (*Bampton Lectures*, 1897) (especially Lecture iv. on the 'Progressive Self-Revelation of God'); R. C. Moberley, *Atonement and Personality*, 1901; H. C. Powell, *The Principle of the Incarnation*, 1896; A. J. Mason, *The Faith of the Gospel*, 1887–89. Special reference must also be made to artt. 'God' and 'Son of God' by W. Sanday in *HDB* and 'Trinity' by C. F. D'Arcy in *DCG*.

A. J. MACLEAN.

GODLINESS.—This word appears in the EV of the NT as the translation of the Gr. εὐσέβεια (1 Ti 2^2 3^{16} $4^{7.8}$, 2 Ti 3^5, Tit 1^1, 2 P $1^{3.6.7}$ 3^{11}, also Ac 3^{12} RV). In 1 Ti 2^{10} it translates θεοσέβεια. Cf. also 2 Clem. xix. 1 (εὐσέβεια), xx. 4 (θεοσέβεια). 'εὐσέβεια is a more general word than θεοσέβεια, and is almost equivalent to the Latin *pietas*, due esteem of superiors, whether human or Divine, while θεοσέβεια is restricted to God as its object. However, in the NT εὐσέβεια always has reference to God' (J. H. Bernard, *The Pastoral Epistles* [Camb. Greek Test., 1899], p. 39 f.).

It will be seen from the above references that the word εὐσέβεια (θεοσέβεια) is particularly characteristic of the Pastoral Epistles. H. J. Holtzmann speaks of the idea represented by it as one of the most individual ideas of these letters, and points out that its appearance in them (cf. also εὐσεβῶς ζῆν [2 Ti 3^{12}, Tit 2^{12}]) is connected with the recession of the one-sidedly religious interest of the great Pauline Epistles (Gal., Rom., 1 and 2 Cor.), and the coming to the front of an ethical conception of the business of life (see his *NT Theol.*[2], Tübingen, 1911, ii. 306). In the original Paulinism the supreme stress lies on the religious relation to God, and the central idea is that of justification by faith; while the ethical note is struck only in the second place, and in connexion with the peculiar Pauline mysticism. The Christian united to Christ in His Death and Resurrection is a new man, and must accordingly live as such. In the Pastoral Epistles, however, it is justification by faith and the specifically religious relation to God which are in the background; while the ethical demand of Christianity comes to the front in connexion with a fresh idea—that of adhesion to the Church, its doctrine and practice. It is just this latter point of view as a whole which is summed up in the word εὐσέβεια. 'It is above all significant of the tendency of our epistles, that this conception serves to gather up in one both of these lines, in which the entire thought and effort of the author moves, viz. the ecclesiastical and the practical character of the type of religion recommended by him' (Holtzmann, *loc. cit.*). On the one hand, therefore, godliness, as adhesion to the Church, appears as guaranteeing true doctrine (the teaching which is according to godliness [1 Ti 6^3], the knowledge of the truth which is according to godliness [Tit 1^1], the mystery of godliness [1 Ti 3^{16}]; cf. *Ap. Const.* iii. 5: κατηχεῖσθαι τὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας δόγματα). On the other hand, godliness evidences itself in good works and a life without reproach (1 Ti 2^2 4^7). It is in fact because of the practical and ethical character of Christianity that its doctrine in opposition to the heretical speculations of Gnosis is sound speech (Tit 2^2), sound teaching (1 Ti 1^{10}, 2 Ti 4^3, Tit 1^9 2^1), sound words (1 Ti 6^3, 2 Ti 1^{13}); cf. 'to be sound in the faith' (Tit 1^{13} 2^2). On all this see Holtzmann, *op. cit.*

Holtzmann, of course, does not accept the Pauline authorship of the Pastoral Epistles. Bernard, who does, says that the group of words connected with εὐσέβεια was within St. Paul's sphere of knowledge, as they are all found in the LXX and are common in Greek literature; as a matter of fact, too, St. Paul uses the corresponding forms ἀσέβεια and ἀσεβής in Romans. 'But why he should not have used them before and yet should use them so often in these latest letters is among the unsolved problems of the phraseology of the Pastorals, although corresponding literary phenomena have been often observed' (*op. cit.* p. 39). The problem created by the use of these words is, however, only a part of the larger problem of the whole change in thought and atmosphere which has taken place between the 'Hauptbriefe' and the Pastoral Epistles (see the writer's *Man, Sin, and Salvation*, London, 1908, pp. 137–140).

In conclusion, it may be observed, and it has a bearing on the question of the authorship of the Pastorals, that the idea of 'godliness' serves to bind these letters together with the certainly late and unauthentic 2 Peter and 2 Clement. In 2 Pet., moreover, εὐσέβεια serves to denote, just as in the Pastorals, the religion of the Church, in opposition to that of a heretical Gnosis (1^{16} $2^{1ff.}$).

ROBERT S. FRANKS.

GOG AND MAGOG.—In the Book of Revelation ($20^{7.8}$) the seer tells that Satan, after being bound for one thousand years, shall be loosed and go forth to deceive the nations which are in the four quarters of the earth, Gog and Magog, to gather them together to battle. This is conceived in the Apocalypse as the last great battle between the powers of evil and the armies of God, and as the occasion of the final overthrow of the wicked, when fire comes forth from heaven to devour them. In this passage Gog and Magog are represented as nations dwelling in the four quarters of the earth and symbolic of the enemies of the Lord. The names are taken from the prophecy of Ezekiel (chs. 38 and 39), where Gog is represented as a person, 'the prince of Rosh, Meshech, and Tubal,' and Magog as the name of his land (38^2). The prophet depicts this prince as leading a great host against the restored Israel, and being utterly defeated and overthrown. In the ethnological table in Gn 10 Magog is represented as the son of Japheth and brother of Gomer. As to the etymology of the names, considerable difference of opinion exists. Driver (in *SDB*, art. 'Gog') states that the name Gog recalls that of Gyges (Gr. Γύγης, Assyr. *Gugu*), the famous king of Lydia of whom Herodotus (i. 8–14) tells us, and who, Assurbanipal states (*KIB* ii. 173–5), when his country was invaded by the Gimirra (Cimerians), expelled them with Assyrian help. The name may have reached Palestine as that of a successful and distant king of barbarian tribes and may have been used by Ezekiel as symbolic of powers hostile to the Kingdom of God. Another interesting explanation is that of Uhlemann (*ZWT* v. [ed. Hilgenfeld, 1862], p. 265 ff.). He points out that Magog originally signified 'dwelling-place,' or 'land of Gog,' and that the name Gog itself means 'mountain.' According to Uhlemann, all etymological and geographical indications point to the nation of Gog being the inhabitants of the Caucasus, as the καυκάσιον ὄρος of Herodotus is simply the Asiatic 'Kauk' or the Asiatic 'mountain range.' Others, such as Augustine and several ancient commentators, connect the word with Heb. גג 'roof,' 'cover' or 'protection,' but it is unlikely that there is any connexion.

The Jews themselves regarded Gog and Magog as vague descriptions of northern barbaric nations, with whom they were very slightly acquainted. Josephus (*Ant.* I. vi. 1) identifies them with the Scythians—a term which was generally used to describe vaguely any northern barbaric people. Perhaps even in Ezekiel, where Gog is the prince and Magog the name of his country, the terms are little more than symbolic names for the opponents of God and His people. The picture that Ezekiel gave of their overthrow gave rise to the apocalyptic conception that finally the enemies of God and His

people would be utterly overthrown in a great battle, and the names Gog and Magog frequently appear in later Jewish apocalyptic literature as leaders of the hostile world powers (cf. *Sib. Orac.* iii. 319, 322; Mishna, *Eduyoth*, 2. 10). This final and abortive attack on the part of the powers of evil is referred to in Rev 19[17ff.], while in 20[8] the names of Gog and Magog appear as the description of hostile nations. Probably Rev 19 and 20, like most of the book, is part of a Jewish apocalypse which has been transformed by the Christian writer. The Christian seer, like the Hebrew prophet, looks for a day when the enemies of God and His saints will be utterly overthrown.

Many and varied are the interpretations that have been given of Gog and Magog by those who, ignoring the poetical and pictorial nature of apocalyptic literature, regard the Apocalypse as a prophecy of actual historic events. Thus the names have been applied to nations beyond the bounds of the Roman Empire, to Bar Cochba, the Jewish Messianic pretender, and frequently to the Turks. These interpretations depend on the view taken of the 'thousand years' and the 'first resurrection.' For a full discussion of the subject, see artt. ESCHATOLOGY, PAROUSIA.

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W. F. BOYD.

GOLD (χρυσός, χρυσίον, 'gold'; χρύσεος, 'golden'; χρυσόω, 'adorn with gold,' 'gild').—This mineral may, from one point of view, be classed with 'any other yellow pebbles' (Ruskin, *Unto This Last*, § 29), but as a universal standard of value and means of adornment it claims a special attention. From the earliest times the imagination of man has been fired by the thought of reefs and sands of gold. There is a naïve wonder in the first and last biblical references—'and the gold of that land was good' (Gn 2[12]), 'and the street of the city was pure gold' (Rev 21[21]). There are good reasons for the unquestioned supremacy of gold among metals: the supply of it is neither too great nor too small; its colour and lustre are permanent; it is the most malleable and one of the most ductile of substances; it can be melted and re-melted with scarcely any diminution of quantity. In its state of perfect purity it is too soft for most purposes, but a small admixture of copper gives it sufficient hardness for coinage and for jewellery.

Gold is often found in solid masses, but generally in combination with silver and other ores, from which it requires to be purified. Peter (1 P 1[7]) refers to 'gold proved by fire' (χρυσίου διὰ πυρὸς δοκιμαζομένου; cf. Rev 3[18]).

'Strabo states that in his time a process was employed for refining and purifying gold in large quantities by cementing or burning it with an aluminous earth, which, by destroying the silver, left the gold in a state of purity. Pliny shows that for this purpose the gold was placed on the fire in an earthen vessel with treble its weight of salt, and that it was afterwards again exposed to the fire with two parts of salt and one of argillaceous rock, which, in the presence of moisture, effected the decomposition of the salt; by this means the silver became converted into chloride' (*EBr*[11], art. 'Gold,' xii. 199).

India, Arabia, Spain, and Africa were the chief gold-producing countries of the ancients. Arabia, containing the lands of Seba, Havilah, and Ophir, was the Eldorado of the Hebrews. Herodotus (vi. 47) tells of the Phœnician quest for gold in the island of Thasos: 'a large mountain has been thrown upside down in the search.' Pliny describes the gold-mining of Spain (*HN* xxx. 4. 21). The art of the goldsmith flourished in all the ancient civilizations. The gold-work of the Greeks, Etruscans, and Romans may be rivalled, but can scarcely be excelled, and that of the Egyptians of 2,000 years earlier was no less exquisite.

Gold was used for many purposes, secular and sacred. Crowns were made of it (Rev 4[4] 9[7] 14[14]), rings (Ja 2[2]), vessels of great houses (2 Ti 2[20]), idols (Rev 9[20]; cf. Ac 17[29]). Many articles of gold were in the merchandise of Rome (Rev 18[12]); the great city itself was decked with it (18[16]); the scarlet woman's cup of abomination was made of it (17[4]). Much of the furniture of the real Temple, as of St. John's ideal one, was of gold—the ark of the covenant (overlaid with it, He 9[4]), the censer (He 9[4], Rev 8[3]), the altar of incense (8[3] 9[13]), the bowls full of incense (5[8]), the pot of manna (He 9[4]), the candlesticks (Rev 1[12. 13. 20] 2[1]). But servants of God have a spiritual rather than a material standard of values; for them 'the true veins of wealth are purple—and not in Rock, but in Flesh' (Ruskin, *op. cit.* § 40). They have been redeemed not with gold, but with blood (1 P 1[18]). Apostles, though poor, have something more precious to offer than gold (Ac 3[6]). Women have a finer adornment than jewels of gold (1 Ti 2[9], 1 P 3[3]). It is assumed that even the noblest metal may be rusted (Ja 5[3]), and if this is only a popular fancy, at any rate gold is ultimately as perishable as all other material things (1 P 1[7]).

It is natural, however, that gold should be a universal symbol of purity and worth. The golden age, the golden rule, golden opinions, golden opportunities are in common speech the best of such things. Gold is likewise an inevitable category of apocalyptic prophecy. The Son of Man wears a golden girdle (Rev 1[13]), as does each of the seven angels of the seven golden bowls (15[6. 7]). The twenty-four elders have on their heads crowns of gold (4[4]). An angel receives a golden reed to measure the New Jerusalem (21[15]), and the city itself is pure gold (21[18. 21]; cf. To 13[16. 17]). The gold of the Apocalyptist, moreover, has a transcendent quality; differing from our opaque yellow metal, it is 'like unto pure glass,' clear and transparent as crystal. The gold of heaven is finer than earth's finest.

JAMES STRAHAN.

GOMORRAH.—See SODOM.

GOOD.—The adj. 'good' (ἀγαθός, καλός) may be used of any quality, physical as well as moral, thing, or person that may be approved as useful, fit, admirable, right. In the moral sense it connotes in the NT not only righteousness but kindness, helpfulness, love. For Jesus, God alone was good without limitation or qualification (Mk 10[18], Lk 18[19]); and while His own moral discipline on earth was going on, He disclaimed that epithet for Himself (cf. Mt 19[17], with its attempt to escape the apparent difficulty of the disclaimer). This Divine perfection is shown in an impartial, universal beneficence (Mt 5[45]), which men are to imitate (v.[48]). The same conviction of what God is, and what man, therefore, should be, is found in St. Paul's counsels (Eph 4[31]–5[2]). Jesus Himself is the expression and activity of this Divine perfection, and so it is characteristic of Him to go about 'doing good' (Ac 10[38]), as He Himself indicates in His reply to the Baptist (Mt 11[4. 5]); and this, too, He enjoins as the practice of His disciples (Lk 6[27]; cf. Mt 25[31ff.], Mk 14[7], Lk 19[8. 9]). St. Paul echoes the teaching of Jesus when he bids the Romans 'overcome evil with good' (Ro 12[21]), and assures them that such conduct will have its reward (2[10]). The distinction St. Paul makes between 'a righteous man' and 'the good man' (Ro 5[7]) deserves special attention. Just as God because He is righteous

reckons righteous (Ro 3[26]), so it is because God is good in Himself that He is ever showing His goodness to all men, especially in Christ and His Cross (Ro 5[8], Eph 4[32]) and calling all men to be the imitators of His goodness (1 Co 13).

Although the following article is dealing with the Christian moral ideal as 'goodness,' this brief statement in introducing the subject of 'the good' as man's 'chief end' has been made for two reasons. (*a*) In the Christian view, God Himself is man's chief good, for in His fellowship alone is man's perfection, glory, and blessedness, and it is God's goodness that man enjoys for ever; and (*b*) it is because of this goodness—this self-giving of God's perfection as love—that the chief good is given to man. It is in Christ that man so possesses God, and it is through Christ that God so communicates Himself to man. The total impression of the apostolic writings is that Christ Himself is the Good, for in Him and through Him alone man has God as Love.

We must note, however, that the chief good is presented to us in three distinctive phrases in the different types of teaching in the NT. In the Synoptics, on the lips of Jesus Himself, it is 'the kingdom of God' (Mt 6[33]); in the Fourth Gospel it is 'eternal life' (Jn 20[30. 31]), although we also find the second representation in Mt 19[16], Mk 10[17], Lk 18[18], and the first in Jn 3[5]; in the Pauline Epistles it is 'the righteousness of God' or 'of faith' (Ph 3[9]), or, more generally, salvation (Ro 1[16. 17]).

The idea of the good combines character and condition; it includes rightness and happiness, holiness and blessedness, or, as the Shorter Catechism puts it: 'man's chief end is to glorify God and to enjoy Him for ever.' Man, by claiming God's goodness, enjoying and praising it, and by showing a like goodness, glorifies God: that is, sets forth the honour, worth, beauty, and majesty of God's moral perfection (Ro 15[6. 9], 1 Co 6[20], 2 Co 9[13]; cf. Col 3[17], 1 P 4[10. 11]). As God is grace, God's claim on man is for faith, and this is his supreme duty (He 11[6]). Thus the two aspects of the good pass into one another: man fulfils his obligation to God by making fully his own the salvation God offers in Christ. We need not then further pursue the idea of the good as *duty*, but may confine ourselves to it as *boon*.

(1) For Plato and Aristotle the good necessarily included both well-being (εὐδαιμονία) and also well-doing; a man must have health, wealth, beauty, and intellect as well as the virtues to attain fully the good. Here the first great distinction of the Christian view emerges. A man's good is independent of his outward circumstances. As Jesus taught His disciples not to be anxious about food or raiment, but to leave all to the care and bounty of the Heavenly Father, who would add all these things to those who first sought His Kingdom and righteousness (Mt 6[19-34]), so St. Paul assures Christian believers that even the very worst circumstances imaginable cannot really injure them, for 'all things work together for good to them that love God' (Ro 8[28]). The declaration has some affinity with Stoic thought; but the difference lies in this, that for Stoic self-sufficiency there is substituted the possession of the love of God in Christ as the satisfying portion of the soul (v.[39]). While there is this independence of outward circumstances, there is no cynic-like contempt for bodily needs, and the labour that meets these (1 Th 4[11], 2 Th 3[10], Ro 12[11. 17]). Private property even may become part of the Christian's good, as affording the opportunity for the generosity which is so highly recommended as a Christian grace (Ro 12[8. 13], 2 Co 8[1-15]).

(2) A second feature of the Christian view that distinguishes it from the Greek is that the good is not the result of fortune or the reward of merit, but the gift of God's grace (Ro 5[21] 6[23]). It does include a duty to be done, but it is primarily a boon to be claimed. Hence the pre-eminence of faith as the primary, if not the supreme, grace of the Christian life. For human self-sufficiency there is substituted dependence upon God (2 Co 2[16] 3[5. 6] 12[9]).

(3) A third characteristic is the emphasis on sin in the Christian view as the evil from which there must be escape. The good includes deliverance from sin in the two-fold sense, corresponding to the two-fold reference of sin in relation to God, and in relation to a man's own nature. There is forgiveness of sin, reconciliation with God, the peace of God (Ro 3[22-26] 5[10] 1[7] 2[10], etc.); a man is set in right relation with God, so that God's approval and not His displeasure rests upon him, and he does not distrust, or feel estranged from, God, but is at home with God as a child with a father. There is also the breaking of the power of sin, and the banishment of the love of sin, by a new motive and a new strength (Ro 6[1-11] 7[25], 2 Co 5[14], Ph 4[13]). There is a present conquest of evil, and victory over the world. This is a present good claimed more or less, according to the measure of faith; but as Christians are not merely owners of the present but also heirs of the future good (Ro 8[17], Tit 3[7], 1 P 1[4]; cf. He 11[9]), hope as well as faith is necessary to claim the full salvation (Ro 8[24], 1 Th 5[8], 1 P 1[3]).

(4) Into the contents of the Christian hope, the details of the apostolic eschatology (*q.v.*), it is beyond the scope of this article to enter; but one feature, because of its distinction from, or even opposition to, the Greek view, may here be mentioned. The Greek thinker, if he did hope for a future life, looked for the release of the soul from its imprisonment in the body—for a disembodied immortality; but the Christian good includes not merely the survival of the soul in death, but resurrection—the restoration of the entire personality (Ro 8[23], 2 Co 5[1-4], Ph 3[21]). This does not involve the absurdity of a material identity of the body buried and the body raised, for St. Paul expressly distinguishes the one from the other as the natural and the spiritual (1 Co 15[42-44]), but only the conviction that the future life will be a completely human one.

(5) As we may surely reckon as an element in the Christian good the fellowship of believers, the membership of the body of Christ (1 Co 12[12-31], Eph 1[23]), the κοινωνία of the Spirit (2 Co 13[14]: the common life of the Church in the Spirit), so the Christian life is not individual but universal; it is the subjection of all things to Christ, the destruction of all evil, the cessation of all pain and grief, the victory of the saints, and God all and in all. No such wider hope inspired the Greek thinkers. It is true that the expectation of an immediate return of Christ in power and glory precludes our interpreting this universal good as a historical evolution of mankind in manners, morals, laws, institutions, and pieties to so glorious and blessed a consummation, and we are left uncertain as to the mode in which the process is to be conceived. But the hope is a fact of apostolic life.

(6) There is one feature in the Christian good peculiar to St. Paul. As a Pharisee he had felt the burden and the bondage of the Law, and groaned under its judgment, but he had discovered its impotence, and so for him the Christian good included the end of the Law (Gal 4[21]-5[1]), for Christian morality is not legal—the observance of the letter—but spiritual—the expression of the new life found in Christ (2 Co 3[1-11]). It may be doubted, however, whether even all believers in the Apostolic Age were morally mature enough to be re-

leased from all outward restraints, and to be left only to inward constraint; and St. Paul's counsels and commands even in his letters show that this end of the Law was ideal rather than actual. It is certain that the Christian Church in the course of its history generally has been legal rather than spiritual in its morality, and so this part of the Christian good has been unrealized.

(7) In the apostolic view of the Christian good there are two features which may be regarded as of temporary and local rather than of permanent and universal significance for Christian faith: (*a*) the expectation of the speedy Second Advent of Christ in power and glory to usher in the Last Things, which faded out of the Christian consciousness, with from time to time futile attempts to revive it, as the course of human history contradicted it; and (*b*) the belief which became more prominent in subsequent centuries than it was in the Apostolic Age, that the evil to be overcome and destroyed was embodied in personal evil principles and powers, over whom Christ gained the victory, and from whom He effected deliverance for the believer (Ro 8^{38-39}, 1 Co 15^{24}, Eph 1^{21}, Col 2^{15}). For the details on both these subjects the relevant articles must be consulted, as all that is here necessary is merely the mention of them for the completeness of the treatment of the present topic.

Such is the Christian good; is it regarded as destined to be universal? Does the NT offer us a theodicy? It has been already indicated that the Christian hope does include the victory of Christ over all His foes, and the subjection of all things to Him, and at last of Himself to God (1 Co 15^{24-28}); but these confident predictions do not clearly or fully answer the question whether all men will at last be saved—that is, become sharers of the good. While there are a few passages pointing towards *universal restoration*, there are others indicating *eternal punishment*, and some even on which has been based a theory of *conditional immortality*. This problem seems insoluble even with the data not only of the Scriptures, but also of human experience; and accordingly, whatever Christian wishes and hopes may be, we cannot affirm that the Christian good presents the final destiny of the race in cloudless sunshine without any shadow; and thus the believer must walk not by sight, but by faith, in the belief that whatever the Heavenly Father does is wisest, kindest, best. As has been shown in the art. EVIL, the Christian attitude is neither *optimism* nor *pessimism*, but *meliorism*—the belief that the world not only needs redemption, but is being redeemed in Christ.

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ALFRED E. GARVIE.

GOODNESS (HUMAN).*—Two applications go side by side in the general usage of the word 'goodness' and are also found in the NT. On the one hand, it denotes an inherent quality without regard to its effect; on the other hand, the 'goodness' is predicated in view of the effect. In the latter case, however, the thought of the inherent quality as producing the effect is never quite absent from the field of consciousness. It is not possible to call either of these two uses the older and more original one and to stamp the other as secondary and developed. Already in Homer (*Od.* xv. 324, *Il.* xiii. 284) *ἀγαθός* occurs of inherent quality as a designation of the well-born class, as distinguished from the common people (cf. our 'better class,' 'aristocracy'). When these are at the same time called *ἀγαθοί* in the sense of 'brave,' this but shows the close connexion between the inherent and the transient reference of the word. Bravery is the goodness of the aristocracy in action. Hence in the frequent sense of 'efficient,' 'adequate,' the adjective does not describe a momentary or spasmodic efficiency, but the habitual one of quality. Good objects, good circumstances, 'goods,' in the sense of wealth or of delicacies, are all so designated because of their inherent adaptation to benefit the owner or receiver. The force of the word in such connexions can perhaps be felt best from the opposite *πονηρός*. Both meanings are transferred to the moral sphere. The ethical use of the word is, however, in profane Greek a comparatively late development, not being frequent until the philosophical writers (*e.g.* Plato).

In the NT both the sub-ethical and the ethical use are represented. For the former see Mt 7^{17}, Lk 1^{53} 8^{8} $12^{18.\ 19}$ 16^{25}, Ro 8^{28} 10^{15} 13^{4}, Gal 6^{6}, He 9^{11}, Ja 1^{17}, 1 P 3^{10}. For the latter, used of persons, see Mt 5^{45} 12^{34} $19^{16.\ 17}$ 20^{15}, Mk 10^{18}, Lk 18^{19} 23^{50}, Jn 7^{12}, Ac 11^{24}, Ro 5^{7}, Tit 2^{5}; of things, Mt $12^{34.\ 35}$ 19^{16}, Lk 8^{15} 10^{42}, Jn 5^{29}, Ac 23^{1}, Ro 2^{10} $7^{13.\ 18.\ 19}$ 9^{11} $12^{9.\ 21}$ 13^{3} 14^{16} 16^{19}, 2 Co 5^{10}, Eph 4^{29} 6^{8}, 1 Th 3^{6} 5^{15}, 2 Th 2^{17}, 1 Ti $1^{5.\ 19}$, Tit 2^{10}, 1 P $3^{11.\ 13.\ 16}$, and frequently in the formula 'good works.'

It will be observed that the ascription of goodness to persons is rare in the NT. The reason for this is not to be sought in the biblical doctrine of sin as excluding human goodness, for on that view the affirmation of goodness with reference to works ought to be equally rare, which is not the case. The true explanation seems to lie in the God-centred estimate which Scripture places upon man's moral character. Man is measured with strict reference to the nature and will of God as his norm. The conception of 'goodness,' while not excluding, and even presupposing, an objective standard of this kind, does not in itself express it. It describes the quality either as inherent or as affecting others, but does not explicitly relate it to God. This the word *δίκαιος* does, for *δικαιοσύνη* means goodness as conformity to the Law of God and as approved by the Divine judgment. The full and positive conception of *δικαιοσύνη* therefore covers all that is *ἀγαθός* and adds to this the God-related element just named. It is not at variance with this that *δίκαιος* occasionally occurs in a negative sense, more closely adhering to the profane and popular usage—a sense which places it below *ἀγαθός* in the ethical scale. Thus in Ro 5^{7} the *δίκαιος* ('righteous') is one who merely is free from fault, who does what in the ordinary relations of life can be required of him, but does not go beyond this to the spontaneous exercise of virtue as the *ἀγαθός* does. The term 'good' is reserved for the latter. But as a rule *δίκαιος* is not less comprehensive than *ἀγαθός*, covering the Divine demand in all its reach (Ro 3^{10}).

In the ethical application the inherent and the beneficent sense lie so close together that it is not always easy to determine which stands in the foreground and which is the mere concomitant of thought. In the Hebrew טוֹב, as used of God, both meanings are present, but the sense of beneficence preponderates (cf. Ps 34^{9}). In regard to Mt 19^{17} (=Mk 10^{18}, Lk 18^{19}), usually understood as raising the question of absolute ethical perfection, G. Dalman (*Die Worte Jesu*, 1898, i. 277) advocates the same meaning of beneficence. Among the passages which refer to human persons Ro 5^{7} not only extends the reach of 'goodness' beyond that of 'righteousness,' but also finds this overlapping in the spontaneous, benevolent character of the former. In Lk 23^{50} the same distinction may be

* For Divine goodness, see art. GOD.

found, although here the sequence shows that the righteousness before God is estimated higher than the mere benevolence towards men. In 1 P 2^{18} the 'good' and 'gentle' masters are so described from the point of view of their treatment of servants rather than of inherent quality. In Jn 7^{12} there is some doubt as to whether 'a good man' (in opposition to one who 'deceiveth the people') means a man of good character or one of good influence. Ac 11^{24} and Tit 2^5 seem to be the only clear instances of the use of the word to describe inherent goodness.

The same difficulty recurs where the predicate applies not to persons but to things in the ethical sphere. The 'good things' and the 'evil things' spoken of in Mt $12^{34.\ 35}$ are, of course, in themselves morally right or wrong, yet in the context the reference is to blasphemy, so that the element of the good or bad intent and effect can scarcely be excluded. When St. Paul in Ro 7^{12} says that the commandment is *ἁγία καὶ δικαία καὶ ἀγαθή*, the inherent perfection of the Law is affirmed not only by the first and second but also by the third attribute; still the ensuing question, 'Was then that which is good made death unto me?' proves that 'the good' is felt as that which has naturally combined with it a good effect. The same thought must be present in Ro 12^{21}. The 'good' of the neighbour which is to be promoted according to Ro 15^2 is his ethical good ('unto edification'), but it is in part so called because it promotes his spiritual welfare. In Eph 6^8 the element of profitableness is plainly indicated by the context (cf. v.^{7}). The 'good work' which God began in the Philippians (Ph 1^6) is good primarily because it has a beneficent, saving purpose, but probably the notion that it is productive of what is inherently good in them is also present. In Philem ^{14} (cf. v.^{6}) the AV renders *τὸ ἀγαθόν σου* correctly by 'thy benefit' (RV 'thy goodness'). The context decides in favour of 'beneficent' in 1 P 3^{13} (cf. v.^{11} and 3 Jn ^{11}). 'A good conscience' (Ac 23^1, 1 Ti 1^{19}, 1 P 3^{21}) is a conscience deriving its quality from its content, and therefore presupposes that the acts approved by it are good in themselves. The phrase 'good works' admits equally well of both interpretations. There can be no doubt that in Ac 9^{36}, Ro 13^3, 2 Co 9^8, 1 Ti 2^{10} 5^{10}, 2 Ti 2^{21} 3^{17}, Tit 1^{16} 3^1 the reference is mainly to the good intent and effect of the deed. In other passages, however, like Ro 2^{10}, Eph 2^{10}, Col 1^{10}, 2 Th 2^{17}, the emphasis seems to rest not on the outward beneficent tendency, but on the inherent good character of the work, as conformable to the Divine Law.

The Jewish usage of the conception favours this, for in it not the helpfulness, but the meritoriousness, the religious significance of the observance of the Law, stand in the foreground. While St. Paul denies, of course, the meritoriousness of good works as a ground of justification, he nevertheless is at one with Judaism in emphasizing their specific religious importance. It is not in harmony with the Pauline teaching to deem of importance only the spirit and intent of the deed, and not its external performance. Such a judgment is possible only where the ethical point of view is man-centred and virtue regarded as completed in itself. St. Paul's point of view is God-centred—the virtue, the disposition exist for the sake of God; and in order that they may accrue to the full glory of God, it is necessary that they shall issue into act. For the reality of the good work the presence of the disposition behind it is indispensable, but it is no less true that, for the completion of the good as it exists in the heart, its embodiment in the good work is essential.

The noun *ἀγαθωσύνη* (Ro 15^{14}, Gal 5^{22}, Eph 5^9, 2 Th 1^{11}—not in classical Greek, but only in the Greek translations of the OT and in St. Paul) probably in each case describes that form of goodness which seeks the benefit of others. In Gal 5^{22}, standing among a number of other virtues, it must have this specialized sense. This is favoured also by the connexion in Ro 15^{14} ('able to admonish one another'). In Eph 5^9 there is at least nothing to contradict this meaning. In 2 Th 1^{11}, 'Our God . . . may fulfil every desire of goodness and every work of faith with power,' the desire and the work stand related as the wish and the execution, which secures for *ἀγαθωσύνη* here likewise the same sense of beneficence as is associated with the 'work of faith.' *ἀγαθωσύνη* then differs from *ἀγαθότης* (likewise a word of the later Greek) as *benevolentia* does from *bonitas*.

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GEERHARDUS VOS.

GOSPEL.—1. The meaning of the term.—'Gospel,' a compound of the O.E. *gód*, 'good,' and *spel*, 'tidings,' has been employed from the beginnings of English translation of the NT to render the Greek *εὐαγγέλιον*. In the classics this term denotes (*a*) the reward for good tidings, and is so used in the LXX (2 S 4^{10}), *ᾧ ἔδει με δοῦναι εὐαγγέλια* (pl.), 'the reward I had to give him for his tidings'; but (*b*) in later Greek the word stands for the glad message itself. In the NT, however, *εὐαγγέλιον* refers not to the written record, as in the modern usage of 'gospel'='book,' but to the message as delivered and proclaimed. The gospel of N., *e.g.*, is the good news as N. announced it, and St. Paul's gospel is the message brought by the Apostle in his preaching. As long as oral teaching and exhortation could be had from eye-witnesses and intimates of our Lord's ministry, 'gospel' was reserved for this testimony; accordingly, the Apostle John (1 Jn 1^1) writes, *ὁ ἦν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὃ ἀκηκόαμεν, ὃ ἑωράκαμεν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἡμῶν, ὃ ἐθεασάμεθα καὶ αἱ χεῖρες ἡμῶν ἐψηλάφησαν, περὶ τοῦ λόγου τῆς ζωῆς*, 'that which was from the beginning, that which we have heard, that which we have seen with our eyes, that which we beheld, and our hands have handled, concerning the Word of life.' These are the credentials of his message, and the persuasion of it to the hearts of his hearers. Among the early Christians these memories—*ἀπομνημονεύματα*—were most prized, and that word rather than *εὐαγγέλιον* was the primitive term for the gospel (cf. Moffatt, *LNT*, 1911, p. 44, with foot-note).

But as the eye-witnesses and their immediate successors passed away, believers had to fall back, perforce, upon a written record. The earliest certain use of the word in the modern sense is found in Justin Martyr (*c.* 150 A.D.)—'The apostles in the memoirs written by themselves, which are called "Gospels"' (*Apol.* i. 66; cf. *SDB*, *DCG*, and *HDB*, *s.v.*).

The passage which rules the use of *εὐαγγέλιον* in the NT is Mk 1^{14}, *ἦλθεν ὁ Ἰησοῦς εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν κηρύσσων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ θεοῦ* (the gen. is both subj. and obj.; all aspects are included), 'Jesus came into Galilee preaching the gospel of God.'

The word, probably, came into favour through the use by the LXX of the cognate *εὐαγγελίζειν* and *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* in 2 Is. and in the Restoration-Psalms (cf. our Lord's discourse [Lk 4^{18}] in the synagogue of Nazareth concerning the glad tidings of His Mission, based on Is 61^1). But, while the term (noun and verb) is of fairly frequent occur-

rence in the Synoptics, it owes its predominance in apostolic Christianity to the Apostle of the Gentiles. 'It evidently took a strong hold on the imagination of St. Paul in connexion with his own call to missionary labours (*εὐαγγέλιον* sixty times in Epp. Paul, besides in Epp. and Apoc. only twice; *εὐαγγελίζεσθαι* twenty times in Epp. Paul, besides once mid. seven times pass.)' (Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], p. 5 f.).

In Mk 1[1], *ἀρχὴ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and Rev 14[6], *καὶ εἶδον ἄλλον ἄγγελον . . . ἔχοντα εὐαγγέλιον αἰώνιον εὐαγγελίσαι*, we see the word in almost the transition stage between a spoken message and a book. Before the Death and Resurrection of Jesus, 'gospel' was the glad message of the Kingdom, brought and proclaimed by Himself and those whom He sent out to prepare the way before Him. But in Ac 20[24] 'the gospel of the grace of God,' Ro 1[1-3] 'the gospel of God regarding His Son,' and 2 Co 4[4] 'the gospel of the glory (manifested perfection) of Christ,' the second stage is approached.

2. The content of the gospel.—As to the subject-matter of the apostolic gospel, one can scarcely say that the content varied; it was rather that the emphasis was changed. In his synagogue ministry to the Dispersion, St. Paul found the soil in some measure prepared. The *παιδαγωγός* had brought men so far that certain beliefs might be taken for granted as a foundation laid by the Spirit of Revelation in the OT Scriptures both legal and prophetic. This would rule the content of his gospel message to them. The case was different, however, in purely missionary and pioneer work, not only in rude places such as Lystra, but also among the more cultured, though equally pagan, populations in the great cities of the Empire, both in Asia and in Europe. The pioneer gospel, therefore, would have notes of its own. Then, again, after a district had been evangelized and churches planted, we can see how the emphasis of the message would change, as apostolic men, prophets and teachers, sought to lead the primitive Christian communities up to 'the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ' (Eph 4[13]; cf. He 6[1]).

From 1 and 2 Thess. we may gather the content of St. Paul's evangelistic gospel in his heathen mission. 'Those simple, childlike Epistles to the Thessalonian Church are a kind of Christian primer' (A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, p. 15 ff.). From the address on Mars' Hill (Ac 17[30-31]) we have further indications of the staple of his message to those outside. But, perhaps more succinctly and perfectly than anywhere else, in 1 Co 15[3-8] we have the evangelistic Pauline gospel—'for I delivered to you, among the most important things (*ἐν πρώτοις*), that which also I received, that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures; and that he was buried; and that he has been raised on the third day according to the scriptures; and that he appeared unto Cephas; then to the twelve: then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once; of whom the majority survive to this day, though some have fallen asleep. Then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles. And last of all, as to the one untimely born, he appeared to me also.' This summary of the Christian Creed reveals what, to St. Paul, constituted the essential content of the gospel (cf. J. E. McFadyen, *The Epistles to the Corinthians* [Interpreter's Com., 1911], p. 205 ff.).

To this synopsis of his gospel St. Paul adds (1 Co 15[11]), 'Whether then it be I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.' In all essentials St. Paul stood on the same ground as the Twelve—St. Peter, St. James, and St. Paul were absolutely unanimous. Had it been otherwise, one can hardly see how he could have won recognition among 'the pillars' or been accepted by the Church. His gospel was not a different (*ἕτερος*) gospel, though his rapidly changing spheres, and the pressing need of the occasion, may have shifted the accent. This he acknowledges when, speaking of the evangelical mission of the Church, he says (Gal 2[7]), 'I had been entrusted with the gospel of (for) the uncircumcision, even as Peter with the gospel of (for) the circumcision.' But it was the same gospel in all its manifold adaptability. There is no schism in the NT as to the content of the gospel message. The opinion that there is has been well called a 'perversity of criticism.' Thus (*HDB*, *s.v.*) the apostolic gospel may be defined as 'the good tidings, coming from God, of salvation by His free favour through Christ.' But as the 'gospel' of a church is to be sought not only in the message of its preachers, but also in its condensed creeds and in its hymns, there ought to be added to the above summary at least two splendid fragments that have the true liturgical ring about them:

(1) *Christ exalted*: 1 Ti 3[16] (*ὅς*, not *θεός*, is the subject, RV)—

ὃς ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί,
ἐδικαιώθη ἐν πνεύματι,
ὤφθη ἀγγέλοις,
ἐκηρύχθη ἐν ἔθνεσιν,
ἐπιστεύθη ἐν κόσμῳ,
ἀνελήμφθη ἐν δόξῃ.

'This fragment, in its grand lapidary style, is worthy to be placed by the side of the Apostles' Creed' (Köhler, quoted by J. Strachan, *Captivity and Pastoral Epistles* [Westminster NT, 1910], p. 218 f.).

(2) *God glorified*: 1 Ti 6[15-16]—

ὁ μακάριος καὶ μόνος δυνάστης,
ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν βασιλευόντων
καὶ κύριος τῶν κυριευόντων,
ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν,
φῶς οἰκῶν ἀπρόσιτον,
ὃν εἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἀνθρώπων
οὐδὲ ἰδεῖν δύναται.
ᾧ τιμὴ καὶ κράτος αἰώνιον.

3. The relation of the gospel to the Law.—Ac 13 records the opening of St. Paul's official missionary labours, and there (vv.[38. 39]) we have the first indication of the Pauline attitude to the Law. In his address in the synagogue of Pisidian Antioch, he generalizes the incident of Cornelius: 'Be it known unto you therefore, brethren, that through this man (Jesus) is proclaimed unto you remission of sins: and by him every one that believeth is justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.'

But Ro 7, with its logical conclusion in ch. 8, is the crucial passage for the understanding of the relations of Law and gospel in the life of St. Paul, and in that of the NT Church generally. It is the Apostle's account of the struggle, 'often baffled, sore baffled,' that filled the years before his conversion. He also was a rich young ruler troubled with the haunting question, 'What shall I do to inherit eternal life?' For years he had struggled to put down sin in his own heart, to be righteous in the sight of God, passionately longing to have the assurance of the forgiveness of sins, that in peace he might will his will and work his work. In this respect he is like his spiritual kinsmen, Luther and Bunyan. In some respects, St. Paul sharpened the antithesis between Law and grace to a point that was extreme, in that it did not take account of the prophetic element in the Old Testament which was not legal. Jeremiah, 2 Isaiah, and Hosea may be instanced.

But in his day, as a general rule, it was the legal aspect of the OT that held the thought of the Jewish people. Judaism knew but one answer to such

questionings as St. Paul's—'Keep the law'; and if a man replied, 'I cannot,' the answer came back remorselessly: 'Nevertheless, keep it.' 'Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet stumble in one point, he is become guilty of all' (Ja 2^{10}, Gal 3^{10}).

As the Apostle looked back on the long, weary way over which he had come, he found that he had travelled into 'a dark and dreadful consciousness of sin and disaster' (Rainy in *The Evangelical Succession*, p. 20). And this refers to the observance not of one part of the Law but of the whole; what appealed to the conscience of men everywhere, ceremonial Judaism, and the tradition of the elders—all that *νόμος* means is included.

'All his experience, at whatever date, of the struggle of the natural man with temptation is here [ch. 7] gathered together and concentrated in a single portraiture. [But] we shall probably not be wrong in referring the main features of it especially to the period before his Conversion' (Sanday-Headlam, *op. cit.* p. 186). But of course, as St. Paul presents it to the churches, it is his own experience universalized. There is no possibility of winning a standing before God by the Law—

> 'For merit lives from man to man,
> And not from man, O Lord, to Thee.'

He had discovered also that there was no life to be hoped for from the Law. Such had never been its intention. The 'parenthesis' of the Law had for its purpose to create the full knowledge of sin (*διὰ νόμου ἐπίγνωσις ἁμαρτίας*), to produce in the conscience the conviction of it.

Moreover—such is the weakness of human nature—the Law tended to stir sin into dreadful activity, for every commandment seemed to bring up a new crop of sins into his life.

But to the Law St. Paul held on as long as possible; his sudden conversion means as much. The Law was the one outlet to the hopes of Judaism; while to the patriotism of St. Paul Christianity seemed anti-national. Therefore he hung on till he could hold no longer—'O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me out of the body of this death?' (Ro 7^{24}). 'Any true happiness, therefore, any true relief, must be sought elsewhere. And it was this happiness and relief which St. Paul sought and found in Christ. The last verse of Ro 7 marks the point at which the great burden which lay upon the conscience rolls away; and the next chapter begins with an uplifting of the heart in recovered peace and serenity; "There is therefore now no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus"' (Sanday-Headlam, *op. cit.* p. 189). He had found salvation by grace, redemption in Christ, and righteousness by faith and union with Him; 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus made me free from the law of sin and of death' (Ro 8^{2}). The very essence of St. Paul's gospel is to be found in his conception of Christ's relation to the condemning Law. There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, because He stood condemned in their place, and took their condemnation upon Himself; therefore St. Paul is bold to say, 'Christ redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us' (Gal 3^{13}).

It is characteristic of his rebound and gladness of spirit that he, by pre-eminence in the NT, called his message the good news (*εὐαγγέλιον*), and the discovery sent him out everywhere ('Woe is me if I preach not the gospel') to the multitudes of burdened souls, who were held, as he had once been held, in this strange captivity. Through all his letters, the contrast between Law and gospel as mutually exclusive is developed in the antitheses, law and faith, works and grace, wages and free gift—'Ye are severed from Christ, ye who would be justified by the law; ye are fallen away from grace' (Gal 5^{4}). In the Third, the Pauline, Gospel, we have our Lord's story of the two debtors, both of whom, when they had nothing to pay, were frankly forgiven. In the days before his conversion, St. Paul had been painfully trying to pay that debt. Brought to the knowledge that he had nothing wherewith to pay, he made the great discovery that Christ had paid the debt and set him free. And, as he who has been forgiven much will love much, therefore evangelical love burned in St. Paul's heart, as perhaps never in the heart of man besides, to the 'Son of God who loved me and gave himself for me.'

Though the idea of the Law in the Epistle to the Hebrews is so different that it is impossible for Gal. and Heb. to have come from the same pen, yet the contrast between the Law and the gospel is 'without doubt identical with that of St. Paul, although the writer of Hebrews possibly reached that position by a different road' (A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews* [Handbooks for Bible Classes], p. 19). Both writers hold that Christ is the end of the Law to every one that believeth, and through Him is the Atonement made once for all. But inasmuch as the question between Jews and Gentiles had in the days of Hebrews passed beyond the stage of keen controversy, and a free gospel was preached everywhere, the writer did not feel it needful to develop the contrasts between Law and gospel in the Pauline manner. Yet 'the ceremonial observances are in themselves worthless (He 7^{18} 10^{1-4}); they were meant to be nothing more than temporary (9^{8-10} 8^{13}); for God Himself in OT Scripture has abrogated them (7^{18} 10^{9}); and the believing Hebrews are exhorted to sever all connection with their countrymen still practising them (13^{13})' (A. B. Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 19). When the Sun has risen, all other lights pale and fade. The substance has come, the shadow disappears.

It has already been pointed out that there is no sufficient reason for assuming a schism *re* Law and Faith in the apostolic writings. St. Paul stood on substantially the same ground as the Twelve; his recognition by them (Gal 2^{1-10}), and much more his acceptance by the Church, imply as much. Nor is there on a fair and careful interpretation any antagonism between the Epistle to the Romans and the Epistle of James. The question turns on the meaning of *πίστις*. St. James is not denouncing the Pauline *πίστις*, but the caricature of it in a narrow Judaism, which has reduced this noble faculty of the soul to the mere intellectual acceptance of a dogma—a *fides informis*, ethically fruitless—a faith without works (Ja 2^{26}). St. Paul, on the other hand, thinks of a *fides formata*, 'faith which worketh by love' (Gal 5^{6}). Words mean different things to different men. To St. Paul 'works' mean *ἔργα νόμου*, while to St. James they correspond to what St. Paul calls 'the fruits of the Spirit.' Thus, 'so far as the Christian praxis of religion is concerned, James and Paul are at one, but each lays the emphasis on different syllables' (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 465). It is nothing strange that both go to the story of Abraham (Gn 15^{6}) for an apposite example, for it has been pointed out (Lightfoot, *Gal.*[5], 1876, p. 157) that this passage was a stock subject of discussion in the Jewish schools and in Philo. St. Paul, quoting Genesis, affirms that the initial act for which Abraham was accepted in the sight of God was his faith; and St. James, thinking more of Gn 22^{12} than of Gn 15^{6}, says that his faith was made clear, 'seeing thou hast not withheld thy son, thine only son, from me.' 'Faith alone justifies, though the faith which justifies does not remain alone.' Thus we read (Tit 3^{8}), 'I will that thou affirm confidently to the end that they which have believed God may be careful to maintain good works' (cf. the Scots Paraphrase [56], 'Thus faith approves itself sincere, by active virtue

crowned'). But while all real opposition between the apostles (whatever may be the temporal relation between Romans and James) may be disallowed, it need not be denied that the formal differences which appear in the Epistles may well have risen from the extremities to which the controversy was pushed in the different schools of thought in the Church (*paulinior ipso Paulo*). The Apostle was not oblivious of misinterpretation (Ro $6^{1.\ 15}$), and the school of St. James doubtless had those who carried their master's doctrine to extreme lengths. But in the balance of Holy Scripture, the truths of which St. James and St. Paul are protagonists are not contradictories, but safe and necessary supplementaries in the body of Christian doctrine. (For the relation between the doctrines of St. Paul and St. James *re* the Law and Faith, reference may be made to *Romans*[5] [*ICC*], p. 102 ff.; *James* [Cambridge Bible, 1878], p. 76 ff.; *The General Epistles* [Century Bible, 1901], p. 163 ff.; Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 465.)

LITERATURE.—Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), pp. 184–189; J. Denney, *Studies in Theology*, 1894, p. 100 ff., 'Romans' in *EGT*, 1900, p. 632 ff., also art 'Law' in *HDB*; R. Rainy in *The Evangelical Succession* (Lects. in St. George's Free Church, Edinburgh), 1882, p. 20 ff.; A. B. Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*[4], 1891, pp. 63–84, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, 1894, p. 293 ff.; *ExpT* vii. [1895–96] 297 f., xii. [1900–01] 482[b], xxi. [1909–10] 497 f. For the Law in Hebrews, see A. S. Peake, *Hebrews* (Century Bible, 1902), p. 30 ff.

W. M. GRANT.

GOSPELS.—I. *THE FIRST THREE GOSPELS.*—**1. Date.**—(*a*) The central factor here is the date of *the Second Gospel*. The conspectus of dates given in Moffatt (*LNT*, p. 213) will show that this Gospel is dated by modern writers between A.D. 44 and 130, and that recent opinion narrows these limits to 64–85. Moffatt himself decides on a date soon after 70 on the following grounds: (1) Irenæus, *adv. Hær.* III. i. 1, dates the Gospel after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul. This is doubtful (see below). (2) 'The small apocalypse' (ch. 13) suggests a date soon after 70. This is based on the very precarious inference that Mk 13 could not have been substantially spoken by Christ. He need not have had more than the prophetic insight of a Jeremiah to have spoken everything contained in this chapter.

Since the publication of Moffatt's book Harnack has re-opened the whole question of the date of the first three Gospels by arguing that Acts was written at the end of St. Paul's imprisonment in Rome.* It would follow, of course, that the Third Gospel must be earlier, and the Second, since it is one of the sources of the Third, earlier still. The fundamental question here is the evidence of Irenæus. The whole passage should be read carefully. One clause in it has generally been taken to mean that St. Mark wrote his Gospel after the death of St. Peter and St. Paul. But J. Chapman,† and now Harnack, argue that the words 'after the death of' do not date the writing of the Gospel, but, taken in the light of the whole context, mean that the apostolic preaching did not come to an end with the death of the apostles, but was handed down after their death, in written books, about the date of the composition of which nothing is said.

Harnack is thus left free to place the Second Gospel before St. Paul's imprisonment. He thinks that the late evidence of Clement of Alexandria,‡ which connects the Gospel with Rome, may perhaps mean that Mark edited there his previously written Gospel. Harnack does not attempt to date the Second Gospel more narrowly.

But we may carry the argument further. If the writing of Acts at the end of St. Paul's imprisonment affords a limit after which the Second Gospel could not have been written, the relationship between the Second Gospel and the First, which presupposes it, may furnish another.

(*b*) *The First Gospel* is assigned by most modern writers to the period 65–90 (see Moffatt). Harnack thinks that it must have been written near the Fall of Jerusalem, but not necessarily before it. Moffatt is clear that it must have been written after that event.

Apart from its relationship to St. Mark, the inclination to date the First Gospel relatively late is due to a belief that it reflects the atmosphere of a period in which the Church has become organized and developed. It is, it is argued, 'Catholic' in tone. This method of argument seems wholly due to the fact that modern critics read the Gospel through 'Catholic' spectacles. Read it from the standpoint of a Jewish Christian of Antioch about the period of the controversy as to the admission of Gentiles into the Church, and everything is in place. In particular, two lines of thought in the Gospel point to this period: (1) the writer's belief in the permanent validity of the Mosaic Law, (2) his eschatology. On the first see *St. Matthew*[3] (*ICC*, 1912), p. 326, and *ExpT* xxi. [1909–10] 441. As to the second point, a few words may here be added in addition to what is written in *St. Matthew*[3], p. lxix, and *ExpT* xxi. 440.

The First Gospel is, as is well known, the most apocalyptically coloured of the Synoptic Gospels. But there are many who do not realize how deeply the apocalyptic element penetrates the book. It is, *e.g.*, urged by E. Buckley * that the presence of passages like $24^{29.\ 34}$ does not presuppose an early date for the Gospel, because the Evangelist, writing comparatively late, might have preserved such sayings if he found them in his sources. He might of course have done so, but the question is not one of a few isolated passages; it affects the whole Gospel. V. H. Stanton † also says that the language of ch. 24 need not make for an early date, because the writer could quite well have left unaltered expressions of his source. This misses the whole point. Not only does the editor leave unaltered expressions of his sources, but he also alters St. Mark in order to bring that Gospel into line with the idea of the nearness of the Parousia which was so prominent in his own mind (cf., *e.g.*, Mt 16^{28} with Mk 9^{1}, Mt 24^{29} with Mk 13^{24}). It is not only one or two isolated passages in one of his sources, it is the Evangelist himself giving preference to one eschatologically coloured source (Q) and revising another source (St. Mark) in accordance with its ideas. There are many who think that the prominence of the apocalyptic element in the First Gospel is due to the Evangelist forcing it in upon the tradition of Christ's sayings. The truth is rather that the Evangelist had one source full of this element, and that he was so heartily in sympathy with it that he not only preserved large sections of it, but also allowed himself to transfer sayings of an apocalyptic nature from it into appropriate sections of St. Mark's Gospel.

That the apocalyptic colouring of the First Gospel, in so far as it is peculiar to that book, is due to the Evangelist himself and not to one of his sources seems wholly incredible. Allow that the Gospel was written about the year A.D. 50 by a Jewish Christian of the party who wished to enforce the keeping of the Law upon the Gentiles, and the writer, as one who was anxious to preserve all those sayings of Christ which represented Him as One who taught that He was the Messiah of the Jews who would shortly inaugurate the Kingdom, is in his natural place in the development of the

* *Beiträge zur Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, iv., Leipzig, 1911.

† *JThSt* vi. [1905] 563 ff.

‡ *Ap.* Eus. *HE* vi. 14.

* *Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*, p. 278.

† *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, ii. 367.

Church. He is contemporaneous with the apocalyptic period of St. Paul's teaching. Would the Church ever have received a book into which the writer had thrust his own conception of Christ as an utterer of apocalyptic fantasies at a later period when they had a Gospel of St. Luke? Its reception by the Church seems explicable only on the ground that it was a book written early in the history of the Church, received at first in the district where it was written by a community which was in agreement with its apocalyptic teaching, and that it thus held a place in the Church from which it could not be deposed.

B. H. Streeter* argues that the Apocalypse, written towards the close of the century, proves that there were at that period circles with a strong liking for apocalyptic literature, and seems to think that the First Gospel may therefore have been written comparatively late. But the two cases are not in the least parallel. The Gospel was read in the Church at an early date and everywhere received. The use of the Apocalypse was long contested. Moreover, it was one thing for the Church to value an Apocalypse placed in the mouth of the Ascended Christ; it would have been quite another matter for it at a date when, as the Third and Fourth Gospels show, the tendency was rather to diminish than to enhance the apocalyptic element in the Lord's words, to accept a Gospel in which (according to the theory) there were placed wholesale in His mouth during His earthly life sayings couched in technical apocalyptic language which He never used. A Gospel so judaized, as would be the First Gospel on this theory, in idea and in language, would have been recognized as alien to the true tradition of Christ's life, and would have stood little chance of being received as an apostolic writing.

Notice may be taken here of a few passages which are supposed to suggest a late date.

Chs. 1 and 2 are certainly early. Harnack now recognizes that nothing in them need have been written later than A.D. 70. The sayings about the Church ($16^{17ff.}$ $18^{15ff.}$) are certainly early, for they are couched in language in which the Jewish colouring is very remarkable. The word 'Church' is supposed to betray a late date, but why? About A.D. 52 St. Paul was using it of the Church at Thessalonica. When the Evangelist wanted a Greek word to represent the Aramaic word used by Christ, whatever that may have been, what other word would he be likely to choose than the ἐκκλησία of sacred usage?

'As to the last point [the use of 'Church'] it is enough to note that the word occurs nearly a hundred times in the LXX. Not only is the rest of the vocabulary essentially Jewish, but it must come from a quarter in which the Jewish origin and relations of Christianity were strongly marked, *i.e.* from a source near the fountain head.' †

The trinitarian formula in 28^{19} need not be late. St. Paul, says Harnack, did not create it (*op. cit.* p. 108; cf. also *The Constitution and Law of the Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1910, p. 259 ff.).

The narratives peculiar to St. Matthew are, as Harnack recognizes, of a very archaic character.

If then we are right in dating the First Gospel about A.D. 50, we have a further limit for St. Mark. His Gospel must be prior to that date, and fall between 30 and 50. Now it is clear from the early chapters of Acts that St. Peter was prominent in Jerusalem as leader of the little society of disciples of Jesus the Messiah (the First Gospel reflects this rightly). There about the year 39 St. Paul stayed with him for a fortnight. But in 44 St. Peter was obliged to leave Jerusalem (Ac 12^{17}), and we do not find him there again until the Council some five years later (Ac 15). During this interval the Second Gospel may well have been written. The absence of Peter from Jerusalem would suggest the writing down of his teachings to compensate for the loss of his personal presence, and no one was so fitted for this work as John Mark. If written at Jerusalem, the Gospel would naturally have been composed in Aramaic, and there is much in its style and language to suggest this. But St. Mark did not stay long in Jerusalem. He left with his cousin Barnabas for Antioch, and there (*c.* 44-47) it may have been found desirable to translate the Gospel into Greek. When the controversy between the Churches of Antioch and Jerusalem broke out a little later, the writer of the First Gospel took St. Mark's work as his basis, and wrote a longer Gospel, inserting from another source much of the Lord's teaching as preserved at Jerusalem. The Second Gospel may quite well have been re-edited at Rome; but if so, the changes made in it cannot have been many, for it is clear that the editor of the First Gospel had St. Mark before him much as we have it.

(*c*) *The Third Gospel* is generally dated *c.* A.D. 80 (see Moffatt). But if Harnack is right about the date of the Acts, the Gospel must of course be earlier, *i.e.* it must have been written somewhere between A.D. 47 and 60.*

2. Authorship.—(*a*) The tradition which assigns *the Second Gospel* to St. Mark is so strong that it requires some boldness to set it aside. It goes back as early as Papias (*c.* A.D. 140), who gives it on the authority of 'the Elder' (Eus. *HE* iii. 39), and it is now very widely accepted (cf., *e.g.*, Peake, [*Critical Introd. to NT*, p. 121], Harnack, Moffatt, Bacon [*The Making of the NT*, p. 159]).

(*b*) The majority of modern writers are also agreed in referring *the First Gospel* to an unknown writer. The reasons for this are the following. (1) The earliest witness, Papias or the Elder quoted by him, speaks of a work of St. Matthew which he describes as τὰ λόγια. This term does not describe aptly such a book as our First Gospel, but would more naturally apply to a collection of utterances or sayings (see Moffatt, p. 189). (2) Moreover, this work is said by the same witness to have been written in the Hebrew dialect (= Aramaic?). Now our First Gospel is certainly not a translation of an Aramaic or Hebrew work. It was written in Greek by a writer who used at least one Greek source, the Second Gospel, and who used also the Greek OT (see *St. Matthew*[3] [*ICC*], pp. xiii ff. lxii).

But the inference is a natural one that the name of St. Matthew was given to the book because it largely embodies the work of that Apostle referred to by Papias. Modern criticism has therefore been largely absorbed in an endeavour to reconstruct this Matthæan work. Foreign scholars for the most part refuse in any way to identify the discourse source which has been used in the First Gospel with Papias' Matthæan Logia (Harnack, however, admits that it may well have been an apostolic work). They prefer to give it a name which will beg no questions as to its authorship, and call it simply Q (= *Quelle*, 'source'). Three main views as to its contents exist: (1) that of Bernhard Weiss,† who assigns to it not only material found in both Mt. and Lk., or in one of them, but also a good deal that is common to all three Gospels, because he believes that St. Mark borrowed from Q,‡ which therefore lay before

* *Interpreter*, viii. [1911] 37 ff.

† W. Sanday, in *Minutes of Evidence before Royal Com. on Divorce*, iii. 241.

* For a refutation of the argument that the Gospel presupposes the Fall of Jerusalem see Harnack, *Beiträge*, iv. 81 ff.

† *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*, Leipzig, 1908.

‡ The question whether St. Mark used Q has been much discussed recently. F. Nicolardot (*Les Procédés de rédaction des trois premiers Évangélistes*, Paris, 1908) thinks that he did so largely. B. H. Streeter (in Sanday, *Oxford Studies in the*

Mt. and Lk. in a double form—(i.) its original form, (ii.) as reproduced in Mk. (2) Harnack,* again, assigns to it only material found both in Mt. and Lk. and not in Mk. (cf. also Hawkins and Streeter in Sanday, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*). One serious objection to this theory is that, since it is almost incredible that Mt. and Lk. should either have both embodied the whole of Q or both have selected the same sections from it, a reconstruction on these lines must give us an incomplete Q, and possibly one so incomplete that no sure inferences can be drawn from it as to the nature and character of the whole work. (3) Finally, Allen (*Oxford Studies*, p. 236 ff.) believes that Q is best represented in the First Gospel. He thinks that if most of the sayings and discourses peculiar to Mt., and those common to Mt. and Lk., are grouped together, the result forms a collection of discourses of a very primitive character which may well be the Matthæan work referred to by Papias. He thinks that this work was not used directly by Lk., but that many sayings drawn from it passed through intermediate stages into St. Luke's Gospel, one of these intermediate stages being possibly the First Gospel.

(*c*) The authorship of *the Third Gospel* is bound up with the question of the authorship of Acts. Critics, like Jülicher, who date Gospel and Acts about A.D. 100 and deny that the writer of the 'we' sections in Acts can be identified with the writer of the whole book of Acts, cannot of course accept the tradition that St. Luke, a companion of St. Paul, wrote both Acts and Gospel. But recent criticism has moved decisively in the direction of affirming the truth of the tradition. Harnack, following on the lines of W. K. Hobart,† argues that the style and language of Gospel and Acts, including the 'we' sections, decisively prove that both works were written by one person and that he was a physician.‡ Moffatt says that the supposition that both works did not come from a single pen may nowadays be 'decently interred' (*LNT*, p. 298). It is probable that criticism, after long wandering in a labyrinth of speculation upon this point, will return to the traditional belief in the Lucan authorship of both books. It is accepted in such recent works as that of Peake. For a summary of the linguistic argument, see Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, or Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 297 f.

Some of those who reject the Lucan authorship of the two books are inclined to think that Luke may have written the 'we' sections (so Bacon, *Introduction to NT*, p. 211).

3. Characteristics.—(*a*) *The Second Gospel* is neither a history nor a biography. It contains no dates, and the writer is at no pains to give any details of time or place which would help to make the narrative intelligible to a reader previously unacquainted with it. The central figure of the book is introduced under the description 'Jesus Messiah, Son of God' (1^1), but nothing is said of His human parentage, His early life, or the period in which He lived. If we set aside the last five chapters, which describe in detail, disproportionate to the rest of the book, the last few days of the Messiah's life, the account of His doings in 1^{14}–10^{52} is strangely disconnected and without sequence. No hint of the length of time occupied by the narrative is given, long periods are passed over without comment, whilst the events of a single day are recorded in detail.

This incompleteness and fragmentariness suggest the writer's intention. He wished to put into permanent form such of the incidents of the Messiah's life as were well known from St. Peter's teaching to the community in which he lived. Behind the book there lies as the only explanation of it the Christian community (at Jerusalem?) orphaned of its chief teacher. If this be lost sight of, the book remains as a mere narrative of disconnected incidents in the life of one Jesus of Nazareth.

If a keynote to the Gospel be wanted, it may be found in the phrase 'having authority' (1^{22}). Jesus is depicted as one whose words and deeds proved Him to be endowed with power, and so to be the Son of God. Cf. the following:—1^{22}: 'He was teaching as having authority'; 1^{27}: 'a new teaching, with authority he commands'; 2^{10}: 'the Son of Man hath authority'; 5^{30}: 'knowing the power which had gone forth from him'; 6^2: 'the powers (miracles) done by him.' In accordance with this is the emphasis in the Gospel upon the impression made by Him upon the peasantry. Cf. the following:—1^{22}: 'the crowds were astonished at his teaching'; 2^{12}: 'all were astonished'; 5^{42}: 'they were astonished with great amazement'; 6^2: 'the populace were astonished'; 7^{37}: 'they were above measure astonished'; 11^{18}: 'the crowd were astonished at his teaching'; 1^{33}: 'the whole city was gathered at the door'; 1^{45}: 'He could no longer enter into a city, but was without in desert places, and they came to him from all sides'; 2^2: 'They were gathered together, so that the space about the door could no longer contain them'; 3^9: 'He bade his disciples prepare a boat, because of the crowd'; 3^{20}: 'the crowd again gathers, so that they could not even eat'; 4^1: 'and there gathers to him a very great crowd, so that he embarked into a boat'; 6^{31}: 'There were many coming and going, and they had no opportunity to eat.'

(*b*) If the Second Gospel is a book of reminiscences, or rather of notes of a great teacher's reminiscences of the life of his Master, *the First Gospel* is a theological treatise in narrative form. Its purpose is to prove that Jesus of Nazareth was, though rejected by the rulers of His people, the true Messiah, in whom were or would be fulfilled all the Messianic expectations of the OT. The phrase 'that it might be fulfilled' may be taken as the keynote of the book. Characteristic of the book are the following: (1) its apologetic aspect; it is a defence of the Messiahship of Jesus against (i.) current slander (cf. esp. chs. 1, 2), (ii.) the hard fact that the Jewish authorities rejected Him; (2) its consequent polemic against the recognized authorities of the Jews; (3) its conception of the Church or Society of the Messiah as consisting of Jews or proselytes still under the authority of the Mosaic Law; (4) its conception of the Kingdom as to be inaugurated shortly when the Messiah returned on the clouds of heaven. See on these points *St. Matthew*[3], pp. 309 ff., 326 ff.; *ExpT* xxi. 439 ff.; and art. 'Matthew (Gospel)' in *DCG*.

(*c*) In *the Third Gospel* we come at last to a professed biography or history of a life. It is best treated when taken as the first part of a great historical work of which Acts is the second volume, and some of the following features characterize both works: (1) if in the First Gospel Jesus is 'He who fulfils' and in the Second He is the one having authority and power, in the Third He is the Divine Healer; (2) there is a strong universalistic note. Jesus is the Second Adam, and His gospel is for all peoples (cf. $2^{14, 31}$ 3^6); (3) prominence is given to women in both Gospel and Acts; (4) there is considerable emphasis upon prayer, the influence of the Holy Spirit, and upon Chris-

Synoptic Problem) argues that he did so only to a limited extent. Harnack thinks that 'this assumption is nowhere demanded' (*Sayings of Jesus*, p. 226; so Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 204 ff.).

* *The Sayings of Jesus.*

† *The Medical Language of St. Luke*, Dublin and London, 1882.

‡ See also J. C. Hawkins, *Horæ Synopticæ*[2], Oxford, 1909.

tianity as being a religion marked by thanksgiving, joy, and peace.

Out of his many sources St. Luke has composed a wonderful book. About the first part of the Gospel hangs the peace of God, clothing it like a soft garment. Into the world has entered the Prince of Peace, bringing healing to the souls and bodies of men—not of Jews only but of all mankind, not for the rich and privileged classes but for the poor and the outcast, not for men alone but for women also. To those who are Christ's disciples the gates of prayer are ever open, and they live in an atmosphere where praise is upon their lips and joy in their hearts. About the second part hangs still the feeling of the joy and peace which Christianity brings with it. But there is now a new note of triumph. The Christian Church as St. Luke describes it in the Acts marches victoriously through the Roman world from conquest to conquest. Harnack somewhere fitly quotes as a keynote to the work the words of the old Latin hymn 'The Royal banners forward go.'

II. *THE FOURTH GOSPEL.*—The Fourth Gospel is dated by many modern writers in the early part of the 2nd cent. (so recently Clemen * and Bacon †). This of course precludes its apostolic authorship. The line of argument which leads up to this position is as follows. (*a*) The Fourth Gospel conflicts with the first three in facts such as the date of the Crucifixion, the cleansing of the Temple, and the account of John the Baptist; it is therefore hopelessly unhistorical, and cannot have been written by an apostle. (*b*) It conflicts with them in its presentation of the Person of Christ. The Christology is so different from that of the Synoptic Gospels that the sayings put into the mouth of Christ must be mainly the work of an author (not an apostle) who is writing under the influence of Jewish Alexandrian Philosophy and of Stoicism.‡ (*c*) What then of the 2nd cent. attribution of the Gospel to the Apostle? This is hopelessly misleading. Irenæus misunderstood Polycarp and attributed the Gospel to John the Apostle when he ought to have assigned it to John the Elder. Irenæus is wrong again when he said that John the Apostle lived to a good age and spent the last part of his life at Ephesus. As a matter of fact, he suffered early martyrdom at the hands of the Jews.§

We may consider further some points in this argument. (*a*) The historical inaccuracy in matters of fact needs at least considerable qualification. In many respects the writer is remarkably accurate in his representation of Palestine as it was before the Fall of Jerusalem, *e.g.* in geographical and topographical detail, in his knowledge of Jewish custom, the relationship between Jewish parties, their religious beliefs. Moreover, the Synoptic tradition is too one-sided to be taken as a measure or gauge.

(*b*) The contrast drawn between the Christology of the Synoptic Gospels and that of the Fourth Gospel is open to the same criticism. What right have we to regard the first three Gospels as an adequate presentation of the Person of Christ, and not as three slightly varying forms of a tradition which represented a very meagre part of a life which was many-sided? For hints in the Synoptic Gospels of a Judæan ministry see Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 541. With respect to the teaching of Christ, the Synoptic Gospels give us a significant hint that there were sides of this teaching which they have left almost wholly unrecorded. The saying Mt 11^{27} = Lk 10^{22}, with its emphasis upon the unique Sonship of Christ, implies the whole Johannine Christology, and is no doubt a fragment from a whole cycle of teaching such as that which has survived in the Fourth Gospel. And St. Mark has another allusion to this teaching in 13^{32} ('the Son'). The modern critic fashions out of the first three Gospels a Jesus after his liking, and then denies that the Christ of the Fourth Gospel is compatible with this Jesus whom his literary criticism has created. But is it not more likely to be the case that the Jesus of history was One too lofty in personality, too many-sided in character, to be understood by His contemporaries? The Synoptic tradition has given to us one impression as it was left upon some of His followers (though even here there are many aspects of character—teacher of virtue, critic of Pharisaic religion, mystic, doer of miracles, apocalyptic seer, etc.); the Fourth Gospel has preserved another side of His character. It may well be that, had others set themselves to describe the life, we should have had information which would have given us quite a fresh conception of Him. It is, moreover, easy to draw quite false antitheses between the Fourth Gospel and the Synoptics. It is, *e.g.*, true that the writer of the Fourth Gospel dwells by preference upon the teaching as to the present possession of Christian privileges rather than upon that as to their future consummation (the apocalyptic teaching of the Synoptic Gospels). But the whole cycle of this apocalyptic teaching is presupposed. There is to be a general resurrection (5^{28}). Eternal life involves a resurrection at the last day (6^{40}). The very conception of eternal life is apocalyptic, involving the thought of the permanence of the individual life and its future entry into a Kingdom which will be a fulfilment of the partial manifestation of the kingdom in the present. The retention of these passages in the Gospel is not a deliberate departure from the writer's view of life as present, and a falling back on a primitive eschatological view (Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 249). Rather they are a hint that there is another side of the doctrine of eternal life which the author knows to have been taught by Christ, and which he will not altogether omit because it is the necessary corollary of such teaching on eternal life as he records. They who have eternal life cannot die for ever, and there must be a sphere in which their life will be manifested. That is pure apocalyptic.

The conception of the Christology of the book as being the work of a writer strongly influenced by Alexandrian philosophy is probably a false one due to the fact that modern writers on the Gospel know something about Alexandrian philosophy because Philo wrote in Greek, but little or nothing about Jewish theology in the time of Christ, except at second hand, or in so far as it can be ascertained from Greek sources (the apocalyptic literature). The Gospel is probably thoroughly Hebraic in language, in method of argument, in idea, and it will be seen to be so when Christian scholars take the trouble to set themselves to the work of critically editing the Rabbinical literature, with a view to ascertaining how much of its theology they must carry back into the period of the life of Christ.*

(*c*) With regard to the 2nd cent. tradition, it is significant that decision as to its value seems to depend upon a prior question—that of the possibility of an apostolic authorship for the Fourth Gospel. That is, critics who find the Gospel so unhistorical as to render its composition by an apostle impossible all depreciate the value of the 2nd cent. witness to St. John as the author. And

* *Die Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*, Halle, 1912.
† *The Making of the NT.*
‡ See Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 522; Scott, *Fourth Gospel*, p. 29 ff.
§ Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 602 ff.

* See I. Abrahams, in *Cambridge Biblical Essays*, London, 1909, p. 181 ff.

indeed what need to trouble about explaining away this witness if the Gospel on its own showing cannot be apostolic? On the other hand, all who do not find the Gospel to be so unhistorical as to make its composition by an apostle, or its dependence upon him, incredible, find the 2nd cent. attestation to be good. The most recent critical work, that of Clemen,* decides in favour of the literary unity of the Gospel; denies a confusion between two Johns, a presbyter and an apostle; argues that there is no valid ground for denying that the apostle settled in Ephesus at the end of his life, and none for supposing his early martyrdom. Clemen believes the Gospel to be too far removed from history to have been written by the apostle himself, but thinks that Johannine tradition is a main element in it.

Recent attempts to analyze the Gospel into sources seem to have failed,† and it is little likely that for the present any fresh light on the book will be forthcoming. It may be hoped that we shall one day have an editor of the Gospel who is trained in Rabbinic exegesis, as well as in Western scholarship. Such a one may find that the Gospel is certainly the work of a Jew, and may see no reason for denying that its author may have been John the son of Zebedee. If he prefer historical evidence as to Christ's teaching and Person to preconceived ideas about Him, he may also see no reason for denying that both Synoptic and Johannine pictures of Jesus are substantially true, yet equally one-sided, and that the Jesus of history must have been One of whom all our knowledge can be only partial, enough to elicit our devotion and to silence our criticism.

LITERATURE.—This is enormous. The following are some recent books in English: V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Historical Documents*, Cambridge, pt. i. [1903], pt. ii. [1909]; J. Moffatt, *LNT*, Edinburgh, 1911; A. S. Peake, *A Critical Introduction to the NT*, London, 1909; W. Sanday, *The Life of Christ in Recent Research*, Oxford, 1907, *Oxford Studies in the Synoptic Problem*, do. 1911, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel*, do. 1905; A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, Eng. tr., London, 1907, and *Sayings of Jesus*, do. 1908; F. C. Burkitt, *The Earliest Sources for the Life of Jesus*, Boston, 1910; J. R. Cohu, *The Gospels in the Light of Modern Research*, Oxford, 1909; E. R. Buckley, *An Introduction to the Synoptic Problem*, London, 1912; B. W. Bacon, *The Making of the NT*, do. 1912; E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, Edinburgh, 1906; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Historical Character of St. John's Gospel*, London, 1908; L. Pullan, *The Gospels*, do. 1912; W. C. Allen and L. W. Grensted, *Introduction to the Books of the NT*, Edinburgh, 1913. W. C. ALLEN.

GOSPELS (UNCANONICAL).—*Introductory.*—**1.** 'The Church,' as Origen said—or rather, as the translator of Origen's *Homilies on Luke* (i.) said for him—'the Church has four Gospels, heresy has many.' This could be said by the middle of the 3rd century. A century earlier, with the rise of the Gospel canon, a sharp distinction had been drawn between the four Gospels of the NT and all other writings of this class. The present article deals with the latter, not in relation to the former but rather in the light of their own genesis and structure as products of early Christian literature. Still, two preliminary remarks must be made in connexion with the distinction drawn by Origen. One is, that while the Church had only four Gospels in the sense of Scriptures relating to the life of Jesus, which were authorized to be used in public worship and for purposes of doctrine, the early Christians did not by any means confine their reading to the canonical Gospels. Their piety was nourished upon some Gospels which found no place in the canon. And these Gospels were not always tinged with definite heresy. We can see, for example, from the evidence which Eusebius rather grudgingly furnishes for the repute of the Gospel of the Hebrews in certain circles, that an uncanonical Gospel like this had a vogue which was only partially affected by the necessity of excluding it from the canon. Also, before the canon gained its full authority, a Gospel like that of Peter could still keep some footing within a community. The Church might have its four Gospels as classical and standard documents for the life and teaching of Jesus; fortunately, it felt obliged to stamp these with the special mark of inspired authority. But Gospels already in circulation did not disappear at once, even when they were excluded from ecclesiastical use. Nor again—and this is the second remark to be made—did the fixing of the canon put a stop to the composition or the editing of such Gospel material. Literature of this kind continued to be produced, not only in circles which were more or less semi-Christian, but especially in the Egyptian Church. It belonged to the category of religious fiction for the most part. Still, it followed in the wake of the canonical Gospels, and what has survived the wreck, reaching us partly on the planks of versions and partly on broken pieces of the original, forms a considerable section of the material for our present survey.

To study these Gospels against the background of the canonical, and to measure them by the standards of the latter, is to do them too much honour. But it is also to do them, or some of them, an injustice. As we shall see, it is a mistake to speak of the uncanonical Gospels as if they were a homogeneous product. They vary widely, not only in age but in spirit. Some of them are documents of 'heresy,'* and were never meant to be anything else; the motive for their composition was to adapt one or more of the canonical Gospels to the tenets of a sect or party on the borders of the catholic Church. But others were written to meet the needs of popular Christianity; their aim was to supplement rather than to rival the canonical Gospels, and in some cases they can be shown to be almost contemporary with the latter—certainly prior to the formation of the canon itself. The problem is still further complicated by the probability that now and then a Gospel of unheretical character was re-issued in the interests of later parties, while a Gospel originally Gnostic, for example, may occasionally have been pruned of its objectionable features and started on a career within the Church.† Certain phenomena seem to point to both of these practices in early Christian literature. An uncanonical Gospel might experience either change; it might rise or fall in the world of the Church. And this would be all the more possible just because it was uncanonical. Neither its text nor its contents ensured it against degeneration or stood in the way of its appropriation by the hands of the orthodox. Either the Church or 'heresy' could drag over a document which lay close to the border, and fit it to strange uses. However this may be, recent phases of critical research in the uncanonical Gospels show us pretty plainly that within as well as without the early Church there was sometimes a good deal of what not only later generations but even contemporaries did not hesitate to call 'heresy,' that this 'heresy' assumed many forms, and that the uncanonical Gospels, as we now have them, often represent heterogeneous and varied interests of such Christian or semi-Christian piety.

* *Die Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums.*

† J. Wellhausen, *Erweiterungen und Änderungen im vierten Evangelium*, Berlin, 1907, *Das Evangelium Johannis*, do. 1908; F. Spitta, *Das Johannes-Evangelium als Quelle der Geschichte Jesu*, Göttingen, 1910; Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, London, 1910.

* *i.e.* of 'heresy' which repudiated the name of 'heresy'; cf. V. H. Stanton, *The Gospels as Hist. Documents*, i. [1903] 244 *f.*

† A similar process went on in the case of some of the uncanonical Acts.

a. The extant fragments, mainly Greek and Latin, were first collected in a critical edition by **J. A. Fabricius** (*Codex Apocryphus Nov. Test. . . . editio secunda, emendatior*, Hamburg, 1719 [1st ed., 1703]); **A. Birch** (*Auctarium codicis Apocryphi Novi Testamenti Fabriciani continens plura inedita alia ad fidem codd. mss. emendatius expressa*, Copenhagen, 1804); **J. C. Thilo** (*Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, Leipzig, 1832); and **C. de Tischendorf** (*Evangelia Apocrypha*[2], Leipzig, 1876). Later discoveries were mainly incorporated in the texts issued by **E. Nestle** (*Novi Testamenti Supplementum*, Leipzig, 1896); **E. Preuschen** (*Antilegomena: die Reste der ausserkanonischen Evangelien und urchristlichen Ueberlieferungen, herausgegeben und uebersetzt*[2], Giessen, 1905); and **E. Klostermann** (in H. Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte*, 3, 8, and 11, Bonn, 1903-04). But Thilo and Tischendorf still form the basis for research, so far as the Greek and Latin texts of several important documents are concerned. In **E. Hennecke's** *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen* (Tübingen and Leipzig, 1904) there are valuable translations, with introductions and notes, of the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Ebionites, the Protevangelium Jacobi, and the Gospel of Thomas (by **A. Meyer**), of the Gospel of Peter (by **A. Stülcken**), of the Traditions of Matthias and some Coptic fragments, etc. (by the editor). The French edition in course of preparation by **J. Bousquet** and **E. Amann** (*Les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament*, Paris), includes the original texts, but as yet only the Protevangelium Jacobi has appeared (1910).

The eighteenth century brought **Augustin Calmet's** *Dissertation sur les Evangiles apocryphes* in his 'Commentaire,' Paris, 1709-16, vol. vii.; **Jeremiah Jones'** *New and Full Method of Settling the Canonical Authority of the New Testament*, London, 1726-27 (written on the basis of Fabricius, along apologetic lines); and **J. F. Kleuker's** similar *Ueber die Apokryphen des NT*, Hamburg, 1798; followed in the nineteenth century by **Arens'** essay *de Evang. apoc. in canonicis usu historico, critico, exegetico*, Göttingen, 1835; **K. F. Borberg's** *Bibliothek der neutestamentlichen Apokryphen, gesammelt, uebersetzt, und erläutert*, Stuttgart, 1841; **J. Pons** (de Négrépelisse), *Recherches sur les Apocryphes du Nouveau Testament (thèse historique et critique)*, Montauban, 1850; and* **R. Clemens'** *Die geheimgehaltenen oder sog. apokryphen Evangelien*, Stuttgart, 1850 (volume of German translations). A French tr. of Thilo was issued in 1848 by **G. Brunet** (*Les Évangiles apocryphes*[2], Paris, 1863), and a poor English compilation, based on Fabricius, Thilo, etc., was published four years later by **J. A. Giles** (*Codex Apocryphus Novi Testamenti*, London). **W. Hone's** worthless and unworthy *Apocryphal NT*, London, 1820, included the Protevangelium Jacobi. Useful volumes of English† translations were published, however, by **A. Walker** (in the *Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib.*, xvi. [Edinburgh, 1873]); **B. H. Cowper** (*The Apoc. Gospels*, London, 1867, [2]1874); and **B. Pick** (*Paralipomena: Remains of Gospels and Sayings of Christ*, Chicago, 1908). Two French treatises overshadowed any English criticism during this period, one a critical study by **M. Nicolas** (*Études sur les évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, 1865); the other a Roman Catholic counterpart by **Joseph Variot** (*Les Évangiles apocryphes*, Paris, 1878).

In **W. Wright's** *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, London, 1865, Syriac versions of the Protevangelium Jacobi (a fragment) and the Gospel of Thomas the Israelite were published and translated with notes. Otherwise, the main contributions to the subject during the last century were monographs upon special points and aspects, like **P. J. Peltzer's** *Historische und dogmenhistorische Elemente in den apok. Kindheits-Evangelien*, Wurzburg, 1864; **A. Tappehorn's** *Ausserbiblische Nachrichten, oder die Apokryphen über die Geburt, Kindheit und das Lebensende Jesu und Mariä*, Paderborn, 1885; and **J. Hayer's** *Die apokryphischen Evangelien, auch ein Beweis für die Glaubwürdigkeit der kanonischen*, Halberstadt, 1898-99;‡ with **S. Baring-Gould's** *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, London, 1874, p. 119 f.; **J. Chrzaszcz's** *Die apokryphen Evangelien, insbesondere das Evangelium secundum Hebræos*, Gleiwitz, 1888; and **C. Bost's** *Les Évangiles apocryphes de l'enfance de J.-C. avec une introduction sur les récits de Matthieu et de Luc*, Montauban, 1894.

The older monographs upon their relation to the sources for the life of Jesus, by **R. Hofmann** (*Das Leben Jesu nach den Apokryphen*, Leipzig, 1851); **J. de Q. Donehoo** (*Apoc. and Legendary Life of Christ*, London, 1903); and **L. Couard** (*Altchristl. Sagen über das Leben Jesu*, Gütersloh, 1905) have been largely superseded by the exhaustive work of **W. Bauer** (*Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neutest. Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1909).

An excellent survey of recent Oriental discoveries and discussions in this field is given in **Felix Haase's** *Literarische Untersuchungen zur orientalisch-apokryphen Evangelienliteratur*, Leipzig, 1913; the Slavonic versions are chronicled by **E. Kozak** in *JPTh*, 1892, p. 127 f., as well as by **Bonwetsch** in Harnack's *Altchristl. Litt.* i. [Leipzig, 1893], p. 907 f.

The principal general articles on the subject are by **G. Brunet** in Migne's *Dict. des Apocryphes*, i. [1856] 961 f.; **R. A. Lipsius** in *DCB* ii. [1880] 700-17; **B. F. Westcott**, *Introd. to Study of the Gospels*[6], London, 1881, p. 466 f.; **Movers** in Wetzer-Welte[2], i. [1882] 1036-84; **T. Zahn**, *Gesch. des Kanons*, ii. [Leipzig, 1892] 621-97; **A. Harnack**, *op. cit.* i. 4-25, ii. 1. 589 f.; **R. Hofmann**, in *PRE*[3] i. [1896] 653 f. (Eng. tr. i. [1908] 225-29); **M. R. James** in *EBi* i. [1899] 258-59; **Batiffol**, in Vigouroux's *Dict. de la Bible*, ii. [1899] 2114-18; **A. Ehrhard**, *Altchristl. Lit.*, Freiburg i. B., 1900, pp. 123-47; **O. Bardenhewer**, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Lit.*[2], i. [do. 1913] § 31; **J. G. Tasker** in *HDB* v. [1904] 420-38; **A. F. Findlay** in *DCG* i. [1906] 671-85; **J. Leipoldt**, *Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, i. [Leipzig, 1907] § 21; **R. Knopf** in *RGG* i. [1908-09] 543 ff.; **H. Jordan**, *Gesch. der altchristl. Lit.*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 74-78; **H. Waitz**, in *PRE*[3] xxxii. [1913] 79-93; and **L. St. A. Wells**, in *ERE* vi. [1913] 346-352. The discussions of Lipsius, Zahn, and Harnack are most important, together with the criticisms of Tasker and Waitz.

In several NT Introductions the uncanonical Gospels are included, especially by **F. Bleek** (*Einleitung in das NT*[4], Berlin, 1886, p. 406 f.); **G. Salmon** (*Introd. to the NT*[3], London, 1899, pp. x-xi); and **J. E. Belser** (*Einleitung in das NT*, Freiburg i. B., 1905, p. 789 f.); there is a chapter on them in **E. Renan's** *L'Eglise chrétienne*, Paris, 1879, ch. xxvi., as well as in **F. C. Burkitt's** *Gospel Hist. and its Transmission*, Edinburgh, 1906, p. 324 f.; and a recent Spanish monograph by **E. C. Carillo** (*Los Evangelios Apócrifos*, Paris, 1913); also the relevant paragraphs in **Resch's** *Agrapha* (*TU* v. 4, Leipzig, 1889) and in Histories of Christian literature, *e.g.* **C. T. Cruttwell's** *Lit. Hist. of Early Christianity*, London, 1893, i. 160-174; **G. Krüger's** *Altchristl. Litt.*[2], Freiburg, 1898, § 16; and **P. Wendland's** *Die urchristl. Literaturformen*[2], Tübingen, 1912, pp. 292-301.

3. Writing at the close of the 1st cent. A.D., St. Luke observes in the preface to his Gospel that 'many' had already undertaken to compose a narrative of the life of Jesus: πολλοὶ ἐπεχείρησαν ἀνατάξασθαι διήγησιν, κτλ. (1[1]). He does not intend to convey any impression of disparagement by the term ἐπεχείρησαν. He is not satisfied with their work, but he does not dismiss his predecessors as unauthorized. Nor does he claim for himself any special inspiration. What others have done he proposes to do; only, it is to be in a more complete and orderly fashion.

The Muratorian Canon, in its extant form, does not happen to mention any uncanonical Gospels which are to be avoided by the faithful, unless we are meant to understand some of them as included in the obscure closing words. But more than a hundred years after St. Luke wrote his preface, Origen commented on it as follows: 'Possibly the term ἐπεχείρησαν contains an implicit condemnation of those who betook themselves hastily and without any spiritual gift (χαρίσματος) to the composition of Gospels. Thus Matthew οὐκ ἐπεχείρησεν, but wrote under the impulse of the Holy Spirit; so did Mark and John, and similarly Luke. But those who composed the Gospel called Κατ' Αἰγυπτίους and that entitled Τῶν Δώδεκα, they ἐπεχείρησαν. There is also a Gospel Κατὰ Θωμᾶν current. Basilides has also ventured to write a Gospel Κατὰ Βασιλίδην. Many indeed ἐπεχείρησαν: there is the Gospel Κατὰ Ματθίαν and many others; but the Church of God accepts only the four.' It is not certain whether Origen intended to suggest that the first two or three Gospels which he named were among the uninspired predecessors of Luke. Probably he did. But the interest of the passage for us lies in the names of the Gospels which his erroneous interpretation of ἐπεχείρησαν leads him to mention. They must have been among the most prominent of those known to him.

In the 4th cent. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25) ends his catalogue of the canonical or accepted Scriptures with the remark that his object in drawing it up has been 'that we may know both these works and those cited by heretics under the name of the apostles, including, for example, such books as the Gospels of Peter, of Thomas, of Matthias, or of any others besides them. . . . They are not to be placed even among the rejected writings (ἐν νόθοις), but are all to be put aside as absurd and impious.' Further down in the same century we come upon Ambrose (*CSEL* xxxii. p. 10 f.), in his prologue to an exposition of Luke, following Origen almost verbatim. He admits that some of these uncanonical Gospels are read by orthodox Christians, *e.g.* the Gospel of the Twelve, the Gospel of

* Tischendorf's prize essay, *De Evangeliorum Apocryphorum origine et usu*, appeared in 1851; Hilgenfeld's serviceable *Evangelium sec. Hebræos*, etc., in 1866.

† C. J. Ellicott's 'Dissertation on the Apocryphal Gospels' in *Cambridge Essays*, 1856, is apologetic.

‡ A translation of the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, with notes.

Basilides, the Gospel of Thomas, and the Gospel of Matthias ('novi aliud scriptum secundum Matthian'). But 'we read, lest we should be ignorant; we read, not in order to keep but to repudiate them'!

In the prologue to his commentary upon Matthew, Jerome (A.D. 346–420) also mentions some of the uncanonical Gospels, but his information adds nothing to the data supplied by Origen, from whom he probably derived in the main his knowledge of these documents. After quoting Luke's preface, he applies its language to Gospels 'like that according to the Egyptians, and according to Thomas, and according to Matthias, and according to Bartholomew, also the Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, and of Basilides, and of Apelles, as well as others which it would take a very long time to enumerate.' Following Origen, he interprets Luke's ἐπεχείρησαν of unauthorized, uninspired attempts. To them the prophetic word of Ezekiel applies (13$^{3.6}$): 'Woe to them that prophesy out of their own heart, who walk after their own spirit, who say, Thus saith the Lord, and the Lord has not sent them.' Also, the word of Jn 10^{8}: 'all who came before me were thieves and robbers.' Note, says Jerome, 'they *came*'; not 'they were sent'!

In Pope Innocent's Epistle (A.D. 405) to Jerome's friend, Bishop Exsuperius of Toulouse, the canonical list is followed by a note of 'cetera autem quæ uel sub nomine Mathiæ siue Iacobi minoris; uel sub nomine Petri et Iohannis, quæ a quodam Leucio scripta sunt; uel sub nomine Andreæ, quæ a Xenocaride et Leonida philosophis;* uel sub nomine Thomæ; et si qua sunt alia; non solum repudianda uerum etiam noueris esse damnanda.' This is a fair specimen of the opinions held by the authorities of the Western Church; but the official view did not represent the popular, and, as Leipoldt observes,† 'such opponents of the apocryphal Gospels were doubtless in the minority. The majority of theologians treated books like the Gospels of James and Thomas not indeed as canonical but still as genuinely apostolic.'

Finally, the so-called 'Decretum Gelasianum de libris recipiendis et non recipiendis'‡ includes a list of apocryphal § Gospels which, by the 6th cent., were supposed to have been in existence:

'Evangelium nomine Mathiæ
,, ,, Barnabæ‖
,, ,, Jacobi minoris
,, ,, Petri apostoli
,, ,, Thomæ quibus Manichei utuntur
Evangelia nomine Bartholomæi
,, ,, Andreæ
,, quæ falsavit Lucianus
,, ,, ,, Hesychius
Liber de infantia salvatoris
,, nativitate salvatoris et de Maria vel obstetrici.'

By a gross blunder, arising perhaps from a misreading of Jerome's prologue to the Gospels, the writer mistakes the textual recensions of the Gospels made by Lucian and Hesychius for apocryphal Gospels. This does not encourage hopes of accurate information with regard to the other works, particularly when this blunder is regarded as a misunderstanding of what Jerome had written. Thus the writer appears to have had no independent knowledge of the Gospels of Bartholomew and Andrew; his allusion to the former, as well as to the Gospel of Mathias (= Παραδόσεις Ματθία), is probably drawn from Origen, his reference to the latter from Innocent. He also confines himself to Gospels bearing apostolic names.

It is not necessary to go further down for ecclesiastical strictures upon uncanonical Gospels. Those already mentioned will suffice to give a fair idea of the principal writings belonging to this class which were from time to time banned by the authorities. Some, no doubt, were not Gospels at all;* some were only censured from hearsay; others, as we shall see, existed and flourished in a more or less provincial or surreptitious fashion. But the point is that they had to be banned, and that the ban was often ineffective.

4. We now pass from verdicts upon the uncanonical Gospels to an outline of the information yielded by their extant fragments. But before turning into this rank undergrowth of popular literature in early Christianity, we must state and define one or two general principles and methods of criticism which are essential to any survey of the position.

(*a*) The present state of research offers almost as many problems as results. In five directions, especially, further inquiry is necessary before the materials which are now accessible can be critically arranged and assimilated. (i.) The Coptic, Sahidic, and Ethiopic fragments, which are being still recovered, require to be sifted. In some cases, as *e.g.* with regard to the Gospel of Bartholomew, they may prove to furnish data for reconstructing Gospels which hitherto have been mere names in early Church history; in other cases, they may compel the re-valuation of material already known. (ii.) The entire problem of the Jewish Christian Gospels has been re-opened by the researches of critics like Schmidtke and Waitz; the relevant factors are mainly supplied by the higher criticism of writers like Origen, Jerome, and Epiphanius, but the outcome of the discussion seriously affects the estimate of primitive Gospels like that of the Hebrews or of the Egyptians. The subject-matter here is not so much new material as allusions and quotations which require, or seem to require, fresh study. (iii.) Several uncanonical Gospels are still unedited, from the standpoint of modern critical research; even the extant Greek and Latin MSS are not properly collated, in many cases. The Gospels of Thomas and of Nicodemus are instances in point. There is some prospect of these defects being remedied systematically by French scholars, but English investigation has been sadly indifferent to such pressing needs in the field of early Christian literature. (iv.) Even where texts have been edited thoroughly, problems of higher criticism arise. In the case of Gospels, *e.g.*, like the Protevangelium Jacobi, we are confronted with composite productions whose sources go back to different circles and periods; literary problems of structure have to be solved. The numerous versions of some uncanonical Gospels might seem to compensate for the fragmentary condition of others, but in reality the versions are often equivalent to fresh editions rather than to translations, and in this way the recovery of the primitive nucleus is sometimes rendered more difficult than ever. (v.) Finally, the form and the content of the uncanonical

* For a defence of the genuineness of this clause, which refers to the Acts of Andrew, see *JThSt* xiii. [1911–12] 79–80.

† *Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, i. p. 179 (cf. below, p. 482).

‡ Ed. von Dobschütz, *TU* xxxviii. 4 [1912]. He argues for its pseudonymous character, and dates it between A.D. 519 and 535.

§ 'Apocryphum' ('apocrypha'), which is appended to each title, has its later opprobrious meaning.

‖ If there ever was a Gnostic Gospel of Barnabas, it may have supplied part of the basis for the Muhammadan (Italian) Gospel of Barnabas—a curious, docetic production (ed. L. and L. Ragg, Oxford, 1907). Cf. W. E. A. Axon in *JThSt* iii. [1901–02] 441–451. The Gospels of Barnabas and Matthias appear also at the end of the list of the 60 books in Cod. Barocc. 206.

* Tatian's 'Gospel,' *e.g.*, was simply the Diatessaron; the Gospel of Andrew was probably the Gnostic Περίοδοι of that apostle; the Gospel of Nicodemus was part of the Acts-literature of the 2nd cent.; and several so-called Gnostic 'Gospels' were no more than treatises on religion, as, for example, the Valentinian 'Gospel of the Truth' (Iren. iii. 11. 9).

Gospels open problems of their own. The stories occasionally show the naïve popular imagination working upon the Old Testament, but their methods are wider. There is more in them than merely Haggādic fancy. 'Les évangiles apocryphes,' says Renan, 'sont les Pouranas du christianisme; ils ont pour base les évangiles canoniques. L'auteur prend ces évangiles comme un thème dont il ne s'écarte jamais, qu'il cherche seulement à délayer, à compléter par les procédés ordinaires de la légende hébraïque.' But it was not simply Semitic methods of compiling a midrash that were followed by the authors of the uncanonical Gospels. Allowance has also to be made for the influence of Hellenistic romances, particularly in the light of recent investigations by Norden and Reitzenstein.* This line of inquiry has not yet been followed up; it will lead probably to valuable conclusions with regard to the literary texture of certain strata in these Gospels. More attention has been paid to the influence of Buddhistic and Egyptian religion upon the matter of Gospels like those of the Egyptians, of Thomas, and of Peter. Here also problems are emerging which require careful scrutiny, in view of contemporary research into the syncretistic religious situation of the 2nd cent., particularly but not exclusively with regard to the elements of Gnosticism. In the edifying romance of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* a later writer adapted boldly the story of Buddha to the ends of Christian monasticism. The Indian traits in our uncanonical Gospels are less plain, but they are probably present under passages which at first sight are almost covered with Christian fancy and doctrine.

(*b*) The close connexion between the extant fragments and the agrapha renders it necessary to lay down a special† principle of criticism, viz. that when the same saying, in slightly different versions, recurs in more than one fragment, three possibilities are open to the critic. (i.) The early Christian writer who quotes the saying as part of some Gospel may be quoting loosely from memory, and, either for that reason or for some other, confusing one Gospel with another. (ii.) On the supposition that the quotation is correctly assigned, it may have been preserved in more than one Gospel; it is unlikely that certain sayings were monopolized by one document. Or, when this possibility is set aside, (iii.) one Gospel may have borrowed from another. There has been a tendency to ignore the second of these possibilities, in particular. What we know of certain Gospels may be enough to show that a given quotation is incompatible with their idiosyncrasies, but not all quotations possess this characteristic quality, and room should be left for the hypothesis that some allied Gospels contained a good deal of common matter.

One illustration of this may be quoted, for the sake of clearness. Take the well-known saying, 'He who seeks shall not cease till he finds, and when he has found he shall wonder, and wondering he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest.' The last two clauses are cited by Clement of Alexandria as part of the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45), but elsewhere (*Strom.* v. 14. 96) he quotes the whole saying, without mentioning its origin, in order to illustrate Plato's aphorism that wonder is the beginning of philosophy. Independently, the entire saying has turned up among the agrapha of the Oxyrhynchite Papyri, apparently as part of a collection of words addressed by Jesus to some disciples, including Thomas. In the later Acts of Thomas (ed. Bonnet, 1883, p. 243) an echo of the saying also recurs: 'Those who partake worthily of the good things there [*i.e.* in the treasury of the holy King] rest, and resting they shall reign,' and, as if this were not enough, the problem is further complicated by what sounds like an echo in 2 Clem. v. 5 ('know, brothers, that the sojourning of the flesh in this world is little and for a brief time, whereas the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, is rest in the kingdom to come and in eternal life'), and by a very faint echo in the Traditions of Matthias, if we can trust Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45), who cites from the latter, 'Wonder at what is before you,' to illustrate again the Platonic doctrine of wonder.

Now it is tempting to deduce from this, among other indications, that the common source of the Oxyrhynchite Logia and the quotations in 2 Clem. was the Gospel according to the Egyptians, or that this saying is a water-mark of some Thomas Gospel. The former hypothesis would be corroborated if the source of the quotations in 2 Clem. could be proved to be the Gospel of the Egyptians, for the echo in 2 Clem. follows close upon one of these quotations (see p. 495), and upon the whole this is the least improbable hypothesis. But the second of the possibilities (ii.) is as feasible as the third (iii.). It is at any rate hasty to assume that such a saying was only accessible in a single document.

(*c*) It is also fair to remember that some of the early uncanonical Gospels are known to us only in fragments and quotations made usually for the purpose of proving their *outré* character. This easily gives a wrong impression of their contents. Suppose, for example, that all we knew of the canonical Matthew amounted to a few passages like 2^{23} $5^{18\text{-}19}$ 7^{6} $8^{28f.}$ $17^{24\text{-}27}$ 19^{12} and $27^{52\text{-}53}$, suppose that Luke's Gospel was preserved in stray quotations of $2^{42\text{-}49}$ 4^{5} $6^{20\text{-}21}$ 8^{10} 16^{9} 18^{8b} and $24^{42\text{-}43}$—would our impression of the Gospels in question be very much more misleading than may be the case with Gospels like those of the Hebrews or of the Egyptians or of the Nazarenes? It is possible that some of the uncanonical Gospels may not have been so eccentric as they seem to us. But, even when allowance is made for this possibility of an error in our focus, the general character of most of the uncanonical Gospels must be recognized (cf. § 1). When Archbishop Magee preached before the Church Congress at Dublin, an Irish bishop is reported to have said that the sermon did not contain enough gospel to save a tom-tit. An evangelical critic might say the same about the uncanonical Gospels, for the most part, and he would not be saying it in haste. It is rare, upon the whole, to come across any touches or traditions which even suggest that by their help we can fill out the description of the Synoptic Gospels. As we read Marlowe's *Faustus* or Goethe's *Faust* for reasons quite other than a wish to ascertain the facts about the real Faustus of the 16th cent., so it is with the majority of the uncanonical Gospels. Their interest for us is not in any fresh light which they may be expected to throw upon the character of the central Figure, but in the evidence they yield us for ascertaining the popular religion of the early Christian Churches, the naïve play of imagination upon the traditions of the faith, and the fancies which the love of story-telling employed to satisfy the more or less dogmatic or at any rate the pious interests of certain circles in Syria and Egypt especially. The large majority of the uncanonical Gospels belong to Church history rather than to NT criticism, and to a period of Church history which is mainly post-apostolic. Their varying background covers several centuries and soils. They were

* Cf. L. Radermacher's *Das Jenseits im Mythos der Hellenen*, 1903.

† But not, of course, an exceptional one. It bears also upon the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels, particularly in the differentiation of Mark and Q.

being produced as late as the Muhammadan era, and as early as the 1st cent. A.D. But, with one or two exceptions, we cannot do justice to them unless we set them not over against the Gospel literature of the first hundred years after the Death of Jesus but among the currents and movements which occupy the subsequent two hundred years of Christianity in the Mediterranean basin. The interests which led to their composition were sometimes doctrinal. There was a constant desire * to convey esoteric teaching under the guise of revelations made by the risen Christ to His disciples, between the Resurrection and the Ascension, for example; there was also a desire to recast or amplify the Synoptic traditions in order to express certain views of the Christian gospel. Furthermore, dogmatic interests led to the elaboration of stories about the birth of Mary as well as of Jesus, and to the composition of tales which filled up the childhood of Jesus. But the latter were as often due to naïve curiosity as to dogmatic aim, and a much larger part must be assigned to the former motive (if it can be called a motive) than is usually allowed. Here the influence of Oriental folk-lore and mythology would naturally operate, in addition to the desire to mark the fulfilment of OT prophecies. And it would operate not as a purely literary motive but as one result of preaching and teaching. The same interests which led to the rise of midrashic literature among the Jews led to the rise of uncanonical Gospel-stories among the early Christians. The popularity of the latter was too strong to be put down by ecclesiastical decisions. Not even the strict use of the canonical Gospels in the worship of the Churches was able to check the popular appetite for such tales and traditions as survive in the uncanonical Gospel literature; they were read for private edification † even when they were not used in worship; and recent discoveries have proved how numerous and wide-spread were the versions of such Gospels even when the term 'apocryphal' in its opprobrious sense was being applied to them by the authorities. The historical critic has something better to do than look in these Gospels for primitive, authentic traditions about the teaching and ministry of Jesus, which may correct or supplement the nucleus preserved in the canonical Gospels; if he does so, he will be likely as a rule to look for a kingdom and find asses. On the other hand, he has something better to do than to pour indiscriminate ridicule on these popular documents. Their ends and motives, however little they may appeal to a modern mind, were not always perverse. For example, in one of the extant Sahidic Gospel-fragments (*TS* iv. 2 [1896], pp. 165, 237), the narrator, after describing (partly as in the Protevangelium Jacobi, 21; see below, p. 484) how the star of Bethlehem had 'the form of a wheel, its figure being like a cross, sending forth flashes of light; letters being written on the cross, This is Jesus the Son of God,' anticipates an objection. 'Some one will say to me, Art thou then adding a supplement to the Gospels?' Unfortunately, the fragment breaks off here, and we have no means of knowing how the writer answered his critic, unless from a Coptic sermon of Euodius, who praises such supplements—evidently as justified by Jn 20^{30} 21^{25}. It is not often that we come upon any such self-consciousness in the writers of the uncanonical Gospels. Usually we have to infer their spirit and aim from the contents of their work. But even so, the naïve temper which characterizes several of the leading uncanonical Gospels is as noteworthy as the theological tendencies which dominate others.

5. The very fact that such Gospels were composed is significant, in view of the fact that 'Gospel' in the 2nd cent. began to be limited to the sayings and deeds of Jesus.* It proves the steady interest in Jesus, even in circles where the interest was due to tendencies more or less semi-Christian in character. No doubt, several of the uncanonical 'Gospels,' as we shall see,† were not originally called Gospels at all, while even those which professed to be such should be rather described as religious handbooks or treatises; still, even after we make such qualifications, we must recognize that, whether an uncanonical Gospel wished to make Jesus more or less of a human being than the Synoptic or Johannine tradition presented, there was a wide-spread desire to convey new ideas by means of a tradition about His personality. Acts of various apostles were not sufficient; even apocalypses did not meet the demand. Gospels were necessary, and Gospels were supplied.‡

This involved not only a dissatisfaction with the canonical Gospels, on the score of what they contained as well as of what they omitted, but a certain dependence upon them, in several cases. The unknown authors, as Renan neatly puts it, 'font pour les évangiles canoniques ce que les auteurs des *Post-homerica* ont fait pour Homère, ce que les auteurs relativement modernes de *Dionysiaques* ou d'*Argonautiques* ont fait pour l'épopée grecque. Ils traitent les parties que les canoniques ont avec raison négligées; ils ajoutent ce qui aurait pu arriver, ce qui paraissait vraisemblable; ils développent les situations par des rapprochements artificiels empruntés aux textes sacrés.' For a certain class of the uncanonical Gospels, this is fairly accurate, but others make remarkably little use of the canonical narratives except as points of departure. Renan's subsequent remark also requires modification: 'Comme le catholicisme dégénéré des temps modernes, les auteurs d'évangiles apocryphes se rabattent sur les côtés puérils du christianisme, l'Enfant Jésus, la sainte Vierge, saint Joseph. Le Jésus véritable, le Jésus de la vie publique, les dépasse et les effraye.' Renan is thinking here of the Gospels of the Infancy.§ But since his day discoveries of papyri and manuscripts have shown that even the Mission and Manhood of Jesus did not entirely escape the notice of the uncanonical Gospels.

This enables us to fix upon a principle of arrangement for these Gospels. It is open to the critic at this point to follow one or other of three paths. One is to group them on a principle which partly estimates their form and partly takes into account their character, viz. Gospels of the Syn-

* Which, as we learn from Clement of Alexandria (Eus. *HE* ii. 1), was by no means confined to Gnostic Christians (see W. Wrede, *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*, 1901, p. 246 f.).

† There is a significant indication of this in Jerome's letter to Laeta, advising her how to bring up her daughter (*Ep.* cvii. 12). The girl is to read 'the Gospels, which are never to be laid aside. . . . Let her eschew all apocryphal writings; if she desires to read them not for the truth of their doctrines but out of reverence for their miracles, let her understand that they are not the work of those whose names they bear, that many faulty things are mixed up in them, and that it requires great discretion to look for gold among mud.' This was written in A.D. 403.

* Cf. Harnack's *Constitution and Law of the Church*, 1910, p. 308 f.

† *E.g.* the Gospels of Nicodemus and of Andrew (p. 480), besides the later 'Eternal Gospel' of Abbot Joachim (beg. of 13th cent.) based on Rev 14^{6}. The Gospel of Thaddæus owes its existence apparently to a variant reading of 'Mathiæ' as 'Matthæi' in the text of the *Decretum Gelasianum* (cf. von Dobschütz's note in *TU* xxxviii. 4 [1912] p. 293).

‡ The literary form of 'Gospel' came to be indistinguishable more than once from that of 'Acts' (cf. the 'Gospel of Mary') as well as from that of 'Apocalypse.'

§ An admirable account of their motives and characteristics is given by Meyer in Hennecke's *Neutest. Apok.*, pp. 96-105.

optic type which have some claim to represent early tradition; Gospels which are Gnostic or heretical; and Gospels which aim at supplementing the gaps in the canonical stories especially of the Birth and Resurrection. This is the usual method since Harnack. Another is (cf. Nicolas, *op. cit.* p. 17 f.) to divide them into (*a*) pro-Jewish, *i.e.* Gospels mainly practical, in which Christianity is presented as the renovation of the OT; (*b*) anti-Jewish; and (*c*) unsectarian. But there are serious difficulties in carrying out this arrangement, and it is best, upon the whole, to classify them according to their subject-matter, viz. those devoted to the parents and birth of Jesus, those which cover the course of His life, and those which narrate the Passion and Resurrection. Tischendorf's plan was different: 'Quod ita instituam ut tria liberorum horum evangelicorum genera distinguam, quorum primum comprehendit qui ad parentes Jesu atque ipsius ortum, alterum qui ad infantiam eius, tertium qui ad fata eius ultima spectant.' But materials have accumulated since Tischendorf wrote, which show that the middle part of the life of Jesus was not left untouched by the authors of this literature. It used to be argued, indeed, that the uncanonical Gospels showed next to no interest in the central part of the life of Jesus, between His Baptism and the Passion. Even if this were the case, it would not be quite so remarkable as might appear. Such a concentration of interest upon the beginning and end of the life was natural to the early Church. For example, after finishing an account of the origin of the four Gospels, the author of the Muratorian Canon proceeds: 'Consequently, although various elements are taught in the several books of the Gospels, this makes no difference to the faith of believers, inasmuch as by one controlling Spirit all things are announced in all of them with regard to the Nativity, the Passion, the Resurrection, His intercourse with His disciples (conversatione cum discipulis suis), and His two-fold advent.' Here the salient points selected lie outside the central part of the life of Jesus, unless we admit a partial exception in the allusion to intercourse with the disciples. But the uncanonical Gospels do not entirely ignore this section. Even apart from the famous correspondence of Jesus * and Abgar (Eus. *HE* i. 13), or —in the form which it assumes in the *Doctrina Addæi*—His oral message to that monarch, we possess several Gospels which must have covered the ministry of our Lord, and the Oxyrhynchite fragment (see below, p. 499) now swells their number. Any classification has its own drawbacks, owing to the heterogeneous and fragmentary character of the extant materials; but the triple arrangement proposed has, upon the whole, fewer obstacles than either of its rivals. In the following discussion, therefore, the uncanonical Gospels will be treated as follows:

(1) Gospels relating to the Birth and Infancy of Jesus; (2) general Gospels, covering His entire life and ministry; from the Birth to the Resurrection, either on the type of Matthew-Luke or of Mark-John; (3) Gospels of the Passion and Resurrection.

I. *GOSPELS RELATING TO THE BIRTH AND INFANCY OF JESUS.*—(*a*) **The Protevangelium Jacobi.**—A certain element of romance attaches to this uncanonical Gospel. During his travels in the East, William Postel, a French humanist of the 16th cent., who devoted himself to Oriental languages and comparative philology, came across an edifying treatise which was read in several churches. He procured a copy of the work, and cherished great expectations about his find.* Here was the original prologue to Mark's Gospel, 'evangelii ad hunc diem desiderata basis et fundamentum, in quo suppletur summa fide quicquid posset optari.'

Postel's Latin version was published in 1552 by Theodore Bibliander (*Protevangelion seu de natalibus Jesu Christi et ipsius matris virginis Mariæ sermo historicus divi Jacobi minoris . . .*). The Greek text was first published by M. Neander (*Apocrypha; hoc est narrationes de Christo, Maria, Josepho, cognatione et familia Jesu Christi extra Biblia . . . inserto etiam Protevangelio Jacobi græce, in Oriente nuper reperto, necdum edito hactenus . . .* 1563, re-issued in 1567), who did not share Postel's or Bibliander's enthusiasm† for the treatise. One of Tischendorf's MSS (A) was edited by C. A. Suckow in 1840 (*Protevangelium Jacobi ex codice ms. Venetiano descripsit, prolegomenis, varietate lectionum, notis criticis instructum edidit*), and a Fayyûm parchment fragment containing 7[2]–10[1] was published in 1896 by B. P. Grenfell (*An Alexandrian Erotic Fragment and other Greek Papyri*, pp. 13–19). In spite of these and other contributions, however, 'the Greek MSS—the oldest of which is a Bodleian fragment from Egypt of cent. v–vi—are very numerous and very incompletely known; the versions have not been exhaustively studied; and many important questions, especially those affecting the integrity of the book, must still be regarded as open' (M. R. James, in *JThSt* xii.[1910–11] 626).

The work itself professes to be a ἱστορία or διήγησις (25[1]), and the narrative runs as follows.

The first part (1–18[1]) opens by describing how the wealthy Joachim and his wife Anna lamented over the fact that they had no child. Joachim is told, to his chagrin, by Reuben (the high priest?) that his childlessness disqualifies him from presenting his offerings to God. Anna, praying in the garden and looking up to heaven, is reminded afresh of her childlessness by the sight of a sparrow's nest in a laurel bush; she breaks into the following lament (3: spoiled in the Syriac, and omitted in the Armenian, version):

'Woe is me! who begat me, and what womb produced me?
For I was born accursed before the sons of Israel,
I am reproached, and they have driven me with jeers from the Lord's temple.

Woe is me! what am I like?
I am not like the birds of heaven,
for the birds of heaven are fruitful before thee, O Lord.

Woe is me! what am I like?
I am not like the beasts of the earth,
for even the beasts of the earth are fruitful before thee, O Lord.

Woe is me! what am I like?
I am not like these waters,
for even these waters are fruitful before thee, O Lord.

Woe is me! what am I like?
I am not like this earth,
for even this earth bears its fruits in season and blesses thee, O Lord.'

An angel assures her that God will give her a child, and eventually Mary is born—the idea of the story corresponding thus to that of John the Baptist's birth in Lk 1[57]. Anna now proceeds to fulfil her vow of consecrating the child to God.‡ The baby is not allowed to walk on the common earth till her parents take her, at the age of three, to Jerusalem, where she is welcomed by the priest and left in the temple, 'like a dove nestling

* For traces of similar epistles of Jesus, cf. Augustine, *de Consensu evang.* i. 9–10. For the 'epistle of Christ which fell from heaven,' cf. G. Morin in *Revue Bénédictine* (1899), p. 217 f., and a monograph on its Eastern version and recension by M. Bittner in the *Denkschriften der kais. Akad. der Wissenschaften* (Philos. Hist. Klasse, vol. li. Abth. 1) for 1906.

* Hallam describes him as 'a man of some parts and more reading, but chiefly known . . . for mad reveries of fanaticism' (*Introd. to the Literature of Europe*[3], 1847, i. 468).

† Henry Stephen, in his *Introduction au traité de la conformité des merveilles anciennes avec les modernes, ou traité préparatif à l'apologie pour Hérodote* (1566), openly expressed his disgust at Postel's production, whose origin and popularity he could explain only as a deliberate manœuvre of Satan!

‡ Anna's song of praise (6[3]) is more appropriate than is usually the case with such songs in the Bible:

'I will sing a song to the Lord my God,
for he has visited me and taken from me the reproach of my enemies;
the Lord has given me fruit of righteousness, a single fruit but many-sided in his sight.
Who will tell the sons of Reuben that Anna is suckling?
Hearken, hearken, ye twelve tribes of Israel: Anna is suckling.'

there.' Her parents, in a transport of wonder at her, depart. They vanish from the story,* which at once (8) hurries on to describe the action taken by the priests when this wonder-child reached the age of puberty (twelve or fourteen years—the MSS vary). An angel bids Zechariah, the high priest, summon the widowers ('bachelors,' in the Armenian version) of Israel: 'let each bring his rod, and whoever has a sign shown him by the Lord, his shall the woman be.' Joseph is then suddenly introduced (9[1]). 'And Joseph, throwing aside his axe'—it is assumed that the readers know he was a carpenter or joiner—went out to meet the heralds (or, the widowers). A dove emerges from his rod, and he is reluctantly assigned the charge of Mary. He protests, 'I have sons, and I am an old man,† while she is a girl. I am afraid of becoming ridiculous to the sons of Israel.' But he is warned of the penalties attaching to disobedience, and eventually agrees. Only, to ensure the credibility of the virgin-birth, the author observes that Joseph left her at once in his house and went off to a distant task of building. Meanwhile the Annunciation takes place, Mary visits her kinswoman Elizabeth, and returns home. When she is six months pregnant, Joseph returns home, and is distressed at her condition. He has been put in charge of this virgin, and he has failed to keep his charge! 'Who has deceived me (her)? Who has done this evil deed in my house and defiled the maiden? Has not the story of Adam been re-enacted in my case? As the serpent came and found Eve alone, and beguiled her, when Adam was singing praise, so with me.' In a dream, however, an angel reassures Joseph. Nevertheless, when the authorities of the Temple discover Mary's condition, Joseph is charged with the crime of having secretly married a virgin whom he undertook to guard. First he, and then Mary, are made to undergo the ordeal of Nu 5[11]. They pass the test scatheless. 'And the priest said, "Since the Lord God has not disclosed your sins, neither do I condemn you" (*οὐδὲ ἐγὼ κρίνω ὑμᾶς*; cf. Jn 8[11]). So he sent them away. And Joseph took Mary and went home, rejoicing and glorifying the God of Israel.'‡

The story then (17–18[1]) describes Joseph and Mary travelling to Bethlehem as in Lk 2[1]. On the road, 'Joseph turned and saw she was sad; but he said to himself, "Perhaps what is in her is paining her." Again Joseph turned and saw she was laughing. So he said to her, "Mary, what does this mean? Why do I see your face now laughing and now sad?" And Mary said to Joseph, "Because I see with my eyes two peoples, one wailing and lamenting, the other rejoicing and exulting."'§ As the time of her delivery is imminent, Joseph leads her into a cave (*σπήλαιον*), leaves her in charge of his sons, and goes off 'in search of a Hebrew midwife in the district of Bethlehem' (18[1]).

At this point (18[2]) the narrative‖ suddenly changes to the first person: 'and I Joseph was walking and not walking, etc.' All nature is still and silent. The birds of the air are motionless; so are all animals and human beings within sight. Joseph secures a midwife, carefully explaining to her that Mary has conceived by the Holy Spirit. But in the middle of their conversation the narrative again* resumes the third person (19[1]), and a further abrupt touch† occurs in 19[2], where the midwife leaves the cave 'and Salome met her.' Salome, like Thomas (Jn 20[25]), refuses to believe the story of the virgin-birth without tangible evidence. This she receives, with a temporary punishment for her incredulity. She carries the child, in obedience to an angel's command, crying, 'I will worship Him (*i.e.* God),‡ for a great King has been born for Israel.' The narrative then proceeds (20[4]): 'and she went out of the cave justified (*δεδικαιωμένη*). And lo a voice said to her, "Salome, Salome, do not proclaim the miracles (*παράδοξα*) you have seen, till the child reaches Jerusalem." And (21[1]) Joseph was ready to go into Judæa.'

Here the line of the narrative is again broken abruptly. Joseph is never mentioned again. 21[1]–22[2] re-tells Mt 2[1ff.], with elaborations. The magi have seen 'a star of enormous size, shining among these stars and eclipsing their light.' The star conducts them to the cave, where the magi see 'the infant with his mother Mary; and they brought out of their wallet gifts of gold, incense, and myrrh. And being instructed by the angel not to enter Judæa, they went to their own land by another road.'§ The omission of Joseph would not of itself be significant (in view of Mt 2[1-12]), were it not that in 22[1-2] the initiative is assigned to Mary instead of to Joseph (as in Mt 2[13ff.]). Hearing of Herod's order to massacre all children of two years and under, Mary hides the child Jesus in an ox-stall. Evidently, the original narrative ignored the flight to Egypt. But what it substituted for this remains a mystery, for at this point (22[3]) the story suddenly breaks into an account of John the Baptist and his parents. The child John is among the infants sought for by Herod, and Elizabeth in despair prays to a mountain in the hill-country, 'O mountain of God, receive mother and child.' The mountain immediately parts in two and shelters them, protected by a light ('for an angel of the Lord was with them, watching over them'). Herod, unable to make Zechariah (who is high priest) confess the whereabouts of his child, has him murdered inside the Temple, on the ground that 'his son is to be king over Israel.' At daybreak, as Zechariah does not come out, one of the priests ventures inside; he sees clotted blood beside the altar, and hears a voice saying, 'Zechariah has been murdered, and his blood shall not be wiped up until his avenger comes.' His body is never found, but his blood turned to stone. The Simeon of Lk 2[25] is chosen by lot to succeed him, and with this the story ends. The epilogue runs: 'I, James, the writer of this history, when a riot arose in Jerusalem at the death of Herod, withdrew myself to the desert till the riot in Jerusalem ceased, glorifying the Lord God who gave me the gift and the wisdom to write this history.' The book thus professes to be written not only by an eye-witness but immediately after the event.

In spite of Zahn's and Conrady's arguments to

* The Armenian version (3) kills them both off 'in one year' at this point.

† In his vehement attack on Helvidius, Jerome insists that Joseph as well as Mary was a virgin. The *Protevangelium* is content to show how he could not have been the real father of Jesus.

‡ This must have been a serviceable episode for apologetic purposes; the story of Mt 1[18f.] did not vindicate Mary to anyone except her husband. But it was specially essential to the argument of our author, who is at pains to show that there was no question of a real marriage between Joseph and Mary.

§ This prophetic vision is a blend of Lk 2[34] and Gn 25[23] (where the two nations are in Rebecca's womb). In pseudo-Matthew they become the Jews and the Gentiles. Here they are probably no more than the unbelieving and the believing. Mary suffers no birth-pangs; her sorrow is purely spiritual.

‖ Cf. De Lacy O'Leary in *Intern. Journ. Apoc.* xxxv. [1913], p. 70 f.

* The Syriac fragment passes straight from 18[2] to 19[1].

† Possibly echoed in Clem. *Strom.* vii. 16. 93.

‡ Jesus, in the Syriac as in pseudo-Matthew (see below, p. 488).

§ The simplicity of the story is noticeable; in the primitive form (expanded in the versions and later MSS) the magi do not even adore the child, and no attempt is made to name them, as in the Armenian version, which calls them Melchior, prince of Persia, Baltasar, prince of India, and Gaspar, prince of Arabia. The angel goes to them at once after the Annunciation, 'and they were led by the star for nine months, and then came and arrived in time for the birth from the holy virgin.' This is reproduced in the Coventry Nativity play.

the contrary, it is almost necessary to postulate the composite character of the Protevangelium, although the sources cannot be disentangled with much precision. Even in 1–18[1] there are traces of different strata, *e.g.* the sudden introduction of Joseph in 9[1], and the episode of Mary sewing the purple and scarlet * for the veil of the Temple (10, 12). The latter episode could be parted from the context not only without difficulty but with a gain to the sequence of the narrative.† On the other hand, neither 1–18[1] nor 18[2]–22[2] can be regarded as complete sources. The legend of Zechariah's murder in 22[3]–24, on the other hand, is a watermark of late origin. In the light of the investigations by A. Berendts,‡ it is clearly subsequent to Origen, who knows quite a different version of Zechariah's death—one which connects it closely with the virginity of Mary (he was murdered, according to this tradition, between the Temple and the altar, for having permitted Mary to enter the court of the virgins after she had given birth to Jesus). Had Origen read 22[3]–24 in his *βίβλος Ἰακώβου*, he would not have written as he has done upon Mt 23[35]. For the existence of the legend in the form of 22[3]–24 the first evidence is from Peter of Alexandria († A.D. 311), and even this evidence is not absolutely decisive.

Whether the composite work underwent successive expansions or, as is less likely, was recast by a Gnostic author, 1[1]–18[1], which is practically a *γέννησις Μαρίας*, probably belonged to the book of James, from which Origen quotes. His quotation is based on this part, and on this part alone; the rest of the book never mentions the other children of Joseph. If the conclusion (25) was part of the original romance, the story must have included the incidents of Herod's massacre, though in a form differing from that preserved in the Apocalypse of Zechariah § as it now appears in 22[3]–24. For some reason, the latter must have been substituted for the original conclusion, or added to a narrative which had lost its ending. Whether 18[2]–21[1] was also an extract from some *Apocryphum Josephi*, which became appended to 1–18[1], or whether the author of the book of James himself combined the fragment with his other source, is a problem which cannot be decided definitely either way, in view of the obscurity surrounding the literary origins of this as of most other pseudepigrapha.

Here, too, as in the Oxyrhynchite fragment (cf. p. 499), the attempt to describe the conditions of Jewish ritual shows the writer's ignorance. That Joachim should be repelled from his right to offer in the Temple on the score of childlessness (1[2]), and that girls could remain within the Temple like vestals, are only two of the unhistorical touches which indicate unfamiliarity with the praxis of Judaism. The romancer knows his OT better.

And he knows it in Greek. The attempt to establish a Hebrew original for the Protevangelium has been unsuccessful; it is bound up with a desire to put it earlier than the Synoptic Gospels, on which, as on the LXX, it plainly depends. But, as it is uncertain whether Justin Martyr owes to it touches like that of the cave ‖ and the curious phrase about Mary in *Dial.* 100 (cf. Protev. 12[2]), the date of the earliest section cannot be assigned definitely to the first quarter of the 2nd century.

In the Armenian Church the Protevangelium formed the basis for the first part of a large work which included a Gospel of the Infancy and later apocrypha on the life and miracles of Jesus. According to F. C. Conybeare, who prints one or two chapters of the section based on the Protevangelium (*AJTh* i. [1897] 424–442), the entire work consists of 28 chapters, and goes back to an older Syriac text which was used by Ephrem Syrus. The short Syriac fragment published by Wright (*Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the NT*, p. 17 f.) gives merely a somewhat abbreviated form of 17–25. The larger, complete, Syriac version published by Mrs. A. S. Lewis (*Studia Sinaitica*, xi. [1902]), is in all probability a version of some Greek text practically corresponding to Tischendorf's. Both in the Syriac and in the Armenian versions the Protevangelium forms only the introduction for subsequent apocrypha on the Nativity or on Mary. Versions of the Protevangelium abound, testifying to its wide popularity as a religious story-book in the early Church. In addition to the Armenian, there were Arabic and Slavonic versions or editions, as well as Egyptian. A small Sahidic fragment has been edited by Leipoldt (*ZNTW*, 1905, p. 106 *f.*).

The popularity of the Protevangelium, even apart from its advocacy of the absolute virginity of Mary, is not unintelligible. The story is told with much simplicity and pathos, in its original form. There are vignettes of peasant life, of nature, and of domestic affection, which single it out from the other uncanonical Gospels—glimpses, for example, of Anna standing at the door as her husband drives home his flocks, and running to embrace him; of Elizabeth dropping her needlework and running to the door when Mary knocks; or of Anna (in the Armenian text) tossing her baby merrily in her arms. None of the Infancy Gospels is so free from extravagance and silliness. The child Jesus is a child, and, if the halo has begun to glow round the head of Mary, she is still a woman. No tinge of Docetism makes her unreal. Even the narrator keeps himself strictly in the background. The skill with which the author has contrived to tell his story is best appreciated when we compare the crude, coarse handling to which some of its materials are subjected in the Gospel of Thomas or the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew.

Occasionally there are touches which remind the reader of Buddhistic legends; *e.g.* in the 1st cent. (A.D.) life of Buddha (cf. Chinese version in *SBE* xix. [1883]) Buddha is born miraculously, 'without causing his mother pain or anguish' (11[9]), and at his birth 'the various cries and confused sounds of beasts were hushed, and silence reigned' (11[33]). But the proofs of Buddhistic influence are not cogent (cf. von Dobschütz in *ThLZ*, 1896, pp. 442–446); the comparative study of folk-lore in its modern phases renders hesitation on this point prudent.

SPECIAL LITERATURE.—L. Conrady's hypotheses of its Semitic original and its priority to the birth-stories of Matthew and Luke are printed in *SK* (1889) 728–784, and *Die Quelle der kanonischen Kindheitsgeschichte Jesus*, Göttingen, 1900. The best editions are both French, by Émile Amann, *Le Protévangile de Jacques et ses remaniements latins*, Paris, 1910 (Greek text of Protev., Latin texts of pseudo-Matthew 1–17 and the Nativity of Mary, with French translation, introduction, and notes); and C. Michel, *Protévangile de Jacques, pseudo-Matthieu, Évangile de Thomas, textes annotés et traduits*, Paris, 1911 (with the Coptic and Arabic versions of the History of Joseph the Carpenter, translated with notes by Peeters); cf. Haase, pp. 49–60.

(*b*) The Gospel of Thomas.—

The Παιδικά, or Gospel of Thomas, survives in two Greek recensions, one (A) longer than the other (B),* but the MSS are not earlier than the 14th or 15th century. The Latin version (L), however, survives in a Vienna palimpsest as yet undeciphered, and the Syriac (S) in a MS of the 5th or 6th century.

No satisfactory edition has yet appeared, but Tischendorf's Greek texts have been edited and translated by C. Michel, *Évangiles Apocryphes*, i. (1911), *Protévangile de Jacques, pseudo-*

* Perhaps, like the emphasis on the wealth of her parents, a reply to the current depreciation (*Orig. Cels.* i. 28 f.) of their position. But the wealth of Joachim is probably taken over from that of his namesake in Sus 1[3].

† The obscure sentence in 10, 'At that time Zechariah was dumb, and Samuel took his place, until Zechariah spoke,' may be an interpolation; but even if 'Simeon' (cf. Lk 2[25]) is read for 'Samuel' with some MSS, it remains an erratic block. It seems to presuppose the story (or the tradition) of Lk 1[5f.].

‡ *Studien über Zacharias-Apokryphen und Zacharias-Legenden*, 1895, p. 87 *f.*

§ Some details from this seem to underlie the Armenian version in ch. 3.

‖ According to Chæremon, the Egyptian historian (quoted by Josephus, *lc. Apion.* i. 32 [292]), the mother of Rameses also bore him in a cave.

* In *Peregrinus Proteus*, 1879, p. 39 f., J. M. Cotterill tries to show that A and B are from the same hand, and that the author not only uses the LXX of Ecclesiastes but deliberately parodies some verses of Proverbs—two equally hazardous hypotheses.

Matthieu. Évangile de Thomas; S is published in Wright's *Contributions to the Apocryphal Literature of the New Testament*, pp. 6–11, etc.

According to Haase (pp. 38–48), L represents in the main a version of A, while S also, though independently, resembles A; but all imply a common source which is not extant.

We know from Hippolytus (*Philosoph.* v. 2), that the Naassenes appealed, on behalf of their tenets, to a passage in 'the Gospel according to Thomas,' which ran as follows: 'He who seeks Me will find Me in children of seven and upwards (*ἐν παιδίοις ἀπὸ ἑπτῶν ἑπτά*), for hidden there I shall be manifested in the fourteenth age (*or* æon, *αἰῶνι*).' No other citation has been preserved.* Indeed, apart from the reference of Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25. 6), it is only mentioned again by Cyril of Jerusalem, who twice warns Christians against it as a Manichæan production (*Catech.* iv. 36, 'There are only four Gospels in the NT; the rest are pseudepigrapha and noxious. The Manichæans wrote a Gospel according to Thomas which, invested with the fragrance of the evangelic name, corrupts simple souls'; vi. 31, 'Let no one read the Gospel according to Thomas, for it is not by one of the Twelve, but by one of Manes' three wicked disciples'). Since the Manichæans possessed a Gospel of Thomas as well as a Gospel of Philip (see below, p. 501), this Manichæan Scripture may have been the Gospel mentioned by Hippolytus, possibly in a special form.

Zahn attempts to date the original Gospel quite early in the 2nd century. He regards the second half of the quotation made by Hippolytus as a Naassene comment, and thus is free to minimize the Gnostic character of the work. He further argues that Justin's description of Jesus (*Dial.* 88) as a maker of 'ploughs and yokes' in His native village is derived from the story in A 13 =S 13=L 11 (Joseph, who 'made ploughs and yokes,' had an order from a rich man to make a bench. One plank turned out to be too short, but Jesus rose to the emergency, pulled the plank out to the proper length, and thus relieved His father). This may be no more than a coincidence, and Justin might have derived the touch from oral tradition. But it is certainly remarkable how little Gnostic fantasy pervades the *Story of the Infancy*, in any of its extant forms; apart from the 'great allegories' of the letter Alpha which the lad Jesus is reported to have taught His teacher, the stories and sayings are naïve rather than speculative. On the other hand, the childhood of Jesus is possibly filled with miracles owing to a desire of heightening His Divine claims prior to the Baptism. It is usually argued that this motive also implies a Docetic interest, since the miracles represent Jesus as not really a human child, but exempt from the ordinary conditions of human nature. This, however, is not a necessary or even a probable interpretation of the stories. They exaggerate the supernatural element, but they do not suggest a wraith or phantom in the guise of a child. In S 6–8, the reply of Jesus to His teacher does recall dogmatic interests ('I am outside of you, and I dwell among you. Honour in the flesh I have not. Thou art by the law, and in the law thou abidest. For when thou wast born, I was . . . When I am greatly exalted, I shall lay aside whatever mixture I have of your race'), but the tone and even the wording are not remote from the Fourth Gospel; and, as the Gospel evidently passed through several editions or phases, it may have accumulated such elements in the gradual course of its development. The above-quoted passage, for example, is peculiar to S, as we can see from the remark of Epiphanius (li. 20). There was even a tendency among orthodox Christians* to accept stories of miracles during the boyhood, in order to refute the Gnostic theory that the Divine Christ did not descend upon Jesus until the Baptism—a tendency which helps, among other things, to account for the tenacious popularity of such tales. From this very natural point of view, the rise of these stories may have been due to interests which were not distinctively Gnostic, whatever be the amount of dogmatic tendency that must be ascribed to their later form.†

There is no ground for denying that some Gnostic Gospel of Thomas existed during the 2nd century. The quotation preserved by Hippolytus does not occur in any of the extant recensions of the Thomas Gospel which afterwards sprang up; but even these, for all their size, cannot have corresponded to the entire work, which (on the evidence of Nicephorus) extended to no fewer than 1300 stichoi, almost double the length of the longest extant recension. Even in these extant recensions it is probable that the orthodox editor (or editors) must have removed the majority of Gnostic or Docetic allusions. And the Hippolytus quotation would naturally be one of these. Furthermore, we have an indirect proof that such a Thomas Gospel did exist prior to Irenæus. In describing the tenets of the Marcosians, that Church Father charges this Gnostic sect with introducing apocryphal and spurious scriptures (i. 20. 1), and with circulating the following legend. 'When the Lord was a boy, learning his letters, and when his master said to him as usual, "Say Alpha," he said "Alpha." But when the master went on and ordered him to say "Beta," the Lord replied, "You tell me first what Alpha means, and then I will tell you what Beta means."' The Marcosians, Irenæus adds, told this story to show that Jesus alone knew the mysterious significance of Alpha. The legend illustrates the mystic content which the sect put into the letters of the alphabet,‡ but its immediate interest for us lies in the fact that this story occurs in the *Story of the Infancy*.

Irenæus proceeds (i. 20. 2) to show how the Marcosians also misinterpreted the canonical Gospels to suit their propaganda; *e.g.* Lk 2^{49} they explained to mean that the parents of Jesus did not know He was telling them about the Father; in Mt $19^{16\text{-}17}$ (quoted as, 'Why call me good? One is good, my Father in the heavens') the word 'heavens' denotes 'æons'; and the word 'hidden' in Lk 19^{42} denotes the hidden nature of the Depth (*βάθος*). Among these quotations from 'the Gospel' (*i.e.* the canonical Gospels) Irenæus includes one which does not occur in our four Gospels: 'His saying, *I have often desired to hear one of these words, but I had no one to tell me*, indicates (they allege), by the term *one*, Him who is truly one God.' This curious and unparalleled Logion may have been quoted by mistake from an uncanonical Gospel like that of Thomas, but we cannot do more than guess upon a point of this kind. In an 11th cent. Athos MS of the Gospels (cf. *Stud. Bib.* v. [1901–03] 173) there is a note to the effect that the *pericope adulteræ* belonged to the Gospel of Thomas (*τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦτο τοῦ κατὰ Θωμᾶν εὐαγγελίου ἐστίν*); if so, it must have occurred in an edition which has not been preserved.

The extant recensions, to which we have just referred, are versions of a *Story of the Infancy* (*τὰ Παιδικὰ τοῦ Κυρίου*) narrated by Thomas, which is, and may have been intended to form, a sequel to

* Even this one is echoed only once, and that vaguely, in the pert reply of Jesus to the Jewish schoolmaster preserved in pseudo-Matthew 30^{4} ('I was among you with children, and you did not know me').

* Usually, Jn 2^{11} was held, as *e.g.* by Euthymius Zigabenus, to rule out such legends of miracles done by the boy Jesus.

† The influence of Egyptian mythology is asserted, but exaggerated, by Conrady in *SK* (1903) 397–459.

‡ *e.g.* Alpha and Omega. One of the Marcosian fantasies was that the dove at the Baptism indicated the perfection of Christ's nature, the symbol of a dove being Omega and Alpha.

the stories of the Protevangelium Jacobi. The resemblances and differences between the four recensions may be seen by comparing their accounts of an incident which happens to be recorded by all the four, viz. the unpleasant story of how Jesus once became unpopular.

A 4-5	B 4-5	L 5	S 4-5 (tr. Wright).
Again, he was passing through the village, and a boy ran and knocked against his shoulder. Jesus was angry, and said to him, 'Thou shalt not go back as thou camest.' And at once he fell and died. Some who saw what happened said, 'Whence was this child born, for every word of his becomes act and fact?' And the parents of the dead boy went to Joseph and blamed him, saying, 'With such a child, thou canst not dwell with us in the village. Or, teach him to bless and not to curse; for he is killing our children.' And Joseph called the child apart and admonished him, saying, 'Why dost thou such things? These people suffer, and hate us, and persecute us.' Jesus said, 'I know these words of thine are not thine. Still, I will say nothing, for thy sake. But they shall bear their punishment.' And immediately his accusers were blinded. And those who saw it were terribly afraid and perplexed; they said of him, that every word he uttered, good or bad, became fact and proved a marvel. And when they [he ?] saw Jesus had done such a thing, Joseph rose and took hold of his ear and pulled it hard. The child was much annoyed and said to him, 'It is enough for thee to seek and not to find. Certainly thou hast not acted wisely. Knowest thou not that I am thine? Do not vex me.'	Some days later, when Jesus was passing through the town, a boy threw a stone at him and struck him on the shoulder. Jesus said to him, 'Thou shalt not go thy way.' And at once he fell down and died. Those who happened to be there were astounded, saying, 'Whence is this child, that every word he utters becomes act and fact?' And they went off and complained to Joseph, saying, 'Thou canst not dwell with us in this town. If thou desirest to do so, teach thy child to bless and not to curse; for he is killing our children, and everything he says becomes act and fact.' Joseph was sitting on his seat, and the child stood in front of him; and he caught him by the ear and pinched it hard. Jesus looked at him steadily and said, 'That is enough for thee.'	A few days later, as Jesus was walking with Joseph through the town, one of the children ran up and struck Jesus on the arm. Jesus said to him, 'Thou shalt not finish thy journey thus.' And at once he fell to the earth and died. But when they saw these wonders, they cried out, saying, 'Whence is that boy?' And they said to Joseph, 'Such a boy must not be among us.' Joseph went off and brought him, but they said to him, 'Go away from this place; but if you must be among us, teach him to pray and not to curse. Our children have been insensate.' Joseph called Jesus and reproved him, saying, 'Why dost thou curse? These inhabitants hate us.' But Jesus said, 'I know these words are not mine but thine; for thy sake I will say nothing; let them see to it in their wisdom!' Immediately those who spoke against Jesus were blinded; and they walked up and down, saying, 'All the words that proceed from his mouth take effect.' But when Joseph saw what Jesus had done, he angrily caught him by the ear. Jesus in a passion said to Joseph, 'It is enough for thee to see me, not to touch me. For thou knowest not who I am; if thou knewest that, thou wouldest not irritate me. And although I am with thee now, I was made before thee.'[1]	And again Jesus had gone with his father, and a boy, running, struck him with his shoulder. Jesus says to him, 'Thou shalt not go thy way.' And all of a sudden he fell down and died. And all who saw him cried out and said, 'Whence was this boy born, that all his words become facts?' And the family of him who was dead drew near to Joseph and say to him, 'Thou hast this boy; thou canst not dwell with us in this village unless you teach him to bless.' And he drew near to the boy, and was teaching him and saying, 'Why doest thou these (things)? And these people reckon them, and hate thee.' Jesus says, 'If the words of my Father were not wise, he would not know how to instruct children.' And again he said, 'If these were children of the bedchamber, they would not receive curses. These shall not see torment.' And immediately those were blinded who were accusing him. But Joseph became angry, and seized hold of his ear, and pulled it. Then Jesus answered and said to him, 'It is enough for thee, that thou shouldest be commanding me and finding me (obedient); for thou hast acted foolishly.'

[1] L covers the childhood of Jesus from his second year, A from his fifth to his twelfth year, and B from his fifth to his eighth.

A fair idea of the characteristic contents of this Gospel may be derived from one or two extracts, such as the story of Jesus and the sparrows (B 3): 'Jesus made out of that clay twelve sparrows. It was the Sabbath-day. And a child ran and told Joseph, saying, "Behold, thy child is playing about the stream and he has made sparrows out of the clay, which is not lawful." When he heard this, he went and said to the child, "Why dost thou do this, profaning the Sabbath?" But Jesus did not answer him; he looked at the sparrows and said, "Fly off and live, and remember me." And at this word they flew up into the air. And when Joseph saw it, he marvelled.' On the strength of this anecdote Variot (*op. cit.*, p. 228 f.) ventures to compare the Gospel of Thomas to the *Fioretti* of St. Francis. Another tale is that of Jesus and the boy's foot (L 8): 'A few days afterwards a boy in that town was splitting wood, and he cut his foot. As a large crowd went to him, Jesus went with them. And he touched the foot which had been hurt, and at once it was healed. Jesus said to him, "Rise up, split the wood, and remember me."' It is as a thaumaturgist that Jesus appears in A 11: 'When he was six years old, his mother gave him a pitcher and sent him to draw water and bring it into the house. But he knocked against someone in the crowd, and the pitcher was broken. So Jesus unfolded the cloak he wore, filled it with the water, and carried it to his mother.* And when his mother saw the miracle which had taken place, she kissed him. And she kept to herself all the mysteries she saw him, he did to him nothing more but stretched out his hand to him and blew upon the bite, and it was healed' (from Ac 28^{3-5}?).

A closes with quite a sober version of Lk 2^{41-52}, which substitutes for v.[50] the following passage: 'The scribes and Pharisees said, "Are you the mother of this child?" She said, "I am." They said to her, "Blessed art thou among women, for God has blessed the fruit of your womb; such glory, such virtue, such wisdom we have neither seen nor heard."' S also ends in this way, but the passage first quoted occurs at the close of L (in substantially the same form), to round off a miraculous cure (15: 'A few days later, a neighbouring child died, and its mother grieved sorely for it. On hearing this, Jesus went and stood over the boy, knocked on his breast, and said, "I tell thee, child, do not die but live." And at once the child rose up. Jesus said to the mother of the boy, "Take your son and give him the breast, and remember me"') which occurs earlier (in A 17).

The data are so scanty that even conjectures must be tentative, but we may attempt to explain the literary problems by assuming that an original Gospel of Thomas was afterwards used (edited?) by the Marcosians and Naassenes, and that it subsequently formed the basis for the story of the Infancy in its various recensions. Was another version of it circulated among the Manichæan Christians?* Or was the Gospel of Thomas which

* It is conjectured that this was suggested by Pr 30^{4}.

* The Manichæan literature is said by Timotheus to have included also, among its 'devilish' and 'deadly' contents, 'the living Gospel' (cf. Photius, *Bibl.* 85). Diodorus devoted the first seven of his twenty-five books against the Manichæans

they used an independent (native or Indian) work? These are questions to which, in the present state of our knowledge, no definite answer can be given.

Protests were repeatedly made against the *Παιδικά*, from Chrysostom onwards; but the work must have enjoyed a popularity among Oriental Christians which orthodox censures were unable to check. One proof of this popularity may be found in the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew and the Arabic Gospel of the Infancy, which have worked up materials furnished by the Thomas Gospel into independent collections of stories for the edification of pious Christians. The second of these two Gospels seems to have circulated among Jews and Muhammadans as well.

(*c*) **The Gospel of pseudo-Matthew.**—The Gospel of pseudo-Matthew owes its present title to Tischendorf, the first editor of the Latin text, since the MS he used was headed: 'incipit liber de ortu beatæ Mariæ et infantia Salvatoris a beato Matthæo evangelista hebraice scriptus et a beato Hieronymo presbytero in latinum translatus.' Thilo had already given this title to the Gospel of the Nativity of Mary. Both pieces (the former at least in one or two MSS) are prefaced by the forged correspondence between Jerome and two bishops, in which the latter plaintively bewail the apocryphal and heterodox character of the current books upon the birth of Mary and the Infancy of Jesus; they have heard that Jerome has come into possession of a Hebrew volume on the subject by the evangelist Matthew, and beg him to translate it into Latin for the apologetic purposes of the faithful. Jerome agrees, explaining that the book was intended by Matthew for private circulation, and that in making it public he is not adding to the canonical Scriptures. This is the author's adroit* way of winning a welcome for his production and safeguarding it against suspicion. He had the fate of the Protevangelium Jacobi and the Gospel of Thomas before his eyes. But such a description of the writing's contents as this correspondence presents is obviously more suitable to the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew than to the little treatise on the Nativity of Mary, which never alludes to the Birth and Infancy of Jesus. Tischendorf's nomenclature is therefore more correct than Thilo's.

The Thomas Story of the Infancy has been exploited by the author in the third part of the book (25–42), but this is only one of his sources. The Protevangelium Jacobi is another (1–16). In fact, the Gospel must have carried the name of James occasionally; Hrotswitha, for example, the Abbess of Gandersheim (10th cent.), who paraphrased it in Latin hexameters for the benefit of her nuns, entitled her work, 'Historia nativitatis laudabilisque conversationis intactæ Dei Genetricis, quam scriptam referi sub nomine sancti Jacobi fratris Domini.'

In the first part (1–17), which describes the birth and maidenhood of Mary, her marriage, the virgin-birth, and the escape from Herod, the features of moment introduced are as follows. The home of Mary's parents is definitely Jerusalem (in the Protevangelium this is only a matter of inference); Joachim does not offer sacrifices for forgiveness; he absents himself for five months instead of forty days; Anna's vow to consecrate her child is made before, not after, the angel's announcement; an angel bids her go to meet Joachim; in Protev. 7 Mary, aged three, dances when set down on the third step of the altar, but here (4) she runs up the fifteen steps to the Temple so rapidly that she never looks back; she is mature at the age of three, remains in the Temple as a paragon of virginal piety, fed daily by one of the angels, and often in conversation with them; any sick person who touches her goes home cured; her courteous greeting instituted the custom of saying 'Deo gratias'; she refuses to be married, and takes the vows of virginity; Joseph, already a grandfather, is chosen from the widowers to take charge of (not to marry) Mary; the jealousy of her five maids is rebuked by an angel; the Annunciation is made when she is working at the purple for the veil of the Temple; Mary does not hide during her pregnancy, nor does she visit Elizabeth;* Joseph does not upbraid her, and he apologizes to her for his suspicions; after she successfully passes the ordeal for virgins, the people kiss her feet and ask her pardon; the brilliant light in the cave at Bethlehem does not diminish; Salome adores Jesus† (not simply God, as in Protev. 20), and is not forbidden to declare the wonder of the virgin-birth; only angels witness the birth, and as soon as Jesus is born He stands on His feet; the star is the largest ever seen in the world; the magi offer gifts to 'the blessed Mary and Joseph' as well as to the child; Mary's fear of Herod's fury (Protev. 22) is omitted.

The second part (18–24) describes with picturesque detail the flight to Egypt and the residence of the holy family there. Some of the legends have sprung from the soil of the OT. For example, when Mary is terrified by dragons issuing from a cave (18), the infant Jesus leaves her bosom and confronts them, till they adore him and retire (from Ps 148^7). Docile lions accompany and aid their oxen, and wolves leave them untouched (in fulfilment of Is 65^{25}). Again, when Mary and Jesus entered the Egyptian temple, all the idols bowed and broke (in fulfilment of Is 19^1). The OT is enough to explain the last-named legend, without recourse to the later and rather different Buddha-legend in the *Lalita Vistara* (viii.). Athanasius, by the way, welcomes this incident (*de Incarnatione Verbi Dei*, 36), which he accepts without a shadow of suspicion, as a proof of the supreme glory of Jesus. Another pretty legend‡ occurs in 20–21, where Mary rests from the heat under a tall palm-tree and longs to eat some of the fruit hanging high overhead. Joseph tells her he is more concerned about the lack of water, since their water-skins are empty. 'Then the infant Jesus, resting with happy face in the bosom of his mother, says to the palm, "Bend thy branches, O tree, and refresh my mother with thy fruit." Immediately, at this word, the palm bowed its crest to the feet of the blessed Mary, and they gathered from it fruits with which all were refreshed. After they had gathered all its fruit, it remained bent, waiting his command to rise at whose command it had bowed down. Then Jesus said to it, "Raise thyself, O palm, be strong, and join the company of my trees which are in the paradise of my Father. And open from thy roots the vein of water which lies hidden in the earth; let the waters flow, that we may be satisfied therewith." At once the palm rose up, and at its root a spring of water began to trickle forth, exceed-

to refuting what he thought was their 'vividum evangelium,' but which was really the 'modium evangelium' written by Adda.

* Except in one point. He makes Jerome plead love for Christ as the motive for his translation. Did he forget that the author of the Acts of Paul and Thecla had been condemned in spite of his plea that he had invented the Acts out of love for St. Paul?

* The cleaving of the mountain to shelter Elizabeth and John the Baptist from Herod's fury, and indeed the whole Zechariah legend, is omitted.

† The angels sing Lk 2^{14} in adoration of the infant Jesus in the cave; the ox and the ass in the stable also incessantly adore him (14)—in fulfilment of Is 1^3 and Hab 3^2 (LXX, *ἐν μέσῳ δύο ζώων γνωσθήσῃ*).

‡ Which passed into the Qu'rān (ed. E. H. Palmer [*SBE* vi. and ix., 1900], xix. 20–26) in a simpler form.

ingly clear, cool, and bright.' Next day, before leaving, Jesus rewards the palm by allowing an angel to transplant one of its branches to paradise. 'This palm,' he tells the terrified spectators, 'shall be prepared for all the saints in the place of bliss, as it has been prepared for us in this lonely spot.'

The third part (25–42) describes incidents in the boyhood of Jesus, from the return to Judæa, for the most part on the unpleasant lines of the Gospel of Thomas. The incident of the taming of the lions is new, however (35–36). Jesus, a boy of eight, went out of Jericho one day to the banks of the Jordan, and walked deliberately into a cave where a lioness lay with her cubs. The lions adored him. Jesus then improved the occasion by telling the astonished crowd, 'How much better are the beasts than you! They recognize the Lord and glorify him, while you men, made in God's image and likeness, do not know him! Beasts recognize me and are tame; men see me and do not acknowledge me.' Jesus then crosses the Jordan, accompanied by the lions, the waters dividing to right and left (cf. Jos 3^{16}, 2 K 2^{8}), and dismisses his wild companions in peace.

(*d*) **The History of Joseph the Carpenter.**—One of the latest developments of the legends relating to the Infancy of Jesus is represented by the History of Joseph the Carpenter, which purports to be the story, told by Jesus to the disciples on the Mount of Olives, of the life and death of Joseph. It is a genuinely native product of Egyptian piety, not earlier than the 4th century. At several points it recalls the 'Testament' literature, and probably it belongs to that category rather than to the Gospel category. Sahidic, Bohairic, and Arabic versions (cf. Haase, pp. 61–66) are extant.

(*e*) **Unidentified fragments.**—The four Sahidic fragments upon the life of the Virgin Mary, published by Forbes Robinson (*TS*, iv. 2 [1896], p. 2 ff.), maintain her virginity after the Birth of Jesus, but abjure the ideas which afterwards developed into the dogmas of the Immaculate Conception ('Cursed is he who shall say that the Virgin was not born as we are') and the Assumption ('Cursed is he who shall say that the Virgin was taken up into the heavens in her body. But she died like all men, and was conceived by man's seed as we are'). The outline of the fragments generally resembles the story of the Protevangelium Jacobi and pseudo-Matthew, with some curious idiosyncrasies. Joachim her father was formerly called Cleopas (according to Codex B of pseudo-Matthew 32, Anna married Cleopas after the death of Joachim); he and Zechariah were brothers, and Anna was the sister of Elizabeth; a white dove (=Mary) flies to Anna in a vision; Mary in the temple 'never washed in a bath' (a favourite ascetic feature of the Egyptian nuns), nor did she use perfumes; she conceived 'by the hearing of her ears,' and she is the Mary who visits the tomb and receives the commission of Mt 28^{10} (cf. Albertz in *SK* [1913] 483 f., on this point); she works miracles of healing after the Resurrection, but modestly forbids the apostles to record them; when she dies, her soul leaps into the arms of her Son. It is doubtful, however, if these fragments originally belonged to a Gospel at all. Probably they are part of the débris of the Mary literature (cf. Haase, p. 77 f.) which developed out of the legends represented by Gospels like the Protevangelium Jacobi, where the main interest is really in Mary rather than in Jesus. It is through the channel of such religious fiction, from the Protevangelium Jacobi to the so-called Transitus Mariæ, formed in part by local legends and pagan views on the relation between sex and religion, that the mythology of the early Church flowed over into art and literature. Painters like Titian and Perugino, poems like the Byzantine *Christus Patiens*, and stories like the *Golden Legend*, were as indebted to this source as the calendar of the Roman Church's festivals.*

II. *GENERAL GOSPELS, COVERING THE ENTIRE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF JESUS.*—(*a*) **The Jewish Christian Gospels** (the Gospel of the Hebrews, the Gospel of the Nazarenes, the Gospel of the Twelve, the Gospel of the Ebionites).

SPECIAL LITERATURE.—The quotations from and the Patristic allusions to the Gospel according to the Hebrews, together with the Gospel of the Ebionites, are collected, with critical studies,† by E. W. B. Nicholson (*Gospel acc. to the Hebrews*, London, 1879), Zahn (*Gesch. des Kanons*, ii. 642–723), R. Handmann (*TU* v. 3, 1888), J. H. Ropes (*TU* xiv. 2, 1896, p. 77 f.), A. Meyer (in Hennecke's *Neutest. Apok.*), and A. Schmidtke ('Neue Fragm. u. Untersuchungen zu den judenchristl. Evangelien,' *TU* xxxvii. 1, 1911); cf. also Waitz's important study, 'Das Evangelium der zwölf Apostel' in *ZNTW* (1912, p. 338 f., 1913, pp. 38 f., 117 f.). In the light of Schmidtke's and Waitz's researches, it is no longer possible to treat the Gospel according to the Hebrews without handling the Gospel of the Nazarenes and the Gospel of the Ebionites, since the quotations usually assigned to the first are disputed. In the following section, therefore, these three Gospels will be discussed together.

The general problem may be stated thus. Four 'Jewish Christian' Gospels are mentioned and quoted in the literature of the early Church: the Gospel of the Hebrews (HG), the Gospel of the Nazarenes (NG), the Gospel of the Ebionites (EG), and the Gospel of the Twelve, *i.e.* of the Twelve Apostles (TG).‡ Were there really four Gospels of this kind? Or are some of these titles no more than different descriptions of the same Gospel? This is a problem which goes back to the 5th century. Jerome apparently held HG=TG, and this equation has been accepted by critics like Hilgenfeld, Cassels (*Supernat. Rel.*, 1874–77, pt. ii. ch. iii), Lipsius, and Resch, with varying definitions of its age and content. One of the notable features in Schmidtke's recent monograph is that he not only challenges the ordinary equation of HG=NG in recent criticism, but reconstructs an HG which absorbs practically all the material assigned to TG, so that HG becomes equal to EG, as Nicholson had already argued. The usual identification§ of EG = TG (Hilgenfeld, Zahn, Harnack, etc.) is combined by Waitz with a refusal to equate HG and NG.

Of these four, TG is mentioned much less often than HG; our first knowledge of it is of a Gospel bearing this title (*i.e.* with the twelve apostles as its authors or authorities) which is mentioned by Origen next to the Gospel of the Egyptians (see above, p. 479). We hear of NG first in Jerome, and for EG we are mainly indebted to Epiphanius. But we do not know to what extent these titles were interchangeable, and whether different writers meant the same work when they mentioned HG or TG, for example. The most hopeful method of arriving at some solution of the problem is to approach it along the line of the allusions to Jewish Christians in the early writers of the Church.

There were Jewish Christians, according to Justin (*Dial.* 88) who maintained that Jesus was born in the ordinary way. Whether all the Jewish Christians whom Justin knew held this position,

* There is a monograph by R. Reinsch on *Die Pseudo-Evangelien von Jesu und Marias Kindheit in der romanischen und germanischen Literatur*, Halle, 1879.

† The varying directions of criticism are traced by Handmann (cf. Moffatt, *LNT*², Edinburgh, 1912, pp. 259–261). Of the earlier studies, one of the most acute is in chs. vii.–viii. of R. Simon's *Histoire critique du texte du Nouveau Testament*, Rotterdam, 1689.

‡ A later Syriac Church-compilation with this title has been edited by J. Rendel Harris: *The Gospel of the Twelve Apostles, together with the Apocalypses of each one of them*, Cambridge, 1900. Whether the Coptic fragments edited by Revillout (*Patrolog. Orient.*, ii. 2, Paris, 1903–05, p. 128 f.) belong to this, or to some allied Gospel of the Twelve, is a moot point (cf. Haase, p. 30 f.). It also seems doubtful whether this Syriac TG can be shown to rest on a source akin to the EG of Epiphanius.

§ Occasionally in the sense that EG is no more than an Ebionitic copy or edition of the original catholic HG.

or whether it was only some of them, is not quite clear; all he asserts is that the majority of Christians in his day preferred to believe in the virgin-birth. The real dividing line among Jewish Christians was drawn by their view of the Law (*Dial.* 47); the stricter party sought to enforce the Law upon Gentile Christians, while the more tolerant were content with obeying it themselves. It was over this question of practice, not over a Christological issue, that differences arose. With Irenæus the situation is different. Writing in the West, he is not acquainted with the varieties of Jewish Christians in Palestine and Syria; to him they are all 'Ebionites,' who believe Jesus was the son of Joseph, reject St. Paul as an apostate from the Law, and use no Gospel but that of Matthew (*Hær.* i. 26. 2, iii. 11. 7). Origen is better informed (*Cels.* v. 61). He recognizes the two-fold classification of the Ebionites or Jewish Christians, and holds that both rejected St. Paul (v. 65), but says nothing about any special Gospel used by those who rejected the virgin-birth. The difficulty presented by the statement of Irenæus remains, viz. how could any party in the Church adhere strictly and specially to the Gospel of Matthew, if they believed (iii. 21. 1) in the natural birth of Jesus? Must they not have omitted all or part of the first two chapters? Yet Irenæus seems to imply that they did not alter or abbreviate Matthew's Gospel,* for he contrasts them favourably with Marcion. 'The Ebionites, who use only that Gospel which is according to Matthew, are convicted out of that Gospel itself of holding wrong views about the Lord; whereas Marcion, who mutilates the Gospel according to Luke, is shown by the parts that survive in his edition to be a blasphemer against the only living God' (iii. 11. 7; cf. iii. 21. 1). The loose statement of Irenæus is corrected or explained by Eusebius of Cæsarea (*HE* iii. 27. 4); he declares that the Ebionite Christians, who took so low and 'poor' a view of Christ's person as to believe that He was born naturally, and who rejected St. Paul as an apostate from the Law, used the so-called Gospel according to the Hebrews, and attached little value to the other Gospels. But this HG was not the special possession of these Ebionite Christians. It was the particular delight of Christian Jews (iii. 25. 5: ᾧ μάλιστα Ἑβραίων οἱ τὸν Χριστὸν παραδεξάμενοι χαίρουσι). More than that: the last-named passage from Eusebius proves that HG was ranked by the Church among the scriptures which 'though not within the canon but disputed are nevertheless recognized by the majority of the orthodox (παρὰ πλείστοις τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν γιγνωσκομένας).' This class of scriptures includes the Apocalypse of John (*εἰ φανείη*, Eusebius puts in). 'And nowadays (ἤδη) some have also included the Gospel according to the Hebrews.' By 'some' Eusebius plainly means orthodox Christians, as distinguished from the Christian Jews whose enthusiasm for this Gospel was natural and taken for granted. He implies that this tendency to disparage the Gospel was comparatively recent.

Here we begin to suspect confusion. What Eusebius calls the Gospel κατὰ Ἑβραίους was at once the sole† Gospel of the Ebionites, who denied the virgin-birth as well as the authority of St. Paul, and the favourite Gospel of Christian Jews. It was even regarded by some of the strictly orthodox as only second to the four canonical Gospels and distinctly above Gospels like those of Peter, Thomas, and Matthias!

The suspicion that κατὰ Ἑβραίους* was being used loosely to describe more than one Gospel† is confirmed by two other lines of evidence.

(1) The first of these runs parallel to the references already quoted, and is derived from the statements of Jerome. It is to Jerome that we owe our knowledge of the existence of NG, but his statements about this Gospel and the Nazarenes who used it require to be carefully sifted, and when they are sifted they witness to a difference between HG and NG which Jerome for some reason ignored. At first sight, almost everything would seem to turn upon the interpretation of Jerome's famous allusion in his treatise *contra Pelagianos*, iii. 2: 'In the Gospel according to the Hebrews, written in the Chaldaic and Syriac tongue [*i.e.* Aramaic, or Western Syriac]‡ but in Hebrew letters, which the Nazarenes use to this day, (the Gospel) according to the apostles (*secundum apostolos*) or, as most suppose, according to Matthew, (the Gospel) which is in the library at Cæsarea, the story runs, "Behold the mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him, John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him. But he said to them, What sins have I committed, that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless perhaps what I have just said is (a sin of) ignorance." And in the same volume, "If your brother has sinned in word, he says, and made amends to you, receive him seven times in one day. Simon his disciple said to him, Seven times in one day? The Lord answered and said to him, Yes and up to seventy times seven, I tell thee. For even in the prophets, after they had been anointed with the Holy Spirit, matter of sin was found."' The opening words § seem to suggest that Jerome identified HG and TG (=the Gospel of the Ebionites), but he is simply reproducing at second-hand the conjecture about HG and the Gospel of the Ebionites, neither of which he seems to have known; as the only Semitic Gospel he knew was NG, he naturally attributes to it the floating titles and opinions which had gathered round the others.

This is corroborated by the fact that he sometimes uses 'Nazaræi' loosely for heretical Jewish Christians (practically = the 'Ebionites' of earlier writers), and sometimes speaks of them in special connexion with the local Church at Syrian Berœa. Now, whatever Gospel or Gospels the former used, and whoever they were, it is plain that the latter class of Jerome's 'Nazaræi' could not have been the Ebionite Christians of Irenæus, Origen, and Eusebius, for, according to their interpretation of Is 8^{23}–9^{1}, which Jerome quotes, they honoured St. Paul and his Gospel ('per evangelium Pauli . . . in terminos gentium et viam universi maris Christi evangelium splenduit').‖ They were Jewish Christians of non-

* Their Gospel must have been, apparently, EG; NG contained Mt 1–2, and HG could not be called a Matthæan Gospel.

† At the same time, strict Jewish Christians who held the OT to be the revealed truth, and Christianity a consummation of the Jewish religion, would not necessarily attach the same canonical value to a Gospel as other Christians (cf. Handmann, p. 108 f.). This consideration may also serve to account for the targumistic features of NG and the freedom with which the text is treated in EG.

* The size of the HG known to Nicephorus in the 6th cent. amounted to 2,200 stichoi, *i.e.* larger than Mark and smaller than Matthew—though such comparative calculations depend on the size of the writing being the same, which is not to be assumed invariably.

† This was felt long ago by Gieseler (*Historisch-kritisch Versuch über Entstehung der schriftl. Evangelien*, 1818, p. 8 f.), and elaborated by Credner (*Beiträge*, 1832, p. 399 f.), who almost distinguished EG, HG, and NG under the common title of κατὰ Ἑβραίους. How easy it was for early Christians to fall into confusion of this kind may be seen from the fact that in some quarters Tatian's *Diatessaron* was actually called the Gospel 'according to the Hebrews' (Epiph. xlvi. 1).

‡ The meaning of Jerome's words may be seen by comparing his remarks in his *Preface to Sam. and Kings* (= *Prolog. Galeatus*): 'Syrorum quoque et Chaldæorum lingua testatur, quæ Hebrææ magna ex parte confinis est.'

§ Handmann (p. 111 f.) thinks that Jerome wrote 'secundum apostolos' to prevent this Gospel from being confused with the heretical Gospel of the Twelve ('evangelium secundum XII. apostolos").

‖ Their catholic attitude to the canonical Scriptures, including not only Matthew but Acts, John, and even St. Paul's Epistles, is excellently deduced by Schmidtke (p. 107 f.) from Jerome's

heretical opinions, as is implied in Jerome's account in *de Viris illustribus*, 3: 'Matthew who is also Levi, the apostle who had been a tax-gatherer, first in Judæa composed the Gospel of Christ in Hebrew letters and words for the benefit of those belonging to the circumcision who had believed. It is not quite certain who translated it afterwards into Greek. Further, the Hebrew (original) itself is kept to this day in the library at Cæsarea which Pamphilus the martyr gathered most diligently. I was also given permission to copy it, by the Nazaræi who use this volume in Berœa, a town of Syria.'

(2) The second line of proof which suggests that HG and NG were not identical is as follows. In his Epistle to the Church at Smyrna (iii. 1–2) Ignatius writes: 'I know and believe He was in the flesh even after the resurrection. And when He came to those with Peter, He said to them, "Take, handle Me and see that I am not a bodiless phantom."' This may be a loose paraphrase of the Synoptic saying in Lk 24[39], but the early Church preferred to regard it as a quotation from some uncanonical Gospel. Unfortunately, the three writers who mention it do not agree upon its origin. Origen (according to the Latin version of the preface to his *de Principiis*) said it came from a little book called the *Teaching of Peter*, which had no claim to be authentic ('ille liber inter libros ecclesiasticos non habetur . . . neque Petri est scriptura neque alterius cuiusquam qui spiritu dei fuerit inspiratus'). This sounds so definite that we are surprised to learn that Eusebius (*HE* iii. 36. 11) does not know what source Ignatius used. Jerome, however, twice asserts that it was the Gospel which he had translated. As both Origen and Eusebius knew HG, Jerome's statement must be an error, if he is referring to HG. But it is very difficult to suppose that he could have made such a mistake about a Gospel which he had translated, and the inference must be either that his HG was a different edition from that known to Origen and Eusebius, or more probably that it was not HG but NG. This latter hypothesis explains why Eusebius could not place the quotation, for Eusebius knew HG but not NG. There is no reason why such a quotation should not have occurred both in NG and in the pseudo-Petrine document mentioned by Origen. It is of course possible that one of them borrowed from the other; perhaps Ignatius used the Petrine document (Zahn), while NG used Ignatius or that document (Schmidtke). But the last-named hypothesis implies that Jerome had an extremely superficial knowledge of NG, and this is on other grounds unlikely. It is true that Jerome required an expert to translate the Chaldee or Aramaic text of Tobit into Hebrew, that he might render it into Latin; and his acquaintance with the original of NG must have been equally second-hand. But this does not prove that he could not have known its contents with sufficient accuracy. There is no obvious reason to doubt his veracity, or to hold that he did not know, *e.g.*, that this or that quotation occurred in NG, even supposing that he translated the latter as rapidly as he did Tobit.

Schmidtke's reconstruction is in outline as follows. At an early period the Church at Syrian Berœa broke up—or, at any rate, the local Jewish Christians soon formed a community of their own, apart from the Gentile Christian Church. It was these Jewish Christians who were the real 'Nazarenes' of the early Church. Outside Berœa there were none. When Epiphanius calls the Nazarenes a sect of the primitive Church, he is simply confusing them with the Nazarenes of Ac 24[14-15], where St. Paul protests, on being charged with being a ring-leader of *τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως*, 'I cherish the same hope in God as they (*αὐτοὶ οὗτοι*) accept.' Here *αὐτοὶ οὗτοι* means St. Paul's Jewish accusers, but Epiphanius mistook the words for a reference to the Nazarenes. In reality, these Nazarene Christians of Berœa preserved their consciousness of belonging to the Church; they accepted the virgin-birth of Jesus and honoured St. Paul as an apostle (see above, p. 490 n.), though they retained, like some of the Jewish Christians afterwards known to Justin, a number of Jewish peculiarities of custom and belief. Their Gospel was an Aramaic version (135–150 A.D.) of Matthew's Gospel, which was a sort of targum; it also included some touches from the other canonical Gospels. Now it was this document, according to Schmidtke, which caused all the subsequent misunderstandings of the Church about the Hebrew Gospel which formed the basis of the canonical Matthew. This version of Matthew was supposed to have been the original of Matthew. Papias was the first to go wrong, and he misled Eusebius and Apollinaris, as well as Irenæus and Origen. Even those who knew Hebrew and Syriac were misled into calling NG a Hebrew document, since they assumed it was the basis of the canonical Matthew with its Jewish Christian characteristics. The only writer who had a first-hand knowledge of it was Hegesippus (*c.* A.D. 180). Eusebius secured a copy only when he wrote the *Theophania*; he did not know it when he composed his Church History. And even when he did read it he imagined, thanks to Papias and others, that it was the Semitic original of Matthew.

The copy of Eusebius in the library of Cæsarea fell into the hands of Jerome. But Jerome, like Epiphanius, for the most part depended not on this Gospel directly but on the information supplied by the distinguished scholar, Apollinaris of Laodicea, who had edited an exposition of Matthew, in which his Hebrew scholarship enabled him to quote fragments of this Nazaræan Gospel. That dishonest and unreliable writer, Jerome, had no first-hand acquaintance with the Nazarenes, of whom he says so much. He was the Defoe of his age.

Hegesippus, as Eusebius points out, used both NG and HG. The latter * was an independent Greek work, equivalent to TG whereas NG was neither an independent work nor a Greek composition, but a Syriac document reproducing Matthew's Gospel in the main. The mistaken identification of HG and NG was Jerome's fault. He imagined that this Gospel of the Nazarenes which he saw in the episcopal library of Cæsarea was the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and Schmidtke bluntly declares that his story about translating it (*c.* A.D. 390) is a fabrication.†

It is not necessary here to discuss the details of Schmidtke's brilliant and searching investigation. His strictures on Jerome (pp. 66–69) are too sweeping; his conjecture about the relation between Apollinaris and the extracts from the Nazarene Gospel is hardly more than ingenious; and his tendency to attribute misunderstanding to early Christian writers, although it is in the main justifiable, carries him into some extreme positions. But his analysis of the extant data has succeeded in showing afresh‡ the strong case for regarding HG and NG as different works. So much at any rate may be granted. On the other hand, the identification of HG and EG breaks down; Waitz is probably right in regarding EG as an independent work. The differentiation of HG, NG, and EG is a precarious task, however, and in the present state of our knowledge no reconstruction can claim to be more than conjectural. The probability is that there were several Jewish Christian Gospels approximating more or less closely to the type of Matthew. Jewish Christians who claimed

references in his Commentary on Isaiah. But we do not see why it follows (pp. 125–126) necessarily that their Gospel could not have included the unhistorical legend about the appearance of the risen Jesus to his brother James. This was surely in line with St. Paul's own tradition (1 Co 15[7]). The latter no doubt puts the appearance to James fourth instead of first in chronological order, but, in view of the very different accounts in the Gospels (particularly Matthew and John), we can hardly lay stress upon the prominence assigned to James as if this were incompatible with the catholic position of the 'Nazaræi.' After all, as Schmidtke himself admits, they were keen upon circumcision and the Law as national traditions. As Matthew's Gospel had no record of any appearances to individual disciples, the way lay open for a harmless legend of this kind in honour of James the Just. If St. Paul put the appearance to him before his own vision, why should not the 'Nazaræi'?

* EG (see below) was also a Greek composition, but, unlike HG and like NG, it was allied to Matthew, though not so closely as NG.

† Bede, in the beginning of the 8th cent., made the fact of Jerome having quoted and translated the Hebrew Gospel the reason for holding that the latter was to be ranked 'not among apocryphal but among ecclesiastical histories' (*in Luc.* i. 1).

‡ The loose usage of *κατ' Ἑβραίους* as a Gospel title was seen by several earlier writers besides those already mentioned (p. 490). Holtzmann, *e.g.* (*Einleitung in das Neue Testament*[3], 1892, p. 487 f.), suggested that it was applied to a whole series of more or less cognate Greek and Aramaic compositions. Lipsius preferred to regard HG as assuming different shapes in different circles and at different times. This is almost inevitable, when HG and TG are identified.

to be the true 'Hebrews,' and who saw in Christianity the completed form of Hebrew religion, could well, as Waitz observes, call their Gospel a 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' even although it was written in Greek. There were varieties of such Jewish Christians, from the orthodox 'Nazaræi' to the extreme wing of the Ebionite Christians, and there is no reason to doubt that more than one Gospel was composed and circulated by them. If one of these was an Aramaic version of Matthew, it would be particularly easy for later writers to use *καθ' Ἑβραίους* loosely as a linguistic title, and thus to imagine that HG meant either a Hebrew Gospel or the supposed original of Matthew. One of the obstacles in dealing with the entire problem of the Jewish Christian Gospels is due to the fact that some early Christian writers and fathers often mention books which they seem never to have seen, and that their references to the Gospel books of the Jewish Christians are too loose and vague to be taken at their face-value. This applies particularly to Epiphanius and Jerome. When the latter, for example (*de Vir. illustr.* 2), introduces the quotation about the Lord's post-Resurrection appearance to His brother James, by declaring that it occurred in 'the Gospel called "according to the Hebrews," which I recently translated into Greek and Latin, and which Origen often uses,' he is surely confusing HG and NG. He is anxious to prove the importance of NG; that is why he says it was often cited by Origen.* But what Origen cited was HG. There is an error of memory here, at any rate. So with Epiphanius. He explains (*Hær.* xxix. 7, 9) that the Nazoræans—Jewish Christians who practised Jewish habits of life, and who had their headquarters at Syrian Berœa—possessed and used the Gospel of Matthew in Hebrew; he declares that their edition was unmutilated (*πληρέστατον*), but does not know if it contained the genealogy from Abraham to Christ. This is to distinguish the Nazoræans from sectarian Christians like the Cerinthians, who (*Hær.* xxviii. 5, xxx. 14) used a mutilated Matthew, leaving out passages like $1^{1\text{-}17}$ 10^{25} and 26^{18}. Obviously, his remarks are contradictory. If he knew that the Gospel used by these Nazoræans was unmutilated, he must have known whether it contained Mt $1^{1\text{-}17}$ or not. He is speaking about this NG either from hearsay or from a hasty perusal of Irenæus, and, with a carelessness which is characteristic of him, at several points confuses it with EG.

The rival theories thus are: (i.) HG and NG either identical or different editions of the same work; (ii.) HG and NG different works entirely. The latter seems preferable, but in any case it is essential to have the extant data before us.

(*a*) In the first place (cf. Schmidtke, pp. 1–31, 63 f.), we possess a number of marginal scholia on Matthew from a group of minuscule MSS which, partly on the basis of von Soden's researches and discoveries, Schmidtke regards as witnessing to a special type of text or a special edition of the Gospels dating not later than A.D. 500. These scholia are held to be exegetical notes, probably drawn from the Commentary on Matthew which Apollinaris of Laodicea wrote, prior to Jerome. They profess to quote the readings of *τὸ Ἰουδαϊκὸν* (sc. *εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Ματθαῖον*). Perhaps the discredit into which the supposed Aramaic (original) Matthew was falling, on account of its use by heretical sects, led to the pious preservation of these brief extracts on the margin of Church copies. There is a good deal of speculation in the eye of this hypothesis. The scholia, however, are unmistakable.

* According to Schmidtke (p. 124 f.), Jerome betrays here the fact that he copied this story from Origen; but this is not a necessary inference (cf. p. 490 n.).

In Mt 4⁵ the 'Jewish' Gospel read *ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμ* for *εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν πόλιν*, in 5^{22} it omitted *εἰκῇ* and in 6^{13} the doxology to the Lord's prayer; at 7^{5} it read:* 'If you are in my bosom and do not the will of my Father who is in heaven, I will cast you out of my bosom'; in 10^{16} it read *ὑπὲρ ὄφεις* for *ὡς οἱ ὄφεις*, in 11^{12} *διαρπάζεται* for *βιάζεται*, in 11^{25} *εὐχαριστῶ* for *ἐξομολογοῦμαι*; in 12^{40} it omitted the second 'three days and three nights'; in 15^{5} it read *κορβᾶν ὃ ὑμεῖς ὠφεληθήσεσθε ἐξ ἡμῶν*; it omitted $16^{2b\text{-}3}$ and read 'son of John' for Bar-Jonah in 16^{17}; in 18^{22} after 'seventy times seven' it read: *καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς προφήταις μετὰ τὸ χρισθῆναι αὐτους ἐν πνεύματι ἁγίῳ εὑρίσκετο ἐν αὐτοῖς λόγος ἁμαρτίας*; in 26^{74} it read: *καὶ ἠρνήσατο καὶ ὤμοσεν καὶ κατηράσατο*; and in 27^{65} it had: *καὶ παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἄνδρας ἐνόπλους ἵνα καθεζῶνται κατ' ἐναντίον τοῦ σπηλαίου καὶ τηρῶσιν αὐτὸν ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτός.*

(*b*) The extant quotations may best be classified according to the source:

Clement of Alexandria cites HG twice—

Strom. ii. 9. 45: 'as it is written also in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, "He who wonders shall reign, and he who reigns shall rest."'

Strom. v. 14. 96: 'He who seeks shall not rest until he finds; when he has found, he shall wonder, and wondering he shall reign, and reigning he shall rest.'

Origen (*in Joh.* ii. 6) quotes a saying of the Saviour from the Gospel according to the Hebrews as follows: 'My mother, the Holy Spirit, took me just now by one of my hairs† and carried me off to the great mountain Tabor.' He repeats the quotation in his *Homilies on Jeremiah* (xv. 4). It is evidently from a description of the Temptation, where Jesus had not His disciples beside Him, as He had at the Transfiguration. Origen quotes the passage in order to prove that the Word came into being through the Spirit; he adds that if one reads Mt 12^{50} one cannot have any difficulty about understanding how the Spirit could be called the mother of Christ. In the Gospel, Jesus is the Son of the Spirit (= Wisdom; cf. Wis $14^{ff.}$ 9^{17}, Lk $7^{34\text{-}35}$)

The Latin version of his Commentary on Matthew ($19^{16ff.}$) has the following passage: 'it is written in a Gospel called the Gospel according to the Hebrews (if anyone cares to receive this not as an authority but in illustration of the question before us),‡ "the other§ rich man said to him, Master, what good thing shall I do to live? He said to him, Man, do the Law and the prophets. He answered him, I have done them. He said to him, Go, sell all you possess and divide it among the poor, and come, follow me. But the rich man began to scratch his head, and was not pleased. And the Lord said to him, How do you say, I have done the Law and the prophets? For it is written in the Law, You shall love your neighbour as yourself. And lo, there are many brothers of yours, sons of Abraham, clothed in filth, dying of hunger, while your house is full of many goods, and nothing at all goes out of it to them. And turning he said to Simon his disciple, who was sitting beside him, Simon, son of John, it is easier for a camel to enter by the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven."'

This popular version of the story recounted in the Synoptic Gospels tallies partly with Mt. and partly with Lk.; if it represents a conversation at some rich man's table (Meyer), this is a Lucan affinity, for in Lk. (18^{18}), as distinguished from Mt. and Mk., the incident is not described as an open-air episode.

Eusebius declares that the story of the woman accused of many sins before the Lord, which Papias quotes, was contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews (*HE* iii. 39. 16). In *Theophan.* Syr. iv. 12 (ed. Gressmann, 1904, p. 183 f.):‖ 'the reason of the divisions between souls that take place in households [Mt $10^{34\text{-}35}$] He taught—as we have found in one place in the Gospel which exists in Hebrew among the Jews, where it is said, "I (will) choose for myself the excellent [or, worthy] whom my Father in heaven gave to me."' On the authority of *Mal*, another quotation from this Gospel has been usually referred to the *Theophania*, viz.: 'Since the Gospel which has reached us in Hebrew characters pronounces the threat not against the man who hid the money but against him who lived riotously—"for he had ¶ three servants, one who spent the master's substance with harlots and flute-girls,** one who multiplied it, and one who concealed the talent; the one was accepted, the other was merely blamed, and the third was shut up in prison"—I judge that, according to Matthew, the threat immediately following the conclusion of the word spoken

* Cf. below, p. 495.

† From the Jewish story of *Bel and the Dragon* (v.[36]), where an angel lifts Habakkuk by the hair of his head and transports him to Babylon (cf. Ac 8^{39}). In the Christian Haggādā, the hairs become a single hair, which reminds us of Ezk 8^{3}.

‡ Origen hesitates to quote this Gospel as Scripture, not because it is heretical, but because the canon of the four Gospels was now dominant—as it had not been when Clement wrote.

§ So there were two: for Matthew's duplications, cf. 8^{28} 20^{30}.

‖ On this passage, cf. J. A. Robinson in *Expositor*, 5th ser., v. (1897) 194 f.

¶ Or, 'it contained' (*περιεῖχεν*)—in which case we have only a summary, not a verbal quotation.

** This phrase recurs in an Oxyrhynchite fragment (see p. 499).

against him who did nothing does not apply to him, but was spoken by way of epanalepsis with reference to the man formerly mentioned, who had eaten and drunk with drunkards.' But Gressmann shows that this passage does not belong to the *Theophania* (cf. his ed. § 29); it belongs either to some other author altogether or to some other treatise of Eusebius (*TU* xxx. 3 [1906] 363). The version of the parable given in this extract witnesses to the dissatisfaction which was felt at an early date with what seemed to be the severe verdict of Mt 25[29-30].

In addition to corroborating the reading of the 'Jewish' Gospel in Mt 4[5] 16[17] and 26[74], and repeating (on Mic 7[6]) Origen's argument from and citation of the Tabor saying, JEROME affirms that in Mt 2[5] it* read 'Judah' not 'Judæa'; in the narrative of the Baptism it contained the following conversation: 'Behold the mother of the Lord and his brothers said to him, "John the Baptist is baptizing for the remission of sins; let us go and be baptized by him." But he said to them, "What sin have I committed that I should go and be baptized by him? Unless perhaps what I have just said is (a sin of) ignorance"'—and the following incident: 'But it came to pass when the Lord had ascended from the water that the entire fountain† of the Holy Spirit descended and rested on him, and said to him, "My son, in all the prophets I looked for thee, that thou mightest come and I might rest in thee.‡ For thou art my rest, thou art my firstborn son, who reignest to eternity"'; in Mt 6[11] it read *mahar, i.e.* (bread) for to-morrow; at Mt 12[10] it inserted, 'I was a stone-mason, seeking a livelihood by my hands; I pray you, Jesus, to restore my health, lest I beg food with shame'; it also read (at the passage corresponding to Mt 18[21-22] ?), '"If your brother has sinned in word and made amends to you, receive him seven times in one day." Simon, his disciple, said to him, "Seven times in a day?" The Lord answered and said to him, "Yes, I tell you, and up to seventy times seven! for even in the prophets,§ after they had been anointed with the Holy Spirit, matter of sin was found"' (cf. above, p. 490); in Mt 21[9] it read: 'Osanna barrama' (*i.e.* Hosanna in the heights); instead of 'son of Barachiah'‖ it read 'son of Jehoiada' at Mt 23[35]; at Mt 27[51] it read, 'the lintel of the temple, which was of enormous size, broke and fell in pieces'; and it contained (in the neighbourhood of Mt 5[22] or 18[16-17]) a saying of Jesus to His disciples, 'Never be glad except when you look with love at your brother.'

These Jerome quotations show a Gospel in which Jesus is called 'Jesus' as well as 'the Lord' (only the latter in the Gospel of Peter), where the narrative of the Baptism has an apologetic purpose as Matthew's has (3[14f.])—although the two differ—but which was characterized by naïve, popular traits rather than by any theological tendencies. It must have adhered to the general order and even material of Matthew; otherwise, as in the case of the scholia, it would have been out of place to chronicle slight variations of text.

It is more easy to feel that HG and NG were different than to assign these fragments to one or the other. This is the precarious side of the hypothesis advocated by Schmidtke and Waitz afresh. However, to HG we may assign the quotations of Clement and Origen, to NG those of Jerome and the Jerusalem scholia. But naturally there must have been some material common to both Gospels, and we have evidence of this in the fact that both Origen and Jerome witness apparently to the interpretation of Barabbas as 'son of (their) teacher' and to the Tabor saying¶ about the Spirit as mother. How far, if at all, the scholia of the 'Jewish' Gospel attest the text of HG as well as of NG it is impossible to say. The dæmon-saying quoted by Ignatius came from NG, if it came from either of these Gospels. Probably, though not certainly (see note on p. 490), the following passage belonged to HG: 'But when the Lord had given the linen cloth to the servant of the high priest, he went to James and appeared to him; for James had sworn he would not eat bread from the hour when the Lord had drunk the cup until he saw him rise from those who sleep. . . . "Bring a table and bread," the Lord says. He took bread and blessed it and broke it and gave it to James the Just, and said to him, "My brother, eat your bread, for the Son of Man* has risen from those who sleep"' (quoted by Jerome). The Eusebius quotations are doubtful; the *Theophania* citations point to NG, but whether the story of the accused woman corresponds to that of Lk 7[37f.] or to that of Jn 7[53]–8[10], the probability is that Eusebius means to say that it occurred in HG—a fresh indication that HG was not, like NG, a sort of 'Matthæan' composition or version. We do not know if HG had any Birth-story;† perhaps it resembled Mark or John in this respect. And its contents seem to have been different from the exact Synoptic or Johannine type.

Both HG and NG were known to Hegesippus, who brought forward material from both, as Eusebius informs us: *ἐκ τε τοῦ καθ' Ἑβραίους εὐαγγελίου καὶ τοῦ Συριακοῦ καὶ ἰδίως ἐκ τῆς Ἑβραΐδος διαλέκτου τινὰ τίθησιν* (iv. 22. 8; cf. iii. 25. 5). Unless we regard the *καὶ* between *εὐαγγελίου* and *τοῦ* as an error or interpolation (Nicholson, Handmann), the inference from this passage is that 'the Syriac (Gospel)' was used by this Jewish-Christian writer as well as the Gospel of the Hebrews.‡ Furthermore, since NG was probably used by Ignatius (cf. p. 491), it may be placed not later than the end of the 1st cent., subsequent to the composition of Matthew's Gospel. It was the special Gospel of the Jewish Christians at Berœa, originally; it was not marked by anti-Catholic tendencies,§ but owing to its language it never attained the popularity and circulation of HG. The latter was not a translation but a Greek Gospel. It received the name of *καθ' Ἑβραίους* or 'Hebrew Gospel' from Christians who were not Jews; the title no more meant that it was written in Hebrew than the Gospel according to the Egyptians meant a Gospel written in Coptic. It was the readers, not the language, that suggested the sobriquet, in this case. Again, unlike NG or even EG, it had not Matthew's Gospel as its basis or prototype. Clement and Origen never quote it or refer to it as a work allied to Matthew. So far as we can judge from the few allusions and citations that may be accepted as belonging to it, the contents of HG must have been stamped with characteristics which differentiated it from the canonical Gospels and yet commended it for a time to others than Jewish Christians both in Palestine and Syria (probably its original home) and Egypt. But we do not possess any means of determining its date with certainty; whether it was contemporary with NG or written early in the 2nd cent., remains an open question. Later‖ than NG at any rate, and further from orthodox teaching than either NG or HG, was EG, which seems to imply a

* 'Sicut in ipso Hebraico legimus.' This might mean 'in the original Hebrew of the OT,' but the analogy of the other references favours the meaning of 'in the Hebrew Gospel.'

† For Jerome's argument (on Is 11[2]), the emphasis falls upon the word 'entire.' The spirit of wisdom is 'poured out like water' on the Elect One in *En.* xlix. 1 f. (cf. LXX of Is 11[1f.]). Spitta (*ZNTW*, 1904, p. 316 f.) suggests that *fons* represents *ἡ κολυμβήθρα* (*πάντος τοῦ πνεύματος ἁγίου*) in the original, and that *κολυμβήθρα* may have been confused with *κόλυμβος* (*columba*)—which would explain the remarkable absence of the dove here.

‡ Cf. *En.* xlii. 1–3.

§ The second allusion in these citations to the OT prophets.

‖ In a Coptic fragment of some late Egyptian (Gospel?) treatise, Jesus denounces the Jews before Pilate for killing the prophets down to 'Zechariah the son of Barachiah and John his son' (*Patrol. Orient.* ii. 165)—identifying the Zechariah of the canonical Matthew with the other (cf. above, p. 485).

¶ As we can see from the Baptism-story in NG (see above, p. 490), no difficulty was felt about calling Jesus the Son of the Spirit and mentioning His human mother, any more than in the Synoptic tradition about mentioning His father Joseph and His Heavenly Father.

* This is one note of primitive origin or colour; the title 'Son of Man' is extremely rare outside the Gospels, and later writers of uncanonical Gospels never copied it.

† Hegesippus did say that Domitian dreaded the second appearance of Christ as Herod dreaded the first (Eus. *HE* iii. 20. 2), but it does not follow that he owed to HG this reference to Herod. Oral tradition (as Handmann suggests) might account for it.

‡ Waitz (*ZNTW*, 1913, p. 121) thinks it was EG that Hegesippus used, not HG; but his reasons are unconvincing. There is no ground for supposing that HG was confined to Egypt, and none for assuming that James was a vegetarian (see below), whose principles would be shared by the Jewish Christians—and expressed in their Gospel (*i.e.* EG).

§ It is still a question how far the text and traditions of NG represent earlier forms than those of the Synoptic narrative.

‖ But if EG is used in the pseudo-Clementine *κηρύγματα Πέτρου*, and if the latter were written by the middle of the 2nd cent., as Waitz shows good reason for maintaining (cf. *ZNTW*, 1913, p. 49 f.), our Gospel may be put in the first half or even quarter of the 2nd century. This is corroborated by Irenæus (cf. above, p. 490), if his Ebionitic Christians used EG.

knowledge of Luke as well as of Matthew, although it is Matthæan, as HG does not appear to have been. This early 2nd cent. production is known to us from the quotations made by Epiphanius, which enable the following outline to be drawn:

(*b*) **The Gospel of the Ebionites.**—According to Epiphanius (*Hær.* xxx. 3), the Ebionites accepted no Gospel except that of Matthew. 'This alone they use, like the adherents of Cerinthus and Merinthus; they call it "the Gospel according to the Hebrews"—a correct description, since it was Matthew alone in the New Testament who composed the narrative and preaching of the Gospel in Hebrew and Hebrew characters.' It is true, he adds—and he repeats this in xxx. 6—that Hebrew translations of John's Gospel and of Acts were said to be kept in the Genizah at Tiberias, which had proved useful in the conversion of Jews. But Matthew's Gospel was the only one originally written in Hebrew. This idea of a Hebrew Matthew obsesses Epiphanius among other early Christian writers; it is needless* to spend words upon his explanation of *καθ' Ἑβραίους* as suitable to the original language of Matthew. What is more important for our present purpose is to notice how he proceeds to explain that this Gospel used by the Ebionites was not the canonical Matthew, however, but a mutilated and revised edition (xxx. 13). It began at 3^{1}. (1) 'The beginning of their Gospel is: "It came to pass in the days of Herod king of Judæa that John came baptizing with a baptism of repentance in the Jordan river; he was said to be of the race of Aaron the priest, the son of Zechariah and Elizabeth. And all went out to him."' The story of the Birth and the genealogy were therefore absent from this Gospel. 'Cutting off the genealogies in Matthew, they make a beginning, as I have already said, in this way: "It came to pass in the days of Herod, king of Judæa, under the high priest Caiaphas, that a certain man named John came, baptizing with a baptism of repentance in the Jordan river"' (xxx. 14). This suggests that the author had Lk 3^{1} in mind, but in the following extract (2), by making the Pharisees accept John's baptism, he differs from the Lucan tradition (Lk $3^{7ff.}$ 7^{29-30}): 'John came baptizing, and the Pharisees went out to him and were baptized, and all Jerusalem. And John had raiment of camel's hair and a girdle of skin round his loins; and his food (says the Gospel) was wild honey,† the taste of which was the taste of manna, like a honey-cake dipped in oil' (xxx. 13). The account of the Baptism of Jesus, however, did not immediately follow, as in the canonical Matthew, but only after an interval (*μετὰ τὸ εἰπεῖν πολλά*). The author first of all brought Jesus on the scene, and placed the call of the twelve apostles prior to the Lord's Baptism, possibly to make it clear that they had not been originally disciples of John, more probably to convey the impression that they had been eye-witnesses from the very outset. (3) 'There was a man named Jesus, and he was about thirty years of age; he chose us . . . and entering Capharnaum he went into the house of Simon surnamed Peter, and opening his lips said, "As I walked beside the lake of Tiberias‡ I chose John and James, sons of Zebedæus, and Simon and Andrew and Thaddæus and Simon the zealot and Judas Iscariot; and I called thee, Matthew, sitting at the receipt of custom, and thou didst follow me. You then I desire to be twelve apostles for a testimony to Israel"' (xxx. 13). The narrative of the Baptism (4) diverges in order and in some details from the Synoptic tradition. 'When the people had been baptized, Jesus also came and was baptized by John. And when he came up from the water, the heavens opened and he saw the Holy Spirit in the form of a dove descending and entering into him. And a voice came from heaven saying, "Thou art my Beloved, in thee I am well-pleased"—and again—"to-day have I begotten thee." And immediately a great light* shone round the place. Seeing this (says the Gospel), John says to him, "Who art thou, Lord?" And again a voice from heaven addressed him [or, said of him], "This is my son, *the* Beloved, in whom I am well-pleased." And then (says the Gospel) John fell down before him and said, "I pray thee, Lord, do thou baptize me." But he forbade him, saying, "Come, this is how it is fitting that all should be accomplished"' (xxx. 13). The divergence of EG from NG at this point is clear: the one has a dove, the other has not (cf. above, p. 493); and *EG* conflates the voices from heaven.

The Gospel must have included the middle part of the life of Jesus,† for two sayings are quoted, one (5) a curious protest against sacrifices ('I came to abolish sacrifices, and if you do not cease sacrificing, the Wrath will not cease from you,' xxx. 16), and the other (6) a version of Mt 12^{46-50}=Mk 3^{31-35} =Lk 8^{19-21} ('They deny he is a man, on the ground, forsooth, of the word which the Saviour spoke when he was informed, "Behold, thy mother and thy brothers are standing outside." "Who is my mother and my brothers?" And stretching his hand out to his disciples he said, "These are my sisters and mother and brother, who do the will of my Father,"' xxx. 14). If (5) was substituted‡ for Mt 5^{17} (as in the case of (7)), and if the plural *θελήματα* in (6) means the various injunctions of the Law as God's will, we have two indications of the Jewish Christian syncretistic and anti-sacrificial§ tendency which dominated the Gospel.

The sole saying (7) which has been preserved from the Passion narrative illustrates the vegetarian tendency which we have already seen in the description of John the Baptist's food. The Lucan saying, 'With desire have I desired to eat this passover with you,' became: 'I have not desired to eat this passover of flesh with you' (xxx. 22).‖ The Ebionites were vegetarians, probably because they objected to sexual relations as immoral, and consequently to animal food as the product of such relations even among the lower creatures.

The accuracy of Epiphanius is seldom beyond question, and it has been surmised that these quotations in whole or part came from other sources (so, *e.g.*, Credner, Lipsius, Westcott, Schmidtke). Thus (5) may have come from the *Clementine Recognitions* (i. 39, 54) and (6) from Origen's comment on Jn 2^{12}. But it does not follow that they were current only in these quarters. And as Epiphanius does show some close acquaintance with the tenets

* Even after Zahn's (*Gesch. des Kanons*, ii. 731 f.) argument that Epiphanius's statement is correct, and that since Origen the Ebionitic Christians had begun to appropriate for their own Gospel the honorific title of the Church's HG.

† The religious vegetarianism of the Ebionite Christians (Epiph. xxx. 15) made them change 'locusts' (*ἀκρίδες*, Mt 3⁴) into honey-cake (*ἐγκρίς*). The verse echoes LXX of Nu 11^{8} (*καὶ ἦν ἡ ἡδονὴ αὐτοῦ ὡσεὶ γεῦμα ἐγκρὶς ἐξ ἐλαίου*). Note James was an ascetic but not a vegetarian. The words of Hegesippus, which Eusebius quotes (*HE* ii. 23. 5), *οἰνόδε ἔμψυχον ἔφαγεν*, mean that he was careful to eat only 'kosher' meat (in the sense of Ac 15^{28} and Jos. *Ant.* i. 102, *χωρὶς αἵματος*).

‡ This is almost the only touch in the extant fragments which recalls the Fourth Gospel (6^{21}), and even this need not be a reminiscence. On the other hand, the Coptic fragments which some propose to connect with this Gospel (cf. 506) show marked Johannine colouring.

* See Justin's *Dial.* 88.

† Origen (*de Princip.* iv. 22) also quotes the Ebionites' interpretation of Mt 15^{24}.

‡ Nicholson (p. 77) suggests that it was part of a paragraph answering to Lk 13^{1-3}.

§ This led them (Epiph. xviii. 2, xxx. 8, 18) to criticize parts of the Law and even of the prophets, in spite of their admiration of the OT.

‖ Or, 'Have I desired . . . you?'

and practices of the Ebionites, it is fair to assume that his citations from their Gospel are not invariably inaccurate or imaginary. As the quotation (2) shows, by the substitution of *ἐγκρίς* for the Synoptic *ἀκρίδες*, the original text was Greek, not Semitic.

Origen (see p. 479) calls it *τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον τῶν δώδεκα εὐαγγέλιον*, instead of using *κατά*, as he does in describing the other Gospels on his list, and as the Latin translator renders it ('iuxta* duodecim apostolos'). The probability is that a saying like (3) gave rise to this title; it would suggest, and perhaps was intended by the writer to suggest, that the Gospel was composed by Matthew in the name of the twelve apostles, just like the Gospel of Peter or (according to one legend) the Fourth Gospel. It is true that a similar inference may be not unreasonably drawn, identifying this Gospel with HG, which also claimed to be a Gospel of Matthew; but the inference would not be so conclusive, for in any case the Gospel of the Ebionites, like the other Jewish-Christian Gospels, was based on the canonical Matthew. Its original title may have been 'the Gospel of the Twelve by Matthew' or 'the Gospel of the Twelve,' for 'the Gospel of the Ebionites' is naturally no more than a description of it which emanated from outside circles. It belonged to the Synoptic type; nowhere can it be proved to have derived from the Johannine Gospel.

(*c*) **The Gospel of the Egyptians.**—The 'Gospel of the Egyptians' means a Gospel current among the Egyptians, not a Gospel composed by them. The title (*τὸ κατ' Αἰγυπτίους εὐαγγέλιον*) first occurs in Clement of Alexandria, who observes that it was used by people (the Encratites) οἱ *πάντα μᾶλλον ἢ τῷ κατὰ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εὐαγγελικῷ στοιχήσαντες κανόνι* (*Strom.* iii. 9. 66). By the time that Origen wrote, it had been degraded to the rank of a heretical writing, but Clement's language implies an earlier attitude which was more favourable. Thus in *Strom.* iii. 13. 92 he remarks, à propos of one quotation, 'We possess this saying (*ἔχομεν τὸ ῥητόν*) not in the four Gospels which have been handed down to us, but in the Gospel according to the Egyptians.'

The extant quotations are for the most part taken from dialogues between Jesus and Salome. (*a*) 'When Salome asked "How long shall death prevail?" . . . the Lord said, "So long as you women bear"' (Clem. *Strom.* iii. 6. 45). (*b*) 'Salome says, "How long shall men die?" . . . The Lord answers, "So long as women bear"' (*Strom.* iii. 9. 64; similarly in *Excerpta Theod.* 67). (*c*) '"Then," said she [*i.e.* Salome], "I would have done well in not bearing?" as if child-bearing were not allowed. The Lord replies, "Eat every herb, but do not eat the bitter† one"' (*Strom.* iii. 9. 66). (*d*) A fourth quotation is less certain. 'Those who oppose what God has created, in their specious (or fine-sounding, *εὐφήμου*) continence adduce the words spoken to Salome which we have mentioned above. They occur, I think (*φέρεται δέ, οἶμαι*), in the Gospel according to the Egyptians; for they say, "The Saviour himself said, *I came to destroy the works of the female*"' (*Strom.* iii. 9. 63). The hesitation is curious, but it hardly justifies us in arguing that the quotation must have come from a work like the *Exegetica* of Cassianus rather than from the Egyptian Gospel. In any case, the leading idea of (*c*) and (*d*) is that the distinctions of sex are to be obliterated in the future kingdom, and that marriage as the bitter herb of bodily passion is therefore to be avoided. This is still more vividly put in (*e*), a fifth quotation. In reply to another question put by Salome upon the time when the kingdom was to be revealed, 'The Lord said, "When you tread under foot the garment of shame, when‡ the two become one, the male with the female, neither male nor female"' (*Strom.* iii. 13. 92). Here the 'garment of shame' is the body, which Cassianus regarded as the garments of skin in Gn 3^{21}. The perfect state means the abolition of all sexual connexions and the physical organism which forms their opportunity, according to the Pythagorean theosophy or perhaps merely Philonic influence.

The dialogue form is common in contemporary Rabbinic tradition, and Salome for some reason was one of the Synoptic figures to whom the later Gnostics (cf. her dialogues with Jesus in *Pistis Sophia*, 102, 104, 114, 115, 343, 381) and the Carpocratians (Orig. *Cels.* v. 62) assigned an important rôle.

The allusions of Hippolytus and Epiphanius suggest that the Gospel must have contained passages capable of a pantheistic development, but it is naturally impossible to determine, with the scanty data at our disposal, how far these encratitic and modalistic theories of the later Naassenes and Sabellians were due to the text of the Gospel itself and how far to later interpretations.

The Gospel of the Egyptians was probably used by the author of the homily (± A.D. 150) known as 2 Clement. This is not beyond question (cf. Zahn; Haase, p. 3; and Batiffol's plea in his study of the Gospel in Vigouroux's *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, ii. 1625–1627), but the evidence points strongly in favour of such a hypothesis. Thus the saying quoted in *Strom.* iii. 13. 92 reappears in 2 Clem. xii. 2: 'When questioned by someone when His kingdom would come, the Lord said, "When the two shall be one, the outward as the inward, the male with the female, neither male nor female."' If this is so, it proves that the Gospel of the Egyptians had a high place, next to the four Gospels, since it is quoted alongside of them. The writer of 2 Clement gives quite an orthodox and moral interpretation of the saying which he cites, and this would again corroborate the impression that the Gospel of the Egyptians was not originally Encratitic, but only that some of its contents lent themselves to such views. It is possible but hazardous to infer that the three other uncanonical quotations in 2 Clement are also derived from the Egyptian Gospel, viz. iv. 5 ('The Lord said, "If you are gathered with me in my bosom, and do not my commands, I will cast you out and will say to you, Depart from me, I know not whence you are, you workers of iniquity"'),* v. 2–4 ('The Lord said, "You shall be as lambs in the midst of wolves." And Peter answered and said to him, "Supposing the wolves tear the lambs?" Jesus said to Peter, "Let not the lambs fear the wolves after death; and as for you, fear not those who kill you and can do no more to you, but fear him who after death has power over soul and body, to cast them into the fiery gehenna"'), and viii. 5 ('The Lord said in the Gospel, "If you did not guard what is small, who shall give you what is great? For I tell you that he who is faithful in what is least is also faithful in what is much"'). The attempts to identify the Oxyrhynchite fragment (see below, p. 499), the Oxyrhynchite Logia, the Strassburg Coptic fragments (cf. p. 506), the Fayyûm fragment, or the Gospel of Peter, with this Gospel, have not succeeded in almost any case in establishing a proof which is beyond question, although the affinities with the (first series of) Oxyrhynchite Logia perhaps justify us in assigning the latter provisionally to this Egyptian scripture (cf. J. A. Robinson in *Expositor*, 5th ser., vi. [1897] 417 f.).

The use made of it by men like Julius Cassianus, a leader of the Docetic movement who was tinged with Encratitic tendencies, and Theodotus, the Egyptian Valentinian, together with its popularity among Christian circles like the Naassenes and the Sabellians,† may have contributed to the dis-

* By 'iuxta' he meant to render *κατά*, for he goes on to translate *κατὰ Μαθίαν* by 'iuxta Mathian.'

† G. Wobbermin's theory (*Religionsgeschichtliche Studien*, 1896, pp. 96–103) that Orphism has influenced this Gospel involves, among other improbabilities, the literal meaning of 'herb' here, as an indication of vegetarian tendencies.

‡ This kind of rhetoric became common in some circles; cf., *e.g.*, the *Acta Philippi*, 140 (p. 90, ed. Tischendorf) and the *Acta Petri*, 38 (C. Schmidt, *TU* xxiv. [1903]). But the curious fantasy of the Logion quoted in these *Acta* does not necessarily imply a use of the Egyptian Gospel.

* In the context of a passage like Mt 7$^{22f.}$? Practically the same Logion occurs among the scholia of the HG (cf. above, p. 492). Does this mean that the Clement quotations go back to NG, or that the scholia borrowed from 2 Clement, or that the Logion lay in both NG and EG? Cf. Schmidtke, p. 297 f.

† According to Hippolytus (*Philos.* v. 7), it was one of the writings exploited by the Gnostic Naassenes; according to Epiphanius (lxii. 2), the Sabellians used it (*τοῦ καλουμένου Αἰγυπτίου εὐαγγελίου*) in support of their tenets. Both notices corroborate the Egyptian provenance of the Gospel. The Sabellians used it along with the OT and the NT.

favour into which it afterwards fell. Originally its position relative to the canonical Gospels may have resembled that of the Gospel according to the Hebrews. Like the latter and the Gospel of Peter, it circulated for a while without incurring any suspicions or hostility on the part of the authorities.

Unlike the Gospel of the Hebrews, it seems neither to have been a translation nor to have been translated. Κατ' Αἰγυπτίους does not mean, 'in Coptic'; the most probable explanation is that it denotes a Gospel meant for and used by the native Egyptian converts, just as Κατὰ Ἑβραίους meant a Gospel originally designed for the Jewish Christians of Palestine. It is possible that the Gospel of the Hebrews reached the Jewish Christians of Alexandria (Egypt), and that the Gospel of the Egyptians was so named in order to distinguish it from its contemporary; but this is no more than conjecture, although Αἰγύπτιος is known to have meant 'provincial' as opposed to 'Alexandrian.' Zahn accounts for the title and circulation of the Gospel by supposing that already, as in later days, the provincial churches of Egypt did not invariably follow the Alexandrian Church, and that, while the latter adhered more closely to the canonical Gospels, the country churches favoured the native product.* This meets the requirements of the situation during the later part of the 2nd cent. as fairly as any other hypothesis, and may be accepted tentatively as satisfactory. But there is no reason to suppose that the Egyptian Gospel only followed in the wake of the four canonical Gospels. Unfortunately, our knowledge of the origins of Christianity in Egypt is extremely scanty until the middle of the 2nd century. There is, further, the lack of adequate information about the exact contents of the Gospel of the Egyptians. But if the latter could be used by the author of a non-Egyptian document like 2 Clement by the middle of the 2nd cent., the Egyptian Gospel may have been current *c.* A.D. 125, if not earlier.

SPECIAL LITERATURE.—M. Schneckenburger, *Ueber das Evangelium der Aegypter*, Bern, 1834 (edition of the Gospel of the Hebrews, in the interests of an Egyptian Ebionitic sect); Hilgenfeld, *Ketzergesch. des Urchristenthums*, Leipzig, 1884, p. 546 f.; D. Völter, *Petrusevangelium oder Aegypterevangelium?* Tübingen, 1893 (cf. *ZNTW*, 1905, pp. 368–372); O. Pfleiderer, *Prim. Christianity*, iii., London, 1910, pp. 225–228. It is possible (cf. **Baumstark** in *ZNTW*, 1913, pp. 232–247) that traces of the use of the Gospel of the Egyptians are to be found in the Ethiopic 'Testament of our Lord and Redeemer Jesus Christ,' recently edited by L. Guerrier and S. Grébaut in *Patrologia Orientalis*, ix. 3 [1913]; and an attempt has been made (by F. P. Badham and F. C. Conybeare, *HJ* xi. [1912–13] 805 f.) to show that, like the 'Ascensio Isaiæ,' it was read by the Cathars of Albi.

(*d*) **The Gospel of Peter.**—The Gospel of Peter was used, either for private reading or in public worship, by the Church at Rhossus on the coast of Syria, not far from Antioch, in the last quarter of the 2nd cent. Its use appears to have occasioned some doubt and dispute, however. Serapion, the bishop of Antioch (A.D. 190–203), who seems to have been either a casual or a tolerant person, at first declined to take any steps in the matter; he sanctioned the use of the Gospel, without troubling to examine it carefully. Subsequently, he borrowed a copy from some Docetic Christians, and discovered that 'although most of it belonged to the right teaching of the Saviour, some things were additions.' By the time Eusebius (*HE* vi. 12) wrote, it was definitely branded as illegitimate.† It is doubtful whether Eusebius knew it at first-hand, and the later allusions to it are probably borrowed from him. At the same time, it has to be remembered that the Gospel of Peter was not obliterated by the episcopal censure of Serapion. Its circulation was never wide, but it was tenacious. The Syriac Didascalia (cf. *TU*, new ser., x. 2 [1904], p. 324 f.) in the 3rd cent. and Syriac Jewish Christians as late as the 5th witness to its existence and popularity (cf. Theod. *Hær. fabul.* ii. 2)* in Syriac; and the discovery of the Akhmîm fragment attests its circulation in Egypt. Still later traces are detected by Usener (*ZNTW*, 1902, p. 353 f.), Stocks (*ZKG*, 1913, p. 3), and Leipoldt (*Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, i. 177 f.).

About A.D. 246 Origen, in his *Commentary on Matthew* (x. 17) observes that 'The citizens of Nazareth (Mt 13^{55}) supposed Jesus was the son of Joseph and Mary; as for the brothers of Jesus, some say they were sons of Joseph by a former wife who had lived with him before Mary, on the ground of a tradition in the Gospel entitled κατὰ Πέτρον or the book of James.' This tradition, we now know, existed in the primitive source of the Protevangelium Jacobi (cf. p. 484). But it does not follow that it did not also exist in the Gospel of Peter. If so, that Gospel belongs to our second class; and one consideration in favour of this is the extreme unlikelihood of Peter's name being specially attached to a Gospel which did not cover the ministry of Jesus. Till the winter of 1886–1887 this solitary reference was all that was known of the Gospel; but the discovery of an 8th cent. manuscript of fragments of Peter's Gospel, Peter's Apocalypse, and Enoch in Greek, at Akhmîm in Upper Egypt, revealed more of the characteristics of this Gospel. Unluckily, the fragment begins and ends abruptly. It opens with the end of the trial; Pilate has washed his hands, but none of the other judges (including Herod) does so. Herod takes the leading part in what follows,† the aim of the author being to exculpate the Romans and emphasize the responsibility and guilt of the Jews. In the story of the Crucifixion one of the malefactors reproaches not his fellow-criminal but the Jewish by-standers, who retaliate by leaving his legs unbroken in order to prolong his agony. It is at this point that the Docetic and semi-Gnostic tendencies of the writer begin to show themselves. On the Cross the Lord 'was silent, as having no pain'; his last cry is, 'My Power, my Power, hast thou forsaken me?' When His dead body is lowered to the ground, there is an earthquake. The Jewish mob and their authorities then‡ repent, crying, 'Alas for our sins! the judgment, the end of Jerusalem, is nigh!' At this point the author § brings Peter on the scene. 'I and my companions grieved, and, struck to the heart, we hid ourselves, for we were being sought for by them [*i.e.* the Jews] as malefactors and as intending to set fire to the temple.' Meantime Pilate has the tomb guarded, at the request of the Jews. The author then ventures to describe the Resurrection.‖ 'There was a loud

* The author is unknown, and no name was ever connected with it—which is one mark of early origin, at any rate of an origin apart from any special sect or tendency.

† The harsh censure of Eusebius (*HE* iii. 3) is repeated by Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.* 1).

* But Theodoret's evidence is not above suspicion. How could 'Nazarene' Jewish Christians make so anti-Jewish a book their favourite Gospel? Theodoret's reference, like several other references of the same kind, may be to a different volume from our 'Peter.'

† But it is difficult to understand why the writer did not draw material for his anti-Jewish representation from the vain appeals of Pilate to the Jews, or from their deliberate preference of Barabbas to Jesus. Perhaps these were noted in sections which have not been preserved.

‡ This is inconsequent; but here as elsewhere the fragment does not seem to have preserved the true order of the text. Or, possibly, it has omitted connecting material.

§ This Gospel, like the Protevangelium Jacobi and the Gospel of the Twelve, is definitely pseudonymous.

‖ On the connexion between what follows and the Jewish doctrine of the heavenly Adam, see Stocks' essay in *NKZ*, 1902, p. 302 f., *ib.* 1903, p. 528 f. The Cross probably symbolizes the soul of Jesus (see, further, p. 500).

voice in heaven, and they [*i.e.* the sentries] saw heaven opened and two men descending thence, with a great light, and approaching the tomb.' The boulder at the opening moves of its own accord, the two figures enter, and the astonished soldiers (including the centurion and the elders) 'see three men coming out of the tomb, two supporting the third, and a Cross following them; the heads of the two reached as far as heaven, but the head of the One whom they escorted was higher than the heavens. And they heard a voice from the heavens saying, "Hast thou preached to them that sleep?" And from the Cross the answer came, "Yes."' The next vision is that of a man descending from heaven and entering the sepulchre. The party of soldiers and Jews then retreat, and agree to say nothing about what they have seen. The following paragraph describes how Mary Magdalene took her friends on the morning of Sunday to wait at the tomb. They find a comely youth inside [=the man who had entered?]; he tells them that the Lord has risen to heaven [there is no Ascension], and they fly in terror. The fragment then breaks off abruptly: 'Now it was the last day of Unleavened Bread, and many went away home, since the feast was over; but we, the twelve disciples of the Lord, wept and grieved. Each left for home, grieved at what had occurred; but I, Simon Peter, and Andrew my brother, took our nets and went to the sea, and with us were Levi the son of Alphæus, whom the Lord . . .'

According to 'Peter,' there are no Resurrection appearances to the women or to the disciples in Jerusalem. The fragment breaks off on the edge of what seems to be an account of some appearance at the Sea of Galilee to Peter, Andrew, Levi (and some others?). This would tally with the appearance preserved in the appendix to 'John,' only, in 'Peter' it would be an appearance of the Ascended Christ, for the word of the young man (angel) to the woman at the tomb is, 'he has risen and gone away to where he was sent from' (ἀπεστάλη, *i.e.* from heaven, as in Lk 4[43], where Mark's ἐξῆλθον, *i.e.* from Capernaum, is changed into ἀπεστάλην, *i.e.* from heaven). A further idiosyncrasy is the apparent length of interval between the Resurrection and the flight of the disciples from Jerusalem to Galilee. Did the writer really mean that a week elapsed? Or is his description due to chronological inaccuracy?

Whether the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of the Gospel can be carried back earlier than the last quarter of the 2nd cent. depends upon the view taken of its relation to Justin Martyr. It had been already conjectured by Credner and others that the Gospel of Peter might be one of the apostolic memoirs used by Justin, and this conjecture seems corroborated by the Akhmîm fragment, which apparently supplies the basis for the references in *Apol.* i. 35 (the seating of Jesus on the βῆμα), i. 40 ('The Spirit of prophecy foretold . . . the conspiracy formed against Christ by Herod, the king of the Jews, and the Jews themselves, and Pilate . . . with his soldiers'), and possibly i. 50, as well as in *Dial.* 103 (where Herod is termed 'a king'), *Dial.* 97 (λαχμὸν βάλλοντες—the phrase in 'Peter'), and *Dial.* 108. Upon the whole, this dependence of Justin upon the Gospel of Peter seems preferable (so, *e.g.*, Harnack, von Soden, Lods) to the alternative hypothesis of von Schubert and Stanton (*Gospels as Hist. Documents*, i. [1903] 93 f., 103 f.) that the coincidences between the two are due to the use of a common source, viz. the Acts of Pilate, an official report of the trial of Jesus purporting to have been drawn up by the procurator and perhaps underlying the references in the later *Acta Pilati* and in Tertullian.

This fixes the date of the Gospel's composition approximately within the first quarter of the second century. The *terminus a quo* depends upon the view taken of its dependence on the canonical Gospels. Those who find in it traces of all four—as if the writer knew them and employed them indifferently, quoting perhaps from memory, to suit his own dogmatic ends—naturally place the Gospel *c.* A.D. 125 as a very early attempt to employ the canonical traditions in the interests of a Gnostic propaganda. The dependence on Mark and even Matthew is, we think, to be granted. The coincidences between 'Peter' and Luke and John (cf. Lods, *op. cit.* 18 f.) are not quite so clear.* There is room still for the hypothesis that 'Peter' represents a popular, early type of the inferior narratives which Luke desired to supersede. At several points 'Peter' marks the same line of development which recurs in Luke and John, and as a composition from Syrian Antioch, with which the traditions of Luke and John are independently connected, it may even be conjectured to have arisen within the 1st century. To a modern reader, a comparison of its text with those of Luke and John seems at first sight to put its dependence on them beyond doubt. But doubts recur as soon as we recollect that the specific traditions which for us exist primarily in Luke and John were already in existence, at least orally, and that touches which are extant in literature in these canonical Gospels for the first time must have been current decades earlier. Take, for example, a piece of evidence like that of the 'garden' of Joseph. 'Peter' mentions this. The Fourth Gospel also does. Therefore, it is assumed, 'Peter' used the Fourth Gospel. Why? It is surely illogical for those who believe that this formed part of the authentic tradition to assume that the only access to it was through the text of a Gospel at the very end of the 1st century. And even apart from this, such a tradition may have been easily known orally decades before it was committed to writing.† The evidence generally alleged for the dependence of 'Peter' upon Luke and John must be sifted in the light of this consideration, and also with a desire to avoid the mistake of supposing that inferior traditions are invariably later, chronologically, than the written forms of what is more authentic. 'Peter,' like the Gospel of the Hebrews, is in danger of being read in the light of an uncritical assumption that the 1st cent. A.D. saw nothing but the circulation of good traditions about the life of Jesus, that the canonical Gospels swept up all of these into their pages, and that the uncanonical Gospels represent invariably the later, fantastic efforts of a generation which had to make up by the exercise of its imagination for the lack of sound materials.

The traces of Gnostic speculation confirm the hypothesis of a date early in the 2nd cent. if not within the 1st. They are too incipient and naïve to be described as related to the system of Valentinus; neither the personification of the Cross nor the allusion to Christ's Divine Power is much more than the popular setting of ideas which form the basis for the doctrines attacked in the First Epistle of John and in Ignatius. 'Peter' is not the attempt of a Gnostic theorist to work over the canonical texts in the interests of Docetism or Valentinianism.

As soon as the Akhmîm fragment was published,

* 'Peter,' *e.g.*, introduces Herod among the judges of Jesus. So far he agrees with the tradition followed by Luke, but then he calls Herod 'the king,' whereas Luke corrects this (9[7]) Marean term (6[14]) at an earlier stage, and never uses it in the Passion narrative.

† Even apart from the possibility of common written sources, the factor of oral tradition must be estimated if we are not here, as in the Synoptic problem, to be misled by the juxtaposition of printed texts with hypotheses which are ultra-literary and artificial.

it was conjectured by some critics that the Akhmîm fragment of the Apocalypse of Peter might also be a part, or an elaboration of part, of the Gospel. The Apocalypse contains a vision of two righteous saints in heaven granted to the twelve on 'the mountain,' with a special revelation, granted to Peter alone, of hell. A similar problem emerges (cf. p. 504) in connexion with the so-called 'Gospel of Bartholomew.' The dividing line between Apocalypses and Gospels of our third class is naturally wavering, and if on other grounds it could be established that the Gospel of Peter was originally a Gospel of the Death and Resurrection, there would be less improbability about the conjecture that the Petrine Apocalypse and the Petrine Gospel were either the same work, to begin with, or organically related.

Repeated attempts have been made to connect this Gospel with material extant in other quarters. Völter (cf. p. 496) actually identifies it with the Gospel of the Egyptians; Harnack suggests that the Pericope Adulteræ originally belonged to it; and H. Stocks (*ZKG*, 1913, pp. 1–57) argues that lost fragments of it are embedded in *Asc. Is.* xi. 2–22, iii. 13b–iv. 18 (the latter passage describes, *inter alia*, how the Beloved appeared on the third day sitting on the shoulders of Gabriel and Michael, who had opened the tomb).

The remarkable phrase about Jesus feeling no pain (ὡς μηδὲν πόνον ἔχων) on the Cross ought perhaps to be taken in the light of the description of the heroic Blandina amid her tortures (μηδὲ αἴσθησιν ἔτι τῶν συμβαινόντων ἔχουσα διὰ τὴν ἐλπίδα κτλ., Eus. *HE* v. 1. 56).

SPECIAL LITERATURE.—The Akhmîm fragment, first published, six years after its discovery, by **U. Bouriant** in *Mémoires publiés par les membres de la mission archéologique française au Caire* ix. 1 (Paris, 1892), 137–147, with a photographic reproduction (*ib.* ix. 3, 1893, p. 217 f.), led to a series of critical editions by **O. von Gebhardt** (*Das Evangelium und die Apokalypse des Petrus*, Leipzig, 1893); **A. Lods*** (*L'Évangile et l'apocalypse de Pierre . . . avec un appendice sur les rectifications à apporter au texte grec du livre d'Hénoch*, Paris, 1893); **H. von Schubert**† (*Die Composition des pseudo-petrinischen Evangelienfragments*, Berlin, 1893); **Zahn** (*Das Evangelium des Petrus*, Erlangen and Leipzig, 1893); **Harnack** (*TU* ix. 2, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 8 f., 23 f.); **J. Kunze** (*Das neuaufgefundene Bruchstück des sogen. Petrusevangelium*, do., 1893); **P. Lejay** (in *REG*, 1893, pp. 59–84, 267–270); **van Manen** (*Het evangelie van Petrus. Tekst en Vertaling*, Leiden, 1893); and **Semeria** (in *RB*, 1894, pp. 522–560). English editions by **J. A. Robinson** and **M. R. James** (*The Gospel according to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*2, London, 1892); **H. B. Swete** (*The Apocryphal Gospel of St. Peter. The Greek text of the newly discovered fragment*2, London, 1893; also, *Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Πέτρον. The Akhmîm fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of S. Peter edited with an introduction, notes, and indices*, London, 1893); the Author of 'Supernatural Religion' (*The Gospel according to Peter*, London, 1894); and **A. Rutherfurd** (*Ante-Nicene Chr. Lib.* ix., Edinb., 1897, pp. 3–31, with J. A. Robinson's tr.). Critical studies by **A. Sabatier** (*L'Evangile de Pierre et les évang. canoniques*, Paris, 1893); **A. Hilgenfeld** (*ZWT*, 1893, p. 439 f.); **von Soden** (*ZTK*, 1893, pp. 52–92); **V. H. Stanton** (*JThSt* ii. [1900–01] 1 ff.); **Völter** (*ZNTW*, 1905, p. 368 f.); **K. Lake** (*The Resurrection of Jesus Christ*, London, 1907, pp. 148 f., 177 f.); and **C. H. Turner** (*JThSt* xiv. [1912–13] 161 ff.).

(*e*) **The Gospel of Basilides.**—In Alexandria Basilides and his school maintained their apostolic succession along two lines. They claimed as their authority for doctrine Glaucias, the interpreter of Peter (Clem. *Strom.* vii. 17. 4), and they circulated an edition of the Gospel or Gospels which had been prepared in their own interests. This is the so-called 'Gospel of Basilides,' though the title (κατὰ Βασιλίδην) was of course due to his opponents.

There seems no reason to doubt the accuracy of Origen's reference to a Gospel of Basilides, which that distinguished Egyptian Gnostic must have composed before the middle of the 2nd cent. (possibly under Hadrian, or even Trajan), but the only means of determining approximately its character is furnished by the quotations made by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iv. 12) from the twenty-third, and by the *Acta Archelai* (lxvii., ed. C. H. Beeson) from the thirteenth, of the twenty-four books of *Exegetica* which Basilides himself composed as a commentary upon it. These quotations make it improbable that the Gospel was merely a collection of sayings of Jesus, like the so-called Q or second source of Matthew and Luke. The glimpses we can gain of it* rather point either (*a*) to a compilation or harmony based on the canonical Gospels (Zahn, Krüger, Bardenhewer), or (*b*) to a more independent Gospel of the Synoptic type. The similarities between the extant fragments (*e.g.* that from the 13th book relates to the Parable of Dives and Lazarus) and Luke's Gospel have led some critics (*e.g.* Lipsius, Windisch, and Waitz) to conjecture that Basilides simply prepared an edition of Luke for his own purposes. In this case, his Gospel would be, like that of Marcion, an altered form of our canonical Third Gospel. Origen more than once refers in his *Homilies on Luke* to the numerous heretics who had recourse to this Gospel, quoting it like the devil for anti-divine purposes of their own. As Basilides is grouped with Marcion in Origen's references, and as the extant fragments can almost without exception† be described as distinctively Lucan, it is not unlikely that his εὐαγγέλιον was an edition of Luke.

SPECIAL LITERATURE.—**Hilgenfeld's** *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*, p. 46 f.; **Zahn's** *Geschichte des Kanons*, i. 763–774: 'Basilides und die kirchliche Bibel'; and **H. Windisch** in *ZNTW*, 1906, pp. 236–246: 'Das Evangelium des Basilides.'

(*f*) **The Gospel of Marcion.**—Marcion's 'Gospel' was certainly an edition of Luke, prepared for the use of those who shared his antipathy to Judaism. This dogmatic purpose explains most of the omissions—*e.g.* of the first two chapters, of 11^{29-32}, and of 20^{37-38}. It is a further question whether his text does not occasionally reproduce a more original form than that of the canonical Luke. But in any case his 'Gospel,' though to a slight degree harmonistic (*i.e.* introducing material from other Gospels), is not in the strict sense of the term an independent uncanonical production. Its title was 'the Gospel of the Lord.' The best critical reconstruction is in Zahn's *Gesch. des Kanons*, i. 674 f., ii. 409 f., together with Sanday's *Gospels in the Second Century* (1876, ch. viii.). Hahn's earlier reconstruction (1823) was translated into English by **J. Hamlyn Hill** (*Marcion's Gospel*, 1891).

(*g*) **The Gospel of Apelles.**—Apelles, Marcion's disciple, is said by Epiphanius (xliv. 2) to have quoted the Logion, γίνεσθε δόκιμοι τραπεζῖται, as occurring ἐν τῷ εὐαγγελίῳ. If so, he must have used other Gospels than that of his master, for the saying does not occur in Marcion's Luke. But it does not follow that he edited or composed a Gospel of his own. The Logion was evidently current in many quarters (cf. Resch, *TU* xxx. pp. 112–128), though it never occurs in any fragment of an uncanonical Gospel. Apelles simply used it to corroborate his principle of selecting from Scripture the salient passages (χρῶ γάρ, φησίν, ἀπὸ πάσης γραφῆς ἀναλέγων τὰ χρήσιμα).

(*h*) **The Gospel of the Naassenes.**—In the *Philosophoumena*, Hippolytus quotes a number of Gospel-

* Besides an earlier study, *Evangelii secundum Petrum et Petri Apocalypseos quæ supersunt . . . cum latina versione et dissertatione critica*, Paris, 1892.

† A smaller pamphlet by this writer (*Das Petrusevangelium. Synoptische Tabelle nebst Uebersetzung und kritischem Apparat*, Berlin, 1893) was translated by **J. Macpherson** (*The Gospel of St. Peter*, Edinburgh, 1893).

* Jesus did not suffer on the Cross (Iren. i. 24. 4), but changed places with Simon of Cyrene, and stood mocking those who imagined they were crucifying Him. This Docetic representation of Irenæus differs from that of Hippolytus, according to whom the Jesus of Basilides really died and rose (cf. p. 501).

† The fragment (*Strom.* iv. 12) which Zahn connects with Jn 9^{1-3} may be connected equally well with Lk $21^{12f.}$ or $23^{39f.}$; and the other fragment, which seems to echo Mt 19^{12} (*Strom.* iii. 1-2) probably was taken not from the Ἐξηγητικά of Basilides but from the Ἠθικά of Isidore his son (mentioned in the immediate context).

sayings from the usage of the Ophite Naassenes, but whether they came from a special Gospel composed by this Gnostic sect or whether they are simply citations from some treatise like the Gospel of Perfection or the Gospel of Eve, it is not possible to say. In the former case, it must have been a Gospel compiled from the uncanonical Gospels. One citation is: 'Why call me good? One is good, my Father who is in heaven, who makes his sun rise on the just and the unjust and sends rain on the holy and on sinners' (Lk 18^{19}, Mt 5^{45}). Another is: 'Unless you drink my blood and eat my flesh, you shall not enter the kingdom of heaven—and even though you do drink the cup I drink, whither I go thither you cannot enter.' Two are distinctively Johannine; one runs thus: 'His voice we heard, but his form we have not seen'; and the other, 'I am the true Door.' The following are distinctively Matthæan: 'You are whited sepulchres, inwardly full of dead men's bones, since the *living* Man is *not* among you,' and 'The dead shall leap from the tombs.' The Gospel—if it was a Gospel—was a Gnostic compilation, but neither its date nor its scope can be determined from the few extant fragments. The general tenets of the sect, as recorded by Hippolytus, suggest that it had some affinities with the circle which used the Gospel of the Egyptians.

(*i*) **Three Oxyrhynchite (Greek) fragments.**—(i.) A small fragment of a Gospel in a papyrus roll is assigned by Grenfell-Hunt (*Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, iv. [1904], pp. 22–28) to a period not later than A.D. 250. The mutilated opening reads like a short paraphrase of Mt 6^{25}=Lk $12^{22\text{-}23}$, Mt $6^{28.\ 26}$=Lk $12^{27.\ 24}$, Mt $6^{27.\ 31\text{-}33}$ = Lk $12^{25.\ 29\text{-}31}$: 'from morning t[ill evening, nor] from even[ing till m]orning, neither [for your food] what you shall eat [nor] for [your clothing] what you shall put on. [You are] far better than the [lil]ies which grow but spin not. . . . Having one garment, what [do you lack?]. . . . Who could add to your stature? He will give you your garment.' Then follows (cf. Jn $14^{19f.}$) a question put by the disciples, with the answer of Jesus. 'His disciples say to him, When wilt thou be manifest to us, and when shall we see thee? He says, When you are stripped and yet not ashamed. . . .'* Finally, a mutilated fragment at the end may be deciphered so as to yield a saying like that preserved in Lk 11^{52}, but the restoration is too conjectural to be of any service in determining the original sense of the passage.

The editors think the Gospel of which this formed a fragment must have been composed in Egypt prior to A.D. 150, and that it was closely connected in some way with the Egyptian Gospel and the uncanonical source of 2 Clement. The fragment seems to be from some homily on the passage Mt $6^{25f.}$, in which the preacher dramatizes his teaching by putting it into the form of a dialogue. The edifying tendency corresponds to the primitive Christian instinct about marriage and the sexes which afterwards developed into Encratitism, but which neither then nor afterwards has been incompatible with orthodox belief. The question and answer at the close form a mystic expansion of the preceding saying about the garment—an expansion which presupposes a verbal form of the *Logion like that of the* Gospel of the Egyptians as it appears in Clement's citation, not in that of 2 Clem. (see p. 495), although here the question is put by the disciples instead of by an individual (Salome?). Resch (*TU* new ser. xii. [1904] 593 n.) holds that the whole fragment comes from the Egyptian Gospel; but there is not enough evidence as yet to show that the Oxyrhynchite Gospel was identical with this early document. Such ascetic tendencies were not confined to any one circle, and it is uncritical to assume that the varied expressions of them which survive in Gospel fragments belonged to the same document, or even to different recensions of the same document. The Oxyrhynchite Gospel may have been the source used in 2 Clement; the difference in the wording of the two passages is not conclusive against this conjecture as it is against the theory that the Oxyrhynchite Gospel or the Clementine source is identical with the Gospel according to the Hebrews.

(ii.) A second Oxyrhynchite fragment was published in 1907 by Grenfell and Hunt (*op. cit.* v. 840), from a vellum leaf of the 4th (5th?) century. It begins with the conclusion of an address by Jesus to the disciples and proceeds to a dialogue between Jesus and a high priest in the temple* at Jerusalem (cf. Mk 11^{27}), the theme of which (cf. Mk $7^{1f.}$) is the contrast between inward and outward purity:

'". . . before doing wrong he makes all sophistical excuses (*πάντα σοφίζεται*). But take heed lest you suffer like them, for the evil-doers among men do not receive [their due] among the living simply, but await punishment and sore torture." And taking them [*i.e.* the disciples] he brought them into the sacred precinct (*τὸ ἁγνευτήριον*) and walked within the temple. And a Pharisee, a high priest named Levi (?), came up to them and said to the Saviour, "Who allowed you to tread the precinct and look at these holy vessels when you have not washed, neither have your disciples bathed their feet? Nay, you are defiled and you have trodden this holy Place which is clean, which no one treads unless he has washed and changed his clothes, neither does he [venture to look at] the holy vessels." And . . . (with?) the disciples . . . [the Saviour said], "Then are you clean, you who are in the temple?" He says to him, "I am clean; for I have washed in the pool of David, and after descending by one stair I ascended by another, put on clean, white clothes, and then came and gazed on these holy vessels." The Saviour said to him in reply, "Woe to you, blind folk, who see not! You have washed in these running waters, in which dogs and swine have been flung night and day; and you have wiped clean the outside skin, which even harlots and flute-girls† anoint and wash and wipe and adorn to excite the lust of men, while within they are [full?] of scorpions and [all vice?]. Now I and [my disciples?], who, you say, have not bathed, have bathed in the [living?] waters which issue from . . . But woe to . . ."'

Like the four scraps recently discovered (*op. cit.* x. [1913] 1224), this extract cannot be assigned to any of the 2nd cent. uncanonical Gospels. That it belonged to this century is questioned by the editors, who point out that the ecclesiastical vogue of the canonical Gospels, which became strong towards the close of the 2nd cent., would make it difficult for any document covering the same ground to gain acceptance, and that 'after about A.D. 180 authors of apocryphal Gospels generally avoided competition with the uncanonical Gospels by placing their supposed revelations in the period of the Childhood or after the Resurrection.' If our fragment does not belong to the Gospel of the Egyptians, it at any rate betrays no dogmatic or heretical tendency. On the other hand, the author's acquaintance with the local customs of the Jewish temple in the 1st cent. seems defective (cf. J. Horst in *SK*, 1914, p. 451 f., and Preuschen in *ZNTW*, 1908, pp. 1–12), though more favourable verdicts have been passed occasionally on this feature of the fragment (cf. A. Büchler in *JQR* xx. [1907–08], 330 f.; Sulzbach in *ZNTW*, 1908, p. 175 f.; and L. Blau, *ib.* pp. 204–215).

(iii.) A tattered leaf of papyrus, 'copied probably in the earlier decades of the 4th cent.,' containing fragments of a Gnostic Gospel, has been published by Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, viii. [1911], p. 16 f. From what can be deciphered, it is clear that the contents must have come from some Valentinian or Marcosian source. Not only

* *i.e.* when the Eden-innocence (Gn 3?) is restored, and sexual associations abolished. Cf. R. Reitzenstein's *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, Leipzig, 1906, pp. 67–68.

* This is one of the most remarkable features in the fragment. The uncanonical Gospels of the 2nd cent. very rarely furnish any material for the Jerusalem ministry of Jesus.

† This curious collocation occurs in another fragment of an uncanonical Gospel (cf. above, p. 492), probably NG; Waitz infers that our fragment came from the latter.

is the Lord called σωτήρ, as well as κύριος (cf. Iren. i. 1. 3),* but a distinction is drawn between πατήρ and προπάτωρ (*ib.* i. 1. 1, 12. 3, etc.).†

'Lord, how then can we find faith? The Saviour says to them, When you pass from things hidden [into the light of ?] things visible, then the effluence (ἀπόῤῥοια) of conception (ἔννοιας) will show to you how faith . . . He who has ears to hear, let him hear. The Lord (δεσπότης) of [all things ?] is not the Father but the Fore-father; for the Father is the source of the things that are to come (ἀρχὴ ἐστὶν τῶν μελλόντων). . . . He who has an ear for what is beyond hearing [*i.e.* for the mystic or inner meaning. But the text is uncertain], let him hear. I speak also to those who watch not. Again . . . he said, Everything born of corruption perishes, as the product of corruption; but what is born of incorruption (ἀφθαρσίας) does not perish, but remains incorruptible as the product of incorruption. Some men have been deceived, not knowing . . .'

(*j*) **Three Sahidic fragments.**—It may be no more than a coincidence that Thomas should be mentioned in the second series of the Oxyrhynchite Logia,‡ and that he § is also exceptionally important in the third of five Sahidic ‖ Gospel fragments published by Forbes Robinson (*TS* iv. 2 [1896], pp. 168–176). The fragment is long and remarkable. In the description of the feeding of the five thousand, Jesus bids Thomas go to the man (lad) who has the loaves and fishes. After the miracle, Thomas asks for a further proof of the Resurrection, in the raising of a man from the tomb, not merely in the raising of a dead, unburied person like the son of the widow of Nain. Then the dialogue of Jn $20^{27\text{-}29}$ is used to introduce the raising of Lazarus. Jesus takes Thomas (Didymus) specially with him: 'Come with Me, O Didymus, that I may show thee the bones which have been dissolved in the tomb gathered together again.' The entire story (cf. Revillout, *Les Apocryphes coptes*, p. 132 f.) is retold with the special motive of re-assuring Thomas. It is Thomas who, at the bidding of Jesus, removes the stone from the tomb.

This Gospel must have been comprehensive. It included (fragm. 1) an account of the birth of John the Baptist and of Jesus, and also the Ministry, the Death, and the Resurrection. Thus the second Gospel fragment describes the wedding at Cana. The Johannine account is embroidered with some fresh details; Mary is the sister of the bridegroom's parents, and it is they who appeal to her for help when the wine fails, pleading that this lack will disgrace them as the hosts of Jesus, and that as the Saviour of the world He can do any miracle. The Johannine reply of Jesus to Mary (here = 'Woman, what wilt thou with me?') is softened by the observation that Jesus spoke 'in a kindly voice,' and by the repeated remark that Mary felt sure He would not grieve her in anything. The rest of the story is told by one of the servants who fill the waterpots. The fourth fragment ¶ contains a conversation on the mount of Jn $6^{3.\ 15}$ between the disciples and Jesus, in which Jesus asserts that His kingdom is spiritual. Pilate and the Roman authorities, however, propose to make Him King of Judæa; such is their admiration for His miracles and character. Herod ** opposes this. 'And straightway there was enmity between Herod and Pilate because of Jesus from that day.' On coming down from the mount, the disciples and Jesus meet the devil in the guise of a fisherman, with many demons 'carrying many nets and dragnets and hooks, and casting nets and hooks on the mount': Jesus explains this vision in terms of Lk $22^{31\text{-}32}$. John, by permission of Jesus, challenges the devil to a fishing-contest. The devil catches 'every kind of foul fish which was in the waters—some taken by their eyes, some caught by their entrails, others taken by their lips.' The fragment then breaks off, before Satan's capture of sinners by their members is outdone by the apostolic capture of the elect.

The Coptic counterpart of this fragment published by Revillout is apparently followed (*op. cit.* 184) by a fragment corresponding to Jn $7^{11.\ 51f.}$ '"... the time is accomplished." When he said these things, he went into Galilee. When his brothers had gone up to Jerusalem for the feast, he went thither also, not openly but in secret. The Jews, however, sought for him, and said, "Where is he?" Now it was the house of Irmeel which was his place of residence owing to . . . the multitude. Then they said, "What are we to do?"'

The fifth fragment describes the Resurrection (p. 179 f.). The anti-Jewish tendency * which emerged in the fourth fragment re-appears in the determination of the Jews to burn the very wood of the Cross—a plot thwarted by Joseph of Arimathæa and Nicodemus, who preserve the Cross, the nails, and the written title. A rich Jew called Cleopas, the cousin of the Virgin Mary, buries his son Rufus near the Saviour's tomb. The imperfect state of the text at this point leaves the course of events obscure, but evidently Rufus was raised from the dead by Jesus, in response to the prayer of Cleopas, who sat with his back to the stone at the tomb of Jesus. Cleopas 'saw with his eyes a figure of the Cross come forth from the tomb of Jesus. It rested upon him who was dead [*i.e.* Rufus]; and straightway he arose and sat.' Whereupon Cleopas, who had hitherto been unable to walk, owing to a disease of the feet, leapt up as if he had no disease at all. The description of the Cross recalls the Gospel of Peter.

The fragments are all late; they profess to quote from Josephus and Irenæus, and in any case must be placed not earlier than the 3rd century. If there was some connexion between later forms of the Gospel of Thomas on the one hand and a Gospel of the Twelve (see above, p. 486) on the other, these fragments might be placed approximately in this quarter. But as the fragments are embedded in homiletical material, there is always the possibility that such stories were imaginative tales, not necessarily drawn from any written Gospel. They illustrate also the difficulty of assigning material like this to our second or to our third group; the later fragments tally in several respects with some Coptic fragments which fall to be noted in our third section.

III. *Gospels of the Passion and Resurrection.*—(*a*) **The Gospel of Philip.**—The existence of a Gospel of Philip is attested by the *Pistis Sophia*, but the only extant quotation occurs in Epiphanius (xxvi. 13): 'The Lord revealed to me what the soul must say when she mounts to heaven, and how she must answer each of the Powers above. "I have known myself," she says, "and gathered myself from all quarters, and have not borne children to the Archon, but have torn up his roots and gathered the scattered members. And I know who thou art. For I," she says, "belong to those above." So saying, she is re-

* This would not of itself mean much; the same title occurs in the earlier Oxyrhynchite fragment (cf. p. 499).

† ἀγέννητος also occurs in the lacunæ.

‡ In *The Oxyrhynchus Logia and the Apocryphal Gospels*, 1899, C. Taylor connects the first series with the Gospel of Thomas; cf. Scott-Moncrieff, *Paganism and Christianity in Egypt*, 1913, p. 64 f.

§ Photius quotes (*Bibliotheca*, 232) a tradition that it was he, not Peter, who cut off the ear of the high priest's servant (Jn 18^{10}).

‖ The Egyptian colouring comes out in the cry of Lazarus, when he is raised: 'Blessed art thou, Jesus, at whose voice Amenti trembles.' The idea of Jn $11^{25.\ 45}$ is expressed by saying that the multitudes 'gathered together to Lazarus, like bees to a honeycomb, because of the wonder which was come to pass.'

¶ It corresponds to a Coptic fragment published by Revillout (*Apocryphes coptes du nouveau Testament*, Paris, 1876, p. 124 f.), and is assigned by that scholar to his 'Gospel of Gamaliel' (see below, p. 504).

** The anti-Herodian bias is even more marked than in the Gospel of Peter.

* 'The abuse of the Jews is a favourite theme in Coptic apocryphal sermons' (cf. p. 187).

leased. But if it is found that she has borne a son, she is kept below until she is able to recover her children and attract them to herself.'

The fragment reflects the Gnostic idea (cf. Bousset's essay in *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, 1901, p. 155 f.) of the ascent of the soul through the heavens, and the magic pass-words required for the journey, but the characteristic feature is the antipathy to marriage, which agrees with the 2nd cent. conception of Philip the Apostle.

According to Epiphanius, this pseudo-Philip Gospel was used during the 4th cent. by an immoral sect of Egyptian Gnostics to justify sexual vice instead of marriage (*οἱ δὲ Λευῖται παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενοι, οὐ μίσγονται γυναιξίν, ἀλλὰ ἀλλήλοις μίσγονται*). The Gospel of Philip, which, according to the 6th cent. Leontius of Byzantium (*de Sectis*, iii. 2, *λέγουσι γὰρ Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Θωμᾶν καὶ Φίλιππον, ἅπερ ἡμεῖς οὐκ ἴσμεν*),* was used by the Manichæans, may have been a special edition of the original Philip Gospel.

The *Pistis Sophia* (69–70) proves that this Gospel circulated among Gnostic Christians in Egypt during the 3rd century. If it was the source of Clement's tradition that Jesus spoke the words of Lk 9^{60} ('Let the dead bury their dead') to Philip (*Strom.* iii. 4. 25), then the date could be brought back to about the middle of the 2nd century. It is no argument against this conjecture to say that the Gospel of Philip did not contain Synoptic material but was a Gnostic speculative work set in the post-Resurrection period. We do not know all that the Gospel contained, and while it professed to have been written by Philip on the basis of revelations made to Thomas, Matthew, and himself by the risen Christ, what Philip wrote was not only the mysterious visions he was to see but 'all that Jesus said and all that he did'—which might (cf. Ac 1^{1}) readily include an incident like that of Lk 9^{60}. But the identification of the anonymous disciple with Philip (which re-appears in the later Acts of Philip) may have been derived from some other source in written or unwritten tradition; the anti-marriage view of Philip was probably older than the Gospel of Philip, and the latter cannot safely be put much earlier than the last quarter of the 2nd century. It is upon the whole better to place this writing among the Resurrection Gospels than in the second of our groups.

Philip appears in a curious little Coptic fragment of some Gospel (Revillout, *Les Apocryphes coptes*, 131–132), where he is accused by Herod of seditious conduct; Herod persuades Tiberius to allow him to confiscate all the Apostle's property. But it is one thing to put Philip into a Gospel—he would naturally appear in any later Gospel of the Twelve—it is another thing to make him the author of a Gospel.

(*b*) **The Gospel of Matthias.**—Neither Origen nor any writer after him quotes from the Gospel of Matthias. It is simply branded (*e.g.* by Eusebius, *HE* iii. 25. 6) along with the Gospels of Peter and Thomas. But Hippolytus (*Philos.* vii. 20) declares that Basilides and Isidore claimed to have received *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* from Matthias, who had been taught them privately by the Saviour. Hippolytus argues that the contents of these so-called apostolic *λόγοι* were really borrowed from the philosophy of Aristotle's Categories.† Again, Clement of Alexandria quotes twice from the Traditions (*παραδόσεις*) of Matthias, once (*Strom.* ii. 9. 45) in illustration of the principle that wonder is the beginning of knowledge ('as Plato says in the *Theætetus* and as Matthias advises in the *Traditions*, "wonder at what is before you," laying this down as the first step to any further knowledge'), and once to prove the responsibility of a good example: 'If the neighbour of an elect person sins, the elect person sins; for, had he behaved as the word [*ὁ λόγος*] prescribes, his neighbour would have so esteemed his life that he would not have sinned' (*Strom.* vii. 13. 82). Elsewhere Clement observes that, according to some (*λέγουσι γοῦν*), 'Matthias taught that the flesh must be fought against and denied, no indulgence granted to its intemperate lust, and that the soul should grow by faith and knowledge' (*Strom.* iii. 4. 26).* Are the Traditions the same as the Gospel? It is not decisive against this, that Matthias is introduced as teaching, for both Peter and Philip are represented in their respective Gospels as giving instructions. On the other hand, *παραδόσεις* would be a strange and superfluous title for a writing which was known as a *εὐαγγέλιον*. Clement, like Hippolytus, ranks the Basilidians among the Gnostics who put themselves under the ægis of Matthias (*Strom.* vii. 17. 108, *τὴν Ματθίου αὐχῶσι προσάγεσθαι δόξαν*); but this reference is not conclusive, for he adds: 'as the teaching which has come from all the apostles is one, so is their tradition.' He objects to one apostle's teaching being singled out for special purposes by any sect. But his own references to the teaching of Matthias are upon the whole respectful, and their tone does not suggest a Gospel identical with the *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* of the Basilidians. We might conjecture that the Gospel of the Basilidians (*κατὰ Βασιλίδην*) was the Gospel according to Matthias. But Origen's evidence is against this, and such data as we can gather for an estimate of the Gospel of Basilides point in another direction.† There is no reason why Traditions of Matthias should not have existed alongside of a Gospel of Matthias, and the *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι* may refer to the former.

Since Matthias was elected an apostle after the Resurrection (Ac $1^{23\text{-}26}$), it would be natural to use his name and tradition as the vehicle of more or less secret revelations made by the Risen Lord to the disciples. Hence we may provisionally rank his Gospel in our third class.

In a Coptic fragment, assigned by Revillout to the Gospel of the Twelve (*Les Apocryphes coptes*, 157 f.), Matthias appears at the Last Supper. 'The Saviour set him with the twelve apostles, and the table was before them. When the Saviour stretched his hand towards the food, the table turned round, so that they stretched all their hands towards what the Saviour ate, and he blessed it. Matthias set down a platter on which was a cock. The salt was on the table. The Saviour stretched his hand to take the salt first, and as the table turned round all the apostles partook of it. Matthias said to Jesus, "Rabbi, you see this cock. When the Jews saw me killing it, they said, They will kill your Master like that cock." Jesus sighed. He said, "O Matthias, they shall accomplish the word they have spoken. This cock will give the signal before the light dawns. It is the type of John the Baptist who heralded me in advance. I, I am the true light which has no darkness in it.

* These Gospels seem to have been Docetic; the Incarnation was *κατὰ φαντασίαν*; Jesus changed places with a man (Simon?), and therefore escaped suffering on the Cross; Jesus became invisible when transfigured, etc.

† As it happens, the saying about wonder as the gateway to knowledge occurs in Aristotle (*Metaphys.* i. 2. 15) as well as in Plato (*Theætet.* 155 D).

* This is also quoted (from Clement?) as a word of Matthias, by Nicephorus Callistus, *HE* iii. 15.

† The one item of evidence that makes one hesitate is Clement's version of Lk $19^{1\text{f.}}$ in *Strom.* iv. 6. 35, which begins, 'Zaccheus (some say, Matthias) . . .' But even if this is any more than an instance of the frequent confusion between Matthias and Matthew, it might simply mean that, in the Gospel of Basilides or of Matthias, Matthias occupied the rôle of Zaccheus. Elsewhere he became confused not only with Matthew but with Simon the Zealot (cf. Schermann, *TU* 3rd ser. i. 3 [1907], pp. 283–285).

When this cock died, they said of me that I would die, I whom Mary conceived in her womb. I dwelt there with the cherubim and seraphim. I have come forth from the heaven of heaven to earth. It was hard for the earth to bear my glory. I have become man for you. However, this cock will rise." Jesus touched the cock and said to it, "I bid you live, O cock, as you have done. Let your wings bear you up, and fly in the air, that you may give warning of the day on which I am betrayed." The cock rose up on the platter. It flew away. Jesus said to Matthias, "Behold the cock you sacrificed three hours ago is risen. They shall crucify me, and my blood will be the salvation of the nations (and I will rise on the third day) . . ."' This fragment witnesses to the prestige of Matthias in the tradition of the early Church; he is admitted to the fellowship of the Last Supper of Jesus, beside the twelve apostles, instead of being merely (Ac 1^{23-26}) added to their company after the Resurrection. It was an easy step from this to make him the author of a Gospel or the vehicle of esoteric revelations.

(*c*) **The Gospel of Mary.** — In *SBAW* (1896, p. 839 f.) C. Schmidt describes three fragments from a still unedited Coptic MS of the 5th cent., and shows that the title of the first, 'Gospel of Mary,' covers them all. The alternative title, 'An Apocryphon of John,' belongs to the second fragment, but this is intelligible, for the Mary literature tends to be connected with apostolic apocalypses (cf. p. 503). The passage in Ac 1^{14}, where Mary associates with the apostles, formed a suggestive point of departure for this kind of religious romance.

The Gnostic references in these fragments tally so exactly with some of the data supplied by Irenæus in his refutation of the Barbelo Gnostics (i. 29) that Schmidt and Harnack infer without hesitation that this Gospel of Mary must have been a document of the sect and known to Irenæus. Hitherto, we had only the assertion of Epiphanius (xxvi. 8) that certain Gnostic sects issued a number of works in the name of Mary. The present find ratifies this assertion.

'Now it came to pass on one of these days when John, the brother of James—who are the sons of Zebedee—had gone up to the temple [cf. Ac 3[1]], that a Pharisee named Ananias (?) drew near to him and said to him, "Where is your Master, that you are not following him?" He said to him, "He has gone (?) to the place whence he came." The Pharisee said to him, "By a deception has the Nazarene deceived you, for he has . . . and made you forsake the tradition of your fathers." When I heard this, I turned from the temple to the mountain, at a lonely spot, and was very sad in heart, and said, "How then was the Redeemer chosen, and why was he sent to the world by his Father who appointed him? And who is his Father? And how is that æon created, to which we are to come?"' Suddenly heaven opens; the Lord appears, explains matters, and withdraws—the audience being not only John but the disciples. They are dismayed at the prospect of having to preach Jesus to the heathen. '"How can we go to the heathen and preach the gospel of the kingdom of the Son of Man? If they refused to receive him, how will they receive us?" Then Mary* rose, embraced them all, and said to her brothers, "Weep not and sorrow not, neither doubt; for his grace will be with you all and will protect you. Rather let us praise his goodness, that he has prepared us and made us men."' The discussion proceeds, Mary remonstrating with the incredulous disciples, and finally bursting into tears at a sharp rebuke from Peter. Levi stands up for her, however. But at this point our fragment unfortunately breaks off, and the next episode is an appearance of the risen Christ to John.

A fragment from 'the Wisdom of Jesus Christ' then begins. 'After his resurrection from the dead, his twelve disciples and seven women, his women-disciples, repaired to Galilee, to the mountain which . . .' The Lord's appearance is described as 'not in his earlier form but in the invisible spirit; his form was that of a great angel of light.' The disciples question him on topics of Gnostic speculation, and receive answers.

The third fragment is an episode from the miraculous career of Peter. As he is healing the sick on the day after the Sabbath (*i.e.* the κυριακή or Lord's Day), a man taunts him with failing to cure his own daughter, who had been for long paralyzed. Peter then heals her. The story closes with an account of the conversion of a pagan, Ptolemæus.

The Gnostic work from which these fragments are preserved was, according to Schmidt, an Egyptian 'Gospel of Mary' (p. 842 f.), and its evident use by Irenæus proves its existence prior to A.D. 130.

(*d*) **The Gospel of Bartholomew.**—When Bartholomew evangelized India, according to the tradition preserved by Eusebius (*HE* v. 10. 3), he took with him Matthew's Gospel in Hebrew. This is not what Jerome and the Gelasian Decree mean by the Gospel of Bartholomew, which they rank among the apocrypha. The latter may now be recovered, in stray fragments from Latin, Greek, and even Coptic sources, although the same kind of problem emerges here as in the case of the Gospel of Peter, viz. how far it is possible to separate the extant fragments from a Gospel and from an Apocalypse, and to assign them to either.

The Latin fragments are preserved in a Vatican MS of the 9th cent. (Reg. lat. 1050), in which a compiler of the 7th or 8th cent. has written three episodes from that Gospel, containing conversations between Jesus and Bartholomew. Thus Bartholomew asks Jesus to tell him who the man was whom he saw carried in the hands of angels and sighing heavily when Jesus spoke to him. Jesus replies, 'He is Adam, on account of whom I came down from heaven. I said to him, "Adam, on account of thee, and on account of thy sons, I have been hung on the cross." Sighing, he said to me with tears, "Thus it pleased thee, O Lord, in heaven."' Bartholomew then asks why one angel refused to ascend with the other angels who preceded Adam, singing a hymn, and why, on being bidden ascend by Jesus, a flame shot from his hands as far as Jerusalem. Jesus explains that the flame struck the synagogue of the Jews, in token of the Crucifixion. 'Afterwards Jesus said, "Await me in yonder place, for to-day the sacrifice is offered in paradise." Bartholomew said, "What is the sacrifice* in paradise?" Jesus said, "The souls of the just enter the presence of the just to-day." Bartholomew said, "How many souls leave the body every day?" Jesus said, "Truly, I tell thee, 12,873 souls† leave the body daily."' The second fragment describes Jesus reluctantly allowing Bartholomew and the other apostles, with Mary, to see the devil, or Antichrist. Jesus places them on Mount Olivet, and after a blast of Michael's trumpet and an earthquake, the Evil One appears, in chains of fire, under a guard of 6,064 angels. He is 600 cubits high and 300 broad. Jesus then encourages Bartholomew to strike Satan's neck with his feet, and to ask him about his ways and means of tempting men. Bartholomew kicks the devil, but returns in terror to ask Jesus for something to protect him during the conversation. Encouraged by Jesus, he makes the sign of the cross, kicks Satan again, and forces the furious creature to tell who he is. The third fragment runs: 'Then Bartholomew approached Satan, saying, "Go to thine own place with all like thee." And the devil said, "Wait till I tell thee how I was caught when God made man. I was then in the second heaven . . ."'

The extant Greek fragments, four in number, are much larger than the Latin, but their character-

* She is evidently with them, as in Ac 1^{14}.

* For *munus* the Greek has θυσία, and, in the reply of Jesus, 'Unless I am present, they do not enter paradise.'

† The editors Wilmart-Tisserant (*RB*, 1913, pp. 161 ff., 321 ff.) add M between XII and D, to approximate to the 30,000 of the Greek.

istics are the same. In the first, Bartholomew asks the Lord after the Resurrection to show him the mysteries of heaven. The apostle explains that when he followed Jesus to the Crucifixion, he saw the angels descend and worship Him, but that, when the darkness came, He (Jesus) had vanished from the Cross; all that Bartholomew could hear was a sound from the under world, loud wailing and gnashing of teeth. Jesus explains, 'Blessed art thou, my beloved Bartholomew, that thou didst see this mystery. And now I shall tell thee all thou hast asked me. When I vanished from the Cross, then I went down to Hades to bring up Adam, and all who are with him, thanks to (*κατὰ τὴν παράκλησιν*) the archangel Michael.' The sound was Hades calling to Beliar, 'God comes here, as I see.'* Beliar thinks it may be Elijah or Enoch or one of the prophets, and encourages Hades to bar the gates. Hades wails that he is being tortured; it must be God. 'Then,' says Jesus, 'I entered, scourged him and bound him with unbreakable chains, and took out all the patriarchs,† and so returned to the Cross.' A Greek replica of the first Latin fragment follows, after which Bartholomew asks, 'Lord, when thou wast teaching the word with us, didst thou receive the sacrifices in paradise?' Jesus replies, 'Truly, I tell thee, my beloved, when I was teaching the word with you, I was also sitting with my Father.' Bartholomew then seems to ask how many of the souls who leave the world daily are found just (the text is corrupt at this point); Jesus replies, 'Fifty.' And how many souls are born into the world every day? 'Just one more than those who leave the world.' Then the conversation ends. 'And when he said this, he gave them peace and vanished from them.'

The second Greek fragment introduces Mary. The apostles are in a place called Cheltura, when Bartholomew proposes to Peter, Andrew, and John that they ask Mary about the virgin-birth. None of them cares to put the question; Bartholomew reminds Peter that he is their leader, but Peter turns to John, as the beloved apostle and as the 'virgin' (*παρθένος*). Eventually Bartholomew himself approaches Mary. The text becomes broken at this point, but Mary evidently utters an elaborate prayer, at the close of which she invites the apostles to sit down beside her, Peter at her right with his left hand under her arm, and Andrew similarly supporting her on the left; John is to support her bosom, and Bartholomew to kneel at her back, in case she collapses under the strain of the revelation. She then tells them: 'When I was in the sanctuary of God, receiving food from the hand of an angel,‡ one day there appeared to me the shape of an angel, though his features could not be fixed (*? τὸ δὲ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ ἦν ἀχώρητον*); he had not bread or a cup in his hand like the angel who formerly came to me. And suddenly the veil of the sanctuary was torn, and a great earthquake took place, and I fell on my face, unable to bear the sight of him. But he put out his hand and raised me, and I looked up to heaven; and a cloud of dew came . . . sprinkling me from head to foot. But he wiped me with his robe and said to me, "Hail, O highly favoured one, thou chosen vessel." And he put out his right hand, and there was a huge loaf; and he laid it on the altar of incense in the sanctuary; he ate of it first, and gave to me. Again, he put out his left hand, and there was an enormous cup, full of wine; he drank of it first, and gave to me. And I beheld and saw the cup full and the loaf. And he said to me, "Three years more, and I will send thee my word, and thou shalt conceive a son, and by him all creation shall be saved; and thou shalt be for the saving of the world. Peace to thee, my beloved; yea, peace shall be with thee evermore." And he vanished from me, and the sanctuary became as it had been before.' At this, fire issued from her mouth, and threatened to put an end to the world; whereupon the Lord bids her keep silence on the mystery. The apostles are terrified, in case the Lord is angry with them for their presumption in questioning her.

The third fragment is extremely brief and broken. Evidently, the apostles (through Bartholomew?) had asked for a revelation of the under world. 'Jesus said, "It is good for you not to see the abyss. But if you desire it, follow and look." So he brought them to a place called Chairoudek, the place of truth, and nodded to the western (*δυτικοῖς*) angels; and the earth was rolled up like a scroll, and the abyss was revealed, and the apostles saw it and fell on their face. But the Lord raised them, saying, "Did I not tell you, it is not good for you to see the abyss?"'

The long fourth fragment corresponds to the second and third Latin fragments. Jesus takes them to the Mount of Olives, accompanied by Mary. He is at first stern, when Bartholomew asks Him for a sight of the devil and his ways, but eventually leads them down and orders the angels over Tartarus to make Michael sound his trumpet; whereupon the fearful figure of Beliar appears, to the terror of the apostles. Bartholomew, as in the Latin fragment, is encouraged by Jesus to put his foot on the giant's neck and to question him about his names. The reply is, 'First I was called Satanael, which means angel of God; but when in ignorance I rebelled against God, my name was called Satan, which means angel over Tartarus.' He proceeds, against his will, to make further disclosures. 'When God made heaven and earth, he took a flame of fire, and fashioned me first, then Michael, thirdly Gabriel, fourthly Raphael, fifthly Uriel, sixthly Xathanael, and the other six thousand angels, whose names I cannot utter, for they are the bearers of God's rod (*ῥαβδοῦχοι τοῦ θεοῦ*), and they beat me every day and seven times every night, and never let me alone, and waste my strength; the two angels of vengeance, these are they who stand close by the throne of God, these are they who were fashioned first. After them the multitude of angels were fashioned. In the first heaven there are a million, in the second heaven a million, in the third heaven a million, in the fourth heaven a million, in the fifth heaven a million, in the sixth heaven a million, in the seventh heaven a million. Outside the seven heavens. . . .' After a few more details on the angels, the fragment then breaks off, in the MS (10th–11th cent.) from the library of the Orthodox Patriarch at Jerusalem. The Vienna MS shows the devil continuing the list of the angels of the elements.

The contents of these fragments correspond partly with what we know elsewhere* of the 'questions of Bartholomew' (for the Ethiopic and Coptic versions and recensions of this literature, cf. Lichtenhan in *ZNTW*, 1902, p. 234 f., and Haase, p. 22 f.). They also throw some light upon what lies behind the remark of Epiphanius in the 11th cent. (*de Vita beatae Virginis*, 25) that the holy apostle Bartholomew said, 'The holy Mother of God made a will.' There seems to be some connexion between the Gospel, whose fragments we have just cited, and the sources of the later Mary literature which is preserved in Sahidic and Coptic fragments (see below). The Coptic fragments glorify

* The Slavonic version, which differs considerably from the Greek text at this point, paraphrases Ps 24[7]f.

† One of the themes which led to the composition of the so-called Gospel of Nicodemus. This Harrowing of Hell became a favourite theme of mediæval religious romance.

‡ As in the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew (see above, p. 488). The first annunciation takes place earlier in the Gospel of Bartholomew than in the other Gospels of this class.

* There is another allusion in pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite (*de Myst. theologia*, i. § 3: 'Bartholomew says that theology is both large and small, and that the gospel is broad and large and, again, contracted').

the primacy of Peter and the prestige of Mary, with Gnostic and Egyptian colouring (Revillout, *Les Apocryphes coptes*, 185 f.); they begin with an unsympathetic denunciation of Judas by Jesus, one of the first things the Lord does, apparently, being to reproach the traitor in Amenti and confirm his eternal doom. The Gospel from which they are taken was a Gospel of Bartholomew, for that Apostle speaks in the first person.

According to Wilmart and Tisserant, the Jerusalem MS approximates more than the others to the primitive text. The original Greek Gospel of Bartholomew, they conclude, appeared 'vers le IVe siècle, dans quelque secte chrétienne en marge de l'Église d'Alexandrie.' It was on the basis of this that the Coptic Bartholomew compositions, whether in the form of Gospel or of Apocalypse, developed the literature whose débris is now being recovered in still larger quantities.

(*e*) **The Gospel of Nicodemus.**—The Gospel of Nicodemus really belongs to the uncanonical Acts. The Acts of Pilate and its allied literature go back to the 4th or 5th cent.—possibly, in some primitive form, even to the beginning of the 2nd; but while Nicodemus is associated with the *Acta* (in one Greek edition of the text, they profess to be a translation of what Nicodemus wrote in Hebrew; in another Greek edition, Nicodemus is a Roman toparch who translates the Hebrew record of a Jew named Æneas; in the Latin version, Æneas is a Christian Jew who translates the Hebrew record of Nicodemus), they are never styled 'a Gospel of Nicodemus' till the 13th century. It has been conjectured that the title was due to the patriotism of the British, who claimed Nicodemus as their chief apostle ('quae coniectura inde aliquam probabilitatem habet quod antiquissima omnium recentiorum versionum est anglosaxonica: id quod documento est quanto honore opus istud iam pridem in Anglia habitum sit,' Tischendorf, i. p. lx, n. 3); but wherever and whenever it arose, it is quite adventitious.

Critical editions are promised by von Dobschütz (*HDB* iii. 545) and in the French series (cf. p. 479).

(*f*) **The Gospel of Gamaliel.**—In one of the Coptic Gospel fragments edited by Revillout (*Patrologia Orient.* ii. 172 f.), the phrase occurs, 'I, Gamaliel, followed them (*i.e.* Pilate, etc.) in the midst of the crowd,' and it has been conjectured (*e.g.* by Ladeuze, *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, vii. 252 f., Haase, 11 f., and Baumstark in *RB*, 1906, pp. 245–265) that if these fragments belonged originally to the Gospel of the Twelve, or if some other fragments of the later Pilate literature can be referred to such a source, there must have been a Gospel of Gamaliel in existence, perhaps as a special recension of the original Gospel of the Twelve. To this some critics (*e.g.* Ladeuze and Baumstark) further propose to relegate one or more of the Sahidic fragments which have been already referred to (cf. p. 500), placing the composition not earlier than the 5th cent., since it implies the *Acta Pilati*. The ramifications of the Pilate literature still await investigation, especially in the light of recent finds (cf. Haase, pp. 12 f., 67 f.). It would be curious if it could be proved that there was a tendency to use the Gamaliel of Ac $5^{34ff.}$ in favour of Christianity, as was the case with Pilate. But the period of this Gospel is very late and its reconstruction unusually hypothetical. 'Si l'Évangile de Gamaliel est un sermon composé au monastère de Senoudah, comme porte à le croire la provenance des manuscrits, il n'est pas étrange qu'on y ait voulu mettre en évidence, dans l'exposé de la vie du Christ, le rôle de Barthélemy dont on se flattait de posséder le corps au monastère, et qu'on s'y soit servi des apocryphes déjà existants sous le nom de cet apôtre' (Ladeuze, *loc. cit.* 265). The fragments which may be conjecturally assigned to this Gospel (?) tally with the Coptic Bartholomew fragments in several features, *e.g.* the description of Christ in Amenti, the appearance of Christ after the Resurrection to his mother Mary first of all (cf. p. 505), the narrative of the death of Mary, and the blessing pronounced on Peter as the archbishop of the whole world. Ladeuze's suggestion meets the main requirements of the case better than Revillout's conjecture (*RB*, 1904, pp. 167 ff., 321 ff.) that some primitive orthodox Gospel of the Twelve (see above) professes to have been edited by Gamaliel, the teacher of St. Paul, who had become a Christian (cf. Zahn's *Gesch. des Kanons*, ii. 673 f.). Even if the fragments are assigned to a 'Gospel,' they represent a late compilation, based primarily on the Johannine narrative, and expanded on the basis of legends drawn possibly from a special source. The tradition of Gamaliel's conversion is noted in *Clem. Recogn.* i. 65 and quoted by Photius (*Bibliotheca*, 171) from earlier written sources: 'Reperi quoque in eodem illo codice, Pauli in lege magistrum Gamalielum et credidisse, et baptizatum fuisse. Nicodemum item nocturnum (quondam) amicum, diurnum etiam redditum, martyrioque coronatum, quem et Gamalielis patruelem haec testatur historia. Baptizatum vero utrumque a Joanne et Petro, una cum Gamalielis filio, cui Abibo nomen.' Nicodemus became a martyr to Jewish fury, on this tradition; once the idea of his conversion and authorship of a Gospel was started, it was not unnatural that Gamaliel should also be brought inside the Christian circle.

(*g*) **The Gospel of Perfection.**—'Some of them,' says Epiphanius (xxvi. 2), speaking of the Nicolaitans or Ophite Gnostics, 'bring in a manufactured sort of adventitious work (*ἀγώγιμόν τι πόϊημα*) called The Gospel of Perfection,' which, he adds ironically, is the very perfection of diabolic mischief! This notice is probably derived from Hippolytus (Philaster, *Hær.* 33). If it was a Gnostic treatise in Gospel form, it may have resembled, or been related in some way to, the Gospel of Eve; but no details or quotations have been preserved, unless we may suppose that allusions to it occur in the *Pistis Sophia*, where uncanonical Gospel material is more than once employed.

(*h*) **The Gospel of Eve.**—'Others,' Epiphanius adds (xxvi. 2 f.), 'are not ashamed to speak of the Gospel of Eve,' who owed her gnosis to the serpent. One quotation from this Gospel is given: 'I stood on a high hill, and I saw a tall man and a short man (*ἄλλον κολοβόν*); and I heard as it were a voice of thunder and drew near to listen, and it spoke to me and said, "I am thou and thou art I, and wherever thou art there am I also, and I am sown in all (*ἐν ἅπασίν εἰμι ἐσπαρμένος*). And wherever thou gatherest me from, in gathering me thou gatherest thyself."' Probably the quotation which follows, from the secret books of the Gnostics, was also derived from this 'Gospel': (*ἐν ἀποκρύφοις ἀναγινώσκοντες ὅτι*) 'I saw a tree bearing twelve fruits a year, and he said to me, This is the tree of life.' Epiphanius (xxvi. 5) explains that this meant allegorically menstruation. But this so-called 'Gospel' may have been either of an apocalyptic character or simply, as Lipsius suggests, a doctrinal treatise in more or less historical form. In any case, its mysticism assumed a sexual form which readily lent itself to obscene interpretation.

(*i*) **The Gospel of Judas.**—The Gnostic Cainites, in the 2nd cent., composed 'a Gospel of Judas' (Iren. i. 31. 1; *συνταγμάτιόν τι*, Epiphan. xxxviii. 1) in the name of their hero, Judas, who was supposed to have alone penetrated the Divine secret, and consequently to have deliberately betrayed Jesus in order to accomplish it. Nothing has been preserved of this Gospel.

The fifth of Revillout's Coptic fragments (*Les Apocryphes coptes*, 156–157) contains a novel tradition about Judas. The disciples speak: 'We have found this man stealing from what is put into the purse every day, taking it to his wife, and defrauding the poor in his service. Whenever he

returned home with sums of money in his hands, she would rejoice at what he had done. We have even seen him failing to take home to her enough for the malice of her eyes and insatiable greed. Whereupon she would turn him into ridicule.' His wife then, like a Lady Macbeth, instigates him to the crime of selling Jesus. '"Look how the Jews pursue your master. Up then and betray him to them. They will give you plenty of riches, and we will bestow them in our house, so as to live thereby." He got up, the unfortunate man, after listening to his wife, till he had consigned his soul to the hell of Amenti,* in the same manner as Adam listened to his wife, until he became a stranger to the glory of Paradise, so that death reigned over him and his race. Even so, Judas listened to his wife and thus set himself outside the things of heaven and the things of earth, to end in Amenti, the place of tears and moaning. He went to the Jews and agreed with them for thirty pieces of silver to betray his Lord. They gave them to him. Thus was fulfilled the word which was written: "They received the thirty pieces of silver for the price of him who is appraised." He rose up. He carried them to his wicked wife.'

Here the motive of Judas is not personal greed; he is a thief, as in the Fourth Gospel, but it is owing to his wife's pressure. She is a temptress, and the misogynism of the author leads him to blame her more than her poor husband. But this is a catholic exculpatory estimate of Judas, in Egyptian circles, which is very different from the Gnostic glorification of him; he is not the author of a Gospel, but he is made out to be not so deliberately the author of Christ's betrayal as in the canonical traditions. We cannot tell whether the Gnostic Gospel made use of any such motive to explain his conduct. It is unlikely that this would be so, for his conduct, on the Gnostic theory, required no exculpation.

Another Coptic Gospel fragment, assigned doubtfully by Revillout (*op. cit.* 195–196) to the Gospel of Bartholomew, belongs to the same line of tradition. 'The apostle Judas, when the devil entered into him, went out and ran to the high priests. He said, "What will you give me for handing him over to you?" They gave him thirty pieces of silver. Now the wife of Judas had taken the child of Joseph of Arimathæa to bring him up. The day when the unfortunate Judas received the thirty pieces of silver and took them home, the little one (would not drink). Joseph went into the woman's chamber . . . Joseph was utterly distressed over his son. When the little child saw his father (he was seven months old), he cried, saying, "My father, come, take me from the hand of this woman, who is a savage beast. Since the ninth hour of this day, they have received the price (of the blood of the just)." When he heard this, his father took him. Judas also went out. He took . . .' Then follows a broken passage belonging to the Acts of Pilate literature.

(*j*) **Coptic fragments.**—(i.) A Coptic Akhmîm MS (4th–5th cent.) contains two fragments, which may have belonged to an uncanonical Gospel of the 2nd century. The second is a fragment of prophetic discourse by Jesus, predicting Ac 12^{21} (?). The first opens with Mary, Martha, and Mary Magdalene going to the sepulchre to anoint the body, and weeping when they find the sepulchre empty. The Lord says to them, '"Why do you weep? Cease weeping, I am he whom ye seek. But let one of you go to the brethren and say: Come, the Master has risen from the dead." Martha went away and told this to us. We said to her, "What hast thou to do with us, O woman? He who died is buried, and it is impossible that he lives." We did not believe her, that the Redeemer had risen from the dead. So she went to the Lord and said to him, "No one among them has believed me, that thou livest." He said, "Let another of you go and tell it to them again." Mary went and told us again, but we did not believe her. She went back to the Lord and told him. Then said the Lord to Mary and her other sisters, "Let us go to them." And he went and found us within and called us outside. But we thought it was a ghost, and we did not believe it was the Lord. So he said to us, "Come and . . . Thou, O Peter, who hast denied me thrice, dost thou still deny?" And we went up to him, doubting in our hearts whether it was he. So he said to us, "Why do you doubt still and disbelieve? I am he who told you, so that on account of my flesh and my death and my Resurrection you may know it is I. Peter, lay thy finger in the nail-marks on my hands; and thou, Thomas, lay thy finger in the lance-wounds on my side; and thou, Andrew, touch my feet and see that they . . . to those of earth. For it is written in the prophets:* *phantoms of dreams . . . on earth.*" We answered him, "We have in truth recognized that . . . in the flesh." And we threw ourselves on our faces and confessed our sins, that we had been unbelieving.'

This fragment professes to give the testimony to the Resurrection which the disciples bore, based on revelations received by them from the Lord. As in the appendix to Mark's Gospel, their unbelief is emphasized; they refuse to believe the story of the women, and it requires the direct appearance of Jesus to convince them. 'Therefore . . . we have written to you concerning . . . and we bear witness that the Lord is he who was crucified by Pontius Pilate.' The apologetic interest of this emphasis on the original incredulity of the apostles may be to heighten the importance of the Resurrection appearances, as against the denial of the bodily Resurrection by some Gnostics. Even the disciples, it is said, held it impossible once! But they were taught the truth! The fragment mentions 'Corinthus' (= Cerinthus) and 'Simon' (=Simon Magus), and the original Greek Gospel writing, of which it is a translation, was evidently a piece of apologetic fiction issued by some pious (Gnostic?) Christian in order to refute the heretical tendencies represented by these two great names. It professes to be written in the name of the Twelve, and probably appeared during the first half of the 2nd century. The data do not enable us to determine whether it belonged to a Gospel of the Twelve or, as Schmidt thinks, to the pseudo-Petrine literature.

Special Literature.—The fragment was published first by C. Schmidt in *SBAW*, 1895, pp. 705–711, but a full edition is still awaited; Harnack's essay appeared in *Theolog. Studien B. Weiss dargebracht*, Göttingen, 1897, pp. 1–8; cf. Bardenhewer, 397–399, Haase, 36–37. Harnack dates it between A.D. 150 and 180, Schmidt somewhat earlier. The second fragment suggests that the Gospel (if it was a Gospel) was a Peter Gospel, but the extent and aim of its 'Gnosticism' cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.

(ii.) Some lines of another Coptic papyrus (4th–6th cent.) appear to contain débris of what was once an uncanonical Gospel. The fragments are extremely mutilated, and the translators and editors disagree upon their age and origin. The last runs thus—evidently the close of a Gospel narrative which described a post-Resurrection scene on the mountain, prior to the Ascension: '(that I) may manifest to you all my glory and show you all your power and the mystery of your apostleship

* An Egyptian touch as above (p. 500).

* Wis 18^{17}, in a description of the terrors that befell the Egyptians during the plagues. The scriptural authority of Wisdom in wide circles during the 2nd and 3rd centuries is well known, but probably Origen is the only writer who expressly calls this literature prophetic (*Hom. in Levit.* v. 2, *in Exod.* vi. 1).

. . . (on the) mountain. . . . Our eyes penetrated all places, we saw the glory of his divinity and all the glory (of his) dominion. He invested (us with) the power of (our) apostle(ship).' The previous fragment, whose contents are only separated from the other by two or three lines, may be either a piece from the same setting or a fragment of some Gethsemane story. It runs thus: '(that) he be known for (his) hospitality . . . and praised on account of his fruit, since . . . Amen.* Grant me now thy power, O Father, that . . . Amen. I have received the diadem of the Kingdom, (even the) diadem of . . . I have become King (through thee), O Father. Thou shalt subject (all) to me . . . Through whom shall (the last) Enemy be destroyed? Through (Christ). Amen. Through whom shall the sting of death (be destroyed)? (Through the) Only Begotten. To whom does (the) dominion belong? (To the Son.) Amen. . . . When (Jesus had) finished all . . . he turned to us and said, "The hour has come when I shall be taken from you. The spirit (is) willing, but the flesh (is) weak . . . then and watch (with me)." But we apostles wept . . . said . . . (Son) of God. . . . He answered and said (to us), "Fear not destruction (of the body), but rather (fear) the power (of darkness). Remember all that I have said to you: (if) they have persecuted (me), they will also persecute you. . . . Rejoice, then, that I (have overcome) the world, and have . . ."'

The fragments are evidently based upon the Gospels of Matthew and John; so much is clear even from what can be deciphered. Possibly they belonged to some uncanonical Gospel current in Egypt during the 3rd or even the 2nd cent., but the internal data are too slender to support any hypothesis which would connect them with the Gospel of the Egyptians (Jacoby) or even with the Gospel of the Ebionites=the Gospel of the Twelve (Schmidt, Zahn, Revillout). The 'Gnosticism' of the fragments is mild.

SPECIAL LITERATURE.—A. Jacoby, *Ein neues Evangelienfragment*, Strassburg, 1900; C. Schmidt (*GGA*, 1900, pp. 481–506); Zahn (*NKZ*, 1900, 361 f.); Revillout, *Patr. Orient.* 1907, pp. 159–161; Haase, 1–11 (where further literature is discussed).

(iii.) Another Coptic fragment from a narrative of the trial is edited by Revillout (*Patr. Orient.*, 161 f.): '. . . to Jesus who was in the prætorium. He said to him, "Whence do you come and what do you say of yourself? I am sore put to it in defending you, and I . . save you. If you are king of the Jews, tell us definitely." Jesus answered and said to Pilate, "Do you say this of yourself, or have other people told you about me?" Pilate said to him, "Am I a Jew?—I! Your own people have handed you over. What have you done?" Jesus replied, "My kingdom is not of this world. If my kingdom were of this world, my servants would fight to prevent anyone handing me over to the Jews. However, my kingdom is not of this world." Pilate said to him, "Then you are a king?" Jesus replied, "It is you who say so; I am a king." Pilate said to him, "If you are a king, let me learn the truth from your own lips so that you may be relieved of these troubles and these revolutions." Then he said to him, "Behold, you confess, you say with your own lips that I am a king. I was born and I have come into the world for this thing, to bear witness to the truth. He who belongs to me hears my voice." Pilate said to him, "What is truth?" Jesus said to him, "Have you not seen—you!—that he who speaks to you is Truth? Do you not see in his face that he has been born of the Father? Do you not hear from his words that he does not come from this world? Know then, O Pilate, that he whom you judge, he it is who shall judge the world with justice. These hands which you seize, O Pilate, have formed you. This body you see and this flesh which they . . ."'

* According to Revillout, these 'Amens' are not final but introductory='Truly.'

The fragment is also assigned by Revillout to his Gospel of the Twelve, but it may be no more than a paraphrase of Jn $18^{33f.}$ from some early Egyptian homily. The rest of Revillout's fragments (cf. above, p. 503) are plainly from an Egyptian treatise which belongs as much to the Mary literature as to the category of the uncanonical Gospels.

(*k*) **An unidentified fragment.**—In Augustine's treatise *contra Adversarium Legis et Prophetarum* (ii. 14), he quotes a saying from some apocryphal scripture—evidently a Gospel, since he proceeds: 'but in the Gospel of the Lord, which is not apocryphal' (*i.e.* esoteric), he taught the disciples after the Resurrection about the prophets (Lk 24^{27}). The quotation is as follows: 'But when the apostles asked what view should be taken of the prophets of the Jews, who were thought to have sung something about his arrival in the past, our Lord, vexed that they still took such a view, replied, "You have sent away the living One who is before you, and you make up stories about the dead!"' This may have come from some Marcionite or Ebionitic (cf. above, p. 493) Gospel. J. H. Ropes (*TU* xiv. 2 [1896], *119–120*) suggests that it would fit in with the story of Mt 8^{22}, but the context in Augustine points rather to a post-Resurrection dialogue between Jesus and the disciples.

(*l*) **The Fayyûm fragment.**—The Fayyûm fragment, first published by G. Bickell (cf. *Zeitschrift für kath. Theologie*, 1885, pp. 498–504, 1886, p. 208 f.), is a 3rd cent. scrap of papyrus which has received more attention than it deserves; it is no more than a loose quotation of Mk $14^{26-27.\ 29-30}$ (so Zahn, as against Bickell, Harnack [*TU* v. 4, 481–497], Resch [*TU* x. 2, 1894, pp. 28–34], P. Savi [*RB*, 1892, 321–344], and others), and cannot be assigned with any probability to the Gospel of the Egyptians or any other uncanonical Gospel. The fragment runs: 'And in departing he spoke thus. "You will all be offended (σκανδαλισθήσεσθε) this night, as it is written: *I will smite the shepherd, and the sheep shall be scattered.*" Peter said, "Though all [are offended], not I!" The Lord said, "The cock will crow twice, and thou shalt be the first to deny me three times."' Revillout (*Les Apocryphes coptes*, 158–159) places it as a sequel to the Matthias fragment quoted above (pp. 501–502), assigning it to his 'Gospel of the Twelve.' But it may have come from some Gospel of our third group, if it came from any Gospel at all.

J. MOFFATT.

GOVERNMENT, GOVERNOR.—(1) The term 'government' occurs twice in the AV of the NT, in neither case with reference to civil government. In the first passage, 1 Co 12^{28}, it occurs in the plural, being a translation of the Greek κυβερνήσεις, which, like the English 'government,' is a metaphor from steersmanship (see following article). In the second passage, 2 P 2^{10} (cf. Jude ^{8}), the word appears to be abstract, but to have an implicit reference to the domination of angels (see art. DOMINION).

(2) The word 'governor' occurs many times in the NT. In nearly every passage it is a translation of ἡγεμών or some word connected with it. This word is the most general term in this connexion in the Greek language (=Lat. *præses*). This can be seen in two ways. In the first place, in Mk 13^{9} (and parallels) and 1 P 2^{13} the word is coupled with 'kings' (emperors), and the two words together include all the Gentile authorities before whom the followers of Jesus will have to appear. In the second place, the term, or its cognates, is used with reference to authorities of such diverse status as

the Emperor Tiberius (Lk 3[1]), the legate P. Sulpicius Quirinius (Lk 2[2], a special deputy of consular rank sent by the Emperor Augustus in an emergency to have temporary rule over the great province of Syria), and the successive procurators of the small and unimportant province of Judæa, Pontius Pilate and Felix; for 2 Co 11[32] see ETHNARCH. It was in accordance with Greek genius to avoid specific titles and to use general terms, and to the Oriental the king (emperor) dwarfed everyone else. The *procurator* (agent) was really a servant of the Emperor's household, never of higher rank than equestrian, and belonged to the lowest class of governor. He is never called by his own (Greek) name (ἐπίτροπος) except in a variant reading of Lk 3[1].

A. SOUTER.

GOVERNMENTS.—In each of the five lists of spiritual gifts or of gifted persons which St. Paul places in his Epistles (1 Co 12[8-10. 28. 29-30], Ro 12[6-8], Eph 4[11]) there are at least two items which are not found in any other list. In 1 Co 12[28] we have 'helps' or 'helpings' (ἀντιλήμψεις) and 'governments' or 'governings' (κυβερνήσεις). In 1 Co 12[28] 'gifts of healings' are followed by 'helpings' and 'governings.' These two form a pair, and refer to management and direction in things external. 'Governings' is a word which comes from the idea of a κυβερνήτης, a shipmaster (Ac 27[11], Rev 18[17]) or pilot (Ezk 27[8. 27. 28]), directing the course of a ship. The word occurs nowhere else in the NT, but in the LXX we have it in the sense of 'wise guidance' in peace or war (Pr 11[14] 24[6]). St. Paul probably uses it of those who superintended the externals of organization. It would therefore denote those who are over the rest, and rule them, the προϊστάμενοι of 1 Th 5[12], Ro 12[8] and the ἡγούμενοι of He 13[7. 17. 24], Ac 15[22]. The 'governors' are directors and organizers, not teachers; still less are they 'discerners of spirits,' as Stanley suggests. They are persons with a gift for management. It is possible that they afterwards developed into a class of officials as 'elders' or 'bishops,' but that stage had not been reached when 1 Cor. was written. See HELPS and CHURCH GOVERNMENT.

A. PLUMMER.

GRACE.—1. General meaning and presuppositions.—(*a*) *Divine prevenience and generosity.*—Grace is a theistic idea. It emerges inevitably in the progress of religious thought and practice with the idea of God's separateness from man (cf. in India, Brahmanism; in Greece, Orphism). It deepens in character and content in the growing sense of separateness, with the concurrent conviction, ever deepening in intensity, of the Divine goodness in sustaining fellowship with man (cf. in Israel, Hebraism, Judaism). It attains perfect form in Christianity, whose Founder exhibits a personal life so dependent on and penetrated by God as to reach absolute maturity simply through the Divine power immanent within it—the ceaseless sense, possession, and operation of the Divine Spirit. Irresistibly the soul's interior experience of that fellowship postulates a realm of Divine prevenience and generosity. Generally the postulate embraces three features: the priority of God, His self-donation to man, His regard and care for man's salvation—all making emphatic the givenness of man's best life, the Divine action inviting his. Grace is thus a purely religious affirmation expressing the soul's assurance that God's goodness is the beginning, medium, and end of its life. Here God is *not* simply a great First Cause: first in time, foremost in space; He is rather the background and dynamic force of man's inner being, and, for its sake, of all created being; enfolding and comprehending it, giving it its origin, reason of existence, unity, completeness, final end; the envelope of the whole by which the parts do their best and issue in their most fruitful results, so that the soul is a harmony of linked forces,* Divine and human. Here, too, the soul's blessedness is not simply the gift of God. The soul's life is through Himself—'His very self and essence all-Divine.'† Its various stages, the growing process of His grace, do not depend, nay, disappear when made to depend, on merely mental reference to His acts, or on merely self-originating impulses. Such attachment of the human to the Divine is too superficial. The inadequacy of man's spirit to work out its own perfection is irremediable. Salvation is only secure in utter and entire dependence on the Divine Life, distinct from man's, the life which precedes and from which proceeds all his capacity for good: in which, truly, 'we live and move and have our being.'

(*b*) *The Christian experience.* — The apostolic doctrine of grace presupposes the distinctive Christian experience. The NT teaching falls into three groups: Synoptic, Pauline, Johannine. The first reproduces the most immediately and literally faithful picture of Christ's sayings; the second and third present the earliest impressive developments of His sayings in individual realization, and are rich in exposition and explanation of the subjective apprehension and appropriation of Divine grace. It is the process in man's activity that is detailed more than the analysis of the attribute in God. Between the two types we are conscious of marked contrasts, not only in their form but in the substance and mode. Along with a deep underlying unity of fundamental thought, it is true to say that the consciousness of the apostles is not identical with the consciousness of Christ. Christ is not repeated in them.‡ The teaching of both is the direct transcript of their spiritual history; but their spiritual constitution is so radically different that their teaching is bound to have radical differences. 'He spoke as the sinless Son of God; they wrote from the standpoint of regenerated men.'§ The principle of sin alters the whole position. The view-points for estimating grace increase. Thus it is that while Christ speaks little, if at all, of grace, it is a central conception of the apostles. Therefore also, while grace is in both, it is 'in Christ' in a vitally intimate way such as cannot be predicated of the apostles except 'through Christ.' It is 'the grace of Christ,' as 'of God'; not the grace of the apostles, whose it is only 'by his grace.'

Again we have to note in Christ's case no trace of that separateness of the human from the Divine Spirit in their communion and inter-operation in the relationship of grace, which is so clear in the case of the apostles, a distinction of which they are so confident that they claim a special illumination and infusion of supernatural light and energy in this experience. Christ's mediation of grace to them is basic. It differentiates their doctrine not only from Christ's, but from all ethnic and prophetic ideas. The apostles are neither mere seekers after God, nor simply seers or servants or interpreters of God: they are sons, the bearers of Himself;‖ and the immensely richer experience is reflected in the ampler refinement of their idea of grace and its more commanding place in their system. Nor should we fail to observe that the term 'grace' denotes a new economy in human history. Primarily it signifies a fresh advance of the human spirit under the impetus of new Divine

* Cf. Tennyson's picture of 'the awful rose of dawn' in the *Vision of Sin*.

† Cf. Newman's hymn: 'Praise to the Holiest in the height.'

‡ Cf., for an admirable discussion of this point, P. T. Forsyth, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, 1909.

§ W. P. Paterson, *The Apostles' Teaching*, pt. i.: 'The Pauline Theology,' 1908, p. 5.

‖ Cf. the early Christian term for believers—Χριστοφόροι.

redemptive force. That fact implies a fresh outflow of energy from God and a fresh uplift of the world's life; man is 'a new creation,'* the world 'a new earth';† there is revealed a new stage in the fulfilment of the eternal purpose. Grace here has cosmic significance. Sin is over-ruled for good in the whole world-order as it is in the individual Christian heart. History, like the soul, is transformed through Christ. The initial and controlling causes of that whole vast change are discovered to the primitive Christian perception in a great surprise of God's forgiveness, pronounced and imparted by Christ, and made effective for regeneration by a force none other than, not inferior to, His Holy Spirit. Thereby a new era is inaugurated—the dispensation of 'the gospel of the grace of God.'‡ Grace, then, comprises three specific moments: a supernatural energy of God, a mystical and moral actuation of man, an immanent economy of Spirit.

(*c*) *Essential characteristics.*—Grace, accordingly, is erroneously regarded when defined as a substance or force or any sort of static and uniform quantum. It is 'spirit and life,' and as such its characteristics are *personality, mutuality, individuality.* The experience of grace is that of 'a gracious relationship'§ between two persons, in which the proper nature of either in its integrity and autonomy is never at all invaded. The mode is not impersonal or mechanical. The blessing is not an influx so much as response to an influence; a gift yet a task; a mysterious might overpowering, but not with power, rather with persuasion; the renewal of the entire disposition through implicit trust in God's goodness and by the diligent exercise of the powers of Spirit, ever latent and now let loose, with which He enables and quickens. It is not only an awakening of the moral self into more active freedom: it is first the conscious springing up and growth of a new life, sudden or gradual and wondrous, from immersion in the mystic bath,‖ fed by the heavenly streams, whose cleansing power, if before unknown, is not alien, and invests the finite life with the sense of infinite worth and imperishable interest—a sense welcomed as native and as needful for the life's predestined end. The process is easily intelligible, yet readily liable to misunderstanding. The traditional doctrine, Catholic and Protestant, in its anxiety to safeguard both the mystical and moral constituents of the experience, has tended towards two grave defects—the separation of the two which in reality are one, and the confusion of the mystical with the magical.¶ Grace then becomes a material quantity, instead of spiritual quality. Psychologically a person *is* only inasmuch as he is living, growing. Man is, as he lives in God; and his capture** and surrender are achieved not in a thing but in a person, and not to a *thing* but to the One Person, whose right to claim him and renew his life consists precisely *in* this, that He is Himself absolutely, infinitely, and actually what man is derivatively, finitely, and potentially. Thus the act which binds man to God does so for growth and enhancement of life. All that comes from the living God is worked out by living souls, and is ever living and enlivening; it is as varied and individual as the variety of individuals concerned.

The apostles were Hebraic, and no true Hebrew could misinterpret this. To the Fathers it was so familiar. The covenant-relation was the central truth of their religion. Its very essence was this *mutualness* of religious communion. Vital godliness hinged on two realities—the Divine Being willing to be gracious, and the no less ready response man must make to Him. For God and man to come together, both must be individually active. To God's willingness to help, man comes with his willingness to be helped. To God's desire to forgive, man comes with a penitent mind. By mutual love, the love of God to man meeting the love of man to God, the two are reconciled. Complete surrender (religion) brings with it growing individuality and independence (morality). Herein, further, let us note, rests the explanation of two conspicuous facts in the life of grace—the fact, viz., that the inspiration of grace is neither *infallible* nor *irresistible*;* and the fact of the splendid outburst of *fresh forms of goodness.* The Church in her materialistic moods has been prone to forget both. The Apostolic Age is so rich spiritually just because so sensible of both. 'We have this treasure in earthen vessels' is the precise counterpart of the psalmist's 'the spirit of man is the candle of the Lord.' It is never forgotten that while the Divine Life is the milieu of the human, the human is the medium of the Divine, its assimilative capacity adequate only to the present need, not to the ultimate reality;† while its readiness to receive is never in vain in any event or circumstance or relation of life. The human spirit may appropriate only within limits; but the indefinite variety of limits alone bounds the operation of grace. Grace is all-sufficient; the 'fruits of the Spirit' correspond to its plenitude.

2. Specific redemptive content.—In seeking to analyze the contents of grace, we have no lack of material. What grace is is to be seen in the spiritual personality it produces. The Apostolic Letters furnish a complete, typical description, of rare intensity and lucidity, of two such personalities of the loftiest order—St. Paul and St. John, and we possess abundant parallel records of Christian sanctity of every later age, to verify our conclusions. The letters are not so much doctrinal systems as a sort of *journal intime* of soaring, searching spirits: autobiographies of spirit, 'confessions' of what the writers saw and heard and knew of 'the mystery of Christ.'‡ As Christ 'witnessed' of Himself, the apostles 'witness' of Christ. Their witness is offered in two distinct types—the predominantly ethical and the predominantly contemplative—neither of which has ever failed to recur constantly in subsequent history. It may therefore be taken as comprehensive and normative. It is, moreover, offered with a minimum reference to the material through which it has operated—the psycho-physical organism and temperament in which the gracious working has developed itself.§ The scaffolding has been taken down, and the building is disclosed unencumbered with immaterial detail. From that fact we may trust in the apostles' balance of mind and credibility, since the very richness of their spiritual vision points to an unusually large subconscious life of 'the natural man' and its insurgent impulses, not easy to subdue, yet which, instead of dominating, is so exquisitely kept in place as to become a chief instrument and material of their life's worth and works. Regarding our data in this light, what do

* 2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}. † Rev $21^{1.5}$. ‡ Ac 20^{24}.

§ Cf. art. 'Personality and Grace,' v., by J. Oman in *Expositor*, 8th ser. iii. [1912] 468 ff.

‖ Cf. St. Paul's 'baptism with Christ' (Ro 6^{4}, Col 2^{12}). Cf. for the idea, art. 'St. Paul and the Mystery-Religions,' III., by H. A. A. Kennedy, in *Expositor*, 8th ser. iv. [1912] 60 ff.

¶ This criticism does not apply to mystical piety or evangelical.

** It is a seizing by God as well as a yielding by man, 'apprehension' on both sides (Ph 3^{12}).

* See art. PERSEVERANCE.

† Cf. a sermon by Phillips Brooks, 'The Candle of the Lord' (*The Candle of the Lord and Other Sermons*, 1881).

‡ The recent extensive literature devoted to the study of the apostles' teaching has for main result to cast into bolder relief the splendid *spiritual* stature of, next to Christ, the two great figures, St. Paul and St. John.

§ Hints occur in St. Paul's writings (Ro 7^{24} 12^{1}, 1 Co 9^{27}, 2 Co $13^{7.8}$ 12^{2}).

we find?—At once a continuity of experience and an identity of essential fact.

(*a*) *Supernatural principle of life.*—To begin with, we find the life of grace to be constituted by the supernatural principle, and to be an indivisible entity. The life of the believer is by a new birth from above,* translating men into a new position before God and a new disposition to sustain it.† That is the consentient testimony of the apostles, as of the saints, of the first and of every age.‡ Grace is initially regeneration, the work of God's Spirit, 'whereby we are renewed in the whole man and are enabled more and more to die daily unto sin and to live unto righteousness.'§ Apostolic and saintly biography shows that this condition may have different levels and values in different natures, and even in the same nature at different times. It shows also that the maintenance of that condition means a constant and immense effort, a practically unbroken grace-getting and ever-growing purity in conflict with the insistent lower self. But the characteristic general fact of renewal remains, as something constant and inalienable—in its inferior planes as a fight against the devil; in its higher, a struggle with lower self, stimulated and impelled by God's illumination working in and upon the soul: constant and inalienable so long as the soul keeps turning towards the Light. For the grace of conversion‖ is the concomitant of regeneration. Conversion is an act of the soul made possible by the Spirit, and should be as continuous as an act as regeneration is as a work.¶ This experience, which on one side is regeneration and on the other is conversion, is one which leaves the soul different for ever from what it was before; yet not in such wise as to prevent the soul itself living on, or as to raise the soul above its limitations and failings, so that it will not fall from grace, and will be kept from sin. But the endeavour to keep from fall and lapse is now on a larger and deeper scale, on a higher plane, on a new vantage-ground. It is always attended by the clear consciousness of the effort being 'in God,' 'in Christ,' and as wholly their work as the soul's.

This double consciousness of Divine and human action, nevertheless, does not divide the soul. On the contrary, the more deeply it proceeds, the more does the soul wake up and fuse itself into single vital volition to cast off what is inconsistent with its growing self and to mould what remains into better consistency. The soul as the subject of grace is not an automaton but a person, and the two actions are but two moments of one motion whose activities are not juxtaposed but interpenetrate in an organic unity.** Spirit and spirit can be each within the other††—a favourite idea of the apostles.‡‡ In St. John the same thought is ever present under the categories of life, light, knowledge, love.§§ All here comes from, and leads to, a life lived within the conditions of our own existence in willed touch and deliberate union with God.

(*b*) *Blessings of Christ's work and Person.*—Next we find the life of grace to be a progressive process of moral purification and mental enlightenment in mystical union with Christ. It is a growth in grace and in the knowledge of Christ,* in the 'grace and truth' that are come by Jesus Christ.† St. Paul dwells on this grace as 'righteousness,'‡ St. John dwells on it as 'truth' (light, knowledge);§ never, however, in either case on the one as exclusive or separate from the other. To St. Paul Christ is wisdom as well as righteousness; to St. John He is righteousness as well as truth, although in the former instance the point of emphasis is on righteousness, in the latter on light. For this reason, in the Pauline doctrine the description of the source, sphere, and effects of grace is mainly in juridical terms; in the Johannine, in abstract terms—true to the intellectual influences to which they were subject.‖ The two accounts necessarily differ, and in important details. The fundamental conceptions are identical. A broad statement of their unity may well precede the elucidation of their divergences. To both types of idea: (1) Christ is not 'after the flesh,' but is Spirit or Life,¶ *i.e.* the Risen and Glorified Christ who had met St. Paul on the way to Damascus, converting him; whom St. John saw in the Vision of Patmos for his comfort; 'the second Adam,'** 'the Man, the Lord†† from heaven'; 'the Lord of glory.'‡‡ (2) Righteousness and truth are objective realities as well as subjective qualities, powers of God and qualities in man: the righteousness of God and the sanctity of man—the first creative of the second through faith.§§ (3) Christ is the Mediator of righteousness and truth, both of which He is Himself;‖‖ in virtue of which it is said that 'the grace of God' is the 'grace of Christ,' ¶¶ and the life of grace is 'life in him' or 'life in the Spirit.'*** (4) This Spirit creates or awakes Spirit (*πνεῦμα*) in man through the infusion of its supernatural principle in the gift of righteousness and knowledge (=Spirit), so that men are partakers of these as they are in God, in the measure of men.††† The Apostle finds the possibility, on man's side, of this infusion, in the nature of the human *πνεῦμα*,‡‡‡ which then becomes the temple of the indwelling Divine *πνεῦμα*, and from which as basis proceeds the sanctification of the whole nature. (5) The righteousness and truth (which are Spirit, and Christ), mediated to faith, are mediated by the human life and historic work of Christ: in the Pauline statement, with special relation to His Death and Resurrection; in the Johannine, with reference to the issues for character which His Coming reveals and makes acute. According to the former, the sacrifice of Christ is deliverance from the curse that rests on sin and the alienation from God. By His Resurrection Christ so completely takes possession of the believer's heart that he feels his life is not so much his own as that of Christ in him—the indwelling Spirit. According to the latter, the eternal life of the pre-existent Logos, manifested in Christ's historical Person, is in believing experience incor-

* Cf. Jn 1^{13} 3^{3}, 2 Co 5^{17}, Gal 6^{15}, Ja 1^{18}, 1 P 1^{23}, 1 Jn 3^{9}.

† Cf. Jn 14^{6}, Ro 5^{2}, Eph $2^{5.\ 10.\ 18}$ 3^{12}, Ph 3^{20}, Tit $3^{5.\ 6}$, He 7^{19} $10^{19.\ 20}$.

‡ Cf. for the typical instance of mediæval piety—St. Catherine of Genoa—the remarkable delineation in F. von Hügel's *Mystical Element of Religion*, 1908; also Luther, Bunyan, etc.; and for Reformation examples, the life story of Luther. See also 'Studies in Conversion,' by J. Stalker, in *Expositor*, 7th ser. vii. [1909] 118, 322, 521.

§ *Shorter Catechism*; cf. Ro 12^{2}, 2 Co 4^{16}, Eph 4^{23}, Col 3^{10}.

‖ It belongs to the life of 'perseverance.'

¶ Cf. Jn 6^{44}, Ac 2^{38} $3^{19.\ 26}$ 9 11^{21} 17^{30} 26^{18}, 1 Th 1^{9}, Ja 4^{8}.

** Cf. 1 Co 15^{10}, 2 Co 3^{5} $12^{1\text{-}12}$, Eph $3^{7.\ 20}$, Ph $2^{12.\ 13}$.

†† Cf. Ro 8^{9}.

‡‡ Cf. Ro 6^{3} $8^{1.\ 9.\ 10.\ 11}$ 14^{8}, 1 Co $10^{3.\ 4}$ 15^{31}, 2 Co $4^{10.\ 11}$ 13^{5}, Gal 3^{27}, Ph 1^{21}.

§§ Jn 4^{14} $5^{21\text{-}29}$ $6^{35.\ 40.\ 44}$ 10^{10} 12^{50} 14^{10} $15^{1.\ 5}$ $17^{3.\ 22}$, 1 Jn $4^{10.\ 19}$.

* 2 P 3^{18}.

† Jn 1^{17}.

‡ Ro 1^{17} 10^{4}, 1 Co 1^{30}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 3^{9}, etc.

§ Cf. Jn 1^{9} 3^{19} 12^{35}, 1 Jn $1^{5.\ 7}$ 2^{8} 5^{6}, Rev $22^{5.\ 6}$, etc.

‖ We take St. Paul's mind to be little influenced, the Johannine writings to be much influenced, by Greek thought.

¶ Jn 14^{6} 11^{25}, 1 Co $15^{45.\ 47}$, 2 Co 3^{17}, 1 Jn $1^{1\text{-}3}$.

** 1 Co 15^{45}.

†† 1 Co 15^{47}.

‡‡ 1 Co 2^{8}, Ja 2^{1}.

§§ Ac 3^{16}.

‖‖ Ro 5^{18}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 1^{11}, 2 P 1^{1}, 1 Jn 2^{27} 5^{20}.

¶¶ Christ is its bearer and bringer, having the *pleroma*; see esp. Col 1.

*** The Spirit of grace.

††† Jn 3^{7} 5^{20}, Ro 1^{17} 5^{17} 3^{22}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 3^{9}.

‡‡‡ The Pauline anthropology is an intricate subject. For a remarkably interesting and clear statement see H. Wheeler Robinson, *Christian Doctrine of Man*, 1911, pp. 104–136. St. Paul teaches that in the natural *πνεῦμα* of man lies the ground of affinity with the Divine *πνεῦμα*.

porated through the mystical fellowship* of believers with Christ, who are translated from darkness into light, from death to life, from sin and unrighteousness to love.† (6) In the Epistle to the Hebrews (of the Pauline type) the life of grace is seen at work in Christ's Personal Life, making it clear that the faith *in* Him that is receptive of grace is the faith *of* Him; so that what He did and won for men He did and won for Himself as a work of spiritual and moral power exerted in Him, and not simply upon Him. 'The grace-enabling faith and the faith enabled by grace to overcome sin and destroy death, the Divine and human conspiring to produce and constitute the new righteousness of God in man and man in God, were so met in Jesus that He Himself was the revelation because He was the thing revealed.'‡ (7) The appearance of this Life and its blessings of grace are traced to the spontaneous and unmerited beneficence and initiative of God,§ who in Christ deals with sinful mankind not on the ground of merit or after the mode of Law, as though they were servants or subjects, but solely from His own natural instinct of Holy Love, as a father towards his sons. Hence the gracious will of God is distinctive in the incomparable fullness and excellency of the motives which it comprehends.‖ (8) Divine grace consequently underlies every part of the redemptive process, in an imposing array of objective forces.¶ What are its parts? Here the schemes of saving grace in the two types widely diverge in their most conspicuous features. St. Paul conceives of the subject of grace thus—the sinner is a criminal whom the Righteous Judge will of His clemency save; and his thought moves in a circle of juristic terms. St. John's conception, on the other hand, is of the world (=human life) as marred by sin in opposition to God, and his notion moves in a series of antitheses reconciled finally by the manifestation of that pre-existent Logos who is the world's fundamental principle. Under these leading concepts let us classify the respective terms.

(α) *The Pauline scheme.*—'Justification' is the point of stress in the Pauline list, and with it go 'redemption' and 'righteousness'; 'adoption' and 'reconciliation' go together; sanctification is their result. The source of the whole is in the Divine predestination, and the goal is man's glorification. The briefest definitions must suffice. Predestination determines on God's part His purpose of grace. Election expresses the soul's experience and certainty of saving grace. Justification is the grace which acquits and accepts the sinner as righteous. By justification the redemption purchased by Christ is made effective. Adoption is the grace that removes the obstacles debarring the sinner from fellowship with God, and inspires him with filial trust, freedom, and inheritance. By adoption reconciliation with God is made effective. Sanctification is the issue of these already mentioned in the renewal of the whole man—spirit, soul, body—a renewal leading eventually to resurrection, life, glory. Though the parts may thus be separated in thought, it is to be remembered that they are inseparable in the actual process. The prescience and prevenience of God are not otiose; they are the active origin and basal ground of man's salvation. Justification in its attitude of faith implies the implicit energy of sanctification. Sanctification is but a 'continuous justification.'* Imputed righteousness is vital and is imparted. The 'peace with God' which these secure is, through a real remission of sins and rescue from God's wrath, fitted to partake in the ineffable nature of the Spirit of righteousness and truth, who effects salvation, and the bliss of the Eternal Life, of which it is the foretaste and first-fruit.†

St. Paul gives two 'sums' of grace, the one in 1 Co 1^{30}, the other in Ro 8^{30}, to which elsewhere are added 'adoption' and 'reconciliation' (Gal 4^{5-7}, Ro 5^{11}, 2 Co 5^{19}). We may tabulate thus:

A. Predestination and Election.

B.	Justification and Redemption.	Adoption and Reconciliation.	Sanctification and Righteousness.

C. Resurrection and Glory.

(β) *The Johannine scheme.*—Eternal Life is the point of stress in the Johannine scheme. It works itself out in a series of three antitheses subsumed under the general and inclusive one of God *versus* the world, viz. light *v.* darkness, life *v.* death, love *v.* sin = unrighteousness. God and Christ, working in the Pauline scheme as righteousness and wisdom, work here as light, life, love, driving away darkness, death, sin; restoring life to its full completion by this self-revelation of the Divine Life which is at the same time the principle of the world's real life (Logos). Resurrection here is just fullness of life, the perfection of personality, which we see in Christ (historic), who is the Resurrection and Life, and who communicates it to believers, with self-evidencing force, in the life of love. This new life is attained from the new birth in an experienced succession‡ of ever-deepening intuitions and acts of faith, in a rich immanence of Christ in the believing soul,§ and of such a soul in Christ, like that of the Father in the Son and the Son in the Father.‖ We may tabulate thus:

A. Pre-existent Logos and Life.

	God		Light	Life	Love
B.	*v.*	=	*v.*	*v.*	*v.*
	World.		Darkness.	Death.	Sin.

C. Incarnate Logos, Principle of Resurrection and Life.

The broad result of both descriptions of the life of grace is notable. It vindicates the outstanding fact of the Synoptic presentation of Christ: the uniqueness of His self-estimate for salvation. That is the conspicuous fact likewise of apostolic experience: 'the mystery of Christ now revealed to his holy apostles.' Unique as His life was, it yet can be the very law of all life. And it is so, when a relation between men and Christ is established of such a nature as links them to Him, so that they abide in Him as in their element. That relation is not adequately expressed as simply ethical harmony. It is rather an interpenetration of essence, in which the soul, gathering up all its faculties in unitary interplay and under His infusion of His Spirit, enters on a progressive sanctification, the illumination of the mind, the cleansing of the Spirit, until the whole nature is filled with the rich gifts of grace. Man in all this is neither depersonalized nor self-deified. He is, indeed, a self-contained system of spiritual operations—a little cosmos. But he is this in order to take his rightful and ordained place in the larger

* Cf. the discourses in the Upper Room, Parable of the Vine, etc.

† St. John's three great antitheses.

‡ W. P. DuBose, *The Gospel according to Saint Paul*, 1907, pp. 85–86.

§ Jn 1^{12} $6^{37.40}$, Ro $5^{8.10}$, Eph 1^{4} 2^{8}, Col 1^{6}, 1 Jn 3^{16} 4^{10}.

‖ 2 Co 9^{8}, Ph 4^{19}, 1 P 4^{10}, 1 Jn 3^{1}.

¶ Ro 8^{30}.

* The phrase is Flint's, in *Sermons and Addresses*, 1899, p. 230—Christ our Righteousness. It is a merit of Ritschl to have broken down the distinction between justification and sanctification. Cf. his chief work, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[4], 1900.

† Ro 5^{1}.

‡ Cf. W. R. Inge, art. 'John, Gospel of,' in *DCG* i. 835 ff., where, however, the successiveness of the stages is overdrawn, and the equally true simultaneity is obscured.

§ Too narrow a content is at times given to St. John's 'knowledge': it includes not only the mental part, but all the parts of a man's self.

‖ Jn $14^{20.21}$.

cosmos; for the fundamental energy in his new life is the wider fundamental energy which is co-extensive with creation vitalizing all that lives. So large is God's gift.*

(*c*) *The gift of the Holy Ghost.*—We find the life of grace to be consummated under the pre-ordained Divine ideal by the indwelling of the Holy Spirit and the hope of glory. The life of grace is the eternal life in its earlier stage. The gift alone corresponding to the requisite grace is the Holy Spirit. It is a gift, the natural and necessary sequel to the process just described.† For the Spirit is the agent of the operations of grace. If God justifies, adopts, and sanctifies, regenerates and converts, it is but fitting that He take means to make known the fact to them who are subject to these acts of grace: hence in justification the Spirit 'sheds abroad in our hearts' the love of God;‡ in adoption 'the Spirit beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God.'§ St. John dwells on the importance of the sending of the Spirit.‖ The Spirit is specially *the* gift of God; His mission the most important of the consequences of Christ's Exaltation. As Christ grew Himself in grace by the Spirit, so by the Spirit He did His work for man, does His work in man, and mystically abides in man. The Spirit comes not to supply the place of an absent Christ but to bring a spiritually present Christ. He dwells in the believer as that Divine personal influence that brings Christ into the heart and seats Him there. He joins us to Christ, and in Christ we are joined to God—hence the terms 'Spirit of Christ,' 'Spirit of the Son,' 'Spirit of Jesus Christ.' Again, the Spirit does His work not abstractly, but by producing conviction of sin, righteousness, judgment to come, in relation to Christ whom 'He glorifies.'¶ He makes the historic facts of the Life, Death, and Resurrection of Christ the vital points of connexion through which He acts; and because it is so, men experience in grace those energies which constitute the Spirit of the Son, the energies of God.

Hence His indwelling manifests itself in the particular dispositions and graces of character** which He calls into existence, called 'the fruits of the Spirit.' We need not trace the forms in which the spiritual principle unfolds or the spheres within which it operates.†† We point only to the infinite variety and individuality of grace in its exhibition here, and to its limitless prospect and horizon. God in Christ through His Spirit is the Maker, the Creator of this new spiritual character.‡‡ It is the production of the original and underived conception of His mind, not an origination in man's nature nor within its limits. Hence its freshness, pregnancy, fruitfulness, and hopefulness. It is a life to be worked up to (a Divine ideal), not worked out from—and no man can fix the bounds of its splendour.

It finds exercise in the natural virtues, in the spiritual graces, in the service and worship of God, in the religious emotions, and in the realization of the blessings of salvation. It is 'unto good works,' with sublime inclusiveness. There is no fixed pattern. God has no set moulds for character to run in: nothing is fixed but the predestined path 'that God has ordained that we should walk in.'* The same idea occurs in another fine setting in St. Peter.† The greatness of grace lies quite as much in what it is to be as in its present value; in grace there is an inherent, indefinitely prolonged, and enduring propagativeness, another aspect of grace's resources. In this regard the Spirit is 'an earnest.' An earnest implies two things—more to follow, and more of essentially the same kind. The presence of the Spirit in a man's life speaks to him with assurance of the future, and the blessedness awaiting; and, if it does not enable him to forecast the particulars of that life, yet it does enable him to foretaste its nobleness and bliss. What grace gives here‡ will be enjoyed there in perfect glory and perfected fullness. Only let us 'live in the Spirit' and 'walk in the Spirit.'§

3. Historical controversies.—The subject of grace bristles with controversy. Every fresh epoch, bringing larger thought and fresh foci of emphasis, sees the recurrence of perplexities. The Apostolic Age is no exception. Its apologetic protagonist, St. Paul, discusses at least four points—grace in relation to (*a*) nature, (*b*) merit, (*c*) freedom, (*d*) the Church and sacraments. A brief note on each may fitly close this exposition.

(*a*) *Grace and nature.*—The question is in reality part of the perennial problem of nature and the supernatural, and their relation. With the Apostle it offers two facets: (1) the extent to which unregenerate man may be said to be under grace; (2) the conversion of sinful nature by grace. As to the former, there have been in subsequent times two attitudes: (*α*) man's unregenerate nature is wholly outside grace, a *massa perditionis* (St. Augustine), a 'total depravity' (Calvin), 'in bondage' (Luther); and (*β*) it is only in part outside the operation of grace; grace includes natural virtue as well as supernatural gifts; in the working of reason and conscience we see the working of God's Spirit; the question is one of degree. As to the latter there have been also two attitudes: Is sin radical or superficial, imperfection or perversion? If it is a radical perversion, then the converting grace required is above nature, the free gift of God's mercy; if a superficial imperfection, moral influence by way of education will suffice to eradicate it.

These attitudes in varying guise have divided Christendom through the centuries. On which side may we range the apostles? The question is not easy to answer. They offer no systematic statement. Two considerations are relevant. First, they inherit the national attitude, the cardinal feature of which is the natural affinity of man for God and the easy access of God's Spirit to man. The Spirit operated specially but also generally; His grace lay in the ordinary as well as in the exceptional facts of moral and religious life. There is no sign that the apostles broke with this point of view (nor did the Patristic age).‖ They make, however, a most significant addition, due to the vital effect of Christ's Personality in their experience, introducing an absolutely new strain, forming a new centre round which the problem gathers. The inherited theory is left unreconciled with the new focus; the new focus inevitably leads to the profoundest widening of the gulf between nature and grace; and pre-Christian moral and religious life is conceived of as, in its general disposition, evil, abandoned of God, even if, in its higher tendencies, especially in Israel under the Law, it was propædeutic and led to demands for revelation

* Ro 8.

† This is prominent in Romanist teaching of *gratia*, infusion of saving energy by the work of the Spirit, just as in Reformed doctrine 'grace' is the free favour of God, manifested in justification, which brings with it assurance. St. Paul's idea comprises both.

‡ Ro 5^5. § Ro $8^{16.\ 17}$.

‖ Jn 14, 16, etc. ¶ Jn 16^{13}.

** St. Paul gives a fine list (Gal $5^{22.\ 23}$); St. John gives its no less fine spirit—love (1 Jn 3^1).

†† Briefly, the Spirit's 'manifestation' is (*a*) ecstatical, (*b*) ethical, (*c*) religious. St. Paul gives the lowest place to (*a*), the highest to (*c*) (1 Co 13).

‡‡ Eph 2^{10}, 'we are His "poem" created.'

* Eph 2^{10}. † 1 P $1^{3\text{-}5}$.

‡ 'The Spirit of glory and of God rests upon us now' (1 P 4^{14}).

§ The believer who has the Spirit thus has Him as 'a seal' (2 Co 1^{22}, Eph 1^{13} 4^{30}).

‖ The Greek Fathers teach that the Greek philosophers are under the influence of the Holy Spirit.

of grace. In both St. John and St. Paul the conception of sin is unmeasurably deepened—its opposition, even enmity, to God and grace starkly expressed.

(*b*) *Grace and merit.*—The doctrine of merit in its full technical sense belongs to later days. It is fully developed in mediæval scholasticism, where it occupies a large place. It was seriously assaulted by the Reformers. It was prepared for by a long anterior development from small beginnings as early as the sub-apostolic teaching.* Many factors entered in the course of history to enhance its theological interest. From the sub-apostolic age there begins the emphasis on *works*. Again, increasingly, Christianity tends to become a new Law, the Christian life its submissive acceptance. Still more, as the Church-consciousness grew, there grew the ecclesiastical idea of redemption as a great system beginning in baptism and ending in resurrection; grace working not spiritually but mechanically in its mode.† The Latin Fathers gave a strong impetus to the idea of merit in the doctrine and discipline of penance. In the Pauline anthropology the idea is present and is opposed in its most rudimentary form. It has a natural basis, which the Apostle takes up, and, dissociating it from the popular view, makes serve as the foundation of his doctrine of faith as the human factor in the renewal of the believing heart. It is not quite true that in Pauline theology man 'can do nothing' and 'needs to do nothing.' Grace requires man's co-operation in faith, which is not simply an initial act, but a constant attitude. Faith, or the receptive heart, implicit, humble trust in God, may be all the sinner has to exercise—but it is a vast deal, and has a distinct moral worth.‡ Its worth, however, is not extended to the good qualities or good works of which it is the precursor; these are credited solely to the grace whose reception faith renders possible.§ The Pharisaic doctrine of merit is before the Apostle's mind; and his arguments emphasize the gospel of absolute grace in reaction from the conception of Law as conditional reward. He labours to prove that the Law by its very nature cannot unite the sinner to Christ or God, union with whom is the proper idea of grace. The true relation is reversed when character and conduct are made pre-conditions of our obtaining Divine grace instead of the joyous result of our having accepted it. Besides, even faith is the gift of God. The Spirit implants. For that express purpose Christ is exalted.‖ These principles reappear in the Reformers' polemic against the Catholic dogma. 'Faith unites the soul to Christ.' That primary fact it is that outcasts all merit, and faith is 'the gift of God.'

(*c*) *Grace and freedom.*—In the life of grace as a human experience God of His own motion takes part. Another problem is: What is the part God takes, and what is man's? The problem is one of the most difficult. It is continually emerging in the course of human thought, and, like all of these grace problems, has continuously divided Christian loyalty. Two great answers have been given which in their extreme statement are directly contradictory of one another, but modifications of which are continually proposed. The first is known as Pelagianism, according to which the spiritual life of a man is the direct result of his own choice. The second is known as Augustinianism, according to which the spiritual life is necessitated by God's will. The best-known modification is Semi-pelagianism, which finds prevailing favour in the Roman Catholic teaching, as Augustinianism does in Reformation doctrine. It is a form of Synergism, according to which Divine grace is insufficient till human effort conjoins with it. The three may be thus defined—in the Pelagian view, grace precedes and assists the *natural* (unregenerate) will; in the Augustinian, grace prepares and assists the *regenerate* will; in the Semi-pelagian, grace is not operative at all till man's will (*indifferent*) brings it into play. The answer to the problem depends on the philosophy of personality adopted.* What is here relevant is the fact that the apostolic doctrine has nothing of all this in view, however much it may suggest it. These eternal values are carried up to the eternal purpose of God and at the same time the ethical basis of moral responsibility in human freedom is recognized. The Divine control of human life in the whole of its activities is one of the great conceptions of the OT. It is power animated by a gracious and righteous purpose and conditioned by the recognition of human freedom. The OT idea of providence culminates in the NT idea of salvation. The assertion of human freedom runs through both OT and NT, Divine control and human freedom accompanying each other, in harmonious intimacy, regarded in a purely practical manner. Whatever invasion of 'freedom' there is, is due to sin; but the evil tendency is never pressed into determinism. The apostles, as later the Fathers, think in this ancestral descent. Religious dependence has for necessary concomitant moral independence; the deeper the dependence (religious) the richer the independence (morality). It is this independence that St. Paul emphasizes in the blessing which he terms 'the glorious liberty of the sons of God,' 'the freedom wherewith Christ sets us free'†—a primary feature of the new life. Grace is the personal relation to our moral self by which that self attains emancipation. Modern moral theory approves.

(*d*) *Grace and the Church and sacraments.*—In apostolic thought the Church is a visible and Divine institution: the Body and Bride of Christ. It is the appropriate social environment for the sanctified soul, wherein at once the gifts of each are available for the profit of all and the spiritual atmosphere conduces to the uplift and sanctity of all. It is specially the 'fulness of him that filleth all in all,'‡ *i.e.* the complement of His purpose, the means by which He accomplishes His loving scheme for man's salvation. There are two strata of concepts concerning the Church, one lower than the other, which have given some justification for the belief that the apostles describe the Church in two aspects, visible and invisible, realistic and idealistic. Rather they find in the Church as men see it something evident only to spiritual insight. To them the Church's life and spirit are but the realization and extension of the Spirit of Christ Himself, and the Church possesses, in the midst of its variety of spiritual influence upon its members, a mysterious unity, which is not only the sum-total of all present variations, but something always beyond and far-reaching, inviting and calling and assisting the believing members upward and onward identically after the manner of Christ Himself with the soul living in Him. To magnify the Church is to magnify this Divine Spirit living and working in the Body of Christ.

The ordinances of the Church possess a particular character. They are not subordinate as mere means of influencing the soul: they are means of grace to the soul. They are of co-ordinate importance with the Incarnation, whose effects they continue, with the Atonement, which they com-

* In 'Hermas' we have the idea of supererogatory merit; and also of some works better pleasing to God than others.

† Not the same as the magical working of the impersonal 'infusion' of later scholasticism.

‡ He 11[6].

§ This is all more fully considered under art. JUSTIFICATION.

‖ Ac 5[31].

* A question into which we need not here enter.

† Gal 5[1]. ‡ Eph 1[23].

memorate, for they apply the graces of these. This efficacy hangs on the Living Presence of Christ, whose grace they convey; for the effect of sacraments depends on the action of Christ Himself. In them He communicates what He alone can bestow, for the use of which faith and spiritual affections are required, but which they cannot create.* Through His Spirit's operation they unite us with Him in the mystical union. The Church in this sense was purchased by Christ's blood† and is the object of justification.‡ Very early the rapidly growing Christian society seized upon this conception and began to relate the grace of Christ through His Spirit to the sacraments as feeders of the mystery of the inner life. The whole ancient Church, *e.g.*, connects the gift of the Spirit with baptism. Yet there is no disposition to regard the rite as magical or mechanical: the spiritual efficacy of the ordinance is due to the Holy Spirit.§ Not the rite *ex opere operato*, not the minister, but the Spirit dispenses grace; the visible elements and the ministerial action derive their validity from the Spirit alone. Soon pagan and superstitious elements were to enter in, to alter this free spiritual idea of sacramental grace into 'another grace' altogether—a lapse from personal to sub-personal categories, in perfect consonance with the new and attractive idea of the Church in its visibility and authority as the exclusive custodian of grace. Externally as that idea was formulated, and false as its rapid development grew to be to the apostolic mind, its opponents too often forget that to the apostolic mind there is no idea so fundamental as the reality of a great spiritual society living by its own truth and life, having its own laws, and these exclusively spiritual. For the life of grace consists not simply in the new life of the soul. It is the new order of the world, a new permanent order of life, a real supernatural constitution unfolding itself in the world, in absolute rupture with the present world, deeper and more comprehensive than the life of believers, having objective substantiality in the Life of God as the Life of Christ itself, whose embodiment on earth it is—an idea whose present and practical realization the modern social necessities imperatively demand.

LITERATURE.—Besides the books referred to in the body of the art., the following will be found useful: the artt. 'Grace' in *JE*, *CE*, and 'Gnade' in *PRE*^{3}; the Commentaries on Romans, particularly that of **Sanday-Headlam** in *ICC*, 1902; C. Piepinbring, *Jésus et les Apôtres*, Paris, 1911; A. E. Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, London, 1911; J. R. Cohu, *St. Paul in the Light of Modern Research*, do. 1911; G. Steven, *The Psychology of the Christian Soul*, do. 1911; W. A. Cornaby, *Prayer and the Human Problem*, do. 1912; a series of artt. by W. M. Ramsay, A. E. Garvie, and H. A. A. Kennedy in the *Expositor*, 8th ser. iii. [1912], iv. [1912], v. [1913]; the great work of H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Neutest. Theologie*^{2}, Tübingen, 1911, and an older work of great merit—J. W. Nevin, *The Mystical Presence*, Philadelphia, 1846. A. S. MARTIN.

GRAFTING.—The Greek word used (*ἐγκεντρίζω*) has two distinct meanings: (1) 'goad' or 'spur on' (cf. Ac 26^{14}, 'It is hard for thee to kick against the goad [*κέντρον*]),' and (2) 'inoculate' or 'graft.' The English word 'graff' is derived from the Gr. *γράφειν*, 'to write,' and means a slip of a cultivated tree inserted into a wild one, so called because of its resemblance to a pencil. In the NT the word occurs only in Ro 11$^{17-24}$: St. Paul here follows the Prophets (cf. Jer 11^{16}) in likening Israel to an olive tree (cf. art. OLIVE). Its roots are the Patriarchs, the original branches are the Jews, and the branches of the wild olive which have been grafted in are the Gentile Christians. Some of the original branches have been broken off owing to their lack of faith, and by a wholly unnatural process shoots from a wild olive have been grafted into the cultivated stock. But this is no ground for self-adulation: all the blessings which the Gentiles derive come from the original stock into which they have been grafted through no merit of their own; let them beware, therefore, lest through pride and want of faith they also are cut off, for it would, on the one hand, be a much less violent proceeding to cut off the wild branches, which have been grafted in, than it was to cut off the original branches; while, on the other hand, it would be far easier and far more natural to graft the original cultivated branches back into the stock on which they grew than it was to graft the Gentiles, who are merely a slip cut from a wild olive, in amongst the branches of the cultivated olive. The olive, like most fruit trees, requires a graft from a cultivated tree if the fruit is to be of any value. A graft from a wild tree inserted into a cultivated stock would of course be useless, and such a process is never performed; hence the point of St. Paul's comparison.

LITERATURE.—**Sanday-Headlam**, *Romans*^{5} (*ICC*, 1902), pp. 319–330; *HDB* ii. 257 f.; *EBi* 3496; *SDB*, p. 314; J. C. Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1903, p. 50; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1910, p. 33. P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

GRAVE, GRAVITY (*σεμνός*, *σεμνότης*, 1 Ti 2^2 3$^{4.\ 8.\ 11}$, Tit 2$^{2.\ 7}$, Ph 4^8).—The translation is, as a rule, 'grave,' 'gravity'; but in Ph 4^8 the AV has 'honest,' 'venerable' (marg.) (RV 'honourable,' 'reverend' [marg.]), and in 1 Ti 2^2 'honesty' ('gravity,' RV). The Vulgate has *pudicus*, except in 1 Ti 3^4 (*castitas*) and in Tit 2^7 (*gravitas*). 'The idea lying at its root (*σεβ*) is that of *reverential fear*, profound respect, chiefly applied to the bearing of men towards the gods' (Cremer, *Lexicon*^{3}, 1880, p. 522). It is akin to the Latin *serius*, *severus*, and the Gr. *εὐσέβεια*.

1. The word was used in a local sense of places haunted by supernatural powers—of caves,* of the boundary† of heaven and earth—as pointing to the Divine guardianship of the world. In the LXX the word is used in this sense of the Temple at Jerusalem, because it possessed a *τινα θεοῦ δύναμιν* which miraculously thwarted Heliodorus when he sacrilegiously tried to rob it (2 Mac 3). In an inscription of the 2nd cent. Bercea is called *σεμνοτάτη* because it was a Temple-guardian (*νεωκόρος*).

2. Akin to this was the religious application of the word to Divine persons—a usage which is common in early Christian literature. In Hermas, *Mand.* iii. 4, it is used along with *ἀληθές* of the Holy Spirit. It is used of the name of the Deity (2 Mac 8^{15}), just as in classical Greek the word was applied to the gods, *Ἐριννύες—αἱ σεμναὶ θεαί*.

In the NT, while the word has not lost its religious meaning, it is used mainly in a moral sense. It occurs only once outside the Pastorals (Ph 4^8), and probably was familiarized in common speech through the influence of popular Stoicism. The sophist claimed this title (Luc. *Rhet. Præc.* i.). In Hermas, *Vis.* III. viii. 8, *Σεμνότης* is one of the daughters of *Πίστις*, and thus has a place among the Christian virtues. The word is applied to persons or personal qualities in two senses—either subjectively, of a conscious moral attitude of gravity, or objectively, indicating the influence produced on others by such a grave, decorous behaviour. The best translation seems to be 'gravity.' Vergil (*Æn.* i. 151 ff.) speaks of a 'pietate gravem ac meritis virum.' At his approach a seditious mob stands still, waiting

* Pind. *Pyth.* ix. 50. † Eur. *Hippol.* 746.

* The point is not *how* Christ acts upon us by His Divine Humanity in the Church ordinances, whether by transubstantiation or spiritual power, but the fact that He does so act really and truly, whatever the mode.

† Eph 5^{25}, Tit 2^{14}.

‡ Cf. Ritschl, *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, ii. 217 ff.

§ Cf. H. B. Swete, *Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, 1912.

silently to hear him; and he rules their mind and calms their passions by his word.

This gravity of behaviour eminently becomes Church officials—bishops (Tit 2^7), deacons (1 Ti 3^8), deaconesses (v.[11]), and the aged in general (v.[4], Tit 2^2). They are to act, in all their official duties, with a sense that they are dealing with holy things; they are to teach with grave impressiveness (Tit 2^7). It is thus the opposite of light-hearted flippancy or frivolity. It implies dignity, and in this sense Aristotle uses it of the high-souled man (*Eth. Nic.* IV. iii. 26).

The home is a nursery for the training of gravity (cf. 1 Ti 3^4). Hence it is not altogether right to say that 'gravity is hardly a grace of childhood' (see N. J. D. White in *EGT*, 1910, on 1 Ti 3^4). It is the '"morum gravitas et castitas" which befits the chaste, the young, and the earnest, and is, as it were, the appropriate setting of higher graces and virtues' (C. J. Ellicott, *The Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1864, p. 27). It befits all in the home—children and women as well as the heads of the household, and all Christians as well as Christian officials (1 Ti 2^2). This aspect of gravity is referred to by Clement more than once in his *First Epistle to the Corinthians* (ch. i.). In an inscription it is found applied to a wife (see J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan in *Expositor*, 8th ser. i. [1911] 479). Regard for becoming conduct must be fostered in the home, and women and youths, as perhaps more open to frivolity and disobedience, must live σεμνῶς.

So, in the Church, gravity is the opposite of disorder, of shamelessness of behaviour. It is the opposite of ἀπόνοια (see Theophrastus, *Char.* xiii.). In 1 Ti 2^2, the Apostle inculcates gravity as a Christian attitude towards the State, and for this end prayer is to be made for kings and all in authority. Christians are not to imitate the Jews, who brought on themselves Roman hostility by their religious contempt of authority (Jos. *BJ* II. xvii. 2). Because God wills all men's salvation, and Christ gave Himself a ransom for all, Christians are to respect sincerely all authority as such.

'Christian reverence . . . hallows to us everything in life. The Christian regards himself as a valued work of God. His body is a temple built through ages by the Almighty. His race is a divine offspring. He loves even in the unworthy the stamp of their Maker. Material nature, human history, daily industry, the common intercourse of life gleam for him with the veiled light and movement of the Omnipresent' (G. G. Findlay, *Christian Doctrine and Morals*, 1894, p. 19).

Thus in Ph 4^8 the word is very wide in meaning—whatever demands and commands respect as well as the 'noble seriousness' (M. Arnold, *God and the Bible*, 1884, p. xvi) which such objects produce. Christian gravity is not, however, 'that sham gravity which so often discredits the word; not . . . the gravity of self-importance, or narrowness, or gloom; but . . . a free and noble reverence for ourselves (since God has made us and dwells in us), and for all that is great and reverend around us—the grace of thought that guards us from mere stupid flippancy' (F. Paget, *The Spirit of Discipline*, 1891, p. 74).

There was a tendency in Greece to oppose the σεμνός to the εὐπροσήγορος, the 'affable'; and thus grave persons got the reputation of being proud and unapproachable (Thuc. i. 130), of being indifferent to the public weal (ῥᾳθυμία), of being incapable of action, of looking superciliously on enjoyment, and of casting disdainful looks on those who did not philosophize (cf. Hadley's note [1896] on Eur. *Alcest.* 773 f.). The virtue of gravity easily passes into the vice of pomposity. Aristotle says of the high-souled man that he is dignified towards persons of affluence but unassuming towards the middle class. A dignified demeanour towards the former is a mark of nobility, towards the latter it is vulgarity (*Eth. Nic.* IV. iii. 26). In modern times gravity has been looked on as a flower that withers in the knowledge of natural law and in the change of social and political conditions (see W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals*[12], 1897, i. 141 f.). St. Paul, however, adds προσφιλῆ to σεμνά. 'By this the apostle seems to advert to that in which religious persons are too often deficient, who by an austere and ascetic demeanour not a little prejudice the cause of religion' (S. T. Bloomfield, *Gr. Test.*, 1832, [9]1855, on Ph 4^8).

He also adds ἀληθῆ. 'Truth is the basis, as it is the object of reverence, not less than of every other virtue' (H. P. Liddon, *Bampton Lectures for 1866*[8], 1878, p. 268).

For the difference between the form and the reality of reverence see Augustine on Seneca in Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 1883, p. 248.

LITERATURE.—See the relevant Commentaries and Literature referred to in the article; *HDB*, art. 'Grave'; B. Whichcote has 13 sermons on Phil 4^8 (4 vols., Aberdeen, 1751); Isaac Barrow, *Sermons*, London, 1861, i. 46. For a discussion on Reverence, see J. Martineau, *Types of Ethical Theory*[3], Oxford, 1898, vol. ii.; E. Caird, *The Evolution of Religion*, Glasgow, 1893, Lectures vii. and viii.; W. Paley, *Moral Philosophy*, London, 1817, pp. 296–304. For Kant's view, see *The Metaphysic of Ethics*, tr. Semple[3], Edinburgh, 1871; J. Kidd, *Morality and Religion*, do. 1895, Lecture iv.; H. Sidgwick, *The Methods of Ethics*[7], London, 1907; A. Bain, *Mental and Moral Science*, 1868, p. 249.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

GRECIANS, GREEKS.—These two terms correspond respectively to the Greek words Ἑλληνισταί and Ἕλληνες. The term Ἕλληνες is properly the name applied by the inhabitants of Greece to themselves, which the Romans rendered by the word *Græci* (Eng. 'Greeks'). In the NT the term is correctly used of those who are of Greek descent (Ac 16^1 18^4, Ro 1^{14}), although we also find it used as a general designation for all who do not belong to the Jewish race. Thus the foreigners who came desiring to see Jesus at the Passover are referred to as Greeks (Jn 12^{20}); so the Apostle Paul divides mankind into two classes when he says (Ro 10^{12}): 'There is no difference between the Jew and the Greek' (cf. Ro 1^{16}, Gal 3^{28}). In these passages the term is practically equivalent to 'Gentile' (*q.v.*). See also art. GREECE.

The term 'Grecians' (Ἑλληνισταί), on the other hand (Ac 6^1 9^{29}), is applied to Greek-speaking Jews as opposed to the Jews of Palestine, who spoke Aramaic and are designated Hebrews. From the days of Alexander the Great onwards, large numbers of Jewish emigrants were to be found all over the known world. In Alexandria in particular a great number had settled, but in all the cities of the West, in all the centres of trade, Jews found a home. Many of these Jewish settlers acquired great wealth, and adopted Greek speech, manners, and customs. They read the Greek poets, and many of them studied Greek philosophy, while at the same time they adhered to the Jewish hopes and regarded Jerusalem as the centre of their life and worship. They were free from the narrowness and provincialism of the native Jews of Palestine, and the message of the Christian missionaries found much more willing hearers among this class than among the prejudiced and exclusive Palestine Jews.

A question of considerable interest has been raised regarding the proper reading in Ac 11^{20}. Are we to read here 'Grecians' or 'Greeks'? Were those to whom the men of Cyprus and Cyrene preached Jews or Gentiles, Grecians or Greeks? Internal evidence and the mass of MS authority seem to conflict. The reading Ἑλληνιστάς of TR is upheld by B D^2 L and indirectly by ℵ*, and has the support of almost all the cursives. It is also retained by WH. On the other hand, internal

evidence seems to demand the reading Ἕλληνες of ℵ³ A D, which is accepted by Scrivener, Lachmann, Tischendorf, Tregelles, and the text of the RV. Why call attention to the fact that the men of Cyprus and Cyrene preached to Grecians when that had already been done? If the writer intends to refer to a new departure in missionary enterprise, the context seems to demand the reading 'Greeks' (cf. F. H. A. Scrivener, *Introd. to Criticism of NT*⁴, 1894, ii. 370 f.; for the other point of view see Westcott-Hort, *Introd. to Gr. NT*, 1882, App. p. 93 f.). W. F. BOYD.

GREECE (or Hellas; Lat. *Græcia*, Gr. Ἑλλάς).—The southernmost part of what is now called the Balkan Peninsula was the cradle of a race whose ideas contained the germs of our present Western civilization. As the religious life of mankind divides itself into the time before and after the dawn of Christianity, so the rational and political life of mankind divides itself into the time before and after the expansion of Hellenism. The mental activity of the Greeks in the great classical period, culminating in the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., made not only the Hellas of later times but all the world their debtor. The language they spoke, the art and literature they created, the spirit of liberty they fostered, and the philosophical temper in which they faced the problems of life, form essential elements in the finest modern culture. If criticism is, as M. Arnold said, 'a disinterested endeavour to learn and propagate the best that is known and thought in the world' (*Essays in Criticism*, London, 1895, i. 38), the contribution of Greece can never be neglected.

Like Palestine, the other ancient home of great ideas, Hellas proper was a small country. The Hellenic part of the peninsula (to the south of Macedonia and Thrace), with the isles of Greece, was much the same in extent as the modern Greek kingdom—about 250 miles in greatest length and 180 in greatest breadth. In a large sense, however, Hellas was an ethnological rather than a geographical term, for it embraced every country inhabited by the sea-loving and enterprising Hellenes—all their settlements on the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, on the shores of the Hellespont, the Bosporus, and the Euxine Sea. As the west coast of the homeland was mountainous and harbourless, while the east was full of gulfs, bays, and havens, Greece turned her back on Italy and her face to the Ægean and Asia Minor, so much so that in the 6th and the beginning of the 5th centuries B.C. the centre of gravity of Hellenic civilization is to be looked for in Ionia rather than in Attica, the most famous names in science, philosophy, and poetry being at that time associated with the Asiatic coast or the neighbouring Cyclades. But the Ionian Greeks, isolated by the estranging sea and weakened by internal jealousies, were unable to offer a successful resistance to the Persian advance, and the glory of saving European culture is due to the Athenians who fought at Marathon and Salamis.

In the classical period, Greece was an aggregate of self-governing city-States, of which Aristotle surveys no fewer than 158. These States combined for once, with brilliant results, in face of the Asiatic peril, but they never afterwards seemed to be capable of united action. Wasting their strength and resources in fratricidal wars which gave now Athens, now Sparta, now Thebes, a temporary hegemony, they proved in the day of reckoning too feeble to resist the military power either of the Macedonian monarchy or of the Roman republic. The career of Alexander, the pupil of Aristotle, closed the Hellenic and opened the Hellenistic period of history. It created a world-Empire and a world-culture, both of which borrowed their best features from a Greece which was 'living Greece no more.' While the new order reinforced the old Hellenic elements in Asia Minor, it brought into being a vast number of Greek cities—the conqueror himself is said to have founded seventy—in lands hitherto barbarian. It made Greek the language of literature and religion, of commerce and administration, throughout the Nearer East. And when the Romans became the sovereign people, it was Greek rather than Roman ideals that they sought to make effective throughout their Oriental dominions. 'The desire to become at least internally Hellenised, to become partakers of the manners and the culture, of the art and the science of Hellas, to be—in the footsteps of the great Macedonian—shield and sword of the Greeks of the East, and to be allowed further to civilise this East not after an Italian but after a Hellenic fashion—this desire pervades the later centuries of the Roman republic and the better times of the empire with a power and an ideality which are almost no less tragic than that political toil of the Hellenes failing to attain its goal' (T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Rom. Emp.*², 1909, i. 253).

Neither the Macedonians nor the Romans ever treated the conquered Greeks as ordinary subjects. The sacred land of art and poetry was not ruled like Egypt or Gaul. There was a province of Achaia, but never of Hellas. Such cities as Athens and Sparta were spared the humiliation of being placed under the *fasces* of a Roman governor and having to pay tribute to Rome. New Corinth, Cæsar's Roman colony, the least Hellenic of the cities of Greece, became the seat of government. Nevertheless, the free communities had little more than a simulacrum of their ancient power. The Roman governor could always make his voice heard in their councils, and a rescript from him brooked no delay in obedience. The right of bringing a proposal before the *Ecclesia* no longer belonged to every citizen, but was confined to definite officials, and the conduct of business was placed in the hands of a single στρατηγός. The citizens were always liable to be called to account for their proceedings (cf. Ac 19⁴⁰), while the sovereign power could at any moment cancel the constitution of a free city, and take the offenders under its own direct administration. At the best, Hellenistic life was now sorely cramped by the limitation of its sphere; 'high ambition lacked a corresponding aim, and therefore the low and degrading ambition flourished luxuriantly' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* i. 283). Shadowy assemblies still convened, engaged in grave debate, passed solemn resolutions, made appointments, and distributed honours. But political life of a serious kind was a thing of the past. Hellenism as described by such a writer as Plutarch already suggests 'a gilded halo hovering round decay' (Byron, *The Giaour*). 'The general effect produced by the many pictures, allusions, references, illustrations which he takes from the Greek world of his times is that romantic adventures, great passions, monstrous crimes, were foreign to the small and shabby gentility of Roman Greece. The highest rewards he can set before the keenest ambitions are no better than if we should now fire our youths' imagination with the prospect of becoming parish beadles, vestrymen, or at most town councillors' (J. P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, 1906, p. 349).

The twenty years' civil war, which ended in the transformation of the Roman Republic into an Empire, was calamitous to the Greeks, who seemed fated to be always on the losing side. They preferred Pompey to Cæsar, Brutus to Antony, and they were compelled in the end to raise levies for

Antony's campaign against Octavian. The three decisive battles of the war—Pharsalus, Philippi, and Actium—were fought on the soil or the coast of Greece, and the contending armies almost bled the poor country to death. Many of its cities fell into decay, vast tracts of arable land were turned into pasture or reverted to the state of Nature, and 'Greece remained desolate for all time to come' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* i. 268). The dawn of the Christian era saw the nadir of her fortunes, the hour in which she was most neglected and despised. Thinking that an improvement might be effected by a change of administration, the Greeks petitioned Tiberius in A.D. 15 to transfer Achaia from the senatorial proconsul to an Imperial legate. This arrangement was sanctioned, and lasted till A.D. 44, when Claudius restored the province to the senate; whence there was once more a proconsul (*ἀνθύπατος*) in Corinth (Ac 18[12]). Nero, who posed as a Philhellene, was accorded so flattering a reception during a progress through Greece that he bestowed freedom and exemption from tribute upon all the Greeks; but Vespasian found it necessary to restore the provincial government in order to avoid civil war. Greece received its greatest Imperial benefactions in the beginning of the 2nd century.

'As Hadrian created a new Athens, so he created also a new Hellas. Under him the representatives of all the autonomous and non-autonomous towns of the province of Achaia were allowed to constitute themselves in Athens as united Greece, as the Panhellenes. The national union, often dreamed of and never attained in better times, was thereby created, and what youth had wished for old age possessed in imperial fulness. It is true that the new Panhellenion did not obtain political prerogatives; but there was no lack of what imperial favour and imperial gold could give. There arose in Athens the temple of the new Zeus Panhellenios, and brilliant popular festivals and games were connected with this foundation, the carrying out of which pertained to the *collegium* of the Panhellenes, and primarily to the priest of Hadrian as the living god who founded them' (Mommsen, *op. cit.* i. 266).

Even in the period of greatest depression Hellas still maintained her old pre-eminence in education, though for a time the universities of Rhodes, Alexandria, and Tarsus rivalled that of Athens. The life of studious ease was to be enjoyed in the cities of Greece as nowhere else, and Plutarch cheerfully turned back from the vulgar splendour of Imperial Rome to the quiet refinement of his native Chæroneia. In all that pertained to good taste and humanity the Hellenes continued to bear the palm. Gladiatorial shows were never popular in Greece, except in the Roman colony of Corinth, and Dio Chrysostom (i. 385) expressed his disgust and horror when these barbarities began on occasion to be seen even in Athens.

In religious rites and ceremonies Greece was remarkably conservative. Pausanias (*Description of Greece* [ed. J. G. Frazer, 6 vols., London, 1898]) records (*passim*) that as he went through the country in the 2nd cent. of our era he found the primitive worships faithfully maintained in every city and village by the simple, unquestioning natives. And the great religious festivals—Olympic, Isthmian, Pythian—never failed to attract crowds. It is a familiar fact that religious beliefs which science has discredited may still have a long life before them. Ever since the days of Plato the traditional religion of Greece had been 'a bankrupt concern' (Gilbert Murray, *Four Stages of Greek Religion*, 1912, p. 107). And among those who not only doubted or denied the existence of the Olympian gods, but turned in weariness and disappointment from Stoic, Epicurean, and Academic systems alike, there was a thirst for some deeper satisfaction of the soul's wants. When Alexander's empire extended the bounds of knowledge, attention began to be directed to foreign faiths, and Oriental mysteries gradually came into vogue. Sacrifice and prayer to Hera or Athene were replaced by the orgiastic worship of Cybele or the mystic rites of Isis. The Eleusinian Mysteries—the cult of Demeter and Cora—constitute 'the one great attempt made by the Hellenic genius to construct for itself a religion that should keep pace with the growth of thought and civilization in Greece' (W. M. Ramsay, *EBr*[9] xvii. [1884] 126). The only native gods of Greece who could hold their own against foreign rivals were the mystery-deities, Dionysus and Hecate. The cult of Isis secured a foothold in the Ægean islands, spread to Attica in the 3rd cent. B.C., to Rome in the 1st, and ultimately established itself throughout the wide Roman Empire, as the adoration of the Madonna has done in the Catholic world. 'The great power of Isis "of myriad names" was that, transfigured by Greek influences, she appealed to many orders of intellect, and satisfied many religious needs or fancies' (S. Dill, *Roman Society from Nero to Marcus Aurelius*, 1904, p. 569). Christianity was preached in some of the leading cities of Greece soon after the middle of the 1st cent. (see ATHENS and CORINTH), but made slow progress throughout the country, where paganism, in one form or another, maintained itself till about A.D. 600.

Ionia (Javan) was known to the later Hebrew prophets (Ezk 27[13], Is 66[19]), and the Jews of the 2nd cent. B.C. came into touch with Greece proper. References to Athenians and Spartans occur in 1 Mac 12–14, 2 Mac 6[1] 9[15]; a long list of Greek cities is found in 1 Mac 15[23]; and, according to 1 Mac 12[5], Jonathan the Hasmonæan greeted the Spartans as brethren and sought an alliance with them against Syria. During the Maccabæan conflict the term 'Greek' came to be used by strict Jews as synonymous with anti-Jewish or heathen (2 Mac 4[10. 15] 6[9] 11[24]), and 'Hellenism' as identical with heathenism (4[10]). See HELLENISM.

LITERATURE.—A. Holm, *History of Greece*, Eng. tr., London, 1894–98; J. P. Mahaffy, *A Survey of Greek Civilisation*, do. 1897, *Rambles and Studies in Greece*[3], do. 1897, and *Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, do. 1905; J. G. Frazer, *Pausanias and Other Greek Sketches*, do. 1900; J. A. Symonds, *Sketches and Studies in Italy and Greece*, do. 1898; L. R. Farnell, *The Cults of the Greek States*, 5 vols., Oxford, 1896–1909, *The Higher Aspects of Greek Religion*, London, 1912; artt. 'Græcia' in Smith's *DGRG*, 'Greece' in *HDB*, *EBi*, 'Griechenland' in *RGG*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

GRIEF (*πόνος*, *ὀδύνη*, *λύπη*, *πένθος*, and cognate forms).—In addition to the common vexations of life (Ac 4[2]; cf. 16[18]) and the griefs arising from misfortune (2 Co 12[7]) and human mutability (deaths and partings, Ac 20[38]), there are certain cases of mental distress recognized in the NT, which are significant of the life and thought of the early Church.

(*1*) To the *sorrows of transgression* the Church is naturally sensitive. Sin reaps grief among its sad harvest. Esau's carelessness is followed by unavailing tears (He 12[17]). Those lustful after riches pierce themselves with many sorrows (1 Ti 6[10]). Proud Babylon despises God; a day of sorrow and mourning is at hand for her (Rev 18). The widespread pain caused by transgression is illustrated by the case of the incestuous member of the Corinthian Church (2 Co 2[1–7]). First, St. Paul, as a spiritual father of the Church, has been compelled to write with tears, in deep suffering and depression of spirits (2 Co 2[4]: *θλῖψις καὶ συνοχὴ καρδίας*), to admonish the careless Church which has allowed the outrage to pass unrebuked (1 Co 5[2]); then the Church itself, realizing its shame, is plunged into sorrow (2 Co 2[5]; cf. 7[8. 11]); and the actual offender is in danger of being driven to despair by his excess of grief (v.[7]). Such distress has, however, a redeeming feature, inasmuch as it leads to repentance (7[8f.]). There is a worldly sorrow (*τοῦ κόσμου λύπη*) which, embittering and

hardening instead of chastening (He 12[5-11], 2 Co 7[8]), worketh death (2 Co 7[10]).

(2) But *the Christian life has its own set of mental distresses.* The anguish of persecution at the hands of the world (Ro 8[35]; cf. 1 P 2[19]) is but one of the sorrows of the Christian's Via Dolorosa; his increasing moral sensitiveness enlarges the possibility of mental pain. The spiritual life is one of travail (Ro 8[22-26], 2 Co 5[2-4]; see art. GROANING). The richer soul also bears the cross of a wide human sympathy (2 Co 11[29], Ph 2[25-28]); and a conscientious ministry is one of suffering, anxiety, and tears (Ac 20[19. 31], 2 Co 2[1-4], Ro 9[2]; cf. He 13[17]).

(3) For the Christian *conquest over grief* see art. COMFORT.

(4) *The grief of God* over human perversity is recognized in He 3[10.17] (προσοχθίζω), and in Eph 4[30] the Christian is warned against grieving the Holy Spirit.

(5) *The grief of Jesus* is cited in He 5[7-10] as an indication that, so far from taking the priesthood to Himself, He shrank from the sacrificial function and 'accepted it only in filial submission to the will of God,' or 'that the offering of prayers and supplications with strong crying and tears corresponded to the high priest's offering for himself on the Day of Atonement (Hofmann, Gess). . . . An interesting parallel (also noted by Davidson) is Hosea's reference to Jacob's wrestling (12[4]), in which he speaks of him as weeping and making supplication to the angel, of which we read nothing in Genesis' (A. S. Peake, *Hebrews* [Century Bible, 1902], p. 134).

LITERATURE.—A. Maclaren, *Expositions*: '2 Cor. ch. vii. to end,' 1909, p. 8; J. Martineau, *Endeavours after the Christian Life*, 1876, p. 44: 'Sorrow no Sin'; A. W. Momerie, *The Origin of Evil*, 1885, p. 12 ff.: 'The Mystery of Suffering'; H. Bushnell, *Moral Uses of Dark Things*, 1877; B. H. Streeter, 'The Suffering of God,' in *HJ* xii. [April, 1914]; D. W. Simon, *The Redemption of Man*, 1889, ch. vii. H. BULCOCK.

GROANING.—The verb στενάζω occurs three times in Ro 8 (vv.[22. 23. 26]) and twice in 2 Co 5 (vv.[2. 4]), denoting the distress caused apparently not so much by physical suffering and material decay as by the conflict in the present order between matter and spirit. The whole creation is conceived as involved in this painful struggle—it 'groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now' (Ro 8[22]).

St. Paul's figure may have been suggested by the Jewish tradition of the 'birth-pangs of the Messiah': חֲבָלִי מָשִׁיחַ (F. Weber, *Altsyn. Theol.*, Leipzig, 1880, p. 350 f.; cf. Mt 24[7-8]: 'Nation shall rise up against nation, and there shall be famines and earthquakes in divers places. These things are the beginning of travail'), although the Apostle's thought is more psychological. For the sympathy of Nature with man's fall and restoration see Weber, pp. 222 f., 380 f., 398.

The larger life of the Spirit presses painfully against the limitations of the present material world. Not creation's physical sufferings under the bondage of corruption, but her 'earnest expectation' of deliverance from it, creates the sense of almost intolerable strain; the 'firstfruits of the Spirit' for the moment intensify the burden of the flesh; the deepest groanings of the saint arise from his sense of exile, from his 'longing to be clothed upon with his habitation from heaven' (2 Co 5[2]). The soul in its holiest moods groans in its impotence. Its highest yearnings, though known to the Searcher of hearts, have no language but a painful cry.

'The groanings which cannot be uttered' with which 'the Spirit' maketh intercession for us (Ro 8[26]) seem to be those of the saint's spiritual nature. In St. Paul, man's higher faculties take highly personified forms—the indwelling Divine is the Spirit of Christ (cf. Philo's Logos, identified with the archangel, etc., or the Logoi, identified with Jewish angels and Greek daimons. See J. Drummond, *Philo Judæus*, 1888, ii. 235 f., for a discussion of 'the suppliant Logos,' τὸν ἱκέτην λόγον). The 'Spirit' of Ro 8 is distinguished from God; the 'heart' of man and the 'mind of the Spirit' seem synonymous, and the 'unutterable groanings' suit better a limited human soul than a heavenly power.

But the stirrings of the Spirit which make the soul conscious of earth's 'broken arcs' give the promise of heaven's 'perfect round'—of 'the glory which shall be revealed to us-ward' (cf. St. Augustine's *Confessions*, bk. xiii.; also Browning's *Abt Vogler*). H. BULCOCK.

GROWTH, INCREASE (Gr. αὔξησις).—In most of the passages in which the idea of growth, growing, increase, occurs in the NT the words in use in the Greek are either parts or compounds of the verb αὐξάνω. The abstract noun 'increase' (αὔξησις) is found in only two passages—Eph 4[16], Col 2[19]—but the root of the word and the idea underlying occur frequently all through the apostolic writings. We also find περισσεύω, 'abound,' προκόπτω, 'advance,' πλεονάζω and ἐνδυναμόω, 'strengthen,' translated by the word 'increase.' Originally and in classical Greek the word αὐξάνω signified 'increase by addition from the outside,' used *e.g.* of a State increasing by adding to its territory, but in the NT the word is mainly used of seminal growth from within, such as the growth of a plant, animal, or person. The Hebrew writers were fond of comparing things natural with things spiritual, and found frequent analogy between natural and spiritual processes. They had a great wealth of words to express the idea of growth, and most of them signify the organic growth of living objects. According to Hebrew ideas, the natural laws of physical growth are made to apply to the spiritual realm. God is supreme in the world of Nature and the world of spirit alike. In both there is growth, and that is represented as the gift and working of God. He causes grass to grow (Ps 104[14] 147[8]), while the growth of restored and penitent Israel (Hos 14[5. 7]) is regarded as the result of the gracious operations of the forgiving God who is 'as the dew unto Israel.'

These ideas are carried forward to the NT, and we have frequent references to the phenomena of growth, while the comparison between growth in the natural and in the spiritual world is fully developed. Four separate connexions in which the idea of growth is applied can be distinguished.

1. In Jn 3[30] the word αὐξάνω is applied to the growing power and authority of Jesus Himself as a religious teacher. 'He must increase.' The same idea is expressed in Ac 9[22] where the growing spiritual power of St. Paul as a preacher of the gospel is referred to. The word used, however, is ἐνδυναμόω, which emphasizes the aspect of power rather than the growth of it.

2. In the Acts of the Apostles the idea occurs in connexion with the progress of the Church as an external organization. The phrase in Ac 6[7] 12[24] 19[20], 'The word of God increased' or 'grew,' which seems to be a formula used to close the various sections in the history, refers to the growth of the number of believers. Here the word used is αὐξάνω. The statement in Ac 16[5], 'The churches increased in number daily,' which also closes the preceding section dealing with the second visit of St. Paul to Asia, varies slightly. The verb used is περισσεύω, but the idea is the same. As a result of apostolic labours the number of believers increased. In the same way we read in St. Stephen's speech that the people of Israel 'grew and multiplied in Egypt' (Ac 7[17]).

3. We find the word used in a theological connexion referring to the growth of individual be-

lievers in Christian character and graces. The apostolic preachers did not regard their work as finished when they had converted Jews or heathen to Christianity. The Christian life had to be lived, and Christian character had to be formed. Growth and increase must follow the new birth. This growth is, on the one hand, regarded as a natural development from the new seed implanted in the new birth. The new creature must grow in faith, in knowledge, in grace, in righteousness, in Christian liberality and brotherly love. Thus the Apostle Paul rejoices that the faith of the Thessalonians 'groweth exceedingly' (2 Th 1^3). He prays that the Colossians may increase in the knowledge of God (Col 1^{10}), and beseeches the Thessalonians that they increase (or lit. 'abound,' Gr. *περισσεύω*) more and more in brotherly love, by which he means Christian liberality (1 Th 4^{10}). For the purpose of furthering this growth, God has given apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers (Eph $4^{10\text{-}15}$). In the same way St. Peter instructs his converts to desire the sincere milk of the word, that they 'may grow thereby' (1 P 2^2), and directly exhorts them to 'grow in grace and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour' (2 P 3^{18}). On the other hand, this increase in grace or Christian character is at the same time the work of God. Thus St. Paul prays that the Lord may make the Thessalonians to increase and abound in love (1 Th 3^{12}). In writing to the Corinthian Church, he compares the work done by himself and Apollos, and declares, 'I planted, Apollos watered, God increased' (1 Co 3^6). The object of all three verbs is the faith of the believers in Corinth, which St. Paul's preaching had kindled and Apollos had nourished; but the work of both would have been ineffective but for God's working, His making the seed to grow and increase (1 Co 3^7). Likeness to Christ is regarded by the apostolic writers as the end of this growth (Eph 4^{15}).

4. But not only is the idea of growth applied to the Church as an outward organization, the visible Church which grows in numbers, and to the Christian character of individual believers; it is also applied to the Church as a spiritual unity which the Apostle Paul describes as the 'body of Christ.' According to the Apostle, all believers are members of that body; but the growth of the individual members in Christian character and especially in love leads to the growth or increase of the body as a whole. The Church will finally reach consummation and completion by a long process of growth and development. The nature, law, or order of this growth of the Church as the body of Christ is described in Eph 4^{16} as 'proceeding in accordance with an inward operation that adapts itself to the nature and function of each several part and gives to each its proper measure. It is a growth that is neither monstrous nor disproportioned, but normal, harmonious, careful of the capacity, and suited to the service of each individual member of Christ's body' (S. D. F. Salmond, 'Ephesians,' in *EGT*, p. 338). All the members are united to one another and to Christ the Head, and draw nourishment and inspiration from Him and from one another, and thus increase 'with the increase of God' (Col 2^{19}), by which we may understand either the increase which God supplies, or, better, simply the increase such as God requires.

LITERATURE.—S. D. F. Salmond, 'Ephesians,' in *EGT*, 1903; A. S. Peake, 'Colossians,' in *EGT*, 1903; H. A. W. Meyer, *Der erste Brief an die Korinther*[4] (*Kommentar*, 1861), *Der Brief an die Epheser*[3] (do. 1859), *Die Briefe an die Philipper, Kolosser, und an Philemon*[3] (do. 1865); J. B. Lightfoot, *Colossians and Philemon*, 1876; B. Whitefoord, art. 'Growing,' in *DCG*.

W. F. BOYD.

GUARD.—(1) In Ac 5^{23}, $12^{6.\ 19}$ the AV renders *φύλακες* 'keepers,' which the RV retains in the former passage, where the watchmen are Jewish, but changes into 'guards' in the latter, where they are Roman. Arrested by the high priest Annas, and put 'in public ward' (Ac 5^{18}: *ἐν τηρήσει δημοσίᾳ*), Peter and John were not chained; their keepers merely shut the prison-house (*δεσμωτήριον*) and stood on guard outside. But when St. Peter was arrested by Herod Agrippa, and imprisoned in the fortress of Antonia or the adjoining barracks, he was chained to two soldiers, while other two kept watch at the door of the prison (*φυλακή*, Vulg. *carcer*). The station of the latter two was apparently 'the first ward' (*φυλακή*, Vulg. *custodia*), which the prisoner had to pass before he could effect his escape. The four soldiers together made a quaternion (*τετράδιον*), and four such bodies of armed men were told off to mount guard in succession during the four watches into which, in Roman fashion, the night was divided.

(2) The above-named Agrippa himself, having incurred the displeasure of Tiberius, once had the experience of being chained as a prisoner for six months to soldiers of the Imperial bodyguard in Rome. It was fortunate for him that the Emperor's sister-in-law Antonia, who used her influence with Macro, the *præfectus prætorio*, 'procured that the soldiers who kept him should be of a gentle nature, and that the centurion who was over them, and was to diet with him, should be of the same disposition' (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. vi. 7). Tiberius' death restored him to liberty, and Caligula consoled him with the gift of a chain of gold, equal in weight to the one of iron which he had worn (*ib.* vi. 10).

(3) To another such iron chain, which coupled St. Paul to one soldier after another of the same Imperial guard, allusion is made in each of the Captivity Epistles. Thanks to the favourable report given by the centurion Junius on handing over his charge to the præfect of the Prætorians, St. Paul probably received better treatment than an ordinary prisoner; but the fact remained that in his own hired house he was the *δέσμιος* of Christ Jesus, always wearing galling 'bonds' (*δεσμοί*, Ph $1^{7.\ 13.\ 14.\ 16}$, Col 4^{18}, Philem $^{10.\ 13}$, 2 Ti 2^9), called also a 'chain' (*ἅλυσις*, Eph 6^{20}, 2 Ti 1^{16}). Great good, however, resulted from his imprisonment; for through the frequent relief of the guard, and the Apostle's skill in changing an enforced fellowship with armed men into a spiritual communion, the real significance of his bonds—their relation to his faith in Christ—gradually became known among all 'the Prætorians,' the finest regiment of the Roman army (Ph $1^{12.\ 13}$). The arguments for this interpretation of the word *πραιτώριον* are fully stated by Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 99 f. Other possible explanations will be found under PALACE.

In the Republican days the *cohors prætoria*, or *cohortes prætoriæ*, formed the bodyguard of the *prætor* or *proprætor*, who was governor of a province with military powers. Under the Empire the Prætorians came to be the Imperial bodyguard, which, as constituted by Augustus, was made up of nine cohorts, each of a thousand picked men. They were distinguished from other legionaries by shorter service and double pay, and on discharge they received a generous bounty or grant of land. Tiberius concentrated the force in a strongly fortified camp to the east of Rome, on a rectangle of 39 acres, where the modern Italian army also has barracks. One cohort, wearing civilian garb, was always stationed at the Emperor's house on the Palatine; others were often sent to foreign service. The Prætorians were under a *præfectus prætorio*, or more often two, sometimes even three *præfecti*. These were originally soldiers, but ultimately the office was mostly filled by lawyers, whose duty it was to

relieve the Emperor in certain kinds of civil and criminal jurisdiction. One of Trajan's rescripts to Pliny (*Ep.* 57) indicates that the proper course to take with a certain Bithynian prisoner is to hand him over in chains 'ad præfectos prætorii mei,' and the case seems to be parallel to that of the Apostle, who made an appeal unto Cæsar (Ac 25[11. 21]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

GUARDIAN.—See TUTOR.

GUARDIAN ANGELS.—See ANGELS.

GUILE.—Guile is the usual translation of δόλος (Lat. *dolus*), which meant first 'a bait for fish' (*Od.* xii. 252), and then, in the abstract, 'wile,' 'craft,' 'deceit.' Guile is traced to the workings of that 'abandoned mind' which is itself the punishment, natural and in a sense automatic, of those who reject God (Ro 1[29]). The guile which characterized Jacob the Jew as well as Ulysses the Greek was indeed often admired as a national trait by which duller races could be outwitted. But it is one of the unmistakable marks of a Christian convert that he puts away all guile, and, like a new-born babe, desires the milk that is without guile (ἄδολον γάλα, 1 P 2[2]). Henceforth he refrains his lips that they speak no guile (3[10]). People who are themselves guileful find it difficult to believe that anybody can be disinterested, and St. Paul the Apostle (like many a modern missionary) was often supposed to be cunningly seeking some personal ends. 'Being crafty, I caught them with guile' (2 Co 12[16]), is a sentence in which he catches up some wiseacre's criticism of his actions, and gives it a new turn. His own conscience was clear; his 'guile' as a soul-winner was not only innocent but praiseworthy. His exhortation (παράκλησις, 'evangelical preaching') was not of error nor (in any bad sense) in guile (1 Th 2[3]); he was neither deceived nor deceiver, neither fool nor knave. But he had not infrequently encountered men of the latter type. Bar-Jesus the Magian, who tried to undermine his influence at the court of Sergius Paulus (Ac 13[8]), was actuated by a mad jealousy, realizing as he did that the position which he had skilfully won was fast becoming insecure. Driven to his wits' end, and seeing that exposure was imminent, he felt the ground shaking beneath his feet. His punishment had a Dantesque appropriateness. 'Full of all guile,' he was yet made a spectacle of pitiful impotence: 'there fell on him a mist and a darkness, and he went about seeking some to lead him by the hand' (13[10. 11]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

GUILT.—See SIN.

H

HADES.—Hades is a Lat. word adopted from the Gr. Ἅιδης (ᾍδης), which is used in the LXX to translate the Heb. *Sheol* and in NT Gr. to denote the same idea as was expressed by *Sheol* in the OT, viz. 'the abode of the dead.' The word has been consistently used in the RV of the NT to render ᾍδης on each of the 10 occasions of its occurrence (Mt 11[23] 16[18], Lk 10[15] 16[23], Ac 2[27. 31] [in 1 Co 15[55] critical texts give θάνατε for ᾅδη of TR], Rev 1[18] 6[8] 20[13. 14]), in place of the misleading 'hell' of the AV.

In Mt 11[23] (Lk 10[15]) the word is employed in a purely figurative sense. Capernaum, 'exalted unto heaven,' is to 'go down unto Hades,' *i.e.* is to be utterly overthrown. Figurative also is the statement in Mt 16[18] that 'the gates of Hades shall not prevail against' the Church of Christ. As the strength of a walled city depended on the strength of its gates, 'the gates of Hades' is a metaphor for the power of death, and the promise amounts to an assurance of the indestructibility of the Church. In Lk 16[23] the rich man lifts up his eyes in Hades, being in torment, and sees Abraham afar off and Lazarus in his bosom. Hades is used here in its traditional sense of the under world of the dead, whether righteous or unrighteous. Not only Dives but Lazarus is there. But it is no longer conceived of in the negative fashion of the OT as a realm of undifferentiated existence in which there are neither rewards nor penalties. In keeping with the pre-Christian development of Jewish thought (cf. 2 Mac 12[45], *Eth. Enoch*, 22), it is represented now as a scene of moral issues and contrasted experiences—the selfish rich man is 'tormented in this flame'; the humble beggar is 'comforted' in Abraham's bosom. The moral lesson that the recompense of character is sure and that it begins immediately after death is very clear; but it is going beyond our Lord's didactic intention in a parable to find here a detailed doctrine as to the circumstances and conditions of the intermediate state.

Ac 2[27] is a quotation from Ps 16[10] which in v.[31] is applied to Christ, of whom, as risen from the tomb, it is said that He was not 'left in Hades,' *i.e.* in the regions of the dead. In the same general and ordinary sense the word is used in Rev 1[18]: 'I have the keys of death and of Hades'; cf. the close association in the OT of death with *Sheol* (Ps 116[3], Pr 5[5]).

In Rev 6[8] Hades is personified as a follower of Death upon his pale horse. In the author's vision of the Judgment (20[11ff.]) the sea and Death and Hades give up the dead which are in them (v.[13]), and finally Death and Hades are themselves cast into the lake of fire (v.[14]).

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lexicon of NT Gr.*, Eng. tr.[4], Edinburgh, 1895, *s.v.* ᾍδης; G. Dalman, art. 'Hades' in *PRE*[3]; S. D. F. Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[4], Edinburgh, 1901, p. 277 ff., also art. 'Hades' in *HDB.*

J. C. LAMBERT.

HAGAR (Ἄγαρ).—After the manner of the later Jewish interpreters of OT history, of whom Philo is the best representative, St. Paul treats the story of Hagar (Gn 16[1-14] 21[8-21]) as an allegory (ἅτινά ἐστιν ἀλληγορούμενα, Gal 4[24]).

'Allegory (ἄλλος, other, and ἀγορεύειν, to speak), a figurative representation conveying a meaning *other* than and in addition to the literal. . . . An allegory is distinguished from . . . an *analogy* by the fact that the one appeals to the imagination and the other to the reason' (*EBr*[11] i. 689[b]).

St. Paul neither affirms nor denies the historicity of the Hagar narrative, but his imagination reads into it esoteric meanings, which make it singularly effective as an illustration. Ishmael the elder brother, the son of Hagar the bondwoman, the seed of Abraham by nature, persecuted Isaac the younger brother, the son of the freewoman, the child of promise and heir of the birthright, and was therefore cast out and excluded from the inheritance of the blessing. This is interpreted as meaning that the Christian Church, the true Israel of

God, endued with the freedom of the Spirit, is persecuted by the older Israel, which is under the bondage of the Law. Hagar, the mother of bondmen, answers to the present Jerusalem (*τῇ νῦν Ἰερουσαλήμ*), but the Jerusalem which is above (*ἡ ἄνω Ἰερουσαλήμ*) is the mother of Christian freemen.

Luther wisely says that 'if Paul had not proved the righteousness of faith against the righteousness of works by strong and pithy arguments, he should have little prevailed by this allegory. . . . It is a seemly thing sometimes to add an allegory when the foundation is well laid and the matter thoroughly proved. For as painting is an ornament to set forth and garnish a house already builded, so is an allegory the light of a matter which is already otherwise proved and confirmed' (*Galatians, in loc.*). So Baur: 'Nothing can be more preposterous than the endeavours of interpreters to vindicate the argument of the Apostle as one objectively true' (*Paulus*[2], 1866, ii. 312, Eng. tr., 1875, ii. 284).

If the words 'Now this Hagar is mount Sinai in Arabia' are retained, they allude to the historical connexion of the Hagarenes (Ps 83[6]) or Hagarites (1 Ch 5[10]), the Ἀγραῖοι of Eratosthenes (*ap.* Strabo, XVI. iv. 2)—of whom Hagar was no doubt a personification—with Arabia. (In Bar 3[23] the Arabians are called the 'sons of Hagar.') But the Greek is extremely uncertain, and Bentley's conjecture, that we have here a gloss transferred to the text, has (as Lightfoot says [*Gal.*[5], 1876, p. 193]), much to recommend it. The theory that 'Hagar' (Arab. *ḥajar*, 'a stone') was a name sometimes given to Mt. Sinai, and that St. Paul, becoming acquainted with this usage during his sojourn in Arabia, recalls it here (A. P. Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, new ed., 1877, p. 50, following Chrysostom, Luther, and others), is unsupported by real evidence. Such an etymological allusion would certainly have been thrown away upon St. Paul's Galatian readers.

To affirm that the Jews, who were wont to say that 'all Israel are the children of kings,' were the sons of Hagar the bondwoman, was to use language which could not but be regarded as insulting and offensive. But in fighting the battle of freedom St. Paul required to use plain speech and forcible illustrations. If he was convinced that men might be sons of Abraham and yet spiritual slaves, he was bound to say so (cf. the still stronger terms used on the same point in Jn 8[44]). St. Paul was far too good a patriot to jibe at his own race, and too good a Christian to wound any one wantonly. But he saw the unhappy condition of his countrymen in the light of his own experience. He had lived long under the shadow of Sinai in Arabia, the land of bondmen, before he became a free citizen of the ideal commonwealth—*Hierusalem quæ sursum est*—the mother of all Christians. Only an emancipated spirit could write the Epistle to the Galatians, or (as its sequel) Luther's *Freedom of a Christian Man*.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HAIL (χάλαζα).—The invariable biblical conception of hail is correctly represented in Wis 5[22]: 'As from an engine of war shall be hurled hailstones full of wrath.' Typical instances of the use of hail as a weapon of Divine judgment and warfare are found in Ex 9[18ff.], Jos 10[11]. Like other destructive natural forces, it is a familiar category in apocalyptic prophecy. It is always regarded as a 'plague' (πληγή, Rev 16[21]). 'Hail and fire,' 'lightnings . . . and great hail,' occur together (8[7] 11[19]), as in Ex 9[24]: 'hail, and fire mingling with (flashing continually amidst) the hail.' Thunderstorms often arise 'under the conditions that are favourable to the formation of hail, *i.e.* great heat, a still atmosphere, the production of strong local convection currents in consequence, and the passage of a cold upper drift' (*EBr*[11] xii. 820). True hail, which is to be distinguished from so-called 'soft hail,' is formed of clear or granular ice. Impinging hailstones are often frozen together, and sometimes great ragged masses of ice fall with disastrous results to life and property. The seventh angel having poured his bowl upon the air, 'great hail, every stone about a talent in weight, cometh down out of heaven upon men' (Rev 16[21]). Diodorus Siculus (xix. 45) writes of storms in which 'the size of the hail was incredible, for the stones fell a mina in weight, sometimes even more, so that many houses fell under their weight and not a few men were killed.' The mina was about 2 lbs.—the sixtieth part of a talent.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HAIR.—By primitive and ancient peoples in general, the hair (*θρίξ, τρίχες*) is regarded as a special centre of vitality, and to this belief the various forms of the hair-offering are ultimately due. The only examples of this practice in the literature under review are afforded by St. Paul's vow, according to which he cut off his hair at Cenchreæ (Ac 18[18]), and by the similar vows of the four men at Jerusalem, whose expenses St. Paul paid as an evidence of his Jewish piety (21[24]). These are to be explained from the Nazirite vow of the OT (Nu 6). Josephus writes of his own times that 'it is usual with those who had been afflicted either with a distemper, or with any other distresses, to make vows; and for thirty days before, they are to offer their sacrifices, to abstain from wine, and to shave the hair off their head' (*BJ* II. xv. 1). St. Paul would accordingly offer at Jerusalem the hair that had grown during the month since the vow began at Cenchreæ. The same belief in the peculiar vitality of the hair may underlie the proverbial reference to it: 'there shall not a hair perish from the head of any of you' (Ac 27[34]; cf. 1 S 14[45], 2 S 14[11], 1 K 1[52], Mt 10[30], Lk 21[18]), though the number and minuteness of the separate hairs are also implied.

The elaborate arrangement and adornment of the hair are found in primitive as well as in advanced civilizations (*e.g.* see the illustrations of male Fijians in Lubbock's *Origin of Civilization*[6], 1902, pl. ii. p. 68). The art was highly developed amongst Greek and Roman women, as may be seen from coins, etc., belonging to this period (reproductions in Seyffert, *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*[9], 1906, pp. 266, 267; J. E. Sandys, *A Companion to Latin Studies*, 1910, p. 198). Ovid, in his instructions to Roman ladies on the art of winning lovers, emphasizes the effect of an artistic and appropriate arrangement of the hair (*de Art. Am.* iii. 136 f.; cf. Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude*, 1901, p. 152). Judith 'braided the hair of her head' when she set out to fascinate Holofernes (Jth 10[3]), and there are Talmudic references to the art (Buxtorf's *Lexicon*, 1639, col. 389; Cheyne, *EBi* ii. col. 1941). Against such elaborate adornment and all that it might imply, the apostolic warnings (1 P 3[3], 1 Ti 2[9]; see art. ADORNING) are directed.

The greater abundance of hair possessed by woman as compared with man is mentioned by St. Paul in an argument against the practice of unveiled women praying and prophesying (1 Co 11[14. 15], *κόμη*). Nature's covering, he says, shows that the veil should be employed; to be unveiled is no better than to be shorn (vv.[5. 6]). The same sexual difference is in view in the description of the Apocalyptic locusts: 'they had hair as the hair of women' (Rev 9[8]). In the Apocalyptic vision of Christ, His hair is said to be 'white as white wool, as snow' (Rev 1[14]), a detail of dignity borrowed from the OT picture of Jahweh, as 'ancient of days' (Dn 7[9]).

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

HALLELUJAH.* — 'Hallelujah,' 'Praise ye Jahweh,' is used as a doxology in some OT Psalms, *e.g.* 104[35] 105[45]. In the song of the redeemed (Rev

* The form 'Alleluia' comes from the LXX.

19[1-7]) it appears as a triumphant acclamation at the Wedding Feast of the Lamb. In later Christian use it was attached to the Paschal Feast as among the Jews to the Passover. If the *Odes of Solomon* may be ascribed to an early date (see art. HYMNS), we may quote the frequent use of 'Hallelujah' at the end of these hymns as a mark of the joyousness of early Christian worship. Tertullian (*On Prayer*, xxvii.) quotes its use with certain psalms, after the Jewish manner, said or sung by the whole congregation. A. E. BURN.

HAMOR.—See SHECHEM.

HAND.—Amongst the members of the body, the hand (χείρ) is named by St. Paul as being superior to the foot, and necessary to the eye (1 Co 12[15. 21]). The work of human hands has its definite limitations, whether the product be idols (Ac 7[41] 19[26]) or temples (17[24]; cf. *Ep. Barn.* xvi. 7); but, within its true sphere, manual labour belongs to man's dignity and duty (Eph 4[28], 1 Th 4[11]). St. Paul could display his toil-marked hands to the Ephesian elders, as evidence of his example of unselfish service (Ac 20[34]; cf. 1 Co 4[12]). To defend themselves from political suspicion as descendants of David, the grandchildren of Jude showed their horny hands of toil to the Emperor Domitian (Eus. *HE* III. xx. 5).

The hand is employed in significant gestures both of ordinary life and of religion. It hangs down in despair (He 12[12]), is outstretched in oratory (Ac 26[1]) or appeal (of God, Ro 10[21]), is waved to gain silence (Ac 12[17] 13[16] 19[33] 21[40]), is lifted in prayer (1 Ti 2[8]; cf. Ps 134[2]) or in taking an oath (Rev 10[5]; cf. Gn 14[22]). The giving of the right hand (δεξιός) in token of fellowship (Gal 2[9]; cf. Pr 6[1]) is not a specially Jewish custom, and may be due to Persian influences (cf. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). The *Odes of Solomon* show the early practice of prayer with arms extended in the manner of the cross: 'I stretched out my hands, and sanctified my Lord; for the extension of my hands is His sign' (xxvii. 1; cf. xxi. 1 and J. H. Bernard's notes in *TS* viii. 3 [1912] *ad loc.*). In a similar spirit of symbolism, continuing that of OT prophecy, Agabus (*q.v.*) binds his own hands and feet with St. Paul's girdle (Ac 21[11]; see art. FEET). Those who belong to the Apocalyptic Beast receive his mark on hand and forehead (Rev 13[16] 14[9] 20[4]). Deissmann has given evidence for connecting this mark with the Imperial seal placed on documents of this period (*Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 241f.). We may perhaps compare the three seals placed on the disciple of Mani, *i.e.* on mouth, hand, and bosom, as a converse dedication of the members to purity.

The term 'hand' is employed in a number of graphic or figurative phrases, relating either to man (Ac 2[23] 12[1], He 8[9], 1 Jn 1[1], Ja 4[8]) or to God. The Hand of God appears in the activities of creation (Ac 7[50], He 1[10]; *Ep. Barn.* v. 10, xv. 3; 1 Clem. xxvii. 7, xxxiii. 4), or of providence (Ac 4[28] 11[21], 1 P 5[6]), or of judgment (Ac 13[11], He 10[31], 1 Clem. xxviii. 2).

The most striking and important references to the hand in apostolic Christianity occur in connexion with the 'laying on of hands.' This occurs for three purposes, which help to elucidate each other. By contact with apostolic hands is wrought healing of the sick (Ac 3[7] 5[12] 9[12. 41] 14[3] 28[8]), transmission of the Spirit (Ac 8[17. 19] 19[6]), and ordination to 'office' or special work (Ac 6[6] 13[3], 1 Ti 4[14] 5[22], 2 Ti 1[6], He 6[2]). If these passages are approached, as they should be, from the general standpoint of the OT, and from the particular circle of ideas which constitutes primitive and ancient psychology, the imposition of hands will probably be seen to imply more than an outward sign (cf. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, p. 384). In each of the three applications, the conclusion reached by Volz in regard to the OT seems fundamental in regard to the NT also: 'the laying on of hands is the process by which the sacred substance is conducted from one body into another . . . the power passes not primarily through the spoken formula, but through the physical contact itself' (*ZATW*, 1901, pp. 93, 94; cf. P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, 1910, p. 115).

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

HANDKERCHIEF, NAPKIN.—The word σουδάριον (=Lat. *sudarium*) is translated by 'handkerchiefs' (plur.) in Ac 19[12], but elsewhere in the NT by '**napkin**' (Lk 19[20], Jn 11[44] 20[7]). See *DCG*, *s.v.* 'Napkin.' Its equivalent appears in Talmudic literature as an article of clothing (one of the over-garments), which might be worn round the neck (cf. Suet. *Nero*, 51) or carried upon the arm or over the shoulder. It was also in use as a head or face cloth, approximating in idea to 'veil' (cf. Suet. *Nero*, 48; Quintil. *Instit.* VI. iii. 60). The σουδάριον appears among the items of dowry in marriage contracts of the 2nd and 3rd cent. A.D. (A. Deissmann, *Neue Bibelstudien*, 1897, p. 50). According to the derivation of the word, it was a sweat-cloth, corresponding in use to our handkerchief. Catullus (*Carm.* xii. 14) speaks of the joke of abstracting a neighbour's napkin at meals. According to this passage the articles were of Spanish manufacture, and the material linen. The σουδάριον was employed for waving in public assemblies. It served humbler purposes as a strainer and as a wrapper. See especially S. Krauss, *Talmudische Archäologie*, i. [1910] 166 f. Cf. also art. 'The Aprons and Handkerchiefs of St. Paul,' by E. Nestle, in *ExpT* xiii. [1901-02] 282, and see art. APRON.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

HANDS, LAYING ON OF.—See ORDINATION.

HANDWRITING.—See BOND.

HARAN (AV 'Charaan,' Ac 7[2. 4]).—Haran was a city of some importance, on a tributary of the Euphrates. From Ur the ancestors of Abraham emigrated to Haran (Gn 11[31]). Here one division, under Nahor, remained. Hence it is called 'the city of Nahor' (24[10]). It was a famous seat of the worship of Sin, the moon-god. Abram left it to enter Canaan.

J. W. DUNCAN.

HARDENING.—The discussion of this subject relates to a single striking case, which St. Paul and later theologians have taken as typical. The dramatic interest of the legend of the Exodus (Ex 5-14) centres in a conflict between the Divine and the human will. Pharaoh's successive promises and refusals to let the Israelites go into the wilderness are the outward signs of an inward vacillation under the alternate influences of insensate pride and abject fear. It is stated that his heart was hardened (7[13. 14. 22] 8[19] 9[7] 9[35]), that he hardened his heart (8[15. 32] 9[34]), and that Jahweh said He would harden (4[21] 7[3] 14[4]), and did harden (9[12] 10[1. 20. 27] 11[10] 14[8]), his heart. In the NT the proposition that God hardens the heart occurs only in quotations from the OT (πωρόω being used in Jn 12[40] and σκληρύνω in Ro 9[18]).

Critical exegesis makes no attempt to soften or evade the natural meaning of this language, which affirms, not that God merely permits (as Origen and Grotius thought), or that He foreknows, but that He effects, the hardening of the heart. If such a statement is not to be explained away, can it be explained in such a manner as to be credible? The difficulty of accepting it is a particular phase of the general difficulty of reconciling human

freedom with Divine sovereignty. It has been truly said that

'the relation of man, as a free moral personality, to God is even more difficult to conceive than his relation to nature; theology has more perils for human freedom than cosmology. To think of God as all in all, and yet to retain our belief in human freedom or personality,—that is the real metaphysical difficulty' (J. Seth, *Ethical Principles*[3], 1898, p. 395).

The assertion that God hardens a man's heart shocks our moral sense, because it seems to deny Divine love on the one hand and human freedom on the other. It is partly explained by the Semitic habit of recognizing the First Cause of all events and ignoring second causes. In Nature, history, and personal experience the controlling and directing hand of God was discerned by the Hebrews. Now, 'piety demands such an emphasizing of God's action as would logically take away man's freedom. Moral consciousness, on the other hand, demands a freedom which, looked at by itself, would exclude all divine co-operation and order' (H. Schultz, *OT Theol.*, Eng. tr., 1892, ii. 196). The authors of the Exodus narrative, most of which is by J or E, are typical OT writers, in that they set the doctrines of sovereignty and freedom side by side without betraying any consciousness of a conflict between them and a need to harmonize them. Their teaching is not fatalistic, for fatalism is the assertion of a superhuman activity which leaves no room for moral freedom. They take for granted that responsibility which the conscience, unless corrupted by sophistry, regards as the prerogative of every human being. The tyrant whom they depict is anything but a puppet in the hands of an absolute and arbitrary will. The Divine sovereignty never excludes the possibility of initiative on his part. In every retrospect of his own conduct he feels that he could, and ought to, have chosen a different course. He knows that he has failed to 'lay to heart' the judgments of God (Ex 7^{23}). He confesses again and again that he has sinned (9^{27} 10^{16}), and he asks Moses to forgive his sin and pray for him (10^{17}). He might at any *moment* humble himself before God, but he stubbornly refuses to do it (10^{3}). His will is never coerced; it is by his own deeds that he merits the penalty which is ultimately inflicted upon him. He sins and suffers, not as the victim of a Divine good-pleasure which hardens whom it will, but as a tyrant who, 'being often reproved, hardeneth his neck,' and who is therefore 'suddenly broken, and that without remedy' (Pr 29^{1}).

While the religious leaders of Israel assert the efficiency of God in unqualified terms, they lay no foundation for that high predestinarianism which maintains the Divine sovereignty and leaves only a semblance of freedom to man. The theology of the OT is not deterministic, as 'the accepted Muhammadan theology is undoubtedly deterministic' (H. P. Smith, *The Bible and Islam*, 1896, p. 137). All the prophets and prophetic writers, among whom J and E may be included, accentuate moral obligation; they regard virtuous and vicious acts as originating in the human will; their whole teaching is based on the conviction that men and nations deserve rewards or punishments, and are in a real sense the authors of their own destiny. The figure of the clay and the potter (Jer 18^{6}, Is 64^{8}, Ro 9^{21}), which clearly recognizes 'a divinity that shapes our ends,' says nothing of the principles according to which these ends are shaped (A. B. Davidson, *Theol. of OT*, 1904, p. 131), and all apparently predestinarian language is meant to be moralized.

'Nor does any one doubt that it is an effect intended by God, when, at a certain stage in sin, His revelation makes the heart harder. God's word can never return unto Him void. Where it is hindered from blessing, it must curse. Light must make weak eyes weaker; nourishing food must aggravate the virulence of disease. That is a necessary moral ordinance—in other words, one willed by God from eternity' (H. Schultz, *op. cit.* ii. 207).

Moses' experience of the hardening effect of Divine truth in the case of Pharaoh was one which almost all prophets have shared with him. There is biting satire, but not predestinarian doctrine, in the command which Isaiah (6^{10}) puts into the mouth of God: 'Make the heart of this people fat, and make their ears dull, and besmear their eyes, lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and their heart understand, and they turn again and be healed.' This prophet's language is quoted with approval by our Lord in Mk 4^{12}, Lk 8^{10}; and with an important modification in Mt $13^{14.\ 15}$.

'It is conceivable that Jesus might use Isaiah's words in Isaiah's spirit, *i.e.*, ironically, expressing the bitter feeling of one conscious that his best efforts to teach his countrymen would often end in failure, and in his bitterness representing himself as sent to stop ears and blind eyes. Such utterances are not to be taken as deliberate dogmatic teaching. If, as some allege, the evangelists so took them, they failed to understand the mind of the Master' (A. B. Bruce, *EGT*, 'The Synoptic Gospels,' 1897, p. 196).

The hardening of Pharaoh's (or of any other guilty man's) heart is a judicial, not an arbitrary, act of God, who never hardens a good man's heart. The process is, in Western language, natural and inevitable. 'By abuse of light, nature produces callousness; and what nature does God does' (M. Dods, *EGT*, 'The Gospel of St. John,' 1897, p. 812). If He gives men up to punishment, it is because they have deliberately given themselves up to sin (Ro $1^{24.\ 26.\ 28}$). The story of Pharaoh's overthrow has great and permanent value as a drama of freedom abused, and its moral effect would be ruined if we were to interpolate in it at any point the words of the Qur'ān (x. 88):

'And Moses said, O our Lord, Thou hast given Pharaoh and his nobles pomp and riches in this world, to make them wander from Thy path; O our Lord, *destroy* their riches and harden their hearts, that they may not believe until they see exemplary punishment.'

St. Paul uses the case of Pharaoh, as well as the figure of the clay and the potter, to establish his doctrine of God's sovereign right and power of disposing of men's lives as He will. In the keenness of his dialectic the Apostle employs expressions which seem harsh: 'So then he hath mercy on whom he will, and whom he will he hardeneth' (ὃν δὲ θέλει σκληρύνει, Ro 9^{18}). St. Paul

'has none of that caution and timorousness which often lead writers perpetually to trim and qualify for fear of being misunderstood. He lays full stress upon the argument in hand in its bearing upon the idea to be maintained, without concerning himself about its adjustment with other truths' (G. B. Stevens, *The Pauline Theology*, 1892, p. 120; cf. C. Gore, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*, ii. [1900] 37 f.).

He approaches the painful subject of the hardening of the Jews under the preaching of the gospel from two different sides. When his object is to humble their pride and pretension, he emphasizes (what no Jew would deny) the absoluteness of God; when his aim is to silence their excuses, he shows them that it is for their own sins that they are rejected.

'The hardening . . . against the gospel, which in Rom. ix. and xi. he considers as a divine destiny, he characterises in chap. x. as the self-hardening of Israel' (W. Beyschlag, *NT Theol.*[2], Eng. tr., 1896, ii. 118).

There is, however, always a danger in the dialectical use of the language of absolutism. If the conversion of some and the hardening of others are ascribed to the mere will of God, it is clearly open to the hardened to say, 'Why doth he yet find fault?' (τί ἔτι μέμφεται, Ro 9^{19}); and if an inspired prophet is then quoted, 'Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it (τὸ πλάσμα

τῷ πλάσαντι), "Why didst thou make me thus?"' the answer must be that 'a man is not a thing, and if the whole explanation of his destiny is to be sought in the bare will of God, he *will* say, Why didst thou make me thus? and not even the authority of Paul will silence him' (J. Denney, *EGT*, 'Romans,' 1900, p. 663). If the Potter is a God of infinite love, it is well with the clay, as Rabbi Ben Ezra sees; but if the Potter is a God who for His mere good pleasure makes 'vessels of wrath,' who would care to worship Him?

'We must affirm that freedom is the fixed point that must be held, because it is an inalienable certainty of experience, and that predestination can be only such as is consistent with it: else there is no rational and responsible life. . . . Predestination in other fields of existence need not trouble us; but perplexity and anguish unutterable enter if we admit the supposition, or even the genuine suspicion that God has so foreordained our actions as to take away our freedom. To this the history of Christian experience bears abundant witness' (W. N. Clarke, *An Outline of Christian Theology*, 1898, p. 146).

It is certain that in his general teaching St. Paul held fast both Divine sovereignty and human freedom (see Ph 2^{12}). It is equally certain that he left the speculative question of the relation of the two where he found it—as an antinomy which he could not transcend. Nor have any later theologians or philosophers solved the enigma. Finite thought is unable to comprehend that Divine activity which works in a higher way than any other energy in the world. But 'even though the ultimate reconciliation of divine and human personality may be still beyond us' (J. Seth, *op. cit.* 396), it is practically enough if Christianity maintains that in relation to free beings the will of God is never an arbitrary will, enforcing itself without moral means.

'God shows respect for his creatures, and for himself as their creator, and upon the independence that he has given them he makes no attempt forcibly to intrude' (W. N. Clarke, *op. cit.* p. 188).

While the Qur'ān (xiv. 4) teaches that 'God leads astray whom He will and leads aright whom He will; He is the Powerful, the wise,' the God revealed by Jesus Christ 'wishes not that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance' (2 P 3^{9}).

LITERATURE.—In addition to books named in the art. see Calvin, *Institutes*, ed. 1863, i. 198 ff.; B. Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of NT*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1882–83, ii. 3 ff.; A. B. Bruce, *St. Paul's Conception of Christianity*, do. 1894, p. 121 ff.; F. Godet, *Romans*, Eng. tr., do. 1881–82, ii. 158 ff.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HARLOT (πόρνη, masc. πόρνος).—The RV has dropped the words **whore** and **whoremonger** which the AV used interchangeably with 'harlot' and 'fornicator' to translate the Gr. words πόρνη and πόρνος.

1. The word πόρνη is used in two passages (He 11^{31}, Ja 2^{25}) to describe Rahab. This Rahab is mentioned (Mt 1^{5}) in the genealogy of Jesus; and although, as Calvin says (on He 11^{31}), the term 'harlot' is applied only to her former life ('ad anteactam vitam referri certum est'), yet difficulty was early felt as to the propriety of giving her such an honoured position as she has in the NT.

Theophylact in the 12th cent. expressed doubt as to the correctness of identifying her with the Rahab of Jos 2^{1} ('There are some who think that Rachab was that Rahab the harlot who received the spies of Joshua the son of Nave' [*Enarratio* in Mt 1^{5}]). He has been followed in this by others, notably the Dutch professor, G. Outhov ('Dissertatio de Raab et Rachab,' in *Bibl. hist.-phil.-theol. Bremensis*, Bremen and Amsterdam, 1719–25, class iii. p. 438), C. T. Kuinoel (*Nov. Test. lib. hist., Græce*, London, 1835, i. 2), and H. Olshausen (*Com. on Gospels and Acts*[3], Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1852–54, *in loc.*). Valpy also contends that the two cannot be the same (*Greek Testament*, London, 1836, i. 4). There is no reason, however, for doubting that the two are identical. Jewish tradition makes the identification, although her entrance into the Israelitish community is variously related (see John Lightfoot, *Horæ Hebraicæ*, ed. Gandell, Oxford, 1859, ii. 11, for details).

Various reasons have been suggested for Rahab's inclusion among the Saviour's forbears (cf. also Tamar, Ruth, Bathsheba). Grotius suggests that it is a *proludium* of the gospel of Him who saved idolaters and criminals; Wetstein, that it might meet Jewish objections to Mary's position—and this seems most likely.

There have been attempts also to weaken the force of πόρνη as applied to her. Josephus (*Ant.* v. i. 2) speaks of her house as a καταγώγιον. She is described as an inn-keeper in the Targum on Jos 2^{1}—פונדקיתא (πανδοκεύτρια). In the NT also in some texts of Heb. (א[1]) she is so described, and in Clem. Rom. (*Ep. ad Cor.* i. 12) various readings show a tendency towards softening down πόρνη (see J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 'Clem. Rom.,' ii. [1890] 46 ff.). The term, however, is really used in the ordinary sense, and has to be so understood.

In He 11^{31} Rahab has a place in the catalogue of the heroes of faith; while in Ja 2^{25} she is referred to, beside Abraham, as an example of good works. In the description given of her by Clem. Rom. she is praised for both faith and works: 'For her faith and hospitality Rahab the harlot was saved' (i. 12). The scarlet thread which she hung out from her house became typical, 'showing beforehand that through the blood of the Lord there shall be redemption unto all them that believe and hope on God.'

Zahn thus describes the reason why James adopted her case beside that of Abraham: 'The lesson from Abraham's example is developed to its completion and finally stated in Ja 2^{24}; then follows the example of the heathen woman Rahab, which neither substantiates what has been said before nor develops a new phase of the truth, and appears to be dragged in without purpose. It does have point, however, if referring to a number of Gentiles who had been received into the Jewish Christian Churches, and if designed to say: the example of Rahab has the same lesson for them that the history of Abraham has for his descendants' (*Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, i. 91). J. B. Lightfoot (*loc. cit.*) thinks that Clement is trying by her example to reconcile the Judaistic and Gentile parties in Corinth. The truth is that Rahab's case was well known and might easily suggest itself to any one (along with Sarah, Abigail, and Esther, she was considered a historic beauty). To try to fix the date of James's Epistle from this incident is precarious.

The term is not applied to any other person in the NT unless, with some, we interpret He 12^{16} in such a way as to make the πόρνος descriptive of Esau. Wetstein (*in loc.*) gives citations to show that later Jewish tradition regarded Esau as a fornicator. The text is not decisive (see Alford, *ad loc.*). It is probable, however, that Damaris ('heifer') belonged to the class of educated *Hetairai* (see W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 252).

2. The attitude of the Christian Church in the Apostolic Age towards fornication is given in art. FORNICATION. In Hermas we find stress laid on the sinful thoughts, while from the few references to overt fornication it is thought that Christian morality had succeeded in showing in practice its victory over this sin. Hermas is concerned with the question of divorce, from the point of view of fornication; and his teaching is that the husband whose wife has been divorced for adultery should

not re-marry, so as to give to the repentant wife an opportunity of returning, and *vice versa* (*Mand.* iv. i. 4–8); see K. Lake in *Expositor*, 7th ser. x. [1910] 416 ff., for an attempt to reconcile Hermas and the Gospels on divorce, and C. W. Emmet in reply (*Expositor*, 8th ser. i. [1911] 68 ff.).

In the Apocalypse (chs. 17–19) we have the description and the doom of 'the great harlot'—Babylon. There can be no reasonable doubt that this Babylon is Imperial Rome. That the term is allegorical is proved by 17^5, 'On the forehead of the woman was written a mystery—Babylon the Great.' In the OT, Tyre and Nineveh have this title of 'harlot' (Is 23^{15-17}, Nah 3^4); and even Jerusalem is so called (Is 1^{21}). How and when the title was first applied to Rome we cannot say, but the OT would easily supply the analogy; and very likely this mysterious title would save the readers of the book from persecution, because the term would be intelligible only to the initiated (see A. Souter in *Expositor*, 7th ser. x. [1910] 373 ff.). The term is used in the *Sibylline Oracles*, bk. v. lines 137–143 and 158–160 (ed. Geffcken, Leipzig, 1902), the date of which is disputed.

The harlot of the Apocalypse has, like a high-born Roman dame, a band round her forehead. Her dress is royal purple—emblem of luxurious pride (Juv. *Sat.* iii. 283). Like the harlot, she has her name exhibited (see quotations in Wetstein, who refers to Juv. *Sat.* vi. 123 and Seneca, *Controv.* i. 2). She has a cup in her hand to intoxicate her paramours. J. Moffatt (in *EGT*, 'Revelation') quotes a parallel from Cebes' *Tabula*: 'Do you see a woman sitting there with an inviting look, and in her hand a cup? She is called Deceit; by her power she beguiles all who enter life and makes them drink. And what is the draught? Deceit and ignorance.' Her dress is luxurious, with gold and pearls (cf. *Test. Jud.* xiii. 5, where the harlot once more has pearls and gold). She rides on a wild beast, like a Bacchante; and kings are her paramours. But the harlot's doom awaits her (17^{16}). The wild beast on which she rides has seven heads (the seven hills of Rome [see Wetstein, *in loc.*]) and ten horns. We cannot enter here on the vexed question of the seven kings, on which the date of the book depends. The harlot is doomed. Rome shall perish in the blood that she has spilt. Her fall will cause lamentation among her allies, but jubilation among saints on earth and angels in heaven.

The language in which the harlot's doom is described by the seer has been criticized as un-Christian. 'He that takes delight in such fancies is no whit better than he that first invented them' (P. Wernle, *The Beginnings of Christianity*, Eng. tr., i. [1903] 370). But the downfall of ὕβρις in a State or individual eased the conscience in the ancient world, and here it vindicated the existence of a righteous God who avenged the slaughter of His saints. The language must not be interpreted apart from the situation.

LITERATURE.—For Commentaries on the Apocalypse see J. Moffatt in *EGT*, 'Revelation,' 1910; A. B. Swete (^{2}1907); H. J. Holtzmann (in *Hand-Commentar*, Tübingen, 1908); W. Bousset (^{6}Göttingen, 1906). For Rahab see J. B. Mayor, *Epistle of James*^{3}, 1910; A. Martin, *Winning the Soul*, 1897, p. 47.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

HAR-MAGEDON (RV; *Armageddon* AV).—According to Rev 16^{16} this is the name in Heb. of the scene of 'the war of the great day of God, the Almighty' (v.^{14}), against whom the three unclean spirits (v.^{13}) have gathered together 'the kings of the whole world' (v.^{14}). There are variations in the form of the name in the Gr. texts and very different interpretations of its meaning, but if Ἀρ Μαγεδών is accepted as the correct form, the most satisfactory explanation is that which takes it to mean 'the mount of Megiddo' (Ἀρ=Heb. הר 'a mountain'). By its geographical conformation and strategical situation the plain of Megiddo was better suited than any other place in the Holy Land to be the arena of a great battle, and the historical memories that gathered round it would fill the name with suggestion for the readers of the Apocalypse. The primary reference, no doubt, would be to Israel's victory 'by the waters of Megiddo' over the kings of Canaan (Jg 5^{19}), which might be taken as typical of the triumph of God and His Kingdom over the hostile world-powers; but the defeat and death of Saul and Jonathan at the eastern extremity of the plain (1 S 31^1), the disastrous struggle of Josiah on the same field against Pharaoh-necoh (2 K 23^{29}, 2 Ch 35^{22}), and Zechariah's reference to 'the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon' (Zec 12^{11}), would heighten the suggestion of a great day of overthrow and destruction. The chief objections offered to this interpretation are that a mountain is an unsuitable battlefield, and that the historical battles are described as taking place 'by the waters of Megiddo' (Jg 5^{19}) or 'in the valley of Megiddo' (2 Ch 35^{22}). Against this, however, must be set the statements that Barak with his 10,000 men 'went down from mount Tabor' to meet Sisera (Jg 4^{14}), that Zebulun and Naphtali 'jeoparded their lives unto the death in the high places of the field' (5^{18}), and that Saul and Jonathan fell 'in mount Gilboa' (1 S $31^{1.\ 8}$; cf. 2 S 1^{21}). And the place given to 'the mountains of Israel' in Ezekiel's prophecy of the destruction of Gog and Magog (Ezk $38^{8.\ 21}$ $39^{2.\ 4.\ 17}$), to which the Apocalyptist subsequently refers in his description of the final overthrow of Satan and his hosts (Rev 20^8), may have served to confirm the idea that a mountain would be the scene of 'the war of the great day of God, the Almighty.'

Of recent years considerable support has been given to the view, first propounded by Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, 268), that 'Har-Magedon' preserves the name of the place where in the Babylonian creation-myth the dragon Tiāmat was overthrown by Marduk, the passage Rev 16^{13-16} being presumably a fragment from some Jewish apocalypse in which the Babylonian mythology had been adapted to an eschatological interest. This theory, however, rests upon grounds that are very speculative, and even its supporters admit that the author of the Apocalypse would be ignorant of the mythological origin of the name, and would probably understand it to mean 'the mountain of Megiddo.'

LITERATURE.—The artt. 'Har-Magedon' in *HDB* and 'Armageddon' in *EBi*; J. Moffatt, *EGT*, 'Revelation,' 1910; H. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, 1895.

J. C. LAMBERT.

HARP (κιθάρα, also κιθαρίζειν, 'to harp,' and κιθαρῳδός [κιθαρ+ἀοιδός] 'a harper').—The word and its two derivatives occur only in 1 Corinthians and Revelation. In 1 Co 14^7: 'Even things without life, giving a voice, whether pipe or harp, if they give not a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?' St. Paul by this musical illustration criticizes a prevalent and unedifying speaking with tongues, though, in the light of the phrase *eandem cantilenam recinere*, his figure of 'harping' has come in colloquial use to represent rather monotonous persistency. In Rev 5^8 the four living creatures and the four and twenty elders who abased themselves before the Lamb have each of them a harp; and the voice which was heard, as the Lamb and the hundred and forty and four thousand stood on Mount Zion, is described as that of 'harpers harping with their harps' (14^2). The victors over the beast, his image, and his mark, who stand by

'the glassy sea mingled with fire' and sing the the song of Moses, have 'harps of God' to sing His praise (15[2]). In 18[22] the angel who doomed the great city of Babylon declared that it would hear no more the voice of harpers (cf. Is 23[16]).

When we attempt to describe exactly the design and manipulation of musical instruments in use throughout the Apostolic Age, we are met with almost insuperable difficulties. The apocalyptic character of the book, which, as we have seen, contains, with but one exception, the references to harps, turns (one to Jewish music; but, though there is much relevant information in Chronicles and other OT writings, it is lacking in precision. It is easier to describe the instruments of ancient Egypt and Assyria, for we are helped by sculptures and pictures, the like of which have not been found in Palestine. We must rely, therefore, on analogy guided by our inexact OT descriptions.

'To accompany singing, or at all events sacred singing, stringed instruments only were used, and never wind instruments' (Appendix to Wellhausen's 'Psalms' [Haupt's *PB*, 1898]). It may be too much to say that they were the only accompanying instruments, but they were certainly the principal. In the OT there is mention of only two stringed instruments (if we except the curious list which appears in Daniel), and these are the נֵבֶל and כִּנּוֹר. The former is the older, and tradition points to Jubal as its inventor (Gn 4[21]); while the second does not appear before 1 S 10[5]. These are translated in the EV as 'harp' and 'psaltery' respectively. From 1 K 10[12] we learn that their framework was made of almug or algum; from 2 Ch 20[28] that both were portable, and from many OT passages that they were much used at religious and festive gatherings. It is difficult to determine with exactness the difference between these stringed instruments; but, although later tradition confused them, they were certainly not identical, nor were their names used indifferently to denote the same instrument. There are several reasons, however, for the belief that the נֵבֶל resembled a lyre, and that the כִּנּוֹר was a form of harp (the question is discussed in *HDB* iii. 458 f.). Amongst these are (1) the fact that in the LXX κιθάρα, or its equivalent κινύρα, is the almost invariable translation of נֵבֶל; (2) the evidence of Jewish coins pointing to a decided similarity of נֵבֶל and κιθάρα (see F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*[2], 1885, pp. 231, 243); and (3) the distinction emphasized by early Christian writers between instruments which had a resonance-frame beneath the strings and those which had it above (see St. Augustine on Ps 42). Josephus, who has a description of the frame-work and strings of these instruments in *Ant.* VIII. iii. 8, distinguished the κινύρα as ten-stringed and struck with a plectrum from the νάβλα as twelve-stringed and played with the hand.*

The κιθάρα was the traditional instrument of psalmody, and the κιθαρῳδός, along with the αὐλητής, performed at the festive seasons of Hebrew life (cf. H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, pp. 80, 239). Being lighter in weight than the כִּנּוֹר, the lyre was much played in processions, and, as we learn from Ps 137[2], it could be hung on the poplar trees of Babylon when the Hebrew exiles were in no mood for songs of rejoicing. The κιθάρα was of Asiatic origin, and was probably introduced into Egypt by Semites. The earliest representation of a stringed instrument is that excavated at Telloh in South Babylonia, which in size resembles a harp but is shaped like a lyre, *i.e.* it has a resonance-body on which are set two almost perpendicular posts between which are the strings, upright and fastened to a cross-bar. A picture which better illustrates the ordinary lyre is that of three Semitic captives guarded by an Assyrian warrior while they played; but perhaps the best illustration is that on the Jewish coins mentioned above.

ARCHIBALD MAIN.

* See S. R. Driver, *Joel and Amos* (Cambridge Bible, 1898), p. 234 ff.

HARVEST (θερισμός, θερίζω).—**1. Use of the word in the NT.**—The Gr. verb (θερίζειν) for 'to harvest' or 'to reap' properly means 'to do summer work' (from θέρος, 'summer'). In addition to the numerous allusions to sowing and reaping contained in the Gospels, there are several other references to harvest-time in the pages of the NT. Thus St. Paul, when finding it necessary to upbraid the Corinthian converts for their meanness in regard to this world's goods, sarcastically asks: 'If we to you did sow (*i.e.* when we planted the church in Corinth) spiritual things, is it a great matter if we of you should reap material things?' (1 Co 9[11]). The sower is entitled to expect a harvest of the particular crop which he sows—in this case a spiritual harvest; how much more is he entitled to a mere worldly harvest as the compensation for his toil, inadequate though the compensation be. In 2 Co 9[6] St. Paul reverts to the same metaphor and in the same connexion. Niggardliness would appear to have been a besetting sin of the Corinthians, as seemingly also of the Galatians (cf. Lightfoot, *Galatians*[5], p. 219). The proposition here set forth is similar to that enunciated in Gal 6[7] though the application is somewhat different. 'He that soweth sparingly shall reap also sparingly, and he that soweth bountifully shall reap also bountifully.' In Gal 6[7] this is compressed into the single sentence: 'Whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap.' The Apostle then proceeds to apply the truth embodied in the proverb to the subject to which he is devoting his particular attention: 'For he that soweth unto his own flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption; but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap eternal life.' The proverb itself is a common one, and is found not only in the Bible but also in the classical writers (cf. Lightfoot, *op. cit.* p. 219), and the aptness of the simile is too obvious to require any comment. Without abandoning his metaphor, the Apostle next addresses these who, though faithful up to a point, are apt to be faint-hearted: 'in well-doing, let us not lose heart, for at its proper time (*i.e.* at harvest-time) we shall reap if we faint not.'

In Gal 6[7, 8] the harvest is made to depend on the nature of the ground into which the seed is cast, but in 1 Co 9[11] the reference is rather to the particular kind and quality of the seed sown (cf. Job 4[8]), while in 2 Co 9[6] the amount sown is the point emphasized.

In Ja 5[4] we have another allusion to the agricultural operations incidental to harvest-time: 'Behold, the hire of the labourers who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud (*i.e.* comes too late from you), crieth out: and the cries of them that reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth.' The same love of money evidently prevailed among those here addressed as in the Galatian and Corinthian churches. The particular manifestation of it which the writer singles out as the object of his special denunciation is the omission to pay the labourers their wages promptly. In the eyes of the law this was a heinous offence; thus in Lv 19[13] it is enacted that 'the wages of a hired servant shall not abide with thee all night until the morning' (cf. also Pr 3[27, 28], Jer 22[13], Mal 3[5]).

In Rev 14[15, 16] the Parousia is represented as ushering in the great harvest of the world's fruit (cf. Mt 13[39] 'the harvest is the end of the world'). In Mt 13[30ff.] the harvest consists in gathering up

the tares as well as the wheat with a view to their subsequent separation; here, however, only the wheat is reaped, and the evil, which in the Parable appears as tares, is treated under another metaphor in Rev $14^{17ff.}$. In the Parable again the angels are the reapers, but here the Son of Man Himself gathers the fruit. Of that hour, 'the hour to reap' (v.[15]), 'knoweth no man, no not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father' (Mk 13^{32}), who sends an angel to announce to the Divinely-commissioned reaper that 'the hour to reap is come; for the harvest of the earth is over-ripe' (better perhaps 'fully ripe,' though the word used [ἐξηράνθη] properly refers to the 'drying up' of the juices of the wheat).

After the gathering in of all the wheat, another angel comes forth from the Temple, 'he also having a sharp sickle,' and a second reaping follows the first. This second reaping follows the first just as the vintage, with which it is here associated, succeeded the wheat harvest (cf. Jl 3^{13}). It will be observed that the Son of Man reaps the wheat, but the work of destruction is fittingly consigned to an angel. The 'children of the kingdom' are in this chapter identified with the wheat as elsewhere in the NT, but the wicked are identified with the clusters of the vine destined to be trodden in the winepress 'of the wrath of God' (cf. 'the vine of wrath' in Rev $14^{8.\ 10}$).

2. The harvest in Palestine.—Of the various harvests in Palestine, that of barley takes place first. Generally speaking, it begins about the middle of April, but in the Jordan valley in March, while in the coast districts, on the other hand, it commences about ten days later, and in the elevated regions sometimes as much as a month later. Hence the labourers from the hills are free to assist in reaping the harvest of the coast-dwellers, while the latter in turn can lend a hand in gathering in the harvest in the hill-country. The wheat harvest commences about a fortnight after the barley harvest; the gathering of fruit and vegetables takes place in summer, the gathering of olives in autumn, and the vintage from August onwards. The harvest of course depends on the rainfall, which, to render the best results, must neither be very large nor very small.

Barley is the universal food of asses and horses and is also the staple food of the poor, who, however, generally mix it with wheaten meal when they can afford to do so. Wheat thrives well in Palestine, thirty-fold being quite an average crop. It is reaped with a sickle, and gathered into bundles which are generally carried off at once on the backs of camels to the threshing-floor, where the heads are struck off the straw by the sickle. The threshing-floor is generally common to the whole village, and consists of a large open space on the side of a hill, the surface of the rock being levelled for the purpose, or, failing this, an artificial mortar floor is prepared. The grain is usually separated from the chaff by oxen treading it as they are driven round and round a circular heap of corn in the centre of the floor. The oxen as a rule are not muzzled (cf. Dt 25^{4}, 1 Co 9^{9}, 1 Ti 5^{18}). Sometimes, however, the wheat is threshed by means of a heavy wooden wheel or roller, or else by a kind of drag consisting of two or three boards fastened together, the under-surface of which is studded with pieces of iron, flint, or stone. It is drawn by a horse or an ass. This machine is seen more frequently in the northern parts of the country. After threshing comes the process of winnowing. As soon as the straw has been removed, the corn is thrown up into the air by shovels, when the wind blows away the chaff and the grain falls back. When there is no wind, a large fan is employed (cf. Mt 3^{12}). The chopped straw, called *tibn*, is used as fodder for the cattle.

But, even after the winnowing, the grain is still mixed with small stones, pieces of clay, unbruised ears and tares, all of which must be removed before the corn is ready for use. Hence the necessity of the further process of sifting. This work is done by women. The sieve generally consists of a wooden hoop with a mesh made of camel-hair. The sifter is seated on the floor and shakes the sieve containing the grain until the chaff comes to the surface; she then blows it away, removes the stones and other bits of refuse, after which the grain is ready for the granary. In modern times it is always stored in underground chambers, generally about 8 feet deep; they are cemented on the inside to keep the damp out, the only opening being a circular mouth, about 15 inches in diameter, which is boarded over and, if concealment is desirable, covered with earth or grass. The grain thus stored will keep for years. See also SICKLE, VINE, VINTAGE.

LITERATURE.—H. B. Tristram, *Eastern Customs in Bible Lands*, 1894, p. 123 f.; J. C. Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1903, pp. 53, 244, 252; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1864, p. 543 f.; G. Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, 1897, ch. iv.; T. S. Evans, in *Speaker's Commentary*, iii. [1881] 302; J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*[5], 1876, p. 219 f.; J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*[3], 1910, p. 157 f.; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, p. 188 ff.; *EBi* i. 80 f.; *HDB* i. 49 ff.; *DCG* i. 40; *SDB* 16.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

HATRED.—In the time of Nero the Christians of Rome 'were accused, not so much on the charge of burning the city, as of hating the human race' ('haud proinde in crimine incendii quam odio humani generis convicti sunt' [Tac. *Ann.* xv. 44]). The indictment was the opposite of the truth. Christianity is *amor generis humani*. Christ's new commandment is 'that ye love one another' (Jn 13^{34}, 1 Jn 2^{8}), and it is fulfilled when an outward categorical imperative (*e.g.* Lv 19^{18}) is changed into an inward personal impulse, the dynamic of which is His own self-sacrificing, all-embracing love. 'We love, because he first loved us' (1 Jn 4^{19}), and it would be as right to insert 'the human race' as 'him' (AV) after the first verb. By precept and example Christ constrains men to love one another *as* He has loved them. To be Christlike is to love impartially and immeasurably. Love is the sole and sufficient evidence that a man 'is in the light' (1 Jn 2^{10}). There is a silencing finality in St. John's judgment of that profession of Christianity which is not attested by love: 'He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in the darkness even until now' (1 Jn 2^{9}). The negative μὴ ἀγαπᾶν is displaced by the positive μισεῖν, for there is no real *via media*, cool indifference to any man being quickly changed under stress of temptation into very decided dislike. ὁ μισῶν τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ is guilty of an unnatural hatred, and though 'brother' refers in the first instance to those who are members of the body of Christ, it is impossible to evade the wider application. 'The brother for whom Christ died' (1 Co 8^{11}) is every man. In the searching language of the Apostle of love, hatred is equivalent to murder (1 Jn 3^{15}): the one concept lacks no hideous element that is present in the other; the animating ideas and passions of the hater and the murderer are the same. The Christians of the Apostolic Age could not but love the world which 'God so loved' (Jn 3^{16}), and for whose sins Christ is the propitiation (1 Jn 2^{2}). Their 'world' hated them, and, in many instances, ended by murdering them; but persecution and bloodshed only constrained them to love the more, in accordance with the precepts of the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5^{44}). The early Church extorted from that pagan world the beautiful tribute, 'See how these Christians

love one another!' The Spirit of Christ moved His followers to 'put away all bitterness and wrath . . . with all malice,' to be 'kind one to another' (Eph $4^{31f.}$), and 'put on love as the bond of perfectness' (Col 3^{14}). While they could recall the time when they were 'hateful, hating one another' (*στυγητοί, μισοῦντες ἀλλήλους*, Tit 3^{3}; Vulg. 'odibiles, odientes invicem'), the spirit of the new life was *φιλαδελφία* (love of the brethren), to which was added a world-wide *ἀγάπη* (2 P 1^{7}).

To orthodox Judaism, as well as to cultured Hellenism and the hard pagan Roman world, it seemed natural to love only one's friends. When the Rabbis quoted Lv 19^{18}, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour,' they did not hesitate to add, on their own account, the rider, 'Thou shalt hate thine enemy' (Mt 5^{43}). To Aristotle the only conceivable objects of love were the persons and things that were good, pleasant, or useful (*Nic. Eth.* viii. 2). Sulla, a typical Roman, wished it to be inscribed on his monument in the Campus Martius that 'none of his friends ever did him a kindness, and none of his enemies ever did him a wrong, without being fully repaid' (Plut. *Sulla*, xxxviii.). Into a world dominated by such ideas Christianity brought that enthusiasm of humanity which is the reflexion of Christ's own redeeming love. Associating the ideas of hatred and death, it opposed to them those of love and life. 'We know that we have passed out of death into life, because we love the brethren. He that loveth not abideth in death' (1 Jn 3^{14}).

Cicero defines hatred (*odium*) as 'ira inveterata' (*Tusc. Disp.* iv. 9), a phrase which Chaucer borrows in *Persones Tale*, 'Hate is old wrathe.' But *ira* is in itself a morally neutral instinct, which becomes either righteous or unrighteous according to the quality of the objects against which it is directed. The *θυμὸς καὶ ὀργή* which the Christian has to put away include all selfish kinds of hatred. But he soon discovers that in his new life he must still be a 'good hater' if he is to be a true lover. He must, with Dante, 'hate the sin which hinders loving.' 'What indignation' (*ἀγανάκτησις*) is wrought in him by a sorrow after a godly sort! (2 Co 7^{11}). The love which he feels as he comes nearer God is hot with wrath against every 'abominable thing which God hates.' The capacity for hatred is set down by Christ to the credit of the Church of Ephesus: 'Thou hatest the works of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate' (Rev 2^{6}). To Christ Himself the words of Ps 45^{7} are applied, 'Thou hast loved righteousness and hated iniquity' (He 1^{9}). The writer of Revelation does not conceal his loathing of pagan Rome, calling it 'a hold of unclean and hateful birds' (Rev 18^{2}), and Jude (v.^{23}) bids evangelists who snatch brands from the burning 'have mercy with fear, hating even the garment spotted by the flesh.'

If hatred not merely of evil things but of wicked persons is anywhere ascribed to God, a difficulty is at once felt. It is probably a mistake to take *ἐχθροί* in Ro 5^{10} (cf. Col 1^{21}, Ja 4^{4}) in a passive sense, though Calvin, Tholuck, Meyer, and others do so. The meaning is 'hostile to God,' not 'hateful to God' (Ritschl, Lightfoot, Sanday-Headlam). God, who hates the sin, loves the sinner, and it is only in the alienated mind of man that a *καταλλαγή* needs to be effected. But in Ro 9^{13} the words are quoted which Malachi ($1^{2f.}$) attributes to Jahweh: 'Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.' The saying may be interpreted in the light of Lk 14^{26}, where 'hate' evidently means 'love less'; or it may be taken as an imperfect OT conception, which St. Paul uses in an *argumentum ad hominem* without giving it his own imprimatur.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HEAD.—The importance attributed to the head in ancient psychology must not be supposed to spring from scientific knowledge of the function of the brain and nervous system. 'The psychical importance of the head would be an early result of observation of the phenomena and source of the senses of sight, hearing, taste, and smell, and of such facts as the pulsation of the fontanel in infants and the fatal effect of wounds in this complex centre of the organism' (A. E. Crawley, *The Idea of the Soul*, 1909, p. 239). Plato assigned reason to the brain, 'the topographically higher region being correlated with the reason's higher worth' (Aristotle, *Psychology*, tr. W. A. Hammond, 1902, Introd. p. xxvi); but, to Aristotle, 'the brain is merely a regulator for the temperature of the heart' (*ib.* p. xxiv). By the time of Galen (2nd cent. A.D.), sensation was located in the brain, acting in conjunction with the nerves; but there is no evidence that such technical Greek knowledge is implied in the literature of apostolic Christianity.* We are there concerned in general with an extension of Hebrew psychology, for which the brain was of no psychical importance. In fact, there is no Hebrew word for 'brain,' and we must suppose that it would simply be called, as it actually is in Syriac, the 'marrow of the head.' Certain (Aramaic) references to 'the visions of the head' in the Book of Daniel (2^{28} etc.) merely refer to the position of the organ of sight, and the phrase is actually contrasted with 'the thoughts of the heart' (4^{5}; cf. 2^{30}).

The head (*κεφαλή*) is named as a representative part of the whole personality in St. Paul's words to blaspheming Jews at Corinth: 'Your blood be upon your own heads' (Ac 18^{6}; cf. Jos 2^{19}, 2 S 1^{16}, etc.), and in the proverb that kindness to an enemy heaps coals of fire on his head (Ro 12^{20}; cf. Pr 25^{22}). The mourning custom of casting dust on the head (Rev 18^{19}; cf. Ezk 27^{30}) may spring from the desire to link the dead with the living, if the dust was originally taken from the grave itself, as W. R. Smith and Schwally have supposed. (As to cutting off the hair of the head, because of a vow, see art. HAIR.) St. Paul argues against the Corinthian practice of allowing women publicly to pray or prophesy with unveiled heads, on three grounds (1 Co $11^{3f.}$): (1) there is an upward gradation of rank to be observed—woman, man, Christ, God; (2) woman was created from and for man, and so she must show by her covered head that she is in the presence of her superior—man (cf. the covering of the bride in presence of her future husband, Gn 24^{65});† (3) the long hair of woman shows that the covering of the veil is natural to her. If she unveils her head, therefore, she dishonours it by making a false claim for the personality it represents, as well as by outraging decency, which should be the more carefully observed because of the presence of the angels in public worship. (No satisfactory explanation of the phrase 'authority [*ἐξουσία*] on her head' [1 Co 11^{10}] seems yet to have been given, but the context seems to imply that the veil expresses the authority of man over woman, in accordance with which the RV inserts the words 'a sign of' before 'authority.' See art. AUTHORITY.) It should be noted that it is the whole head, and not simply the face, that is covered in the East: 'The women of Egypt deem it more incumbent upon them to cover the upper and back part of the head than the face, and more requisite to conceal the face than most other parts of the person' (Lane, *Modern Egyptians*, 1895, p. 67).

The custom of anointing the head is mentioned (figuratively) in 1 Clem. lvi. 5; Ign. *Eph.* xvii. 1;

* Even if it were, Galen's ascription of psychical attributes to organs other than the brain would show the wide gulf between ancient and modern psychology.

† The original motive of this wide-spread practice is probably, as Crawley suggests (*ERE* v. 54), 'the impulse for concealment before an object of fear.'

it is crowned in token of honour (Rev 4^4 9^7 12^1 19^{12}; cf. 10^1). The frequent references in the *Odes of Solomon* to a crown on the Christian's head are best explained from the Eastern practice of placing a garland on the head of candidates for baptism (i. 1, ix. 8, xx.[7, 8, and J. H. Bernard's notes in *TS* viii. 3 [1912] *ad locc.*). The seven heads of the Apocalyptic red dragon (*i.e.* Satan [Rev 12^3]) apparently denote the abundance of his power; the seven heads of his agent, the Beast (13^1 17^9), are explicitly referred both to the seven hills of Rome and to seven Emperors. The head smitten to death, but healed (13^3), appears to be Nero, who was widely believed not to have died in A.D. 68 (see Swete, *ad loc.*). The lion-heads and snake-headed tails of Rev $9^{17.\ 19}$ merely heighten the horror of the scene.

The most remarkable use of the term 'head' in apostolic literature is its application to Christ, the 'body' being the Church. This analogy is more than illustration; it forms an argument, like the psychological analogies of Augustine in regard to the Trinity. Just as the lower level of primitive thought represented by symbolic magic often finds a real connexion in acts, because they are similar, so ancient theology (cf. the 'Recapitulation' doctrine of Irenæus) often finds positive argument in mere parallelism. In the Pauline use of the analogy between the human body and the Church, Christ is sometimes identified with the whole body, and sometimes with the head alone; this will occasion no difficulty to those who remember St. Paul's doctrine of the believer's mystical union with Christ, so that his life *is* Christ's. In the most detailed application of the analogy (1 Co $12^{12f.}$; cf. Ro $12^{4.\ 5}$), the head is simply contrasted with the feet, without special reference to Christ, the whole Church-body being identified with Him. NT commentators,* whilst often crediting St. Paul with the knowledge of modern physiology, usually overlook the contribution of Hebrew psychology to the elucidation of this analogy. In the OT the body is regarded as a co-operative group of quasi-independent sense-organs, each possessed of psychical and ethical, as well as physical, life (see artt. EYE, EAR, HAND, and cf. Mt $5^{29.\ 30}$). This gives new point to the comparison with the quasi-independent life of the members of the Church; in the social as in the individual body, health depends on the (voluntary)subordination of this quasi-independence to the common good. This unity of purpose St. Paul elsewhere traces to the Headship of Christ. The Apostle can identify the head with Christ, without at all thinking of the brain, because the head is the most dignified part of the psycho-physical personality. As a centre of *life* (cf. Mt 5^{36}), not specially of *thought* or *volition* (which St. Paul located in the heart), the head dominates the body, the separate organs of which each contribute to the whole personality 'according to the working in due measure of each several part' (Eph 4^{16}; cf. Col 2^{19}). Christ is 'the saviour of the body' (Eph 5^{23}), as it is the head on which the safety of the whole body depends, because of the special sense-organs located in it. On the other hand, the body is necessary to the completion and fullness of the life of the head, as is the Church to Christ (Eph $1^{22.\ 23}$). Elsewhere, this Headship of Christ over the body denotes simply His priority of rank (Col 1^{18}), and this is extended to His dominion over the 'principalities and powers' of the unseen world (2^{10}).

The bodily union of the members with Christ the Head is conceived in close relation with the initial act of baptism: 'in one Spirit were we all baptized into one body' (1 Co 12^{13}). St. Paul's doctrine of the Spirit of God (or of Christ) as creating the spiritual unity and efficiency of the body through which it circulates from the head has an interesting parallel in the Pneuma doctrine of contemporary physiology. According to this, 'spirit' was conveyed by the arteries to the different sense-organs (H. Siebeck, *Gesch. der Psychologie*, 1884, ii. p. 130 f.; G. S. Brett, *A History of Psychology*, 1912, p. 286 f.). Something of this popular doctrine may, of course, have reached St. Paul through the physician Luke. It would certainly have appealed to him as an example of 'spiritual' law in the 'natural' world, confirming and enforcing his own moral and spiritual conception of the Hebrew doctrine of the Spirit.*

The Pauline analogy of 'body' and 'Church' is employed by Clement of Rome, though without explicit reference to the Headship of Christ, the head being named here simply as a higher member: 'The head without the feet is nothing; so likewise the feet without the head are nothing: even the smallest limbs of our body are necessary and useful for the whole body: but all the members conspire and unite in subjection, that the whole body may be saved' (1 Clem. xxxvii. 5). The same analogy re-appears in several of the *Odes of Solomon*. Thus Christ says, 'I sowed my fruit in hearts, and transformed them into myself; and they received my blessing and lived; and they were gathered to me, and were saved; because they were to me as my own members, and I was their Head' (xvii. 13, 14; cf. xxiii. 16). Similarly, Christ speaks of His descent into Hades, where He gathers His saints and delivers them: 'the feet and the head he [Death] let go, for they were not able to endure my face' (xlii. 18). These passages continue the mystic realism of Pauline and Johannine thought, and throw an interesting light on the earlier ideas of the relation of the believer to Christ, even though they belong to the 2nd century.

H. WHEELER ROBINSON.

HEALINGS.—See GIFTS.

HEART (*καρδία*). — **1. Its physical sense.** — 'Heart,' which in the OT is frequently employed to denote the central organ of the body, is not found in the NT in this primary sense, though we have an allusion to it in St. Paul's 'fleshy tables of the heart' (2 Co 3^3). But the influence of the old Hebrew view that 'the life of the flesh is in the blood' (Lv 17^{11}) still persists; and in Ac 14^{17}, Ja 5^5 'heart' is used to express the physical life that is nourished by food or surfeited with luxury. Owing, however, to the close connexion in the Hebrew mind between body and soul (see art. BODY), the transition was easy from the physical life to the spiritual; and in the NT it is a spiritual use of 'heart' with which we have almost wholly to do.

2. Its psychological sense. — (*1*) The word is frequently employed in a general way to designate *the whole inward life* of thought and feeling, desire and will, without any discrimination of separate faculties or activities (Ac 5^3, 1 Co 14^{25}, 1 P 3^4, He 13^9). (2) In some cases it applies especially to *the intellectual powers* (Ro 1^{21}, 1 Co 2^9, 2 Co 4^6, 2 P 1^{19}), though elsewhere (He 8^{10} 10^{16}, Ph 4^7) the heart and the mind are distinguished from each other. It is in this intellectual reference that the scriptural use of 'heart' differs from the ordinary usage of English speech; for though with us, as with the biblical writers, the word is employed with a wide variety of application as descriptive

* *E.g.* J. Armitage Robinson (*Ephesians*, 1903, p. 103), who bases the Pauline thought of Christ as Head of the body on the fact that 'that is the seat of the brain which controls and unifies the organism,' and goes on to speak of 'the complete system of nerves and muscles by which the limbs are knit together and are connected with the head' (p. 104).

* From this 'biological' Headship of Christ must be distinguished the purely architectural figure of Him as 'the Head of the corner' (Ac 4^{11}, 1 P 2^7).

of the inner life and its various faculties, it is not used so as to include the rational and intellectual nature, from which, on the contrary, it is expressly distinguished, as in the common antithesis between the heart and the head. (3) In a few cases it denotes *the will* or faculty of determination (1 Co 7^{37}, 2 Co 9^{7}). In 1 Co 4^{5} *βουλαὶ τῶν καρδίων*, which EV renders 'the counsels of the hearts,' would be more exactly translated by 'the purposes (*or* resolutions) of the hearts.' (4) It stands for *the seat of feelings and emotions*, whether joyful (Ac $2^{26.\ 46}$) or sorrowful (Ro 9^{2}, 2 Co 2^{4}), and of *desires*, whether holy (Ro 10^{1}) or impure (1^{24}). Especially is it used of the affection of love, whether towards man (2 Co 7^{3}, 1 P 1^{22}) or towards God (Ro 5^{5}, 2 Th 3^{5}).

3. Its ethical and religious significance.—(1) Occasionally 'heart' represents the moral faculty or *conscience* (Ac 2^{37}, He 8^{10} 10^{16}, 1 Jn 3^{20}). In He 10^{22}, 'having our hearts sprinkled from an evil conscience,' the conscience, if not identified with the heart, is thought of as inhering in it. (2) As the centre of the personal life the heart stands for moral reality as distinguished from mere appearance (2 Co 5^{12}). The 'hidden man of the heart' (1 P 3^{4}) is the real man, the obedience that comes from the heart (Ro 6^{17}) the true obedience. Hence 'heart' becomes equivalent to *character* as the good or evil resultant of moral activity and experience. Thus the heart may 'wax gross' (Ac 28^{27}) or may become 'unblameable in holiness' (1 Th 3^{13}); it may be hardened (He $3^{8.\ 15}$ 4^{7}) and 'exercised with covetousness' (2 P 2^{14}), or it may bear the stamp of simplicity (Eph 6^{5}, Col 3^{22}) and be purified by faith (Ac 15^{9}). (3) But, as this mention of faith reminds us, the heart in the NT is especially *the sphere of religious experience*. It is there that the natural knowledge of God has its seat (Ro 1^{21}), and there also that the light of the knowledge of His glory shines in the face of Jesus Christ (2 Co 4^{6}). There faith springs up and dwells and works (Ro $10^{9.\ 10}$, Ac 15^{9}), and there unbelief draws men away from the living God (He 3^{12}). It may become the haunt of unclean lusts that make men blind to the truth of God (Ro 1^{24}); but it is into the heart that God sends the Spirit of His Son (Gal 4^{6}), and in the heart that Christ Himself takes up His abode (Eph 3^{17}). This life of the heart is a hidden life (1 P 3^{4}, 1 Co 4^{5}), but it lies clearly open to the eyes of God, who searches and tries it (Ro 8^{27}, 1 Th 2^{4}). And the prime necessity of religion is a heart that is 'right in the sight of God' (Ac 8^{21}). Such a heart can be obtained only through faith (Ac 15^{9}, Ro 10^{10}, Eph 3^{17}) and as a gift from God Himself (*cf.* the OT saying, 'A new heart also will I give you,' Ezk 36^{26}) in virtue of that new creation in Christ Jesus (2 Co 5^{17}) whereby a heart that is hard and impenitent (Ro 2^{5}) is transformed into one in which the love of God has been shed abroad through the Holy Ghost (5^{5}).

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Lex. of NT Greek*[3], Edinburgh, 1880, *s.v.* *καρδία*, and *PRE*[3] vii. 773; J. Laidlaw, *Bible Doctrine of Man*, new ed., Edinburgh, 1895, p. 121; B. Weiss, *Biblical Theology of the NT*, Eng. tr., do. 1882–3, i. 348.

J. C. LAMBERT.

HEATHEN.—The word 'heathen' still finds a measure of favour with the OT Revisers, and, in order to prevent it from being entirely excluded from the NT, it might well have been retained in at least one or two of the passages where it occurs in the AV (Mt 6^{7} 18^{7}, Ac 4^{25}, 2 Co 11^{26}, Gal 1^{16} 2^{9} 3^{8}). 'Gentiles' is substituted for it throughout in the text of the RV. It first appears in the Gothic Version of Ulfilas (A.D. 318–388) in Mk 7^{26}, where Ἑλληνίς is rendered by *haiþnó*. The etymology is uncertain. It was long believed to have come from the Gothic *haiþi*, 'heath,' and to have denoted the 'dwellers on the heath,' who, on the introduction of Christianity, stood out longest in their adherence to the ancient deities (cf. Trench, *Study of Words*[8], p. 77). Doubt has been cast, however, on this derivation by S. Bugge (*Indoger. Forschungen*, v. [1895] 178), who takes *haiþnó* as indicating a masc. *haiþans*, which he refers to Armenian *het'anos*, 'heathen,' an adaptation of Gr. *ἔθνος* (cf. *OED*, vol. v., *s.v.* 'Heathen,' where Bugge's theory is not accepted).

A similar etymological uncertainty presents itself in the case of the synonym, 'pagan.' The application of this word to non-Christians was long thought to be due to the fact that 'the ancient idolatry lingered on in the rural villages and hamlets [*pagi*] after Christianity had been generally accepted in the towns and cities of the Roman Empire' (*OED*, vol. vii., *s.v.* 'Pagan'). But the application to non-Christians probably arose at an earlier date, and in a different way (*EBr*[11] xx. 449). In the course of the 1st cent., *paganus* came to mean in classical Latin, 'a civilian,' as opposed to a *miles*. The 'raw half-armed rustics who sometimes formed a rude militia in Roman wars' were not looked upon as a regular branch of the service, or as deserving the honourable appellation of *milites*, soldiers of the standing army. They were *pagani* (Tac. *Hist.* i. 53, ii. 14: 'paganorum manus . . . inter milites'; ii. 88, iii. 24, 43, 77, iv. 20: 'paganorum lixarumque'; Pliny, *Ep.* x. 13: 'et milites et pagani'). Christians, then, having taken the title of *milites Dei* or *milites Christi* for their own, which St. Paul had warranted them in doing (Eph $6^{14ff.}$, 2 Ti 2^{3}), and for which they found a further warrant in the early application of the word *sacramentum*, 'the military oath,' to baptism, regarded as *pagani* ('outsiders,' not soldiers at all)* those who had not abandoned heathenism and committed themselves to Christ as their leader. This derivation seems to have been first suggested by Gibbon (*Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ed. Bury, ii. 394 *n.*, 176), and has been adopted by Zahn (*NKZ* x. [1899] 28 f.) and Harnack (*Expansion of Christianity*, i. 315, ii. 22).

Our Lord's three allusions to the heathen (*οἱ ἐθνικοί*,† *τὰ ἔθνη*) in the Sermon on the Mount were designed to illustrate His teaching respecting the righteousness of the Kingdom of God, as a righteousness which demanded, in loving one's neighbour, much more than that reciprocity of courtesy which even heathens practised (Mt 5^{47}); in prayer, a childlike trustfulness of asking, unlike the wordy clamour of heathen worship (6^{7}); and in work, a loving dependence on God, which would exalt work, and make it quite a different thing from heathen drudgery (6^{32}).

The closing words of Mt 18^{17} (*ἔστω σοι ὥσπερ ὁ ἐθνικὸς καὶ ὁ τελώνης*) must give us pause. Had they stood alone, we might have inferred that Jesus acquiesced in the judgment which put the heathen and the publican under the ban. But a publican had already been taken into the number of the Twelve (9^{9}), and he is the very apostle who reports these words. St. Matthew has also recorded before this how Jesus had put forth His miraculous power in response to the 'great faith' of a heathen centurion and a distressed heathen mother (8^{10} 15^{28}). That the words imply personal contempt or dislike for the heathen and the publican, or pronounce a sentence of exclusion upon them, is, accordingly, out of the question. This saying is to be regarded as an *obiter dictum* of our Lord's, spoken to His disciples from their present Jewish standpoint, and therefore of use to them at the moment in interpreting His meaning. Current Jewish opinion is made the medium of conveying moral and evangelical guidance.

The healing of the Syrophœnician's daughter is another occasion on which our Lord appears to speak the language of His time. Here, however, the severity of the words, 'It is not meet to take the children's bread and cast it to the dogs' (Mk 7^{27}), is intentionally mitigated by the use of the diminutive *κυνάρια*, which is just 'doggies' in our language—no word of scorn, but one of affection

* Cf. Fr. *pékin*—a name originally given by the soldiers under Napoleon I. to any civilian (*OED* vii. 622).

† *ἐθνικός* occurs in the NT 4 times (Mt 5^{47} 6^{7} 18^{17}, 3 Jn 7). Neither *ἐθνικός* nor *ἐθνικῶς* (Gal 2^{14}) is found in the LXX.

and tenderness. Nor should we forget that the saying which immediately precedes is, 'Let the children *first* be filled.' The Syrophœnician, with the quick penetration of faith, perceived that the two sayings were to be taken together, and knew that she was not really repelled (cf. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, ii. 347).

The Third Epistle of St. John is 'a quite private note' (*EBi* ii. 1327), recommending to the kind attention of Gaius, a friend of his, some 'travelling missionaries,' described as men who 'for the sake of the Name went forth, taking nothing of the heathen' (v.[7]: *μηδὲν λαμβάνοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ἐθνικῶν*). Seeing that these itinerant preachers of the gospel deem it most prudent not to accept hospitality from 'them that are without' (cf. 1 Co 5[12], Col 4[5])—a course which St. John approves—they are the more dependent on the *φιλοξενία* of the few fellow-Christians who come in their way (cf. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, iii. 374). The cutting question which St. Paul addressed to St. Peter in the presence of the congregation at Antioch (Gal 2[14]) was justly aimed against the moral inconsistency of his first eating with the Gentile converts (*σύ . . . ἐθνικῶς ζῇς*; cf. v.[12]) and then withdrawing from table-fellowship with them. This vacillation, had it been allowed to go on without remonstrance, would have arrested the progress of the work of Christ among the heathen. Few occurrences in Church history are more full of warning than this memorable crisis, which might have divided more than the Christians of Antioch into two opposing camps, and made the Lord's Supper itself a table of discord (cf. *HDB* iii. 765[b]).

Over against the dark picture of heathenism which he draws in Ro 1[18-32] St. Paul sets a very different presentment in 2[14f.], where he depicts heathen human nature as bearing witness to a law written within, and being guided by it to well-doing. The Apostle also does justice to heathen ethics in Ph 4[8]—'an exhortation,' as Weizsäcker says (*Apostolic Age*, ii. 354), 'whose charm to this day rests on the appeal to the common feeling of humanity,' and on the principle that 'that which was valid . . . among heathens was also truly Christian' (cf. art. 'St. Paul in Athens' by Ernst Curtius, in *Expositor*, 7th ser. iv. 441 f.).

LITERATURE.—*EBi* ii. [1901] 1327; *EBr*[11] xiii. [1910] 159, xx. [1911] 449; E. Curtius, in *Expositor*, 7th ser. iv. [1907] 441 f.; E. Gibbon, *Decline and Fall of Roman Empire*, ed. Bury[2], ii. [1897] 394; A. Harnack, *Expansion of Christianity*, Eng. tr., 1904-5, i. 315, ii. 22; E. Hatch-H. A. Redpath, *Concordance to the LXX*, ii. [1893] *s.v.* *ἔθνος*; *HDB* iii. 765[b]; J. Facciolati-A. Forcellini, *Latin Lexicon*, 1828, ii., *s.v.* 'paganus'; *OED* v. [1901] *s.v.* 'Heathen,' vii. [1909] *s.vv.* 'Pagan,' 'Pekin'; W. A. Spooner, *Histories of Tacitus*, 1891, iii. 24; R. C. Trench, *Study of Words*[8], 1858, p. 76 *f.*; C. von Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age*[2], Eng. tr., ii. [1895] 352-354; H. H. Wendt, *The Teaching of Jesus*, Eng. tr., 1892, ii. 347; T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, iii. 374. JAMES DONALD.

HEAVEN.—*Introductory.*—The subject of heaven is difficult to treat fully without diverging into the discussion of kindred subjects and trespassing on the province of other articles. The reader is referred to the artt. ESCHATOLOGY, HADES, IMMORTALITY, PARADISE, PAROUSIA, and RESURRECTION, in this and other Dictionaries for discussion of various matters which are relevant to the treatment of the conception of heaven.

Two broad general lines of development in things eschatological were already at work at the beginning of the Christian era. Palestinian Judaism on the whole tended towards literalism and more material conceptions of the Last Things, while Alexandrian Judaism was moving towards a spiritualization of the principal elements in the future hope. Both these tendencies are discernible in the development of Christian eschatology during the 1st century. But the most important element is the influence of the primitive apostolic beliefs concerning the Resurrection of Christ and His state of existence after death. Special attention is directed in this article to the influence of these beliefs on the development of the Christian conception of heaven.

1. Jewish apocalyptic.—(*a*) *Alexandrian.*—The principal features of Alexandrian Jewish eschatology in relation to heaven are the view that the righteous enter at once into their perfected state of happiness after death, and the view that the resurrection of the righteous is of the spirit only. Hence the conception of heaven is wholly spiritualized, and the thought of it as an intermediate place of rest disappears. But it must not be supposed that a wholly consistent view can be found in the apocalyptic literature of the period, any more than in the NT writers. It was a time of change; new forces were at work modifying the older beliefs, and the above statement is simply a broad generalization of the trend of Alexandrian Judaism. When particular passages are examined the difficulty of constructing a homogeneous scheme of the Last Things becomes apparent at once. The principal difficulty is the recurrence of the idea of the earthly Messianic kingdom (cf. Wis 3[7*f.*] with 5[17*f.*]), which is incompatible with a purely spiritual conception of resurrection and of heaven. The chief passages are: Wis 3[1-9] 4[7-14] 5[15-16], *2 En.* iii.-xxii. (account of the ten heavens in order; Paradise is in the third heaven, and also the place of punishment for the wicked), lv. 2, lxvii. 2, *4 Mac.* xiii. 16, v. 37, xviii. 23 (note the phrase 'Abraham's bosom' used for the place of rest for the righteous after death).

(*b*) *Palestinian.*—The two important writings belonging to this period are *Apoc. Baruch* and *2 Esdras*. For a full treatment of their critical analysis and eschatological system see Charles, *Eschatology*, ch. viii., also Box, *The Ezra-Apocalypse*, 1912, and the edition of both in Charles, *Apoc. and Pseudepig. of the OT*. The general view of heaven in Palestinian apocalyptic as illustrated by these two writings is as follows.

Heaven, also identified with Paradise, is the final abode of the righteous (*Apoc. Bar.* li., *2 Es.* vii. 36, viii. 52). An intermediate place of rest for the righteous (*Apoc. Bar.* xxx. 2) is described as 'the treasuries,' 'in which is preserved the number of the souls of the righteous' (cf. also *2 Es.* iv. 41). Messiah comes from heaven to establish a temporary Messianic Kingdom, and returns to heaven at the close of it. The righteous in heaven are made like to the angels (*Apoc. Bar.* li. 10).

2. Pauline literature.—In dealing with any eschatological conception in the NT it is necessary to consider first of all how much is due to the Jewish background of thought; then, in the case of each writer, to see how far the conception belongs to the common stock of primitive Christian tradition, and how far it is peculiar to the writer under discussion. In dealing with St. Paul it is also necessary to examine the question of a possible development of thought. In general the orthodox Jewish view of heaven represented in the Synoptic Gospels forms the background and starting-point of all the NT writers. The principal points which call for examination in St. Paul's correspondence are the relation of the conception of heaven to Christ, and the conception of heaven as the future place of abode for believers.

(*a*) *Heaven in relation to Christ.*—Two main questions arise from St. Paul's treatment of this subject. First, the question of the pre-existent life of Christ; and second, the question of His present state of existence.

(1) For the first point the chief passages are 1 Co 15[47], Ro 10[6], and possibly in this connexion

Ph 2^6 and Col 1^{15-17}. In 1 Co 15^{47}, reading 'the second man is from heaven,' it is quite possible to interpret the passage as referring to the Parousia rather than to the doctrine of a pre-existent Heavenly Man. Ro 10^6, an application of Dt $30^{12.13}$ to Christ, may be referred to the present place of Christ; *i.e.* it is unnecessary to bring Christ down again after His Resurrection and Ascension. Ph 2^6 is also capable of being interpreted as referring to Christ's moral likeness to God. Thus St. Paul's testimony to the pre-existent life of Christ as in heaven is not clear, though it may be upheld on the ground of the above passages.

(2) The second point is far more vital to St. Paul's thought, and has largely influenced his view of heaven in relation to the future condition of believers. The words 'ascended into heaven' clearly represent the consensus of primitive apostolic tradition. To the Jewish view of the transcendence of God, and of His dwelling in heaven as in contrast to earth, the primitive tradition added the doctrine of Christ's present existence there with God. It is evident that St. Paul held the common Jewish views of heaven (cf. 2 Co 12^2: the third heaven, or Paradise, regarded as God's dwelling-place; Ph 2^{10}: the division of the universe into things heavenly, earthly, and infernal; Gal 1^8: an angel from heaven; Ro 1^{18}: God's wrath revealed from heaven, etc.). But it is still more evident that he had also thought deeply on the question of Christ's Resurrection, its nature, His present state of existence, and the bearing of these questions on the future state of believers. This is not the place to discuss the possible conclusions at which St. Paul may have arrived. But we can see that his thinking on this point tends in the direction of a spiritualization of the whole conception of heaven. He conceives of Christ's present existence as spiritual; Christ and the Spirit are identified; Christ is for the present 'hid in God' (Col 3^3); the dead believers are 'at home with the Lord' (2 Co 5^8). It is generally conceded that Ephesians, even if not St. Paul's, is certainly Pauline. Hence we may use it here as evidence for the elaboration of the conception of a quasi-material, quasi-spiritual region, *τὰ ἐπουράνια*. Here Christ is seated at God's right hand; believers have here their proper home and their characteristic blessings; and here is being waged the age-long conflict between the spiritual powers of good and evil (Eph 6^{12}).

Lastly, the link which connects this side of the subject with the more purely eschatological use of heaven as the future abode of believers is the passage in 2 Co 5^{1-2}. Here we have the conception (possibly developed directly from St. Paul's view of our Lord's Resurrection, although the conception of a 'body of light' found in Jewish and Gnostic sources may have influenced his thought) of a spiritual body laid up in heaven for the believer. This body was evidently after the pattern of our Lord's Resurrection body or mode of existence (cf. Ph 3^{20}, 1 Co 15^{49}). In thinking of it as laid up or reserved in heaven, St. Paul is no doubt using Rabbinical categories of thought. For example, the Rabbinical tradition could think of the Law, the Temple, and other central ideas of Judaism as laid up with God before the creation of the world.

(*b*) *Heaven as the future abode of believers.*—This conception is conspicuous by its absence from St. Paul's thought. The Parousia is always 'from heaven,' alike in the earliest (1 Th 1^{10}) and in the latest (Ph 3^{20}) of St. Paul's letters. But when he speaks of the future place of existence of the Christian it is always 'with the Lord,' 'with Christ,' and apparently he has been chiefly occupied with the fresh question of the mode of the Christian's future existence as determined by Christ's existence. Possibly, also, he so takes it for granted that believers will have their place in a Messianic earthly kingdom that he does not think it necessary to mention it. The grief of survivors in 1 Th 4^{13} seems to imply this clearly, also the reference to the judgment executed by believers in 1 Co 6^2. But what seems most evident is that St. Paul passed almost unconsciously from the traditional and more material view of the future state implied in 1 Th 4^{13} to the simpler and more spiritual conception of future likeness to Christ, and a blessed existence with Him. This takes the place of all sensuous joys of heaven.

3. Petrine literature.—If the Lucan record of St. Peter's speeches may be taken as at least representing Petrine material, then we have one or two passages relating to Christ's present place in heaven. Ac 2^{34-35} interprets Ps 110^1 of the Ascension of Christ, and 3^{21} adds that it was necessary for the Messiah to return to heaven because the *ἀποκατάστασις* had not yet arrived. Both passages show that the belief in the Messiah's present existence in heaven was an essential part of primitive apostolic tradition, and also that the early tradition was very little occupied with heaven as a place of abode in the future, but rather as the place whence God would intervene by sending the Messiah again to establish the kingdom on earth. The few passages in the First Epistle which speak of heaven add nothing to this position. 1 P 1^4 echoes Col 1^5: heaven is the place where the inheritance incorruptible and undefiled is kept with care until the moment for the revelation of Messiah. 1 P 3^{22} re-affirms the doctrine of Eph 1^{20} 4^{10}, etc.: the Ascension of Christ to heaven and His Exaltation over all the spiritual powers in the heavenly sphere. Hence, as far as the literature attributed to St. Peter is concerned, we do not find anything peculiar to him, but only a confirmation of the two main elements of primitive Christian tradition—the present existence of Christ in heaven conceived of in a quasi-material way as a place or sphere contrasted with earth, and the revelation of Christ from heaven bringing the accomplishment of all hopes of blessing, all that is comprised in *σωτηρία*. The connexion of the Holy Spirit sent from heaven with the eschatological expectation of the early Church is also characteristic both of the speeches in Acts and of the Epistle (cf. Ac 2^{16-18}, 1 P 1^{12}). The same thought is frequent also in St. Paul (Ro 8^{23}, where the Spirit is the *ἀπαρχή*, an anticipatory guarantee of the blessings yet to come; and Eph 1^{14}, where the Spirit is the *ἀρραβών*).

4. Hebrews.—The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews contributes much of importance to our inquiry. Possibly he is the only one of the NT writers who shows clearly the influence of Alexandrian Judaism in his views on the Last Things. St. Peter represents the primitive Jewish Christian eschatology in its simplest form; even in the First Epistle, although Charles finds an advance on the eschatology of Acts, the hope is still rather for the kingdom on earth; the heavenly nature of the inheritance is not to be understood as referring to the place where it is enjoyed, but rather to the place from which it comes. Even in St. Paul's case, in spite of the clear advance towards a greater spiritualization of the eschatology, this advance seems to consist in the increasing emphasis laid on the spiritual assimilation of believers to Christ as the goal of hope, rather than in an abandonment of the hope of an earthly kingdom. The idea of the kingdom falls into the background, but its abandonment cannot be proved conclusively from St. Paul's writings. But the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews seems to have arrived at this stage of the development. There is no passage in his letter

which points clearly to the belief that the righteous share with Christ the joys of a kingdom on or over the earth. The principal passages for consideration are:

(*a*) Those which confirm the primitive apostolic tradition of the present session of Christ in heaven (4^{14} 7^{26} 8^{1} $9^{23.\ 24}$). The writer lays stress on the fact that Christ is higher than the 'heaven'; he implies a contrast in the phrase 'heaven itself,' *αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν*, the special dwelling-place of God, with the heaven of Jewish theology. Jesus has passed '*through* the heavens.' Of course this thought is found in Eph 4^{10} also. (*b*) The eschatological passages (3^{1} 11^{16} 12^{22-24}). Believers are partakers of a '*heavenly* calling.' This might be understood as the source of the calling, but in the light of the subsequent passages it is more naturally understood as referring to the place and goal of the calling. In 11^{16} the writer represents the believers of old as seeking a better and a heavenly country, and declares that God has prepared a city for them. In 12^{22-24}, the climax of his appeal, he depicts the heavenly city, the home of the Christians whom he is addressing. 'Ye have come,' he says, implying that the city exists already, and that it contains the myriads of angels, the assembly of first-begotten ones whose names were enrolled in heaven (Lk 10^{20}), the spirits of righteous men who have been '*perfected*,' and finally Jesus Himself, the Leader and Completer of the faith. The sense of *τετελειωμένοι* is a difficulty, but its interpretation is clearly suggested by the author's use of the word with reference to Christ in 2^{10} 5^{9} 7^{28}. The author implies that Christ's present existence in heaven in a perfect state is the result of His experience on earth. He is morally and spiritually perfected as Man, and hence fitted to be the Leader and Completer of the faith. His present state is the witness and the guarantee of the future state of those who follow His leadership. God will do for them what He has done for Christ. This order of things constitutes the heavenly kingdom, the 'unshakable kingdom' which will be manifest at the Parousia, when everything that can be shaken will be removed. The writer evidently regards the Parousia as the moment when the material heaven and earth will disappear, the wicked and apostates will receive the just judgment of God, and nothing will remain but the heavenly order of things already revealed to faith by the Resurrection and Attainment of Christ. Here we have St. Paul's line of thought carried to a clear and triumphant conclusion. Moral and spiritual progress and ultimate full conformity to the character of God are the true goal of hope. The old words *σωτηρία*, *ἐλπις*, *κληρονομία* are being filled with a definitely spiritual content, and have practically lost their temporal and material significance.

The Pastorals, James and Jude add nothing of importance for the study of this particular conception.

5. Johannine literature.—The treatment of the Johannine literature as a whole is of course impossible. While it still remains a tenable position to regard the Apocalypse, the Epistles, and the Gospel as the work of the same author, representing three different stages of his spiritual development (Ramsay), the question is too complex to discuss here, and too undecided to assume any position as certain. It will be sufficient, therefore, to treat our subject as it appears in each of the three divisions of the Johannine literature separately. On the surface, the difference between the Apocalypse and the Epistles seems to represent the extreme movement of Christian thought from the most material form of Jewish apocalyptic to the most deeply spiritual form of the Christian hope.

(*a*) *The Apocalypse.*—The following is a summary of the chief points regarding heaven as the writer of the Apocalypse uses the conception. (1) There is the current division into heavenly, earthly, and infernal ($5^{3.\ 13}$). (2) The principal part of the vision implies a sharp contrast between heaven and earth as spheres of moral activity. In heaven is the throne of God; His will is done in heaven; Christ is there; the angels, and the OT symbols of the power and presence of God in Creation, are seen in heaven. The redeemed are seen there. Heaven is the source of every action directed against the power of evil. On the other hand, earth is the scene of conflict between good and evil. Those who maintain the cause of God and Christ are a suffering and persecuted minority. From the abyss comes the moving power of the enmity against God. In the writer's view, earth is ruled by the abyss rather than by heaven. Even heaven itself is invaded by the powers of evil, and we have the war in heaven (12^{7}) and the victory of Michael and his hosts over the dragon and his hosts; the heavens and all those that dwell therein are summoned to rejoice over the victory and the final deliverance of heaven from the powers of evil (12^{12}). (3) The heavenly city, the New Jerusalem, the dwelling of God, of Christ, and of the saved, comes down from heaven, after the earthly kingdom is over. It is only the new heaven and earth that the prophet's vision conceives of as fit for the coming of the holy city. Apparently during the millennial reign, the city, in so far as it is conceived of realistically, remains in heaven. We have, on the one hand, a description of the earthly blessing of the risen saints and martyrs during the millennial kingdom (20^{4-6}); on the other hand, the vision itself supposes that those who have attained are already in heaven. The elders probably represent those who are 'perfected' in the sense of Hebrews. There are the multitudes of the redeemed (7^{9-17}); the souls of the martyrs are seen under the altar in heaven; they are granted white robes, and rest until the appointed number of the martyrs is made up. Further, the description of the heavenly city supposes that there is built up of the apostles and saints a spiritual city whose place is heaven. The difficulty of distinguishing between symbol and the literal meaning of the vision makes it a hard task to sum up clearly the writer's position. He is obviously heir to all the visions of the prophets and the apocalyptists, and master of them all. The spiritual and the symbolic are so subtly blended that it is hard to think that the writer is the slave of his symbols. He seems rather to have brought all the symbols of the previous apocalyptic, from Babylonia and Egypt in the remote past down to the almost contemporary visions of Ezra and Baruch, under the sway of the spiritual conception of the kingdom of God. If we may read him so, then his view of heaven must be so interpreted in terms of the ultimate and fundamental contrast between good and evil, progress and perfection, struggle and attainment.

(*b*) *The Epistles.*—These add practically nothing to our inquiry, although they are of importance for the study of the Parousia (*q.v.*). The only passage that calls for comment is 1 Jn 3^{1-3}, where the ultimate hope of the believer consists in being like God (*αὐτῷ* really has *θεοῦ* in v.[2] as its antecedent, but it is characteristic of the writer's method of thought that he often passes from God to Christ without apparently being aware of a change of subject; in 2^{28}, *e.g.*, the Parousia is naturally interpreted as Christ's, but 'born of him' in v.[29] must refer to God; cf. also 3^{24} with 4^{13}). We have already noticed the tendency in St. Paul and Hebrews to represent the ultimate

goal of the Christian as conformity to God or Christ.

(*c*) *The Gospel.*—In the Gospel we have: (1) the passages which unequivocally represent heaven as the dwelling-place of the pre-existent Christ—1^{18} 3^{13} (which retains the implication, even if we omit ὁ ὢν ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ with ℵBL 33 and good Western support) 3^{31} $6^{38, 62}$. Unlike the Pauline passages, these examples are quite unequivocal evidence of the writer's belief on this point.

(2) The eschatological passages—14^{1-3} 17^{22-24}. Here it is worthy of note that the use of the term 'heaven' is avoided. The nearest approach to a suggestion of a place is the phrase 'in my Father's house are many abodes,' which may perhaps be taken as a spiritualizing of the Temple (cf. 'my Father's house' in 2^{16}). Apart from this, the idea of a place of material joy or rest does not appear. We have instead the phrases 'where I am,' 'with me,' 'receive you unto myself.' The satisfaction of a personal relation is presented as the hope. The enjoyment of Divine love without hindrance is the ultimate goal, a spiritual union of character, will, and affections whose type is the union that exists between the Father and the Son. These things constitute heaven. But a resurrection state in the future is also implied by $6^{39, 54}$. Nevertheless, the enjoyment of the spiritual blessings described in chs. 14 and 17 does not apparently depend on this at all. For the writer of the Fourth Gospel death is a mere incident that does not break the continuity of eternal life; and where such a position is reached, the precise conception of heaven has evidently become irrelevant.

6. The Apostolic Fathers.—(*a*) *Clement of Rome.*—In 1 Clement we have the following passages: v. 4: Peter 'went to his appointed place of glory'; v. 7: Paul 'departed from the world and went unto the holy place'; l. 3: 'they that by God's grace were perfected in love dwell in the abode of the pious (ἔχουσιν χῶρον εὐσεβῶν), who shall be manifested in the visitation of the kingdom of God.' In 2 Clement we have—v. 5: 'the rest of the kingdom that shall be'; vi. 9: 'with what confidence shall we . . . enter into the kingdom of God?' (τὸ βασίλειον should perhaps be rendered 'the palace of God'); xvii. 7: the righteous see the torments of the wicked; ix. 5: the righteous receive their reward 'in the flesh,' in the coming kingdom.

No striking or original thoughts as to the future place and state of believers are found here. We have the simple acceptance of the doctrine that the righteous enter after death into a place of rest and glory with Christ. The resurrection of the flesh is taught and apparently is referred to the Parousia, but the nature of the intermediate condition is not clearly stated.

(*b*) *Ignatius.*—In the Ignatian correspondence there is no explicit doctrine of heaven, but the implication of several passages seems to be that immediately after death the believer is perfected, 'attains to God.' His emphasis is laid principally on the resurrection, which is after the pattern of Christ's (*Trall.* ix. 2). He looks forward to receiving his inheritance; he will rise unto God (*Rom.* ii. 2); 'I shall rise free in Him' (iv. 3); 'when I am come thither then I shall be a man' (vi. 2). Death for him is new birth (ὁ τοκετός μοι ἐπίκειται, vi. 1). It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Ignatius thought of the believer, or at least the martyr, as entering upon his perfect state and full reward immediately after death. His view of heaven would seem to coincide with the developed Johannine conception, though several phrases, 'attaining to resurrection,' and so forth, are Pauline.

(*c*) *The Martyrdom of Polycarp* contains one interesting passage describing the condition of Polycarp after martyrdom: 'Having by his endurance overcome the unrighteous ruler in the conflict and so received the crown of immortality, he rejoiceth in company with the Apostles and all righteous men, and glorifieth the Almighty God and Father, and blesseth our Lord Jesus Christ' (xix. 2).

The *Shepherd of Hermas* lies outside our period, and is more curious than valuable for information as to the teaching of the Church of the Apostolic Age. It is easy to see that we are no longer dealing with a creative period. The doctrine of heaven is becoming stereotyped. Such a man as Ignatius is probably hardly representative of the general thought of the Church. The passage from the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* probably gives the common view of the state of the believer in heaven after death.

Conclusion.—In conclusion, it may be said that for the Church in general during the 1st half of the 1st cent. the centre of interest was not heaven but the Parousia of Christ. Heaven occupied the attention of the NT writers principally as the place where Christ was and whence He would come. St. Paul and others, such as the author of Hebrews, were interested principally in the spiritual consequences of the Resurrection of Christ. The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews presents the most striking and consistent picture of the future state of the believer.

As the century advances, the tendency appears in the literature of the period to regard the Parousia more as an article of the faith than as a fact of imminent importance. Side by side with this tendency we find the growth of firmly established ideas of future blessedness based on the imagery of the Apocalypse, crowns and harps, etc., and no searching analysis of the reality of such ideas. It remained for the fresh creative period of Clement of Alexandria and Origen to go over the stereotyped ideas of heaven and transform them.

LITERATURE.—R. H. Charles, *Eschatology*[2], 1913, *Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT*, 1913; P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, 1903; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 1 vol., 1891; C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its Non-Jewish Sources*, Eng. tr., 1912; E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, 1906, *The Kingdom and the Messiah*, 1911; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Last Things*, 1908; S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[3], 1901; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907; B. F. Westcott, *Gospel acc. to St. John*, 1908, *Epistles of St. John*, 1883; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902); artt. in *HDB* and *DCG*. S. H. HOOKE.

HEBREWS.—The name 'Hebrew' (Lat. *Hebræus*, Gr. Ἑβραῖος) is a transcription of the Aramaic *'ebrâyâ*, the equivalent of the original word עִבְרִי, the proper Gentile name of the people who were also described as 'Israelites' or 'Children of Israel.' The people themselves preferred as a rule the designation 'Israel.' The latter was the name of privilege and honour given to the race as the descendants of Jacob and the people of God's choice. Frequently, too, in the OT the term 'Hebrew' occurs where foreigners are introduced as speaking or spoken to (*e.g.* Ex $2^{6, 7, 11}$ 3^{18}, 1 S $4^{6, 9}$ 13^{19} 14^{11} 29^{3}, Gn 40^{15}, etc.). These facts have led to the conjecture that the name 'Hebrews' was originally given to the race of Abraham by their Canaanite neighbours, and that this name continued to be the designation of the race by outsiders all through their history, just as the Magyars are known as 'Hungarians' by other nations of Europe. This conjecture, although it has much to commend it, does not meet all the facts of the case, for the name 'Israel' is often found in the OT in the mouth of foreigners, and it even occurs on the Moabite Stone, while Israelites are found describing themselves as 'Hebrews' (1 S 13^{3}, Jer 34^{14}). Robertson Smith points out that the whole *usus loquendi* is explained by the consideration that the regular

Gentile name for a member of the race of Israel is 'Hebrew' and not 'Israelite,' the latter word being rare and apparently of late formation (*EBr*[9] xi. 594).

The derivation of the term does not render much help in discovering its original significance. The word presupposes a noun *'Éber* as the name of the tribe, place, or common ancestor from which the Hebrews are designated. According to one passage in the OT (Nu 24[24]), Eber figures as a nation along with Asshur or Assyria, while in the genealogical lists of Gn 10 f. Eber is represented as ancestor of the Hebrews and grandson of Shem. The names in the genealogical tables—Eber, Peleg, Reu, Serug, Nahor, etc.—cannot be regarded as names of persons. Some of them are names of places near the upper reaches of the Euphrates and the Tigris, and the whole genealogy may be regarded rather as a geographical account of the wanderings of the Hebrews than as a statement of racial affinities. Eber means 'the further bank of a river,' from a root עבר, 'to cross.' The LXX in Gn 14[13] translates the term as ὁ περάτης, 'the crosser.' Jewish tradition gives the more accurate form ὁ περαίτης, 'the man from the other side,' *i.e.* of the Euphrates. This theory, which has generally been accepted by the Rabbis, carries with it the implication that the name was originally given by the original inhabitants of Canaan to the Hebrew immigrants. A modification of this etymology is found in the view which takes Eber in the Arabic sense of a 'river bank' and makes the Hebrews 'dwellers in a land of rivers.' Ewald (*Gesch. Israels*[3], i. 407 ff.) discusses fully the meaning and etymology of the term, and rejects the view that the name was given by outsiders to the people on their entry into Canaan. It was, he holds, rather the name commonly in use among the people themselves from the earliest times up to the time of the kings, when it was displaced by 'Israel' as the name of national privilege, which again was in turn displaced in common use by the term 'Jews' from the time of the Exile. In the period immediately before Christ, an artificial interest in the past and a revival of ancient learning, coupled with the exaggerated reverence for Abraham 'the Hebrew,' led to a revival in the use of this term, and to the language of the race being designated thereby, although Philo calls the language of the OT, Chaldee (*de Vita Mosis*, ii. 5 f.).

In the NT the word 'Hebrew' is seldom found applied to members of the ancient race of Israel, 'Jew' having become the usual designation of the period. In apostolic times the term became specialized, and was applied not to any member of the ancient race, but to Palestinian Jews of pronounced national sympathies who spoke the Aramaic dialect and retained the national customs, in contrast with the Hellenistic Jews (AV 'Grecians' [*q.v.*]), who were scattered over the world, spoke Greek, and were interested in the thought and life of Greece and Rome. In Ac 6[1] we read of a murmuring of the Grecians against the Hebrews where this distinction obtains. In 2 Co 11[22] St. Paul, in contrasting himself with false teachers, calls himself a Hebrew, and in Ph 3[5] refers to himself as 'a Hebrew of Hebrews.' Probably in both cases the Apostle wishes to emphasize his true Hebrew descent rather than to distinguish between himself as a Hebrew-speaking Jew and the Greek-speaking members of the race. Eusebius at a later date does not adhere to the specialized use of the term as found in the Acts, but designates Philo (*HE* II. iv. 2) and Aristobulus (*Præp. Evang.* XIII. xi. 2) as 'Hebrews,' although both were Greek-speaking Jews with little knowledge of the Hebrew tongue.

The Hebrew language is on several occasions referred to in the NT. What is meant is not the ancient Hebrew of the OT but the Aramaic dialect of Palestine which was understood by the Jews of Jerusalem at the date of the apostles (Ac 21[40] 22[2] 26[14]).

LITERATURE.—H. Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*[3], i. [1864] 407 ff.; W. Robertson Smith, art. 'Hebrew Language and Literature' in *EBr*[9] xi. 594 ff.; J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[3], 1869, p. 145; J. H. Bernard, *EGT*, '2 Corinthians,' 1903, p. 105; H. A. A. Kennedy, *EGT*, 'Philippians,' 1903, p. 451; artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*.

W. F. BOYD.

HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE.—1. Form and object.—Of all the NT writings which bear the name 'Epistle,' that which is commonly called the Epistle to the Hebrews presents the nearest approximation to the form of an ordered treatise. The writer pays great attention to style. His well-balanced periods appeal to the ear as well as to the intellect, and his argument is arranged with extreme care. We do not find, as is sometimes the case in the Pauline letters, several distinct ideas all struggling for expression at the same time. Each fresh notion comes in its logical order, and the mind of the reader is first carefully prepared to expect it.

'The whole argument is in view from the beginning. Whether in the purely argumentative passages or in those which are in form hortatory, we are constantly meeting phrases which are to be taken up again and to have their full meaning given to them later on. The plan itself develops. While the figures to some extent change and take fresh colour, there is growing through all, in trait on trait, the picture which the writer designs to leave before his readers' minds' (E. C. Wickham, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. xxi).

Yet, notwithstanding these general characteristics and the absence of any opening salutation, the Epistle is not to be regarded as a theological essay addressed to Christendom in general. It is a real letter, written to meet the needs of a definite and limited circle of readers. Such a circle is presupposed by the personal touches of 13[19. 23] and by the repeated exhortations (2[1-4] 3[12-14] 4[1. 11-16] 5[11]–6[12] 10[19]–12[29]), in which the writer displays too much personal feeling and too exact a knowledge of the spiritual condition of his readers to permit the supposition that he is speaking to the Church at large. But even if these passages could be struck out of the Epistle, the remaining doctrinal portions would still point to the same conclusion. The pains taken by the writer to prove that the sufferings and death of Christ were not only intelligible but also a necessary part of His human experience, or again that the Levitical order was a temporary, imperfect arrangement, imply that the readers were doubtful about these things. Such doubts may well have arisen in a small band of Christians, but they were never characteristic of the Church as a whole.

The readers for whom the Epistle was intended were Christians (2[3. 4]), who at the first had shown whole-hearted devotion to the faith (10[32-34]). But their minds were dull. They seemed incapable of understanding anything beyond the merest rudiments of their profession (5[11. 12] 6[1]). The earthly humiliation of Jesus, His sufferings and temptations, seemed to them unworthy of Messiah. To them, as to the Jews, the Cross was a stumbling-block, a suffering Christ no true Christ at all. Nor was that their only difficulty. They felt the novelty of Christianity. They found it hard to believe that the new religion could really supersede the ancient Divinely-given religion of the Jews. They were conscious also of its lack of outward aids to faith and worship. Christianity had, as it seemed to them, no visible priesthood or sacrifice. By these perplexities their faith in Christ was being gradually undermined. Their minds began to turn from their Christian inheritance, which contained so much that was new and strange, to the familiar splendours of the Temple and the teaching of Judaism. But it was impossible for

them to remain in a state of hesitation. A crisis was rapidly approaching which must determine their course of action (9^{28} 10^{25}). The Epistle to the Hebrews was written as a 'word of exhortation' (13^{22}) to nerve them to meet that crisis. The writer tries to explain their difficulties and to make them realize the meaning of the earthly life and death of Christ. He urges them to make the venture of faith and take their stand by the Master's side (13^{13}), for there is no other place where 'eternal salvation' can be found (6^{4-8}). His argument takes the form of a systematic contrast between Christianity and Leviticalism. Yet its logical conclusion is not simply that Christianity is the better of the two, but that Christianity is the best religion conceivable, the final, eternal revelation of God to men.

2. Summary of contents.—(1) *The theme: the old dispensation and the new.*—God has made two revelations to men—the first partial and incomplete, the second perfect and therefore final. The prophets at best could merely proclaim the will of God, and that only so far as human limitations allowed them to perceive it. In One who is Son the very essence of the Father is revealed. Levitical priests could only call attention to the sins of man; the Son has washed them away. In Him human nature is raised to the right hand of God (1^{1-4}).

(2) *The mediators of the old covenant (angels, Moses, Joshua, Aaron) inferior to the one Mediator of the new.*—The Law was spoken through angels. The Son is greater than any angel, not only in His Divine glory, but also in the glory of His humiliation. For, as perfect man, He was the first to achieve the high destiny of mankind set forth in Genesis and in the Psalms (1^{5}–2^{18}). Jesus is the Moses of the new dispensation, but greater than Moses, as a son is greater than a servant. He wrought a greater deliverance than that of Moses, and led the way to a more perfect rest than that which Joshua won for his people. To that rest He will bring us, if only we remain constant. The story of those who fell of old in the wilderness is a solemn warning of the fatal consequences of apostasy. Let us press on, remembering that the Leader who has suffered with us is also our High Priest who will bring us to the throne of grace (3^{1}–4^{16}).

(3) *The Son revealed as Priest after the eternal order of Melchizedek.*—The essential conditions for all priesthood are two—perfect sympathy with sinful men, and a Divine call to the office of priest. These conditions are perfectly fulfilled in Christ. He is Priest not after the order of Aaron, but after the eternal order of Melchizedek (5^{1-10}). Throw off your dullness and lay hold on the meaning of Christ's Priesthood, for therein lies the Christian hope. Christ is man and one with us. We can therefore follow Him into the inner sanctuary of God's own presence whither as Priest He has gone on our behalf (5^{11}–6^{20}). The Psalmist declared that the Christ should be Priest after the order of Melchizedek. Notice that the promise of this new priesthood, spoken while the Aaronic priests were in possession, shows that the order of Melchizedek is better than that of Aaron. Its superiority is emphasized by the Divine oath with which the promise is introduced. The account of Melchizedek given in Genesis declares both by its statements and by what it leaves unsaid what are the marks of this priesthood. It is royal, righteous, peace-bringing, personal, dependent not on lineal descent, but on the inherent fitness of the priest; it is eternal. Abraham, and by implication Levi, did homage to this priesthood when they paid tithes and received a blessing, thereby acknowledging the presence of something greater than themselves. These marks of the eternal priesthood find their perfect fulfilment in Jesus. Perfect kingship is manifested in the royal condescension of His earthly humiliation, and righteousness in His sinless life as man; abiding peace is the result of His cleansing of man's sin. He was not born of the tribe of Levi. His Priesthood is inherent in Himself, working 'according to the power of an endless life' (7^{16}). It can never be superseded because it has perfectly fulfilled the object for which all priesthood exists (7).

(4) *The priestly ministrations of Aaron and of Christ: their sanctuaries, their basal covenants, their sacrifices.*—We have, then, a High Priest who has entered upon His regal state of Priesthood in heaven, the true sanctuary. But priesthood implies sacrifice. He must therefore have something to offer; but what and where? Not in the earthly 'Holy of Holies'—that is already occupied. Besides, the Bible warns us that the earthly sanctuary is only a shadow of the heavenly reality. Christ's priestly ministry and sacrifice belong to the realm of realities, just as He is the Mediator of a new and better covenant than that of the Jews. For we must face the fact already realized by Jeremiah—the old covenant was imperfect and must pass away when the new and perfect covenant is established (8). The Levitical service of the old covenant was not lacking in outward splendour, but its magnificence served only to emphasize its ineffectiveness. The structure of its sanctuary was specially designed to illustrate its weakness. The entrance to the Holy of Holies was covered by a veil beyond which not even priests might pass. One man alone could ever enter there, and for him the way was beset with danger and open only once in the year. Even so his annual sacrifice was no real atonement. The material offerings—blood of bulls and goats—professed to deal only with ritual errors (*ἀγνοημάτων*, 9^{7}). They could not cleanse the conscience or take away real sin. All these things—the inaccessible sanctuary, the sin-stained high priest, the annual ineffective sacrifices—clearly indicated that the true atonement was not yet found (9^{1-10}). Christ our High Priest, on the other hand, has found for men eternal salvation. For He entered into no material sanctuary but into the very presence of God once for all. His sacrifice was no mere symbolical cleansing of ritual errors. It effected the actual taking away of the accumulated sins of men, and opened the way of free access to God. For it was not material but spiritual, not annual but offered once for all; it was the offering of His own life (9^{11-15}).

Thus the new covenant rests on the death of its Mediator. Does this idea seem strange? The following analogies may help you to understand: (*a*) a testament is a covenant, but it has no value unless the testator die; (*b*) the old covenant was inaugurated with the offering of the life of bulls and goats; (*c*) in the Levitical Law every atonement is symbolized by the offering of the life of beasts. By such offerings the earthly sanctuary was cleansed. But nothing short of the most perfect conceivable offering is sufficient for the perfect heavenly sanctuary, and what offering could be more complete than the voluntary laying down of the High Priest's own life? Such a spiritual sacrifice has eternal validity. It can never be repeated because by the taking away of sins it has established for ever that perfect union with God which all sacrifice symbolizes. When Christ next appears it will be as Deliverer of those who are expecting Him (9^{15-28}).

(5) *Summing up of the argument: the shadow and the substance.*—The Law was only an outline sketch of good things to come; its repeated sacrifices were symbols, calling attention to man's sins, but incapable of cleansing, for blood of bulls and

goats could never take away sins. Christ long ago declared this by the mouth of the Psalmist, and added that the only valid offering in God's sight is the surrender of the will in complete obedience to Him. Such an offering Christ has now made. That is why, in contrast to the Levitical priest ever offering, never atoning, He sits enthroned at the right hand of God, 'waiting till his enemies become his footstool.' He has set up the perfect covenant (10^{1-18}).

(6) *Practical applications to present difficulties: appeal to the example of the Fathers: renewed exhortation and final greeting.*—Jesus has rent the veil and opened for all the way to the heavenly sanctuary over which as Priest He presides. Where He is, we too may go. Let us then imitate His priestly consecration and press on in His footsteps, for our hope is certain. We must urge each other on and not isolate ourselves, for the crisis is very near (10^{19-25}). Under the Law of Moses apostasy involved terrible consequences. How much worse to reject the perfect sacrifice, to wound the personal Saviour (10^{26-31})! Remember your former steadfastness under trial. Do not throw away your boldness. To receive the promises, all that is needed is patience. Think of the words in which Habakkuk speaks of the promise. They who shrink back forfeit God's favour. His 'righteous ones' live by faith (10^{32-39}). The faith he means is unshaken confidence in the certainty of God's promises, even though their realization seems far off. It was such faith as this that inspired the long roll of Jewish heroes (11). Wherever we turn in the sacred records we meet these examples of faith in the unseen, and the chief of them all is Jesus. Let us fix our eyes on Him, and, stripping off everything that encumbers, run boldly the race He has run before us (12^{1-4}). Be not discouraged at the prospect of suffering. Suffering sent by God is a means of discipline; it proves that we are really His sons (12^{5-13}). Seek peace and sanctification; never give up your eternal birthright for mere present enjoyment (12^{14-17}). As the glories of the heavenly Sion eclipse the terrors of Sinai, so is our responsibility greater than that of Israel of old. Sion too has its earthquake and its fire which shatter and consume all that is unreal (12^{18-29}). Do not forget your mutual responsibilities as brethren. God's help is sufficient for all (13^{1-6}). Follow the example of your old leaders now departed (13^{7}). Be constant in your belief, for Jesus Christ is eternally the same. Break loose from the associations which would draw you away from Him. He suffered as our atoning sacrifice outside the city gate. We must be content to bear the same reproach and take our place by His side. The only 'abiding city' is where He is. Let us then offer to God through Him the spiritual sacrifices He loves (13^{8-16}). Obey your rulers; pray for us that we may be restored to you, even as we pray for you that God may make you perfect in obedience and every good thing (13^{17-21}). Have patience with my letter of exhortation. Timothy has been released. He and I may visit you together. Greet your rulers and all the saints. 'They of Italy' send their greeting to you. 'The Grace' be with you (13^{22-25}).

3. Doctrine.—(1) CONCEPTION OF CHRISTIANITY.—The writer of the Epistle thinks of religion as a covenant. The religion of Jesus Christ is the new eternal covenant (13^{20}) of which the prophet spoke (8^{8-13}), for He alone has established a perfect covenant relation between God and man. He has opened for man the way of free and unrestricted access to God. He has removed the great obstacle—sin. The symbolism of the 'old covenant' pointed to this ideal. But what was there set forth symbolically as an unrealized hope, Christ has made actual. In Him God and man are perfectly united; His one sacrifice takes away sin, not in symbol but in deed; as High Priest He is not simply the representative of the people but their *πρόδρομος* (6^{20})—where He has entered they too may go; and the sanctuary to which He leads them is no material 'Holy of Holies' but the eternal presence of God (9^{24}). A covenant of this kind leaves nothing to be added. It has eternal validity, and must therefore supersede all the imperfect religions which have gone before.

(2) CHRISTOLOGY.—The finality of the new covenant rests on the perfection of Him who is its Mediator (8^{6} 9^{15} 12^{24}) and Surety (7^{22}). It is natural therefore that the main theme of the Epistle should be the person and work of Christ.

(*a*) *Christ the Eternal Son.*—Christ's perfection may be expressed in one sentence—He is the Son of God (1^{2} 4^{14} 5^{8} 6^{6} $7^{3.\ 28}$ 10^{29}). Others have been described in the Scriptures as sons of God (cf. $1^{5.\ 8.\ 13}$ 2^{10}), but His Sonship is different in kind from theirs. He is *the* Son of God, inseparable from the Father as the ray is inseparable from the light, revealing the essence of the Father as completely as the device engraved upon a seal is revealed by its impress on wax (*ἀπαύγασμα τῆς δόξης καὶ χαρακτὴρ τῆς ὑποστάσεως αὐτοῦ*, 1^{3}). As Son He is the Creator, the Sustainer, and the Heir of all things ($1^{2.\ 3}$). His Sonship raises Him far above angels (1^{5-13}), above Moses (3^{6}), and above Aaron (7^{28}). It gives Him the right, now that His earthly task is completed, to sit enthroned at the right hand of the Majesty on high (1^{3}).

(*b*) *The Incarnation.*—Having once clearly stated at the outset the eternal Divinity of the Son, the Epistle dwells almost entirely on His life, work, and exaltation as man. The reason for this is to be found in the apologetic aim of the writer. His readers' perplexities centred round Christ's earthly life of suffering and temptation, which they regarded as unworthy of one who occupied His high position. The Epistle declares that such humiliation was not only in the highest degree worthy of Him who bore it and of God who sent Him (*ἔπρεπεν*, 2^{10}; cf. 7^{26}), it was a necessary part of the experience of one who fulfilled the office of universal High Priest. It was the ground of His subsequent exaltation (cf. *διὰ τὸ πάθημα τοῦ θανάτου . . . ἐστεφανωμένον*, 2^{9}).

Nowhere in the NT is more emphasis laid on the reality of His human nature and human experience. He who bore the simple human name Jesus (2^{9} 3^{1} 4^{14} 6^{20} 7^{22} 10^{19} 13^{12}) was made like His human brethren in all things ($2^{11.\ 17}$). He partook of flesh and blood as they do (2^{14}); He could sympathize with their sufferings and temptations, for He too, as man, suffered and was tempted (2^{18} 4^{15}); like them He had to conquer human weakness before He could learn the hard lesson of obedience to God's will ($5^{7.\ 8}$). The only difference between their struggle and His lay in the issue. They sometimes fail, but He always conquered, for He was sinless (4^{15}). By His participation in human weakness and suffering and temptation Christ was 'made perfect' (*τελειωθείς*, 5^{9}; cf. 2^{10}). By experiencing them in His own human life He gained the perfect sympathy with mankind which fits Him to be their High Priest. By overcoming them He realized in Himself as man the high destiny of the race. He became the first-born of many sons who shall be led to glory (2^{10}).

(*c*) *The Priesthood and Sacrifice of Christ.*—(i.) The sufferings and death of Christ find their final explanation in the thought of His High-Priestly office. They are the necessary condition of His call to that office. Any priest who is called to be the representative of men must himself be man, capable of sympathy with human weakness and error (5^{2}). The Levitical priests possessed sym-

pathy with human weakness, but they were also tainted with human sin (5[3]). The ideal priest must combine perfect sympathy with the sinner with complete freedom from sin (4[15]). These qualifications were united in Christ. He was therefore called by God to be Priest, not after the order of Aaron, but after the eternal order of Melchizedek (5[4-6]). The Aaronic order was only the shadow, not the reality of priesthood. Only by way of contrast could it set forth the character of the eternal Priesthood. For the members of that order held office by virtue of mere physical descent (7[16]); their ministry could call sins to mind but could not cleanse them (10[1-3]); they could not unite the people to God—even into the earthly symbol of His presence the high priest himself could enter only once a year alone (9[7]); lastly, the Aaronic priests were mortal—their work was confined to one generation (7[23]).

By contrast with the Aaronic priesthood, it follows that the perfect priest must be really, not ritually, holy, his office resting on his own perfect fitness to perform it; he must be able to take away sin and to unite men to God; lastly, he must be eternal—placed beyond the reach of sin and death. The essential features of this perfect priesthood are set forth, as in a parable, in the biblical portrait of the priest-king Melchizedek. The name Melchizedek, which means 'king of righteousness,' indicates the personal, not merely official, holiness of the true priest; his connexion with Salem, which means 'peace,' points to the abiding union between God and man which he effects; the absence from the record of any mention of Melchizedek's parentage and of any references to his birth or his death suggests that the perfect priesthood is eternal and exercised by right of the personal qualification of the priest (7[1-3]). Abraham, the father of Levi, acknowledged the superiority of the eternal priesthood when he paid tithes to Melchizedek and received his blessing (7[4-10]). The eternal priesthood 'after the order of Melchizedek,' as the Psalm foretold, is perfectly realized in Christ. His office rests not on 'the law of a carnal commandment' (7[16])—for according to the flesh He was not born of a priestly family (7[13])—but on 'the power of an indissoluble life' (7[16]). He has perfect sympathy with human weakness and temptation, for He has felt them (2[18] 4[15]), yet He is not tainted with human sin (4[15] 7[27]). He is really, not ritually, holy and without blemish, blameless in His relation to God and to man (7[26]). In His own Person He has inseparably united man with God, and opened a way of access into the Divine presence which can never again be closed (6[20] 10[19. 20]). For His Priesthood is inviolable and eternal (7[25]). He has passed into the world of eternal realities, far beyond the reach of sin and death (1[3] 6[20] 7[26] 9[24]). There He ever liveth to make intercession for us (7[25]).

(ii.) The central function of priesthood is to offer sacrifice. If Christ be perfect Priest, what has He to offer (8[3])?—The eternal Sacrifice which corresponds to the eternal Priesthood. Once more the idea is worked out by means of a contrast with Levitical institutions and the exposition of a verse from the Psalter. Levitical sacrifices were material and frequently repeated. Frequent repetition was necessary because they had no efficacy in the spiritual sphere; they could not take away sin or cleanse the conscience (9[9] 10[1-4]). Long ago the Psalmist recognized their futility and indicated the nature of valid sacrifice. True sacrifice, he declared, is spiritual; its essence consists in self-sacrifice—the complete surrender of the will in voluntary obedience to God (10[5-10]). Christ's oblation was a sacrifice of self, the complete surrender of a perfect self in willing obedience (7[27] 9[14]). 'The days of His flesh' were one long period of self-dedication, and in the culminating moment on the Cross His sacrifice was made complete (5[7. 8] 9[12] 10[10. 20]). Self-sacrifice could be carried no further. Christ's perfect spiritual Sacrifice—the entire devotion of a perfect will—although its manifestation took place on earth, belongs in all its stages to the world of eternal realities (cf. *διὰ πνεύματος αἰωνίου*, 9[14]). It has the power 'to cleanse the conscience from dead works' (9[14]) and 'to make perfect for ever them that are sanctified' (10[14]). Because it possesses eternal validity it can never be repeated (7[27] 9[24-28]). The 'indissoluble life' (7[16]) of the Priest-Victim is made available for all men by the one offering. The new covenant-relation between God and man is established (9[24]). Henceforth Christ sits enthroned in the heavenly sanctuary in token that His task is done, waiting until His enemies become His footstool (10[12-14]).

(*d*) *The Death of Christ.*—The supposition that the death of Christ was a real stumbling-block to the first readers of the Epistle is justified by the evident pains taken by the writer to find reasons for that death. Firstly, Christ died 'by the grace of God' (2[9]); God willed that it should be so. Secondly, Christ died as true man. To die once and once only is part of the common lot of men (9[27]). Thirdly, Christ died as testator, that we might enter into the inheritance He has bequeathed to us (9[16]). Fourthly, the death of Christ was the necessary climax of the experience of human suffering which qualified Him to be 'captain of salvation' (2[10]). Fifthly, Christ died to free us from the fear of death. From the time of the Fall, death was terrible because it was regarded as the penalty of human sin. Jesus Christ, by dying though He was sinless, broke the connexion between death and sin, and so robbed death of its enslaving terrors (2[14. 15]). Finally, Christ's death was the foundation of the new covenant, the priestly act of self-sacrifice by which 'he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (9[15] 10[14]).

That the voluntary laying down of Christ's life was a sacrificial act is regarded as self-evident, and no direct answer is given to the question, 'How does His sacrifice make perfect His followers?' Yet the writer provides the material for an answer when he dwells on the principle of Christ's 'solidarity with sinners.' 'He that sanctifieth and they that are to be sanctified are all of one' (2[11], *sc.* 'one piece, one whole'; cf. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 66, n. 2). Christ's High-Priestly acts were not the acts of an individual but of the representative man. It was human nature which in Him was perfected through obedience, entered the heavenly sanctuary, and sat down on the throne of majesty. What was actually effected in Him, was effected potentially in those who follow Him (cf. 10[19]). Christians 'are included in that purpose of love which Christ has realised' (Westcott, *Ep. to the Hebrews*[3], p. 314). The High Priest is also the *πρόδρομος* (6[20]), one of many sons who are being brought to glory (2[10]), who becomes the cause of salvation to His human brethren because in Him the perfection of human nature has been realized (5[9]).

(*e*) *The Parousia.*—The Epistle speaks of 'the day which is approaching' (10[25]), when God 'will shake not the earth only but also the heavens' (12[26]), and the glorified Christ 'shall appear unto salvation for them that await him' (9[28]). 'The day' is unquestionably the prophetic 'Day of Jahweh,' but the idea of the day intended by the writer seems to be that of the older OT prophets (cf. Am 5[18], Is 2[12]), rather than that of the later apocalyptists. It is '*a* coming' rather than '*the* Coming' of the Christ. About the final Coming the Epistle has nothing to say. But a crisis is at hand; the

readers can already see its approach. To the writer it is a real coming of Christ.

'The Master had said that He might come at even or at midnight or at cock-crowing or in the morning (Mk 13[35]). To the writer of this letter the thought has occurred that those hours may be not merely alternative but successive. And now that the first of them has sounded warning, he bids his friends be ready' (Nairne, *The Epistle of Priesthood*, p. 210).

(3) THE CHRISTIAN LIFE.—The 'great salvation' (2[3]) wrought by Christ is variously described in the Epistle as the realization of man's lordship over creation (2[8. 9]), deliverance from the fear of death (2[14. 15]), entrance into the perfect Sabbath-rest of God (4[9]). But its essence consists in cleansing and consecration, the taking away of sin (9[14]), and the opening of a way of free access into the Divine presence (10[20]), or, as it is expressed in one passage, 'the perfecting for ever of them that are sanctified by the one offering of Christ' (10[14]). In one sense this 'perfecting' is already accomplished (τετελείωκεν, 10[14]). From another point of view it is regarded as a hope yet to be realized. For there is nothing mechanical about its working. Each individual Christian must *make* it his own. If we are to be perfected, our will must be united with the will of Christ in perfect surrender to God (5[9] 10[10]). Seen from this standpoint, the Christian life is a progressive sanctification (2[11] 10[14] 12[14]), which may be figuratively represented as a race or a pilgrimage. Hence arises the need of solemn warnings. It is possible to drop out of the Christian race before the goal is reached, or to set out on the pilgrimage and yet never arrive at the heavenly city. The great danger which besets the Christian is faint-heartedness (ἀπιστία, 3[12]), the loss of the vision of the land of eternal things, and want of confidence in Him who leads us to that land. The Christian safeguard is 'faith.' Faith is the power which helps us to grasp the abiding realities which lie behind the world of sense, and to test the existence and character of things which are for us as yet unrealized (11[1]). It is the faculty by which, for example, we recognize the eternal issues which were decided by the earthly life and humiliation of Christ, and the futility of all hopes that stand apart from Him. The practical result of such faith will be unswerving devotion and obedience to our Captain in the face of all trouble and difficulty (5[9]), for He Himself has run the race before us and stands waiting for us at the goal (12[2]). If our eyes are fixed on Him, and all things which might impede our progress are thrown aside, He will make perfect the faith which He has given (12[2]), He will grant us the 'full assurance of hope' (6[11]), which will bring us safely along the path which He has trodden to the end, where the fullness of His salvation is revealed in the eternal sanctuary, the very presence of God (cf. 6[19. 20]).

4. Date.—The first generation of Christians had passed away (2[3] 13[7]); members of the Church had already suffered persecution, imprisonment, and loss of property (10[32-34]); the relation of Gentile and Jewish Christians was no longer a burning question of the day. The Epistle cannot therefore have been written long before A.D. 70. On the other hand, it cannot be placed much later than A.D. 90, for it was extensively used by Clement of Rome in his *Epistle to the Corinthians*, c. A.D. 95–96 (cf. *ad Cor.* 9, 12, 17, 36, 45).

Any more precise determination of the date must rest chiefly on the view taken of the crisis with which the first readers of the Epistle were confronted. If the approaching 'day' (10[25]) be taken to mean the Final Coming of Christ, the exact date of the Epistle must be left uncertain. But if it be rightly interpreted as an allusion to the inevitable culmination of some national movement already active—a movement which forced upon the readers a final choice between Christianity and Judaism—it is most naturally regarded as referring to the outbreak of the Jewish war which led to the Destruction of Jerusalem. The date of the Epistle would then fall between A.D. 63 and 70.

No chronological argument can be based on the fact that the writer of the Epistle generally uses the present tense in speaking of Levitical institutions (7[8. 20] 8[3. 5] 9[8. 9. 13] 13[10]). The use of the present tense does not necessarily imply that the Temple was still standing when he wrote. Similar language is frequently employed in reference to the Temple service in writings much later than A.D. 70 (*e.g.* Clem. Rom. *ad Cor.* 40–41; Justin Martyr, *Dial.* 117; *Epistle of Barnabas*, *passim*). But what the writer to the Hebrews has in mind is not the service of the Temple but that of the Tabernacle. 'The references [of the Epistle] to the Mosaic ritual are purely ideal and theoretical, and based on the Law in the Pentateuch' (Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 15).

Some commentators have found a further indication of date in the writer's application of the words of Ps 95 to the circumstances of his own day (3[7-11]). Special emphasis is laid on the fact that he departs from the construction of the original passage in connecting the words 'forty years' with the preceding clause 'they saw my works,' instead of with that which follows. It is suggested that the change was made intentionally, because the writer wished to point out that, as he wrote, another period of 'forty years of seeing God's works' was rapidly drawing to a close, namely, the forty years which followed the Crucifixion (*c.* A.D. 30–70). Yet, even if it be permissible to take the number forty literally, this argument has little value. The language of the Psalm might equally well be applied to the period A.D. 30–70 at a much later date by a writer who considered that the 'to-day' of unbelieving Israel's opportunity closed with the Destruction of Jerusalem. The passage has even been used to prove that the Epistle must have been written some years later than A.D. 70 (Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., ii. 321 ff.). But it seems unlikely either in the original Psalm or in the quotation that 'forty years' means anything more definite than the lifetime of a generation.

5. The readers.—(1) *Jews or Gentiles?*—A unanimous tradition, reaching back to the 2nd cent. and embodied in the title invariably given to the Epistle, asserts that it was addressed πρὸς Ἑβραίους. It may be granted that the title does not go back to the original writer, and that it represents nothing more than an inference from the contents of the letter, but the inference is probably correct if not inevitable. The traditional view remained unquestioned until the 19th cent., but since then it has frequently been maintained that the Epistle was addressed to Gentiles, or at least to Christians generally, without regard to their origin. By isolating certain incidental statements contained in the Epistle, it is not difficult to present a plausible case for this opinion. It has been said, for example, that no Jewish convert would need to be taught the elementary doctrines enumerated in 6[1. 2]; that conversion from Judaism which the writer believed to be a Divinely-given religion, would never have been described by him as turning 'from dead works to serve a living God' (9[14]); that the faults against which the readers are warned (12[14] 13[4]) are the faults of heathen rather than of Jews. It must be recognized, however, that the details on which the argument rests are capable of more than one interpretation, and that similar passages, equally dubious perhaps (*e.g.* the use of the terms 'seed of Abraham' [2[16]] and 'the nation' [2[17]], where the argument rather requires 'mankind'), may be quoted on the other side.

But the traditional opinion is most strongly

supported by the general drift and tendency of the Epistle taken as a whole. The writer appeals to the OT as to an independent authority which may be quoted in support of the Christian faith. He assumes that his readers take the same view of the OT. This would be true of Jewish but not of Gentile converts. To the Gentile the OT had no meaning apart from Christianity. In the same way the main argument of the Epistle, while involving the conclusion that Christianity is the perfect and final religion, yet formally proves only that Christianity is superior to Judaism. This method of reasoning, unaccompanied by any reference to paganism in any form, is only intelligible if addressed to men who were either Jews by birth or who had adopted Jewish ways of thinking so completely as to be indistinguishable from born Jews.

(2) *Place of residence.*—The Epistle contains no opening salutation, and no direct information as to its destination. This lack of evidence makes it very difficult to locate the readers for whom it was intended. The ancient title *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* throws no light upon the question, for the term 'Hebrews' is national, not local. Many suggestions have been made of probable places where such a circle of readers as the Epistle presupposes may have existed. The claims most widely upheld are those of (*a*) Jerusalem or some other Palestinian or Syrian community, (*b*) Alexandria, (*c*) Rome or some other church in Italy.

(*a*) In favour of the first hypothesis, it is argued that *Jerusalem*, or at least some Palestinian city, would be the most likely place for a purely Jewish community, and that there too the practical problem with which the Epistle deals would be most keenly felt. But the language used in the Epistle (2^3), which implies that the community addressed had had no opportunity of hearing the gospel from Christ's own lips, certainly does not favour the theory of any Palestinian destination, nor do the suggestions of the comparative wealth of the readers (6^{10} $10^{33f.}$) agree with the known poverty of the primitive church of Judæa. Palestine again is not a place where Timothy might be expected to have much influence (13^{23}), and the absence of any distinct mention in the Epistle of the Temple as opposed to the Tabernacle would be, to say the least, remarkable if it were addressed to Judæa.

(*b*) *Alexandria* has been suggested chiefly on account of the affinities of thought and language between the Epistle and Alexandrian Judaism as represented by the writings of Philo and the Book of Wisdom. Such affinities undoubtedly exist, and may perhaps contain a hint concerning the writer's own birth-place, but they supply no evidence as to the destination of the Epistle. It must be remembered also that the Alexandrian type of Judaism was by no means confined to Alexandria. The theory that the Epistle was written with particular reference to the worship of the Jewish Temple at Leontopolis falls to the ground when it is realized that the writer had in view not the worship of any particular Temple, but the Levitical service as it is described in the Pentateuch (K. Wieseler, *Untersuchung über den Hebräerbrief*, 1861).

(*c*) What little evidence the Epistle itself supplies, may be quoted in favour of *Rome* or some other Italian community. For the words 'They of Italy send greeting' are most naturally taken as implying that the letter was sent either *to* or *from* Italy, and some less vague expression than *οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας* (13^{24}) might reasonably have been expected if the writer were actually in Italy at the time of writing. Corroborative evidence for regarding Rome as the destination of the Epistle may be found in the fact that the earliest known quotation of its language occurs in the letter of Clement of Rome.

But the question of the Epistle's destination must remain without a final answer. It seems clear that it was addressed not to a mixed community, but to Jews, and the general impression it gives is of a limited circle of readers rather than of a large and miscellaneous gathering (Zahn, *op. cit.* ii. 349 ff.). Whether that circle was 'the church in so-and-so's house,' or 'a group of scholarly men like the author' (Nairne, *op. cit.* p. 10), cannot be finally determined.

6. Author.—'But who wrote the Epistle God only knows certainly' (*τίς δὲ ὁ γράψας τὴν ἐπιστολήν τὸ μὲν ἀληθὲς Θεὸς οἶδεν*, Origen, *ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 25). These words were originally spoken with reference to the amanuensis or translator of the Epistle. Most modern scholars are content to extend their reference to the actual author. The writer keeps himself in the background, and later research has never finally discovered his identity. In this respect students of the 2nd cent. were as much in the dark as those of the present day. It is significant that the Roman Church, which was the first to make use of the Epistle, refused for more than three centuries to grant it a place amongst the NT Scriptures, on account of the uncertainty of its authorship (Euseb. *HE* iii. 3). If Eusebius is to be trusted, Roman opinion on the subject did not go beyond a denial of the authorship of St. Paul. The only positive statement made by any early Latin writer occurs in a work of Tertullian, who attributes the Epistle without question to Barnabas (*de Pudicitia*, xx.). This belief may perhaps represent a Montanist tradition generally current in North Africa. It is difficult to see why it vanished so completely from the other churches, if it had ever been more widely circulated.

It was in Alexandria, after the Epistle had already been accepted as canonical on its own merits, that the theory of Pauline authorship gradually arose. The writings of Clement of Alexandria (*c.* A.D. 200), Origen (*c.* A.D. 220), and Eusebius (*c.* A.D. 320), display the theory in process of formation. Clement put forward the suggestion that St. Paul wrote the Epistle in Hebrew, and St. Luke afterwards translated it into Greek. The latter conjecture is based on the resemblance of style between the Greek of the Epistle and that of the Acts (Euseb. *HE* vi. 14). Origen expresses his own opinion thus: 'The thoughts are the thoughts of the Apostle, but the language and composition that of one who recalled from memory, and, as it were, made notes of what was said by the master' (*ἀπομνημονεύσαντός τινος τὰ ἀποστολικὰ καὶ ὡσπερεὶ σχολιογραφήσαντος τὰ εἰρήμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ διδασκάλου*, *ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 25). Eusebius himself, while admitting that the Roman Church did not accept the Epistle because it was not St. Paul's (*HE* iii. 3), yet declares that it is reasonable 'on the ground of its antiquity that it should be reckoned with the other writings of the Apostle' (iii. 37). Clearly, none of the three writers regarded the Epistle as being Pauline in the full sense, yet for the sake of convenience it was their practice to quote it as 'of Paul.' Later Alexandrian writers adopted this title as being literally true, and from Alexandria belief in the literal Pauline authorship of the Epistle spread throughout the Church. In this, as in other matters, the Western Church followed the lead of St. Hilary, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine.

It is easy to imagine how the Epistle became connected with St. Paul's name. When once an anonymous letter bearing the simple title *πρὸς Ἑβραίους* was appended to a collection of acknowledged Pauline Epistles, the addition to the heading of the words *τοῦ Παύλου* would only be a matter of time.

Nevertheless, as Origen already felt, internal

evidence makes the theory of Pauline authorship untenable. It is incredible that St. Paul, who insisted so strongly that he received his gospel by direct revelation (Gal 1), could have written the confession of second-hand instruction contained in He 2^3. Nothing, again, could be more unlike St. Paul's method of expression than the elegant and rhythmical style of the Epistle to the Hebrews; and behind the difference of style lies a real difference of mental attitude. The characteristic Pauline antitheses 'faith and works,' 'law and promise,' 'flesh and spirit,' are replaced by new contrasts—'earthly and heavenly,' 'shadow and substance,' 'type and antitype.' The difference of thought which separates the two writers becomes apparent when they meet on common ground. 'Faith' and 'righteousness' are key-words in St. Paul's theology. The Epistle to the Hebrews also speaks often of 'faith' and sometimes of 'righteousness' (1^9 5^{13} 7^2 $11^{7.\ 33}$ 12^{11}), but the words have lost their special Pauline sense. 'Faith' no longer means intimate personal union with Christ, but expresses the more general idea of 'grasp on unseen reality.' 'Righteousness' is stripped of its forensic associations. It simply means 'ethical righteousness,' not 'right standing in the eyes of God.' The same contrast is visible in the different applications made by the two writers of the only two OT passages quoted by both (Dt 32^{35}, quoted in Ro 12^{19}, He 10^{30}; Hab 2^3 quoted in Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11}, He $10^{37.\ 38}$).

The theory of Pauline authorship being therefore necessarily abandoned, all attempts to discover the author's name are reduced to mere conjecture. Such conjectures have usually started from the assumption that his acquaintance with Timothy (13^{23}) places the writer of the Epistle amongst the circle of St. Paul's friends. The early Church suggested, as having at least a share in the authorship, St. Luke (Clem. Alex. *ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 14), or Barnabas (Tertullian, *de Pudicitia*, xx.), or Clement of Rome ('some' known to Origen [*ap.* Euseb. *HE* vi. 25]). Luther (*e.g. Enarr. in Gen.* 48^{20}, *Op. Exeg.* xi. 130) supported the claim of Apollos. More recent conjectures have been Silas (*e.g.* C. F. Boehme, *Ep. ad Heb.*, 1825); Aquila (suggestion mentioned but not approved by Bleek, *Der Brief an die Hebräer*, i. 42); St. Peter (A. Welch, *The Authorship of Hebrews*, 1898); Prisca and Aquila in collaboration, Prisca taking the lion's share (Harnack, *ZNTW*, 1900); Aristion, the Elder known to Papias (J. Chapman, *Revue Bénédictine*, xxii. [1905], p. 50); and lastly, Philip the Deacon (Ramsay, *Expositor*, 5th ser. ix. 401–422). The evidence in favour of any of these conjectures is of the flimsiest description. The affinities of language and style between the Epistle and the Acts, or the resemblances of thought between the Epistle and 1 Peter, are quite insufficient to prove community of authorship. The quotation of long passages from the Epistle by Clement of Rome serves only to emphasize their difference from his own way of thinking and writing. Barnabas, Silas, Aquila, Philip, Aristion remain as possible authors chiefly because next to nothing is known about them. Apollos, the learned Alexandrian Jew, mighty in the Scriptures (Ac 18^{24}), companion of St. Paul, is the *sort* of man who might have written the Epistle, but no shred of positive evidence exists which would justify the assertion that he actually did write it.

That a leaf has been accidentally lost from the beginning of the Epistle which would perhaps have told of its authorship and destination (Fritz Barth, *Einleitung in das NT*², 1911, p. 114), is a hypothesis which cannot be verified. It is at least more probable than the suggestion that the author's name was intentionally removed by the prejudice of a later generation which demanded that all canonical Epistles should be of apostolic origin. But it is not necessary to assume that the Epistle ever had a formal address. It is clear from the contents that the readers knew who was addressing them and by what authority, and many reasons for the omission of any formal superscription can be easily imagined (cf. Jülicher, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., p. 153).

7. Affinities of thought and language.—(1) *The OT.*—The Epistle makes extensive use of the OT. Twenty-nine distinct quotations occur, twenty-one of which are not found elsewhere in the NT, and there are frequent allusions to passages of the OT which are not definitely cited. The writer shows no acquaintance with the Hebrew text, but follows the LXX even where it differs materially from the Hebrew (*e.g.* Ps 95^{10}, Jer $31^{31ff.}$, Ps 40^{6-8}, Hab 2^{3-4}, Pr 3^{11}, quoted in He 3^9 8^{8-12} $10^{5-7.\ 37-39}$ $12^{5.\ 6}$). Three of his OT quotations differ both from the LXX and from the Hebrew (Gn $22^{16f.}$, Ex 24^8, Dt 32^{35}; cf. He $6^{13f.}$ 9^{20} 10^{30}). The last of these occurs in the same form in Ro 12^{19}. Amongst the more general allusions to the language of the Greek Bible may be noticed the reference to stories contained in 1 and 2 Mac. (He $11^{34.\ 35}$; cf. especially 2 Mac 6. 7), and the possible reminiscence in He 1^3 of the words of the Book of Wisdom in which Wisdom is described as *ἀπαύγασμα . . . φωτὸς ἀϊδίου . . . καὶ εἰκὼν τῆς ἀγαθότητος αὐτοῦ* (sc. *τοῦ θεοῦ*, Wis 7^{26}).

The mode of citation employed in the Epistle is worthy of note. The name of the individual writer is never mentioned, but in every case (except $2^{6ff.}$, where God is directly addressed), the words of the OT are ascribed to God, or to Christ ($2^{11.\ 13}$ $10^{5ff.}$), or to the Holy Spirit ($3^{7ff.}$ 10^{15}). In striking contrast to the allegorical method of Philo, and to St. Paul's custom of adopting OT phrases to express ideas different from those of the original writer (*e.g.* 'The just shall live by faith'), the author of the Epistle is true to the historical method of interpretation, and uses OT passages in the exact sense which the first writer himself put upon them. This is true even of the chapter dealing with Melchizedek (He 7), where the Epistle seems to approximate most closely to the Philonic method of exegesis. Melchizedek remains the priest-king of Salem. He is not a mere symbol, still less is he identical with Christ. Lastly, it may be observed that the Epistle lays stress on the continuity of revelation. The same God who spoke by means of the prophets speaks in the Son, and the principles which the prophets revealed in part are the same principles which He reveals in full perfection. Thus, it appears to the writer, Christhood is not a new thing. The eternal Son 'inherited' the name of 'Christ' from partial and imperfect Christs who went before Him (1^4; cf. Nairne, *op. cit.* pp. 16 f., 153, 249 ff.). Words, therefore, which in the first place were spoken of God's anointed ones of past ages—the king ($1^{5.\ 6.\ 8.\ 9.\ 13}$), or the nation (2^{12}), or the prophet (2^{13})—are unhesitatingly applied to '*the* Christ' in whom that which they dimly shadowed is at last fully realized. (On the use of the OT in the Epistle, see Westcott, *op. cit.* pp. 471–497; Nairne, *op. cit.* pp. 248–289.)

(2) *Philo.*—Much has been written about the influence exercised on the writer of the Epistle by the Alexandrian school of pre-Christian Judaism, whose chief representative is Philo. The evidence bearing on the question may be arranged as follows.

(*a*) *Resemblances.*—(i.) Both use the LXX in a recension closely resembling Cod. A (Bleek, *op. cit.* i. 369 ff.). (ii.) The custom in the Epistle of quoting the OT as the direct utterance of God, without mentioning the writer's name, finds an exact parallel in the works of Philo. (iii.) Striking and unusual words and phrases used in the Epistle occur also in Philo's writings, *e.g.* *ἀπαύγασμα* (He 1^3;

de Mundi Op. 51), χαρακτήρ (He 1^3; *de Plant. Noe*, 5), θυμιατήριον in the sense of 'altar' (He 9^4; *Quis rer. div. hær.* 46), παραπλησίως (He 2^{14}; cf. τὸ παραπλήσιον, *Quis rer. div. hær.* 30), μετριοπαθεῖν (He 5^2; *de Abrah.* 44), τραχηλίζειν (He 4^{13}; *de Vita Mos.* i. 53), δεήσεις τε καὶ ἱκετηρίας (He 5^7; *de Cherubim*, 13), ἔμαθεν ἀφ' ὧν ἔπαθεν (He 5^8; cf. ὁ παθὼν ἀκριβῶς ἔμαθεν, *de Somn.* ii. 15), ἔπρεπεν used of God (He 2^{10}; *de Leg. alleg.* i. 15), ἱλαστήριον applied to the lid of the Ark (He 9^5; *de Vita Mos.* iii. 8). The Epistle describes Christ as πρωτότοκος and ἀρχιερεύς (He 1^6 2^{17} 3^1); Philo applies the terms πρεσβύτερος υἱός, πρωτόγονος (*de Agricult.* 12), ἀρχιερεύς (*de Somn.* i. 38) to the Divine Logos. (iv.) Both display the same habit of interweaving doctrinal and practical passages, the same unusual transposition of words (cf. πάλιν, He 1^6; *de Leg. alleg.* iii. 9), the same use of δή που (He 2^{16}; *e.g. de Leg. alleg.* i. 3) and ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν (He 7^9; *e.g. de Plant. Noe*, 38). (v.) Both argue from the silences as well as from the statements of Scripture, attach importance to the meaning of OT names, and emphasize the same particular aspects of the lives of Abel, Noah, Abraham, and Moses. (vi.) Philo speaks of an eternal universe (ὁ κόσμος νοητός, *de Mundi Op.* 4–6), of which the visible universe (ὁ κόσμος αἰσθητός, *ib.*) is a transitory copy. The writer of the Epistle mentions the 'heavenly' Tabernacle, a copy of which Moses reproduced on earth (8^5), and frequently alludes to earthly institutions as copies or shadows of heavenly realities ($9^{23\text{-}24}$).

(*b*) *Divergences.*—(i.) While the Epistle resembles Philo in its mode of citation of the OT, it presents a radical difference in its method of interpretation. Men and institutions remain what they are said to be in the OT. They do not become mere symbols of transcendental ideas. (ii.) In the Epistle stray expressions may be applied to the Son which Philo applies to the Logos, but the personal 'Son' of Hebrews is essentially different from the abstract impersonal 'Logos' of Philo. (iii.) The writer of the Epistle uses language which recalls the Alexandrian notion of the real invisible world which corresponds with the unreal world of sense. But that idea is not the basis of his conception of Christianity.

'He does not identify Christian truth with an already existing system of thought: his Christian thought merely possesses itself of the outlines of a mode of conception existing, which it fills with its own contents' (Davidson, *op. cit.* p. 201).

It appears, then, that the Epistle does show some affinities with Philo and the Alexandrian school. It is at least probable that the writer was acquainted with their ideas and their philosophical terminology. But his message is all his own; he owes little to Alexandria beyond the outward expression. So far as he borrows thoughts, he borrows from the gospel tradition and the OT Scriptures (see G. Milligan, *The Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, pp. 203–211; Bruce in *HDB* ii. 335).

(3) *The Synoptic tradition.*—The author shows considerable acquaintance with the facts of our Lord's life on earth. He knows of His human birth (2^{14}), of His descent from the tribe of Judah (7^{14}), of His human development (5^8), of His temptation (2^{18} 4^{15}), of His fidelity (3^2), of His sinlessness (4^{15}), of His preaching (2^3), of His gentle bearing towards sinners (2^{17}), of the contradiction He endured at the mouth of ignorant men (12^3), of His circle of disciples ($2^{3.\ 13}$), of His agony in the Garden (5^7), of His Ascension (6^{20} 7^{26} 9^{24}). Though the Resurrection occupies no large place in the writer's doctrinal teaching, it is not because he is ignorant of the fact (13^{20}). These things are mentioned in the Epistle quite incidentally and because of their bearing on the general argument. It is not likely, therefore, that they represent the whole of the writer's information concerning the earthly ministry of Jesus. The additional fact that he takes it for granted that his readers need no explanation of his allusions indicates that an evangelic tradition, not unlike that of the Synoptic Gospels, was already in circulation, but whether it had yet taken the form of a written record cannot be ascertained (see Westcott, *op. cit.* p. 465; Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 63 f.).

(4) *St. Paul.*—Allusion has already been made to the differences between the Epistle and the writings of St. Paul. Attention must now be directed to their similarities. Definite reminiscences of the language of Romans, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Galatians, and Philippians have been discovered in the following passages. He 1^4 ‖ Ph $2^{9f.}$; 2^2 ‖ Gal 3^{19}; 2^4 ‖ 1 Co 12^{11}; 2^{14} ‖ 1 Co 15^{26}; 5^{12} ‖ 1 Co 3^2; 5^{14} ‖ 1 Co 2^6; 6^{10} ‖ 2 Co 8^4; 10^{30} ‖ Ro 12^{19}; 10^{28} ‖ 2 Co 13^1; 10^{38} ‖ Ro 1^{17}; 12^{14} ‖ Ro 14^{19}; 12^{22} 13^{15} ‖ Gal $4^{25f.}$; 13^{16} ‖ Ph $4^{15.\ 18}$; $13^{18f.}$ ‖ 2 Co $1^{11.\ 12}$; 13^{20} ‖ Ro 15^{28}; 13^{24} ‖ Ph $4^{21.\ 22}$ (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 453). It may be doubted whether direct literary connexion can be proved in any of these cases. Even where such connexion seems most certain—when the two writers agree with each other, while differing both from the LXX and from the Hebrew, in the text of an OT passage (He 10^{30}, Ro 12^{19})—it is possible that they are quoting independently an interpretation which is at least as old as the Targum of Onkelos. Yet in many ways the Epistle presupposes the work of St. Paul. Though they see things from a different point of view, the two are in fundamental agreement. Both display 'the same broad conception of the universality of the Gospel, the same grasp of the age-long purpose of God wrought out through Israel, the same trust in the atoning work of Christ, and in His present sovereignty' (Westcott, *op. cit.* p. lxxviii). That the writer to the Hebrews can take up an attitude of wide universalism without mentioning the question of circumcision or even naming the Gentiles at all, and can calmly put aside the Law almost as though its futility were self-evident, implies that the Pauline battle of Galatia and Rome has been fought and won.

(5) *The Fourth Gospel.*—In point of time the Epistle to the Hebrews stands midway between the Pauline Epistles and the Johannine writings. In the development of apostolic theology it occupies precisely the same place. St. Paul had a hard struggle to establish the principle of the universal application of the gospel to Jew and Gentile alike. The Epistle to the Hebrews and the Fourth Gospel both take this for granted. St. Paul, though he does not dwell on the idea, occasionally speaks of Christ's death in terms of sacrifice (Eph 1^7 2^{13} 5^2, 1 Co 5^7, Ro 3^{25} 8^3 etc.). The Epistle to the Hebrews deals fully with the sacrificial aspect of Christ's death, and sets forth at length the corresponding conception of His Priesthood. The root-ideas contained in the doctrines of Christ's Priesthood and Sacrifice find their final expression in the seemingly simple and unstudied language of the Fourth Gospel, even though the terms 'priest' and 'sacrifice' are never used (cf. Jn $10^{1\text{-}21}$ 12^{32} 16^7 17). Lastly, the description of the person and work of Christ given in the opening verses of the Epistle (He $1^{1\text{-}4}$) might almost be taken to be a first sketch of the completed picture of the 'Divine Word made flesh' contained in the prologue to the Fourth Gospel.

'The teaching which St. John has preserved offers the final form of the Truth. St. John's theory (if we may so speak) of the work of Christ is less developed in detail than that which is found in the Epistles of St. Paul and in the Epistle to the Hebrews; but his revelation of Christ's Person is more complete. He concentrates our attention, as it were, upon Him, Son of God and Son of man, and leaves us in the contemplation of facts which we can only understand in part' (Westcott, *op. cit.* p. lx f.).

8. Importance.—The Epistle to the Hebrews has an interest peculiarly its own. It is the earliest exposition of the Christian tradition by one who had all the instincts of a scholar and a philosopher.

Wherever the author may have been born, he may be regarded as the NT representative of the type of mind which afterwards appeared in the great teachers of the Christian school of Alexandria. At the same time he is altogether free from the particular limitations of that school. He agrees with the Alexandrians in his philosophical bent and his love of cultured and scholarly expression, but he is also of one mind with the school of Antioch in his appreciation of the importance of fact. His doctrine of the Person of Christ combines the two central truths, the isolation of one of which was the cause of disaster both to Alexandria and to Antioch. For while he insists, equally with the Alexandrians, on the cosmic work and pre-incarnate glory of the Son, he is not less emphatic than the Antiochenes in his statement of the completeness of His participation in human suffering and temptation and His exaltation in human nature to the right hand of power. The Epistle to the Hebrews rendered permanent service to the Church by showing that the way to understand something of the meaning of the Person of Christ is not to minimize either the Divine or the human nature, but to emphasize both.

In his interpretation of the OT, the writer of Hebrews seems to be in sympathy much more with Antioch than with Alexandria. His exegesis is based on principles which have never been forsaken without disastrous consequences. He recognizes the OT as a Divinely-given revelation, and yet a revelation which is partial and incomplete. He realizes the true method of historical interpretation: a passage of Scripture must be explained in the light of its context; its real meaning is that which the writer intended it to bear. These are the principles which lie at the root of all sound biblical criticism.

But the greatest service which the Epistle to the Hebrews has rendered to the Church is its interpretation of the Death of Christ in terms of Priesthood and Sacrifice. The ideas so familiar to us were new when the Epistle was written. The writer was 'not repeating but *creating* theology' (Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 10). He offers no formal theory of the Atonement, but he reveals principles on which it rests, and states them in a way which appeals to the common instincts of mankind. Salvation of others can be wrought only through sacrifice of self. The priest must be also the victim. He must give his life *to* others as well as *for* others, and his life becomes available for others only through death—the death of self. The priest who offers the perfect sacrifice must himself be perfect—perfectly one with humanity in nature and in all human experiences; else the sacrifice would be impossible. He must be personally sinless; otherwise the offering would be incomplete and of partial efficacy. If his act of self-sacrifice is to be eternally valid, he must himself be eternal. Christ has fulfilled these conditions, and He will never change: 'Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever' (13[8]). The principles here set forth leave some things unexplained, but they are sufficient to strengthen faith to lay hold on what must always remain deeply mysterious—the inexpressible Divine love which made the Eternal Son lay down His life as man. To enkindle faith was the sole object of the writer. In one sense he may be called a visionary, but it is a practical vision that he sees—the vision of a few weak, halting Christians brought safely through an earthly crisis by the outstretched hand of the eternal High Priest who is enthroned in the heavenly sanctuary.

'Every student of the Epistle to the Hebrews must feel that it deals in a peculiar degree with the thoughts and trials of our own time. . . . The difficulties which come to us through physical facts and theories, through criticism, through wider views of human history, correspond with those which came to Jewish Christians at the close of the Apostolic age, and they will find their solution also in fuller views of the Person and Work of Christ' (Westcott, *op. cit.* Pref. p. v).

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F. S. MARSH.

HEIFER (δάμαλις = פָּרָה, 'a cow').—The writer of Hebrews finds a parallel between 'the water (for the removal) of impurity' (ὕδωρ ῥαντισμοῦ = מֵי נִדָּה, 'water of exclusion') and the blood of Christ (He 9[13f.]). The former element was a mixture of running (living) water with the ashes of a spotless heifer slain and burnt according to the ritual prescribed in Nu 19. As contact with a dead body, a bone, or a grave involved defilement, and entrance into the sanctuary in a state of uncleanness made the offender liable to excommunication, the use of this holy water was prescribed as a means of purification. Every detail in the ceremonial leads the student of origins back to the childhood of the Semites. 'Primarily, purification means the application to the person of some medium which removes a taboo, and enables the person purified to mingle freely in the ordinary life of his fellows' (W. R. Smith, *RS*², 1894, p. 425). In those days there was probably a cult of the sacred cow, while juniper, cypress, and aromatic plants were supposed to have power to expel the evil spirits which brought death into the home. It is certain, however, that, when Israel began to put away childish things, the ancient consuetudinary laws in regard to defilement came to be viewed by the more enlightened minds as mere 'symbols of spiritual truths.' To the awakened conscience 'sin was death, and had wrought death, and the dead body as well as the spiritually dead soul were the evidence of its sway'; while cedar-wood, hyssop, and scarlet may ultimately have been regarded—though this is more doubtful—as 'the symbols of imperishable existence, freedom from corruption, and fulness of life' (A. Edersheim, *The Temple*, 1909, p. 305 f.). Discarding all magical ideas, the worshipper of Jahweh thus endeavoured to change the antique ritual into an object-lesson or sacramental means of grace. The writer to the Hebrews uses it as a stepping-stone to Christian truth. Rejecting the Philonic distinction between Levitical washings as directed to the purification of the body and sacrifices as intended to effect a purgation of the soul, he views the whole ritual of lustration and sin-offering alike as an *opus operatum* which can at the best purify only the body. Accepting this idea on the bare authority of Scripture, he makes it the premiss of an argument *a minori ad majus*. *If* (a particle which posits a fact, and scarcely insinuates a doubt) the blood of goats and bulls and the ashes of a heifer cleanse the flesh, defiled by contact with death, much more does the life-blood of the Messiah cleanse the conscience from dead works.

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JAMES STRAHAN.

HEIR, HERITAGE, INHERITANCE.—1. Connotation of the terms used.—The words κληρονόμος, κληρονομία, κληρονομέω (derived from κλῆρος, 'a portion') have, like the Heb. verbs יָרַשׁ, נָחַל and their derivatives, which they render in the LXX, the idea of a possession rather than of a succession, *i.e.* of something obtained from another by gift (and not gained by oneself, κτῆμα) rather than of something that one has become possessed of through the death of another (see Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1889, p. 168). This is especially the case when Israel is regarded as the 'heir' of the land of Canaan; succession to the Canaanites is not prominent in the idea of this inheritance, for Israel inherited from God, not from the people of the land. In this sense κληρονομία is nearly equivalent to 'the promise'; it is a free gift from God—a fact emphasized in Ac 7^5, where Canaan is spoken of, and 20^{32}, where the Christian promises are in question. We can trace in the OT (see Sanday-Headlam on Ro 8^{17}) the transitions of meaning, from the simple possession of Canaan to the permanent and assured possession, then to the secure possession won by Messiah, and so to all Messianic blessings.

On the other hand, the Latin *heres* with its derivatives, used by the Vulgate, being a weak form of χῆρος, 'bereft,' has the idea of succession; it means literally 'an orphan,' and so hints at the death of the father. The English 'heir,' derived from *heres*, usually suggests that the father is alive, and that the son has not yet come into possession; while the verb 'to inherit' and its derivative 'inheritor' usually suggest that the father is dead and that the son has come into possession. In all these English words the idea of 'succession' is prominent. We must, therefore, be careful to bear in mind that they are not quite equivalent to the Gr. and Heb. words, and that their connotation is slightly different.

It may, however, be noticed that when κληρονόμος, etc., are used in the most literal sense (see below, **3** (*a*)), the idea of succession is not altogether absent; it certainly is present when διαθήκη is used in the sense of 'a will,' as in He $9^{15f.}$ (it is disputed whether in Gal $3^{15ff.}$, etc., it means 'covenant' or 'will': for the latter meaning see W. M. Ramsay, *Galatians*, 1899, p. 349 ff.; also art. COVENANT). But it is obvious that where κληρονόμος is used of Israel's inheritance in Canaan, or metaphorically of the Jewish and Christian promises of salvation (below, **3**), the idea of succession must pass into the background, for the Heavenly Father does not die; and this fact causes the difficulty in the otherwise more natural interpretation of διαθήκη as a 'testament' or 'will.'

The word κλῆρος in Ac 26^{18} and Col 1^{12} is rendered 'inheritance' in the AV and the RV; and in 1 P 5^3 κλῆροι is in the AV '[God's] heritage,' which is the same thing. In the latter passage the RV renders 'the charge allotted to you,' *i.e.* the persons who are allotted to your care. It is easy to see how κλῆρος, 'a lot,' came to mean 'that which is obtained by lot' (Ac 1^{17} 8^{21}), and so 'an inheritance' with the connotation given above. In Col 1^{12} the μερὶς τοῦ κλήρου is equivalent to the μερὶς τῆς κληρονομίας of Ps 16^5. In Eph 1^{11} ἐκληρώθημεν, which in the AV is rendered 'we have obtained an inheritance' (this appears to have no good justification), is translated in the RV 'we were made a heritage,' *i.e.* 'we have been chosen as God's portion' (J. A. Robinson, *Ephesians*, 1903, p. 34; for the metaphor see below, **3** (*b*)).

2. Laws of inheritance.—(*a*) According to Jewish law each son had an equal share, except that the eldest son had double the portion of the others (Dt 21^{17}). This law did not apply to a posthumous son, or in regard to the mother's property, or to gain that might have accrued since the father's death (A. Edersheim, *LT*^{4}, 1887, ii. 243 f. note). Thus the Prodigal Son (Lk $15^{11ff.}$), if he had only one brother, would have received on his father's death one third of the property. The father could not disinherit by will, but in his lifetime he could dispose of his property by gift as he liked, and so disinherit. Wills might be made in writing or orally (*ib.* p. 259). Daughters were excluded if there were sons; but if there were no sons, the daughter—or, presumably, daughters—inherited, failing whom brothers, failing whom father's brothers, failing whom the next of kin (Nu 27^{8-11}). This is later legislation, for at first daughters could not inherit; when they were allowed to become heiresses in the absence of sons, they married in their own tribe, so as to keep the inheritance within it (Nu 36^{2-13}). In the ordinary case, however, where there were sons, the daughters would naturally marry into another family, and cease to belong to that of their father.

(*b*) The Roman and the Roman-Greek laws of inheritance considerably affected the NT language. St. Paul, writing to persons who would not be familiar with Jewish law, refers to customs and laws which they would at once understand. According to Roman law, sons must inherit, and a will leaving property away from sons was invalid (Ramsay, *op. cit.* p. 344). Sons and daughters inherited alike (Lightfoot on Gal 4^7). Ramsay draws out the differences between strictly Roman law and the law in hellenized countries conquered by Rome, which was founded on Greek law: the Romans left much of the latter in force. According to Greek law, a son could be disinherited (Ramsay, p. 367). In Asia Minor and Athens a daughter could inherit, and an adopted son probably married the heiress (*ib.* pp. 340, 363). Daughters in Greek law had an indefeasible right to a dowry (*ib.* p. 367). A minor came of age at the time fixed by his father's will; if there was no will, the law fixed the period of nonage, but the Greek (Seleucid) law differed from the Roman as to the period (*ib.* p. 392). See ROMAN LAW.

These facts help us to understand some passages in St. Paul which speak of the connexion between sonship and heirship. In Ro 8^{17}, Gal 3^{29} 4^7 the latter is deduced from the former. We are God's children, and therefore His heirs. 'Thou art no longer a bondservant but a son; and if a son then an heir through God.' 'If ye are Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise.' Or the sonship is deduced from the heirship; in Gal 3^7 'they which be of faith'—who succeed as heirs to Abraham's faith [here the idea of succession may be faintly seen]—'the same are sons of Abraham.' In Col 3^{24} bondservants are promised 'the recompense of the inheritance,' but this is because by becoming Christians they become the sons of God. Similarly in He 12^8, though the idea of inheritance is not explicitly mentioned, the promise (11^{39}) can be attained only by suffering (cf. below, **3** (*f*)); and if Christians refuse this, they are 'bastards and not sons.' Bastards cannot inherit the promise.

3. Usage in the NT.—(*a*) The words κληρονόμος, κληρονομία, etc., are used literally, as in the Parable of the Vineyard (Mk 12^7, Mt 21^{38}, Lk 20^{14}), where, however, there is a metaphorical interpretation (see (*c*)); so in Lk 12^{13}, where Jesus is asked to divide the inheritance between two brothers, apparently to settle a dispute, and in Gal 4^1, where the son, the heir, is as a servant during his nonage, though lord of all the property, the reference being to the Law and the Gospel. The words are also used literally in the NT of Canaan as the land of promise; cf. Ac 7^5, where it is meant that Abraham did not actually enter into possession; and He $11^{8f.}$, where Isaac and Jacob are fellow-heirs (συγκληρ-

ονόμοι) with Abraham; and He 12[17], where Esau failed to inherit the blessing. So in Gal 4[30] (a quotation from Gn 21[10]) Ishmael, the son of the handmaid, may not inherit with Isaac, the son of the freewoman; this also is applied to the Law and the Gospel.

(*b*) From the literal sense the passage is easy to the metaphorical—the idea of the Messianic hope. Noah became 'heir of the righteousness which is according to faith' (He 11[7]). Abraham was promised that he should be 'heir of the world' (Ro 4[13])—a passage which has given some difficulty to commentators, as there is no such promise explicitly made in the OT; the reference is probably to Gn 12[3] 22[18] and similar passages: in Abraham's seed all the nations of the earth should be blessed; cf. Gn 18[18], and [of Isaac] 26[4]. This promise is quoted in Ac 3[25] by St. Peter, and in Gal 3[8] by St. Paul. The reference in Ro 4[13] can hardly be to the possession of Canaan, which would not be called 'the world' (see also (*d*) below). By a somewhat different figure Israel is said in the OT to be God's inheritance or portion (Dt 9[26. 29] 32[9]); and in the LXX addition at the end of Est 4 the Jews are spoken of as 'thy [God's] original inheritance' (*τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς κληρονομίαν σου*). Conversely, God is said to be the inheritance of the sons of Aaron or of the Levites (Nu 18[20], Dt 10[9], etc.). In the sense of the 'Messianic hope' (as in the more literal sense of the possession of Canaan) the words 'inheritance' and 'promise' become almost identical, as in Gal 3[18], He 6[17].

(*c*) The 'promise' is fulfilled by Jesus becoming incarnate. He describes Himself as the Heir in the Parable of the Vineyard. He is the Heir because He is the Son, the First-born, as opposed to the servants—*i.e.* the prophets. In He 1[2] Jesus is called the 'heir of all things' because He was the Instrument in creation through whom the Father made the worlds (*τοὺς αἰῶνας*). So in v.[4] He is said to have 'inherited' a more excellent name than the angels. The metaphor is doubtless based on Ps 2[8]: the nations are given to Messiah as His inheritance (see Westcott, *op. cit.* p. 8).

(*d*) In Jesus, Christians are Abraham's heirs, whether of Jewish or Gentile stock (Ro 4[9ff.]). They inherit Abraham's faith, and are therefore his sons; the promise did not depend on Abraham's circumcision, but was before it, though it was confirmed by it; nor was it dependent on the Law. Thus all nations are blessed in Abraham, and he is the heir of the world (see above (*b*)). In Eph 1[14] St. Paul uses in regard to Gentile Christians the very words which described Israel's privilege: 'promise,' 'inheritance,' 'emancipation,' 'possession' (Robinson, *op. cit.* p. 36). By adoption we were made fellow-heirs with Christ (Ro 8[17]), and a heritage (Eph 1[11]). Gentiles are fellow-heirs with Jews (Eph 3[6], Ac 26[18]); and Christians are fellow-heirs together of the grace of life (1 P 3[7])—*e.g.* husbands and wives are fellow-heirs because they are Christians. See art. ADOPTION.

(*e*) The inheritance is described as 'eternal life' in Tit 3[7] ('heirs according to the hope of eternal life'; cf. the Gospels: Mt 19[29], Mk 10[17] [where ‖ Mt 19[16] substitutes 'have' for 'inherit'], Lk 10[25] 18[18]); as 'the kingdom' in Ja 2[5], Eph 5[5] ('kingdom of Christ and God'), and by inference in Col 1[12f.] (these seem to be founded on our Lord's words recorded in Mt 25[34], where the predestination, and the giving, of the kingdom are emphasized; cf. Dn 7[27] and the Slavonic *Secrets of Enoch*, § 9 ['for (the righteous) this place is prepared as an eternal inheritance']). In He 1[14] the inheritance is 'salvation,' and so by inference in 1 P 1[4f.]. In He 6[12] it is 'the promises.' In 1 P 3[7] it is the 'grace of life,' *i.e.* the gracious gift of eternal life (Alford, Bigg); in v.[9] it is 'a blessing.' It is the portion (*κλῆρος*) of the saints in light (Col 1[12]), and is eternal (He 9[15]), incorruptible, undefiled, unfading (1 P 1[4]). With the NT idea of an ethical inheritance or portion we may compare Wis 5[5], Sir 4[13] (glory) 37[26] (confidence among his people), the Ethiopic *Book of Enoch*, lviii. 5 (the heritage of faith), *Psalms of Solomon*, xii. 8 (inheritance of the promise of the Lord), xiv. 7 (life in cheerfulness).

(*f*) One condition of inheriting is self-denial (Mt 19[29], where 'receive' of Mk 10[30] and Lk 18[30] becomes 'inherit' when applied to 'eternal life'). We are 'joint-heirs with Christ, if so be that we suffer with [him]' (Ro 8[17]). We must imitate those who 'through faith and patience inherit the promises' (He 6[12]); 'he that overcometh shall inherit and become God's son' (Rev 21[7]—the only instance in Rev. of *κληρονομέω*). Other conditions are meekness and humility (1 P 3[9], 'not rendering evil for evil or reviling for reviling, but contrariwise blessing; for hereunto were ye called that ye should inherit a blessing'; cf. Mt 5[5], Ps 37[11]) and sanctification (Ac 20[32]). The inheritance is forfeited by self-indulgence (1 Co 6[9f.], Gal 5[21]), and is not reached by 'flesh and blood' or by 'corruption' (1 Co 15[50])—a spiritual regeneration is necessary for its attainment.

(*g*) In a real sense the inheritance is already entered upon.* In He 6[12] the present participle *κληρονομούντων* is used: 'those who are inheriting' (the Vulg. has the future *hereditabunt*, but some old Lat. MSS have the present *potiuntur*); so in 4[3] 'we which have believed do enter—are now entering (*εἰσερχόμεθα*)—into that rest,' not as Vulg. *ingrediemur*, 'shall enter' (see Westcott, *op. cit.* p. 95). The kingdom has already begun (Mt 3[2], and the parables of ch. 13). Yet the inheritance will not be fully attained till the Last Judgment (Mt 25[34]). In Eph 1[14] St. Paul speaks of the sealing 'with the Holy Spirit of promise' as 'an earnest (*ἀρραβών*) of our inheritance,' and in the same context (v.[18f.]) uses language which shows that in some sense it is entered upon already (cf. 2 Co 1[22] 5[5]). The same thing is seen in Col 1[12f.]; while in 3[24] the promise to Christian bondservants that they should receive from the Lord the 'recompense of the inheritance' rather points forward to the world to come. So in 1 P 1[4f.] the reference seems to be to the future: 'an inheritance . . . reserved in heaven for you' (so Bigg; but this is denied by Hort and von Soden). In this connexion we must be careful not to confuse our thought by connecting 'inheritance' with our own death, or the 'death' of this age. There is no idea here of 'succession' (see above, 1).

A. J. MACLEAN.

HELL.—1. Context.—The word most frequently so rendered in the EV is the Gr. *ᾅδης* (see HADES). In the NT, outside the Gospels, 'hell' is also used in translating the two Gr. words *γέεννα* ('**Gehenna**') and the very rare verbal form *ταρταρόω* ('send into **Tartarus**').

The former occurs only once, viz. in Ja 3[6], where it is obviously used metaphorically for the evil power which is revealed in all forms of unlicensed, careless, and corrupt speech. In the figurative phrase 'set on fire of Gehenna,' the author of the Epistle has clearly in mind the original idea of that name in the associations of the Valley of Hinnom, with its quenchless fire and its undying worm (2 Ch 28[3] 33[6] Jer 7[31]).

The name 'Tartarus' (2 P 2[4]) carries us out of the association of Hebrew into the realm of Greek thought. It is the appellation given by Homer (*Il.* viii. 13) to that region of dire punishment allotted to the elder gods, whose sway Zeus had usurped.

* Cf. the conception of the heavenly citizenship and eternal life having already begun in this world: Eph 2[19], Jn 5[24] 17[3], 1 Jn 3[14] 5[12f.].

'I will take and cast him into misty Tartarus,' says Zeus, 'right far away, where is the deepest gulf beneath the earth; there are the gate of iron and threshold of bronze, as far beneath Hades as heaven is high above the earth.'

The Greek word passed into Hebrew literature, and is found in *En.* xx. 2, where Uriel is said to have sway over the world and over Tartarus (cf. Philo, *de Exsecr.* § 6). The passage in 2 Peter shows evident traces of the effect upon it of the *Book of Enoch*, so it is not necessary to go further afield in order to discover the source of the word. In the Christian sections of the *Sib. Or.* the word is of frequent occurrence, and appears sometimes to be used as equivalent to *Gehenna* and at other times as the name for a special section of that region. Cf. i. 126–129:

'Down they went
Into Tartarean chamber terrible,
Kept in firm chains to pay full penalty
In Gehenna of strong, furious, quenchless fire.'

With this passage should be carefully compared *En.* cviii. 3–6, where some exceptional features occur in the description of hell. The passage is in a fragment of the earlier *Book of Noah*, now incorporated in the larger work.

'Their names,' says the seer, 'shall be blotted out of the book of life, and out of the holy books, and their seed shall be destroyed for ever, and their spirits shall be slain, and they shall cry and make lamentation in a place that is a chaotic wilderness, and in the fire shall they burn; for there is no earth there. And I saw there something like an invisible cloud; for by reason of its depth I could not look over, and I saw a flame of fire blazing brightly, and things like shining mountains circling and sweeping to and fro. And I asked one of the holy angels who was with me, and said unto him: "What is this shining thing? for it is not a heaven but only the flame of a blazing fire, and the voice of weeping and crying, and lamentation and strong pain." And he said unto me: "This place which thou seest—here are cast the spirits of sinners and blasphemers, and of those who work wickedness, and of those who pervert everything that the Lord hath spoken through the mouth of the prophets."'

As Charles points out in his notes on this passage, the writer has confused here Gehenna and the hell of the disobedient stars, conceptions which are kept quite distinct in the earlier sections of the book (cf. chs. xxi. and xxii.).

2. The idea in apostolic and sub-apostolic literature.—We have to pass beyond the strict use of the word 'hell' to discover the wider range of the conception in the literature of the NT that comes within the scope of our examination. There are two or three terms found in the Apocalypse, to which we must now turn.

(*a*) *The Apocalypse of John.*—(1) In Rev 9^{1} 'the pit of the abyss' (see ABYSS) is regarded as the special prison-house of the devil and his attendant evil spirits. This conception is probably derivable from similar sources to those from which Tartarus comes, though there are peculiar and interesting features about it, details of which will be found in the special article devoted to its explanation. Closely connected with the idea of the abyss is its demonic ruler Abaddon (v.^{11}, see ABADDON), whose name figures frequently in the Wisdom-literature, and is generally translated in the LXX by ἀπώλεια = 'destruction.' According to one Hebrew authority, Abaddon is itself a place-name, and designates the lowest deep of Gehenna, from which no soul can ever escape (see H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John, in loco*). In the *Asc. Is.* iv. 14 is a somewhat similar passage: 'The Lord will come with His angels and with the armies of the holy ones from the seventh heaven . . . and He will drag Beliar into Gehenna and also his armies.'

(2) 'The lake of fire' is an expression found several times in Rev. (cf. 19^{20}, etc.). It is described as the appointed place of punishment for the Beast and the False Prophet, for Death and Hades themselves, for all not enrolled in the Book of Life, and finally for those guilty of the dark list of sins given in 21^{8}. It is questionable whether the original imagery underlying the expression is derived from the story of the Cities of the Plain, or the Pyriphlegethon—the fiery-flamed river—one of the tributaries of the Acheron in the Homeric vision of the under world (cf. *Od.* x. 513). Probably elements from both enter into it. A passage in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, x. 1–6—remarkable for the fact that hell is here set in the third heaven (see W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*, Berlin, 1903, p. 273 n.)—has close parallels with the passage in Rev 21^{8}. The following extracts will show how close and suggestive the imagery is—and as it probably dates before A.D. 70, the actual connexion is not improbable.

'They showed me there a very terrible place . . . and all manner of tortures in that place . . . and there is no light there, but murky fire constantly flameth aloft, and there is a fiery river coming forth, and that whole place is everywhere fire . . . and those men said to me: This place is prepared for those who dishonour God, who on earth practise . . . magic-making, enchantments, and devilish witchcrafts, and who boast of their wicked deeds, stealing, lies, calumnies, envy, rancour, fornication, murder . . . for all these is prepared this place amongst these, for eternal inheritance' (cf. also *Asc. Is.* iv. 15).

In the *Sib. Or.* we have similar language, *e.g.* ii. 313:

'And then shall all pass through the burning stream
Of flame unquenchable.'

Again, in ii. 353 ff. we have:

'And deathless angels of the immortal God,
Who ever is, shall bind with lasting bonds
In chains of flaming fire, and from above
Punish them all by scourge most terribly;
And in Gehenna, in the gloom of night,
Shall they be cast 'neath many horrid beasts
Of Tartarus, where darkness is immense.'*

(3) In Rev 20^{14} 'the lake of fire' is further defined as 'the second death'—a phrase which recurs in other passages of the book (*e.g.* 2^{11}). The phrase seems traceable to Jewish sources, for it occurs frequently in the Targums (cf. Wetstein on Rev 2^{11}). It seems likely that the Jews, in turn, derived it from the ideas of Egyptian religion, since we find Ani, seated on his judgment-throne, saying, 'I am crowned king of the gods, I shall not die a second time in the underworld' (*The Book of the Dead*, ed. E. A. Wallis Budge, London, 1901, ch. xliv.; cf. Moffatt in *EGT*, 1910, on Rev 2^{11}).

(*b*) *St. Paul.*—This idea of the 'second death' leads naturally to St. Paul's use of 'death' in such passages as Ro 6^{21}. When the Apostle uses the word, he evidently intends by it 'something far deeper than the natural close of life. . . . For him death is one indivisible experience. It is the correlative of sin. . . . Death is regarded as separation from God. . . . So death, conceived as the final word on human destiny, becomes the synonym for hopeless doom' (Kennedy, *St. Paul's Conceptions of the Last Things*, 1904, pp. 113–117).

(*c*) *Other NT books.*—This idea is also strongly and strikingly put in Ja 1^{15}: 'Sin, when it is full-grown, bringeth forth death' (cf. 2 Ti 1^{10}, He 2^{14}). In Jude $^{6, 13}$ and 2 P 2^{17} we have the expressions 'darkness' and 'the blackness of darkness' used as descriptive epithets of the place of punishment. Once more we are face to face with the peculiar imagery of apocalyptic, and we recall how the word is employed in the Gospels, especially in the phrase 'the outer darkness' (cf. Mt 8^{12}). In *En.* x. 4 we read, 'Bind Azazel hand and foot, and cast him into the darkness,' and throughout that book the imagery frequently recurs. The figure is a natural one, and needs no elaboration to make its force felt.

(*d*) *Apostolic Fathers.*—In turning to the Christian literature of the 1st cent. that lies outside the NT, we do not find any very striking additions to

* These translations are taken from the English version by M. S. Terry, New York, 1899.

the ideas contained in the pages of the canonical books. In *Did.* 16 we read, 'All created mankind shall come to the fire of testing, and many shall be offended and perish,' which is only a faint reflexion of the Synoptic statements. In the *Epistle of Barnabas*, xx., the way of sin is described as 'a way of eternal death with punishment,' and then follows a list of sins reminiscent of Rev 21[8]. In the 8th Similitude of the *Shepherd of Hermas*—that of the tower-builders—there are many references to judgment, but they are couched in such general terms as 'shall lose his life,' 'these lost their life finally,' or 'these perished altogether unto God.' In *Sim.* IX. xviii. 2 there is a striking passage differentiating between the punishment of the ignorant and those who sin knowingly: 'They that have not known God, and commit wickedness, are condemned to death; but they that have known God and seen His mighty works, and yet commit wickedness, shall receive a double punishment, and shall die eternally.' In IX. xxviii. 7 it is said: 'Confess that ye have the Lord, lest denying Him ye be delivered into prison (*εἰς δεσμωτήριον*).' There can be no doubt here that 'prison' is meant to signify the place of punishment beyond death. The imagery may be derived from the saying in Mt 5[25-26], but we must remember that 'bonds and imprisonment' were frequently the terms in which the apocalyptic literature figured future punishment.

(*e*) *First-century apocalypses.*—The conception that meets us in the Parable of Dives and Lazarus, viz. that the places of bliss and torment are visible the one from the other, meets us in two or three apocalypses of the 1st century. In the section of *2 Esdras* discovered in 1875, we have one of these passages (vii. 36–38):

'And the pit (Lat. "place") of torment shall appear, and over against it shall be the place of rest: and the furnace of hell (Lat. "Gehenna") shall be shewed, and over against it the paradise of delight. And there shall the Most High say to the nations that are raised from the dead, See ye and understand whom ye have denied, or whom ye have not served, or whose commandments ye have despised. Look on this side and on that: here is delight and rest, and there fire and torments.'

In *Ass. Mos.* x. 10 occurs the passage:

'And thou wilt look from on high and see thine enemies in Gehenna, and thou wilt recognize them and rejoice, and thou wilt give thanks and confess thy Creator.'

Very similar passages are found in the *Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, chs. x., xl., and xli.

This idea is even more clearly set forth in the *Apocalypse of Peter*, and forms the beginning of the famous passage in which is set forth the punishment of sinners, in the manner that to later ages is most familiar in the pages of Dante, where the forms of torment bear an appropriate relation to the sins committed. The passage begins at § 20, and follows immediately on the description of Heaven, with these words:

'And I saw another place over against that, very dark: and it was the place of punishment: and those who were punished there and the punishing angels had a dark raiment like the air of the place. And some were there hanging by the tongue: these were those who blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them was fire, burning and punishing them. And there was a great lake, full of flaming mire, in which were certain men who had perverted righteousness, and tormenting angels afflicted them.'

In these verses we trace the similarity to ideas and figures we have already discovered in the Apoc. of John and elsewhere, but the further descriptions of this Inferno borrow elements from Greek and other sources, and are considerably more extravagant than anything within the limits of the 1st century. It may, however, be only a development of the conceptions found in such 2nd cent. documents as Jude and 2 Peter.

(*f*) *Josephus.*—An interesting witness to contemporary Jewish thought in the 1st cent. is Josephus, who has two references to the belief of the Pharisees in the matter of future punishment. In *Ant.* XVIII. i. 3 we read:

'They also believe that souls have an immortal vigour in them, and that under the earth there will be rewards or punishments, according as they have lived virtuously or viciously in this life; and the latter are to be detained in an everlasting prison, but that the former shall have power to revive and live again.' Again in *BJ* II. viii. 14, quoting the doctrine of the Pharisees, he claims their view to be 'that the souls of bad men are subject to eternal punishment.'

(*g*) *Testament of Abraham and Pistis Sophia.*—Before our survey of the literature closes, note must be taken of two striking and somewhat fantastic conceptions contained in two works, which probably set forth, among their obviously later material, elements of an earlier tradition. The first is found in the *Testament of Abraham*, which may date in its origin from the 2nd cent. of our era, and doubtless some of its contents are from a much earlier period. In its present form it appears to issue from a Jewish-Christian source, and its place of origin seems to be Egypt. Elements of Egyptian thought enter into its literary form, among the most striking of which is the idea of the weighing of souls—a scene that often occurs on the Egyptian pagan monuments. The trial of souls is threefold—once before Abel, at a later time by the twelve tribes of Israel, and finally by the Lord Himself. Abraham is permitted to witness the procedure of judgment, and he finds two angels seated at a table. The one on the right hand records the good deeds, and the one on the left the evil deeds of the soul to be tested. In front of the table stands an angel with a balance on which the souls are weighed, while another has a trumpet having within it all-consuming fire whereby the souls are tried. These more elaborate and somewhat mechanical methods form a link with the imagery of mediævalism, but also prove the manner in which Christianity was proceeding along eclectic lines, and taking to itself ideas and figures from other religions.

In the curious work known as the *Pistis Sophia*, probably of Valentinian, and certainly of Gnostic origin, we have a bizarre conception of the place of punishment—described as 'the outer darkness.' It is presented in the form of a huge dragon with its tail in its mouth, the circle thus formed engirdling the whole earth. Within the monster are the regions of punishment—'for there are in it twelve dungeons of horrible torment.' Each dungeon is governed by a monster-like ruler, and in these are punished the worst of sinners, *e.g.* sorcerers, blasphemers, murderers, the unclean, and those who remain in the doctrines of error. To express the awfulness of the torture, it is said that the fire of the under world is nine times hotter than that of earthly furnaces; the fire of the great chaos nine times hotter than that of the under world; the fire of the 'rulers' nine times hotter than that of the great chaos; but the fire of the dragon is seventy times more intense in its heat than that of the 'rulers'! In *3 Baruch*, iv. and v. there is the mention of a dragon in close connexion with Hades, and in the latter chapter Hades is said to be his belly (cf. Hughes' notes on the passage in Charles' *Apoc. and Pseudepig.*). We are at least reminded by such passages of the Jonah legend, and it may well be that behind all three is a common origin. The dragon is obviously an old Semitic myth, and this particular form of it probably gives fresh significance to the words in Rev 20[2]: 'the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan.'

3. General considerations.—Several points of importance emerge from our study of these references in the literature of the 1st century.

(1) *The surprisingly few passages in the NT in*

which the word 'hell' (or even the idea it conveys) *occurs.*—Outside the Gospels and the Apocalypse, there are practically no occasions on which we find it employed. Its absence from the writings of St. Paul, Hebrews, and the Epistles of John is most noteworthy. Our surprise is not lessened by the recollection of the fact that, according to the Rabbis, 'seven things were created before the world—Torah, *Gehenna*, the Garden of Eden, the Throne of Glory, the Sanctuary, Repentance, and the Name of Messiah.' In St. Paul at least, six of these are frequently in evidence, and this gives more significance to his silence about the seventh.

(2) *The restrained sanity of the references that do occur.*—When we compare even the lurid images of the Apocalypse with those we have cited (and even more with those that may be found elsewhere in the same books) from contemporary works of a similar character, we cannot but be impressed with the soberness of the language. There is nothing of the morbid curiosity and unpleasant lingering on horrors, to say nothing of the sense of gloating over vengeance and cruelty, that we find in so many kindred passages. Terrible imagery is sometimes employed, but it is clearly imbued with a high moral aim, and designed to convey a clearly spiritual purpose. The absence of such allegorizing methods as those of Philo is also noteworthy. Imagery is the method in which the truths are here conveyed, not allegory.

(3) *The obvious dependence on the teaching of the Gospels for all that is said about hell.*—It would be hard to point to any passage in the NT that conveyed any fresh or fuller ideas about the place of punishment, its nature and purpose, than are to be found in words attributed to Jesus in the Gospels. This is certainly noteworthy and significant, even if the Gospel teaching on Gehenna is an echo of current ideas. In form it probably is, but in ethical content it surely goes deeper, and we are made to feel that in the conception of the speaker this place also is founded by the Eternal Love—it too is part of the Father's Universe. Dante, the greatest apocalyptist of subsequent ages, had caught the true evangelical spirit of this most awful doctrine when he wrote:

> 'Justice incited my sublime Creator;
> Created me divine Omnipotence,
> The highest Wisdom and the primal Love'
> (*Inferno*, iii. 4).

(4) *The permanent spiritual lessons to be derived from the descriptions of future punishment.*—(*a*) All evil powers—death, sin, and their forces—are to be finally destroyed in the fires of Divine judgment (Rev $20^{10.\ 13-15}$, 2 P 2^4, Jude ^{13}). According to St. Paul, all powers that make against Christ and His Kingdom are to come to final ruin (cf. 2 Th 2^{8-10}, 1 Co 15^{24-26}).

(*b*) Evil in the heart of men must entail punishment and, if persisted in, eternal loss and shame, and a death that is more than death (Ro 6^{20-23}, Rev 21^8). The terrible nature of moral evil, and of the heart's persistent rebellion against God, is the appalling reality that renders these pictures of judgment truly significant, and redeems them from being the mere pageantry of a heated imagination. Whatever we may say of their outward form, there is an inexpressible grandeur behind them that rests in a true conception and representation of the Divine Holiness. 'The fear of hell' in these pages is much more than 'the hangman's whip'; it is the cry of the soul in the presence of Him who is revealed as of purer eyes than to behold iniquity, but who is, nevertheless, the Redeemer of His Universe.

LITERATURE.—See artt. HADES, ABYSS, LIFE AND DEATH, etc., in this Dictionary, and also in *HDB*, *DCG*, *EBr*, and *EBi*. In addition to the works referred to in the body of the article, the following should be consulted: R. H. Charles's separate editions of the various apocalypses, the great work edited by him, *The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the OT*, Oxford, 1913, and *Between the Old and New Testaments*, London, 1914; E. Hennecke, *Neutest. Apokryphen* and *Handbuch zu den neutest. Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904; J. A. Robinson and M. R. James, *The Gospel acc. to Peter and the Revelation of Peter*, London, 1892; A. Harnack, *Über das gnost. Buch Pistis-Sophia* (=*TU* vii. 2), Leipzig, 1891; R. H. Charles, *A Critical History of the Doctrine of a Future Life*^{2}, London, 1913; S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*^{4}, Edinburgh, 1901; E. C. Dewick, *Primitive Christian Eschatology*, Cambridge, 1912; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Doctrine of the Last Things*, London, 1908; A. Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, Eng. tr., do. 1910; G. Dalman, *The Words of Jesus*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1902; P. Volz, *Jüdische Eschatologie*, Tübingen, 1903.

G. CURRIE MARTIN.

HELLENISM.—The word 'Hellenism,' which in Greek writers stands for Greek civilization, has now come to be used with a four-fold meaning. (1) Since Droysen, it describes a particular period of Greek history and civilization; (2) it is a name for the influence of this Greek civilization on the Oriental world; (3) it marks a certain stream in Judaism; and (4) it denotes a party in primitive Christianity. (1) and (2) are closely related to one another, and so are (3) and (4).

1. Hellenism as a period.—The reign of Alexander the Great marks a period in Greek history, not only by reason of the expansion of Greek influence but also owing to the rise of a new spirit which affected language, literature, art, philosophy, science, civilization in general, and religion.

See J. G. Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*^{2}, Gotha, 1877–78; J. Kaerst, *Geschichte des hellenistischen Zeitalters*, Leipzig, 1901–09; P. Corssen, 'Über Begriff und Wesen des Hellenismus,' *ZNTW* ix. (1908) 81–95.

(*a*) *Language.*—The Greek tribes, hitherto separated by rivalry and difference of dialect and customs, became mixed. A common language, the so-called 'Koine,' combining in its vocabulary and its grammatical forms elements from various dialects, took the place of the local dialects, and succeeded even in robbing the Attic of its dominating position in literature. Words never used by Attic writers but found in Ionic poets or in Doric inscriptions became current: as, *e.g.*, γογγύζω, κλίβανος, and so did forms like λαός, ναός, ἥμην instead of ἦν, οἴδαμεν instead of ἴσμεν. The formation of compounds went on; as the prepositions had lost somewhat of their meaning, two prepositions were combined: ἐξαποστέλλω, ἐπιδιατάσσω, ἐπισυνάγω; and again nouns were formed from these compound verbs: ἐξαποστολή, ἐπιδιάταγμα, ἐπισυναγωγή. On the other hand, there was a tendency to use the simple where in former times a compound would have been used. The grammar lost certain moods and tenses: the dual and the optative became almost obsolete; the pluperfect was rare. The syntax tended to become more simple; the beautiful periods constructed by the Attic classics by means of participles and infinitives used as nouns disappeared; the infinitive was generally expressed by ἵνα or ὅπως used without a final sense.

Most of these changes can be explained from the point of view of the evolution of the Greek language itself. A language is always growing and changing, and the Koine marks only a step in a long process from the Greek of Homer's time to modern Greek. Of course this development did not always follow a straight line: there was a constant reaction, on the part of certain authors, against the popular current, in favour of cultured literary forms; besides the rich and flowery Asianism an artificial Atticism was cultivated by the writers of the Hellenistic period.

Moreover, it is evident that an admixture of Oriental elements also influenced the Greek language. The vocabulary of this period shows Persian words (παράδεισος, ἀγγαρεύειν), as well as

Hebrew and Aramaic (*πάσχα, σάββατον*), Egyptian (*πάπυρος, Φαραώ*), and Roman (*δηνάριον, κουστωδία*). Many of the grammatical and syntactical phenomena may be explained more readily by reference to the parallels in these languages. One Hebraism is *πρόσωπόν τινος λαμβάνειν*, whence come *προσωπολήπτωρ* and *προσωπολημψία*.

See H. A. A. Kennedy, *Sources of NT Greek*, Edinburgh, 1895; A. N. Jannaris, *An Historical Greek Grammar*, London, 1897; A. Deissmann, art. 'Hellenistisches Griechisch' in *PRE*[3] vii. 627-639, *Philology of the Greek Bible*, Eng. tr., London, 1908; A. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Strassburg, 1901; J. H. Moulton, *Prolegomena to the Grammar of the NT*[3], Edinburgh, 1908. See also next article.

(*b*) *Literature.*—The period of Hellenism marks a decrease in skilful composition, and at the same time exhibits much artificiality. The writing becomes more popular in form as well as in contents: romance and novel attain to a large circulation; there is a demand for biography, special history, travellers' guide-books, and the like; many subjects are treated in the form of letters. Pseudepigraphy, *i.e.* writing under an assumed name of some great authority of former times, is very common. By indulging in this practice, writers acknowledge their own lack of authority and originality. To imitate classical models well is the great aim of most of them, and this is what they are trained to do in the schools. As a matter of fact, they do their best work when writing in the ordinary style of popular talk; but they are not aware of this, and always aim at something more artistic, taking the artificial for the artistic. Many Hellenistic writers show a special interest in strange countries, peoples, languages, and customs.

See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[2] (*Kultur der Gegenwart*, i. 8, Leipzig, 1907); F. Susemihl, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit*, do. 1891-92; W. Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5], ed. O. Stählin and W. Schmid, Munich, 1908-09.

(*c*) *Art.*—The same holds true of the fine arts. It is a period of decadence, a natural decrease of physical and mental energy following on a period of highest achievement. In this special case the movement was determined by Oriental influences. The idealism of classic Greek art gave place to realism and symbolism; natural brightness was turned into austere solemnity, beauty into magnificence, charm into sensuality.

See Springer-Michaelis, *Handbuch der Kunstgeschichte*, i. (=*Das Altertum*[9]), Leipzig, 1911; L. von Sybel, *Weltgeschichte der Kunst im Altertum*[2], Marburg, 1903; S. Reinach, *The Story of Art throughout the Ages*, London, 1904; J. Strzygowski, *Orient oder Rom*, Leipzig, 1901; E. A. Gardner, art. 'Art (Greek and Roman)' in *EBr*[9] i. 870.

(*d*) *Philosophy.*—The philosophers of Hellenism are mostly eclectics; the general tendency is towards the practical questions of life. Stoicism and Cynicism are the leading schools; their teaching is popular and, indeed, is very often a kind of preaching. Philosophy becomes a substitute for religion: it is moral education. Here again the lack of originality makes itself conspicuous by the fact that recent products appear either under old names or as commentaries on old books. There is a tendency to rely on the authority of the ancients. Homer and Plato are treated as the divine text-books from which one has to derive all doctrines by means of allegorical interpretation. Mythology is turned into metaphysics and physics, or psychology and morals. There is a particular interest in psychological analysis.

See Ed. Zeller, *Die Philosophie der Griechen*[4], Leipzig, 1909, vol. iii.

(*e*) *History and science.*—The Hellenistic period is one of collecting: Aristotle's work is continued, but the power of pervading the materials collected with a real constructive spirit is absent. Therefore history becomes a collection of single tales of various kinds and often of very different value, not sifted critically, but put together without even an effort to connect them. Similarly science is nothing but a vast pile of collected materials, all kinds of real observations being mixed up with the most ridiculous superstitions. Great store is set by what is extraordinary, and only the miraculous is regarded as of any importance.

See J. P. Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought from the Death of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*[2], London, 1896.

(*f*) *Civilization in general.*—Hellenism marks a period of the highest civilization, in the sense that all the comforts of life were highly developed. Travelling had become fairly easy, and whatever luxuries a refined life required were brought by tradesmen from the remotest parts of the world. Houses were furnished in the most costly way, marbles, metals, ivory-carvings, and mural paintings being frequently used in decoration. Even the cheap furniture in daily use by poor people was seldom without decoration.

The social differences were enormous: there were a few very rich people while the majority of men were poor. Production was carried on by slaves, who were imported in great numbers from the East; although there was also room for the work of free labourers. Politics did not occupy the citizen much, for power had passed from the democracy to the monarchy. The free citizen devoted his time mostly to athletics, and the games were always attended by a large crowd. These people were accustomed to be fed and entertained by the government or by rich politicians. To musical and theatrical performances were added competitions between orators. The cruel and sometimes vulgar amusements of the circus came more and more into vogue, and the people even wanted criminals to be executed in the arena. Hellenistic civilization made people unfeeling and at the same time weak and effeminate; in spite of the humane doctrines of the Stoa, many people were cruel to their slaves and employees. Human life was not valued, and suicide was frequent.

See P. Wendland, *Die hellenistisch-römische Kultur*[2-3] (in H. Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum NT*, new ed., Tübingen, 1912); F. Baumgarten, F. Poland, R. Wagner, *Die hellenische Kultur*[3], Leipzig, 1913; J. P. Mahaffy, *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, Chicago, 1906.

(*g*) *Religion.*—The old family-cults and State-cult were continued as a matter of course; but there was a notable reduction of local cults, the greater gods, so to speak, swallowing up the minor heroes. On the other hand, a tendency towards deification and hero-worship was always introducing new objects of worship. The most prominent was the worship of the kings, and, in the Roman period, of the Emperor.

As early as Plato the old Greek religion had changed from a more or less cheerful worship of Nature into a kind of gloomy mysticism. The influence of the Oriental cults strengthened this tendency. Man tried to get rid of his own mortal nature by entering into mystical union with the divine nature. Immortality, continuation of life, became the prominent notions, and this brought to the front the conceptions of the hereafter and of the judgment, of a life of bliss and of penalties in the other world. The feeling of guilt became stronger and stronger. Men tried by all means to get rid of sin, which, however, did not mean to them moral so much as physical evil. Thus the Oriental rites gained all the greater influence, because they promised to relieve men from sin and death by letting them share in the life of the deity. The means to this end were mostly sacramental, *i.e.* physical: communion with the god was effected by eating and drinking at certain sacred meals, with the use of certain sacred vessels, and certain sacred

formulæ, by going through a number of symbolical performances and keeping many rules, the reason of which nobody could explain. The individual rite ventured to give full assurance of life, but the faithful usually resorted to a variety of rites, and the priests could not object to this; their religion was tolerated and must be tolerant: this is implied in the system of polytheism. The important feature is not the individual rite, but the whole attitude of mind produced by these Mysteries.

See F. Cumont, *Les Religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*[2], Paris, 1909; R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910; L. R Farnell, art. 'Greek Religion' in *ERE* vi. 420–5.

2. Hellenism as hellenization of the Orient.—Alexander had conquered the Orient, *i.e.* Asia Minor, Syria, Egypt, Persia, etc., and his successors founded there several kingdoms. But his idea was not only to subdue the Orient by force for political purposes, but to pervade it with the spirit of Greek civilization, and at the same time to make Oriental and Greek culture a unity. A marriage between East and West, symbolized by his own wedding with Roxane at Persepolis, was his aim. In fact, the Greek dynasties of the Attalids, Seleucids, Ptolemys, etc., succeeded in imposing on their respective dominions a veneer of Greek culture: the Greek language was used at the court, in the army, on the coinage, in inscriptions, and as the common language in many of the colonies and towns founded by these kings; Greek law was used—with local modifications; Greek cults were officially introduced beside the native ones; Greek artists constructed the palaces and public buildings, and decorated them in the Greek style with sculptures and pictures.

This Greek culture, however, was but a veneer; it was only on the surface, and had only a temporary existence. Underneath, the old Oriental civilization still persisted, and came to the surface after a short time—more especially in the 3rd cent. A.D. We find many of the artificial Greek names of localities disappear and the old place-names reappear; we find the vernacular, so far spoken only by illiterate country folk,* recapture the cities and create a national literature. The cosmopolitan feeling of the Hellenistic period was replaced by an outburst of nationalistic enthusiasm, which made it easy for Muhammadanism to over-run all these Eastern provinces and sweep away the last remainders of the Hellenistic civilization.

In the meantime, Hellenism had not only assimilated many Oriental notions and beliefs: it had opened the West itself to Oriental influence. This is in fact what is usually called Hellenism—that mixture of Greek and Oriental civilization which characterizes the culture of the last centuries B.C. and the first centuries A.D. We have already seen how it influenced Greek language, literature, art, science, etc. The most significant feature was religious syncretism. Not only were the Oriental gods called by Greek names (Ammon and Baal became Zeus; Melkart, Herakles; Astarte, Aphrodite; Thoth, Hermes, etc.)—what is usually called theocrasy—but the Oriental gods themselves under their own names were introduced into the West and worshipped by Greeks and Romans with no less fervour than by their own countrymen. But it was not the plain Egyptian cult of Isis, or the Phœnician cult of Adonis, or the Phrygian cult of the Magna Mater and Attis, or the Persian cult of Mithra that made so many proselytes among the Greeks and Romans: on their way to the West these cults had been transformed into Greek Mysteries, and it was in this form that they proved so attractive. The Greek notion of a Mystery—*i.e.* the idea of a community of initiated believers who sought to enter into union with the god for the purpose of obtaining divine immortality—took hold of these Oriental cults, whose myths were excellently adapted for this purpose, and whose strange rites lent themselves to the sacramental methods of such a communion. Moreover, the Orient had produced a priestly wisdom which was easily transformed into a Greek *gnosis*: Hellenism identified the objects of this speculation with its philosophical notions, hellenizing even their strange names into psychological terms.

It is the special character of this Oriental Hellenism that one can scarcely distinguish its separate elements: they are borrowed from all parts of the Eastern world, and so mixed up with Greek elements that the whole mass appears as a homogeneous unity in substance and form. Many of its features may be explained as readily from the Greek as from the Oriental point of view.

3. Jewish Hellenism.—Into this melting-pot of Oriental and Greek civilization Judaism was thrown in different ways.

(*a*) *Babylon*, where the largest number of Jews was settled, felt the Greek influence, after the Persian period, but only for a comparatively short time. Thus some Greek elements, besides the Persian ones, may have been introduced even here.

(*b*) *Palestine* itself, the native soil of Judaism, came under the political and cultural influence of the Ptolemys of Egypt and the Seleucids of Syria, and this influence became so strong that we find the religious leaders of the Jewish people, the priestly aristocracy, calling their sons by Greek names (Menelaus [Menahem] or Jason [Joshua, Jesus]), and making them practise athletics according to the Greek usage. They came very near to a hellenizing of their religion as well, until the ill-timed attempt of Antiochus Epiphanes in 168 B.C. to introduce Greek idol-worship in place of the Jewish cult caused a reaction, when the Maccabees revolted and succeeded in delivering their country from the political domination of the Seleucids. They were less successful, and probably less zealous, in their attempt at getting rid of Hellenistic civilization. To learn the Greek language, to be in touch with the Western culture, was still an aim of most cultured Jews. All the time, until the destruction of Jerusalem, two tendencies were at work side by side: the tendency to isolate Judaism by prohibiting all relations with Hellenistic surroundings, and the tendency to give Judaism more influence by encouraging Jewish boys to learn the Greek language and to assimilate Greek ideas. It is rather difficult to estimate the exact measure of the Hellenistic influence on this Palestinian Judaism; but that it was great there can be no doubt. We see it in the vocabulary of Rabbinical Aramaic which includes terms like διαθήκη, κατήγωρ, etc.,; we see it further in many notions of Jewish psychology and even eschatology: it is Hellenistic individualism which distinguishes later from earlier Jewish theories.

(*c*) *The Greek Diaspora.*—The real Jewish Hellenism, however, was to be found among the colonies of Jews scattered all over the Græco-Roman world, the so-called Diaspora.* These Jews, who in some places—as, *e.g.*, Alexandria and the Cyrenaïca—formed a third of the population and had a powerful organization, had opened their minds to the spirit of Greek civilization. They not only spoke

* When St. Paul arrived at Lystra, the people there spoke Λυκαονιστί (Ac 14[11]), but St. Paul preached in Greek and was understood.

* Besides the Jewish Diaspora there was a smaller Samaritan one, which developed the same Hellenistic tendencies—a Greek translation of the Bible, a poem on the history of Sichem, chronicles, etc. (Schürer, *GJV*[4] iii. [Leipzig, 1909] 51, 481 ff.; P. Glaue and A. Rahlfs, *Fragmente einer griech. Übersetzung des samaritan. Pentateuchs* [*NGG*, 1911, 167 ff.]).

the Greek language in addition to their vernacular; it *was* their vernacular: they used it in Divine service, when they gathered in the synagogues to worship the God of Israel; they had the Holy Scriptures, the Law of their God, translated into Greek; they had writers among themselves who had as great a mastery of the Greek language as any Greek author; they produced poems on the history of the Jewish people in the style of Homer, and even dramatized the Scriptures after the model of Euripides. They made a real study of Greek philosophy, and themselves contributed to the development of philosophical thought. While the unknown author of the Book of Wisdom under the name of Solomon sets forth the Jewish wisdom as it was influenced by Greek ideas, Philo, the famous Jewish philosopher, finds in Greek philosophy the real meaning of the Jewish Scriptures. He is, of course, a Jew, and he remains so; his heart belongs to his people and to its religion, but his head is filled with Greek notions and speculations, and it is from the Greek philosophers that he derives what he sets forth as the teaching of the ideal law-giver, Moses.

This Jewish Hellenism of the Diaspora was in fact Judaism, akin to the true Palestinian Judaism in substance, but it was a special kind of Judaism. Its horizon was widened, and its strictness weakened. Starting from an earlier form of Judaism, it did not share in the specific Rabbinical development of later Palestinian Judaism; on the other hand, it developed in its own way. Many things were possible to these Hellenistic Jews which would have been intolerable to the Palestinian Rabbis; and many things were uncertain to the former regarding which there was no question among the latter.

Hellenistic Judaism, therefore, was regarded by pious Palestinians as a Judaism of lower rank, a semi-heretical second-class Judaism. Nevertheless, it was a very influential pioneer of Judaism among the Greeks and Romans. The broader views proved to be more attractive to the heathen. They took the moral injunctions from the Law without being compelled to take circumcision and other strange rites; they accepted these moral views, together with the great hope of the Jewish people, from the Greek Bible. They had thus the guarantee of an old revelation transmitted in a most venerable book, and yet it sounded quite modern when interpreted by men like Philo. The language of this book was, of course, Oriental, but was this not in itself a sign of something Divine or an evidence of venerable age? Thus many a heathen became an adherent of this broad Judaism, being admitted as a worshipper and supporting the Jewish congregation by means of his wealth, and lending it his influence. It was for the benefit of such faithful proselytes that the Jews composed a moral catechism in poetical form under the name of Phokylides, or wrote the *Sibylline Oracles*, embodying the hope of the Jewish people, or interpolated hints to Jewish believers into the works of the famous Greek authors. This Jewish propaganda succeeded in gathering around the synagogues of the Diaspora numbers of proselytes who approached Judaism in various degrees.

Comparatively few Jews were led by contact with Hellenism to apostasy, like Philo's nephew Tiberius Alexander. For the most part the Jew remained a Jew, faithful to his people and its religion even amidst Hellenistic surroundings; and the hatred which the average Greek population felt for this strange element in their midst caused the Jews to cling together even more. The ideal of many Jews of the Diaspora was to go to Jerusalem, not only for a short pilgrimage, but with the purpose of staying there and being buried there at their death. Thus a considerable colony of Hellenistic Jews from all parts of the world settled in Jerusalem: they had their own synagogues; they retained the habit of speaking Greek, and nourished their peculiar notions about the Law and the universalism of salvation. It is from these circles of Hellenistic Jews in Jerusalem that the name 'Hellenist' is derived (Ac 6^1 9^{29}).

See C. Siegfried, 'Bedeutung und Schicksal des Hellenismus im jüdischen Volk,' in *JPTh*, 1886, p. 228 ff.; E. Schürer, *GJV*⁴ iii. [Leipzig, 1909]; W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums im neutest. Zeitalter*², Berlin, 1906; O. Holtzmann, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*², Tübingen, 1906; W. Staerk, *Neutest. Zeitgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1907, also 'Judentum und Hellenismus,' in *Das Christentum*, do. 1908; A. Deissmann, 'Die Hellenisierung des semit. Monotheismus,' in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum*, 1903, p. 161 ff.; M. Friedländer, *Die religiösen Bewegungen innerhalb des Judentums im Zeitalter Jesu*, Berlin, 1905; F. Buhl, art. 'Hellenisten' in *PRE*³ vii. 623–627; cf. art. PHILO.

4. Hellenism in primitive Christianity.—The gospel of Jesus was a Divine message to Israel; Jesus Himself had confined His ministry to the lost sheep of the house of Israel; it was only occasionally that He dealt with pagans such as the centurion of Capernaum or the Syrophœnician woman; it is an exceptional case also when we read in Jn 12^{20} that there were certain Greeks who wished to see Jesus. The primitive community which arose in Jerusalem after Jesus' Death and Resurrection was a purely Jewish one. But it is remarkable that very soon, if not from the very first, Hellenistic Jews joined this community of Galilæans. The very tendency of the gospel, universalistic as it was, appealed to these broad-minded people, and they were ready to deduce the consequences.

(*a*) *The Hellenists in Jerusalem.*—The first time we hear of 'Hellenists' is on the occasion of a quarrel between the two sections of the Christian community in Jerusalem, the 'Hellenists' complaining against the 'Hebrews' that their widows were overlooked in the daily food-supply (Ac 6^1). Here the term seems to point primarily to the difference of language, but we remark a feeling of solidarity, a certain party-spirit, among these Hellenists as opposed to the Hebrews. The leaders of the community deal with the matter, and, in order to satisfy the complaining party, elect seven prominent men from among the Hellenists to take care of the food-supply. The first officials of the Christian Church—except the apostles—were thus Hellenists.

It was the Hellenists that occasioned the first struggle of Christianity with the Jewish authorities; St. Stephen, one of the Seven, was accused of having spoken against the Temple and the Law, and by a sudden outbreak of popular hatred he was put to death (with no authorization on the part of the Romans). This was the signal for a general persecution of the Christians. Again, it was the Hellenists who spread the gospel, not only among the Samaritans (Philip the Deacon, Ac $8^{5\text{-}25}$) but also among the Greeks in Antioch (Ac 11^{20}). This is the beginning of the Gentile mission: the nameless men from Cyprus and Cyrene who are mentioned here are the forerunners of St. Paul, in some sense the first apostles of the Gentiles, the founders of the Gentile Church. The beginnings were small, but the fact in itself is of great importance. Having seen the propaganda carried on by Jewish Hellenism among the Gentiles, we may readily understand the attitude of the *Christian* Hellenists. Their mission work was probably of rather an occasional kind, and they did not work systematically like St. Paul, but they were creative.

(*b*) *St. Paul* himself, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was not a Hellenist strictly speaking. Born in the Diaspora, at Tarsus in Cilicia, he was nevertheless

'a Hebrew of Hebrews' (Ph 3^5); he had Pharisaic surroundings, and was brought up in the spirit of the Palestinian Rabbis: he even went to Jerusalem to complete his Rabbinical education. In spite of his writing Greek and using the Greek Bible, he thinks in the way of a trained Palestinian Rabbi. After a missionary period of about 25 years, he was able to address the people of Jerusalem in their own Hebrew (*i.e.* Aramaic) language (Ac 21^{40} 22^2). Whether Hellenism—apart from general culture—had any notable influence upon him is an open question. From time to time the Hellenism of St. Paul is spoken of as a prominent feature in early Christian history; then again his predominantly Rabbinical training is insisted upon by another generation of scholars. The facts are that Hellenism, as we have seen, was in itself a mixture, which, in addition to the Greek element, included much that was Oriental; the Rabbinical education also comprehended a good many Greek notions; and the reasoning of the Jewish teachers was often very similar to the Stoic philosophy, as the popular Greek language of the Hellenistic period had a Semitic tinge. Parallels to most of the Pauline expressions may be adduced both from Rabbinical and from Greek writers, as was shown long ago by J. J. Wetstein (1751). It is, therefore, very difficult to tell exactly how far the influence of Hellenism may be traced in St. Paul. The one thing which seems certain, however, is that he did not borrow consciously from the Mystery religions. He is afraid of the demoniac influences in these; he tries to keep his faithful readers from any contaminating participation in idol-worship: for this is the sphere where the demons exercise their influence (1 Co $10^{14ff.}$). Whatever may be said about St. Paul's indebtedness to the Mysteries—and a good deal has recently been said by Percy Gardner, R. Reitzenstein, and others—this must always be borne in mind.

(*c*) *St. Paul's companions.*—There is, however, one point which has not hitherto received due attention. That is the fact that St. Paul's companions belonged more or less to the Hellenists, and that he may thus have been unconsciously subjected to the influence of Hellenistic notions. Barnabas the Levite came from Cyprus (Ac 4^{36}). Silas (Silvanus) also was evidently a Hellenist. Timothy was the son of a pagan father and a Jewish mother; he had not been circumcised before St. Paul took him into his company (Ac $16^{1ff.}$). Titus was a Greek (Gal 2^3). Apollos was a Hellenistic Jew, born and trained at Alexandria (Ac 18^{24}). Aquila and Priscilla were Jews from Rome, born in Pontus (Ac 18^2). In none of these cases (except that of Apollos) can we make out exactly how far the Greek influence went; but it is probable that most of the people referred to were much more Hellenistic in their training than St. Paul himself, while Apollos was certainly an out-and-out Hellenist.

We see the difference when we turn from St. Paul's letters to the Epistle to the Hebrews and the so-called Catholic Epistles. Hebrews certainly came from the pen of a Hellenist like Apollos: its language and style, its interpretation of the OT, its definition of faith (11^1), its psychology (cf. $2^{14.\ 18}$ $5^{7.\ 14}$) are sufficient evidence of this. The same is proved for 1 Peter by the metaphorical language in $1^{13.\ 22}$ 2^1, and the terminology taken over from the Mystery-cults (2^2 [different from 1 Co 3^2, He $5^{12.\ 13}$] $1^{18.\ 23}$ $3^{20.\ 21}$). The language of Jude $12f.\ 16$ points in the same direction. In 2 P 2^{22} a proverb is quoted which goes back to Heraclitus (P. Wendland, *Sitzungsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1898, pt. xlix.), and the eschatology is partly Stoic (this letter we should perhaps call Hellenistic in the wider sense). The Epistle of James also is Hellenistic in this broad sense, as may be seen in the psychological analysis of temptation (1^{14}), in the description of God's unchangeableness (1^{17}), in the notion of regeneration (1^{18}), in the parables ($1^{24.\ 25}$ $3^{3.\ 4}$); ἀποκύειν ($1^{15.\ 18}$) belongs to the terminology of the Hermetic literature; the 'wheel of nature' (3^6) is a Stoic term, etc. 1 Clement uses the legend of the phœnix to demonstrate the Christian hope of resurrection.

The Johannine literature, on the other hand, originates in a Palestinian Judaism transplanted into the soil of Asia Minor. There are Hellenistic elements in it (*e.g.* the notion of the Logos), but they belong to the latest stratum in the development of the Johannine doctrine.

Christianity was thus influenced by Hellenism in various ways: after the Jewish Hellenists of Jerusalem had started it on its world-mission, the Hellenism of the Jewish Diaspora came to their aid, and the Hellenism of the Greek-Roman world received it gladly, after having prepared a way for it. In receiving it, however, Hellenism turned the gospel into a Mystery as it had done with the other Oriental cults. From this point of view Gnosticism and Catholicism are to be understood respectively as a rapid and a slow hellenization of Christianity.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works already cited, see A. Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*[4], i. [Tübingen, 1909]; E. von Dobschütz, *Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters*, Leipzig, 1904, p. 97 ff.; *The Apostolic Age*, London, 1909; 'Christentum und Griechentum,' in *Das Christentum*, Leipzig, 1908; G. Hœnnicke, *Das Judenchristentum*, Berlin, 1908; C. F. G. Heinrici, 'Hellenismus und Christentum,' in *Bibl. Zeit- und Streitfragen*, Leipzig, 1909; W. Glawe, *Die Hellenisierung des Christentums in der Geschichte der Theologie*, Berlin, 1912. Cf. artt. STEPHEN, PAUL.

E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

HELLENISTIC AND BIBLICAL GREEK.—1. Definition.—The term 'Biblical Greek' denotes the language of the Greek versions of the OT, and more especially the LXX, as also that of the NT, with which may be associated the Apocrypha and the works of the Apostolic Fathers. This group of writings, however, is separated from the world of Hellenic culture not so much by any peculiarity of language as by the ideas which find expression in them. In point of fact, Biblical Greek is a deposit of the widely-diffused Hellenistic language—the so-called Koine.

2. The term 'Koine.'—This term is used to signify the Gr. language in its development from the time of Alexander the Great to the close of the ancient period, excluding, of course, the older dialects so far as they survived at all, and excluding also the language of the Atticists (2nd–5th cent. A.D.), who sought to revive the Attic form of speech, but, as children of their age, were unable to free themselves wholly from the influence of the living, *i.e.* the spoken, tongue. In designating the common language of the Hellenistic period by the single word 'Koine,' we are but following the usage of the ancient grammarians, who employed the expression ἡ κοινὴ διάλεκτος to differentiate the language used by all from Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Æolic.* But as the words κοινή, κοινόν, κοινῶς were not employed by the ancients in a uniform way, we may venture to take the term 'Koine' as applying both to the spoken tongue and to its literary form. The literary Koine, of which Polybius may be called the most typical representative, is a compromise between the spoken Koine and the older literary language. This holds good of every text written in the Koine, such works differing among themselves only as regards the degree in which the two elements are intermingled. The so-called Atticists, *i.e.* the grammarians, such as

* Cf. A. Maidhof, *Zur Begriffsbestimmung der Koine*, Würzburg, 1912, and the criticism of Thumb, in *Monatsschrift für höhere Schulen*, Berlin, 1913, p. 392 ff.

Moeris, who taught the rules of correct Attic, usually distinguished such words and forms of the Koine as they rejected, by the term Ἕλληνες, as contrasted with the Ἀττικοί, the linguistic forms they approved of; and hence ἑλληνίζειν means 'to speak the Hellenistic language,' and the Ἑλληνισταί of Ac 6[1] 9[29] are 'Hellenistic-speaking Jews' (possibly applied also to other Orientals).

3. The geographical domain of the Koine.—The native soil of Biblical Greek, *i.e.* Palestine, Syria, and Asia Minor, forms but a part of the great Hellenistic domain, the furthest boundaries of which were nearly coincident with those of Alexander's Empire. The hellenization of those parts of this area which were originally non-Hellenic was, of course, not uniform. It was most complete in Asia Minor, which in the Middle Ages became the home of Byzantine-Greek culture. Even in the Roman Imperial period Asia Minor was almost entirely Greek, and dominated by Greek civilization; nor is this contravened by the fact that the old indigenous languages, such as Phrygian, Cappadocian, etc., were still spoken sporadically until the 5th and 6th centuries. Lycaonian is referred to as a spoken language not only in Ac 14[11],* but, as late as the 6th cent., in the *Legend of St. Martha*, while the Celtic dialect of the Galatians was still a living vernacular in the time of Jerome. Holl† rather overestimates the importance of the evidences he gives of this fact, for the dialects in question occupied a position in Hellenic Asia Minor not very different from that of Albanian in Greece at the present day; and, in fact, the importance of these tongues is hardly to be compared with that of Welsh in England, the Phrygian dialect alone surviving in a few short texts (sepulchral inscriptions) dating from the Imperial period. The influence of the ancient languages of Asia Minor upon Greek (*i.e.* the Koine) was likewise of the slightest.‡ In Syria, as in Egypt, Greek was probably confined in the main to urban districts. In the numerous Hellenistic towns situated between the Phœnician coast and a line to the east of the Lake of Gennesaret and the Jordan—cities like Antioch, Acco, Damascus, and Gadara—the Greek language prevailed, as also did Greek administration, law, and culture. As regards Jewish Palestine, on the other hand, it can hardly be said that there was any real hellenization there at all. The Jews certainly learned Greek as the medium of intercourse and commerce and also for literary purposes, but they retained their Aramaic mother-tongue as well. Jesus and His apostles spoke Aramaic, and preached in Aramaic, though they may not have been ignorant of Greek; as a matter of fact, the ability to use more than one language is not uncommon in the East to-day, even among the lower classes.§ From the fact that Jesus and the apostles spoke Aramaic it is to be inferred that the λόγια Ἰησοῦ and the earliest records of His life were originally composed in Aramaic, and here too there emerges a special problem regarding the character of NT Greek (as also the Greek of the LXX)—a problem which will engage our attention below. But the general character of Biblical Greek can be understood only in relation to its basis in the Koine, and accordingly we must here deal first of all with the sources, the origin, and the character of the latter.

4. Sources for the Koine.—The Koine was a natural outgrowth of classical Greek, yet in its written form, as has been said, it exhibits a compromise between the traditional literary language and the vernacular of the time, and accordingly the extant texts of the Hellenistic period afford at most but indirect evidence as to the true character of the vulgar tongue. It is only what is new in these texts, *i.e.* what differs from Attic, that we can without hesitation claim for the living language, while, as regards the element in which the written Koine agrees with Attic, we are uncertain to what extent it is to be ascribed to tradition. Nor are the various texts and classes of texts all of the same value for our knowledge of the true forms of the vernacular.

(1) This holds good in a peculiar degree even of the literary productions of the Hellenistic period. The LXX, the NT, and the earliest Christian writings approximate very closely, in a linguistic respect, to the contemporary papyri and inscriptions, and may as a whole be regarded as the most faithful literary reflex of the spoken tongue, while the Atticism which prevailed about the same time took an entirely different direction, and sought to purge literature of all admixture with the vernacular. But even the Atticists, of whom Lucian of Samosata was the most brilliant representative, were unable, with regard to either vocabulary or syntax, to free themselves wholly from the influence of the speech of their day.* But they succeeded in arresting the movement that from the time of Xenophon and Aristotle had been tending to bring the literary language into line with the cosmopolitan development of Attic, that is to say, with the Koine, a development which had been followed even by the New Attic Comedy. The language of Polybius is closely akin to that of contemporary inscriptions; he does justice to the demands which the spoken tongue in its development laid upon literary diction. The philosopher Epicurus,† and Teles the Cynic,‡ as also Philo of Byzantium, the engineer (if he was a contemporary of Archimedes),§ may be regarded as the immediate forerunners of Polybius.

(2) Our best sources for the common tongue, however, are the papyri of Egypt and the inscriptions—more especially those of Asia Minor. A comparison of these two documentary groups shows that the Hellenistic Greek of Egypt differs in no essential respect from that of Asia Minor, and we may therefore safely use the copious discoveries of papyri as throwing light upon the general character of the Greek spoken in the age in which they were written (for details see below). Of papyri and inscriptions alike it may be said that, the less educated the writers, the more faithfully do they reflect the current speech, and accordingly we find great disparity between, *e.g.*, the documents of the Pergamenian State and the sepulchral inscriptions of the common people; or, again, between the records of the Egyptian government-offices and the letters written by simple folk. These differences have not yet been studied in detail.

An excellent survey of these sources, with copious references to the literature, is found in Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*[2], p. 6 ff. (Eng. tr.[2], 1911, p. 9 ff.). Detailed investigation of their language has made remarkable progress in recent years. (*a*) *Inscriptions*: E. Schwyzer (Schweizer), *Grammatik der pergamenischen Inschriften*, Berlin, 1898; E. Nachmanson, *Laute und Formen der magnetischen Inschriften*, Upsala, 1903; Dienstbach, *De Titulorum Prienensium sonis*, Marburg, 1910. A special study of the numerous Christian inscriptions of Asia

* Cf. J. H. Moulton, *Einleitung*, p. 9.

† 'Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit,' in *Hermes*, xliii. [1908] 240 ff.

‡ Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 139 ff.

§ On the diffusion of Hellenistic Greek cf. Thumb, *op. cit.* 102 ff.; Mahaffy, *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*, Chicago, 1905; on the language of Jesus see, most recently, Moulton, *op. cit.* p. 10 f.

* Cf. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus in seinen Hauptvertretern*, 5 vols., Stuttgart, 1887–97.

† Cf. P. Linde, *De Epicuri vocabulis ab optima Atthide alienis*, Breslau, 1906.

‡ 3rd cent. B.C.; cf. *Teletis reliquiæ*, ed. O. Hense, Tübingen, 1909.

§ Cf. M. Arnim, *De Philonis Byzantii dicendi genere*, Greifswald, 1912.

Minor would be of great advantage in relation to the NT. (*b*) *Papyri*: E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Leipzig, 1906; W. Crönert, *Memoria græca Herculanensis*, Leipzig, 1903. (*c*) From the mass of epigraphic material are to be distinguished, as a special class, the *imprecatory tablets*, which are composed in a very low type of speech. They have been collected by R. Wünsch in the Appendix to the *CIA*, and by Audollent, *Defixionum tabellæ*, Paris, 1904 (cf. Thumb, in *Indogerm. Forsch. Anzeiger*, xviii. [1905–06] 41 ff.); as yet only the Attic tablets have been studied philologically: cf. E. Schwyzer, 'Die Vulgärsprache der attischen Fluchtafeln,' in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum*, v. [1900] 244 ff.; Rabehl, *De sermone defixionum attic.*, Berlin, 1906.

(3) Excellent witnesses to the nature of the vernacular are to be found also in the Græco-Latin conversation-books or colloquial guides (ἑρμηνεύματα) and glossaries used for the purpose of learning either language, as *e.g.* the *Colloquium Pseudo-Dositheanum** and the *Hermeneumata Pseudo-Dositheana*.† The abundant Greek material found in the *Corpus glossariorum latinorum* still awaits expert investigation; it yields much fresh information regarding the vocabulary of the colloquial language.

(4) The remaining sources for the Koine are of second-hand authority, but are not less important. Thus we have the references of the Atticizing grammarians of the Imperial period, as in the Λέξεις Ἀττικαί of Moeris, extracts from the grammarian Phrynichus, and the Ἀντιατττικιστής. The object of these writings was to formulate rules for the correct use of classical Attic, and they contrast the latter with the 'common' language. What they reject belongs to the Hellenistic vernacular, as *e.g.* the forms ἤμην (for ἦν), κρύβω (=κρύπτω), γραῖα (γραῦς), σικχαίνομαι (instead of βδελύττομαι); what they defend and explain is alien to it, as *e.g.* ἦν, ἔστην, νεοττός (instead of νοσσός).

(5) We have another source in the Greek elements which have found their way into Latin, Gothic, Ecclesiastical Slavonic, and Oriental languages. These elements exhibit the features of the language current at the time of their adoption. The Greek words in Gothic, and especially in Old Slavic,‡ reflect certain phonetic characteristics of the Greek current in the North, while those in Armenian, Rabbinical Hebrew, and Coptic exhibit features of the Greek spoken in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. These foreign sources have contributed much to the Hellenistic vocabulary, which is enriched not only by fresh meanings, but also by new words and new forms. The Greek elements preserved in the Oriental sources are, as we should expect, of special importance for the study of Biblical Greek; but so far Armenian alone has been thoroughly studied in its bearings on the history of the Greek language.§

(6) The two foregoing sources are surpassed in the value of their contributions by Modern Greek. For the student of the Koine, and therefore also for the investigator of Biblical Greek, a knowledge of Modern Greek is as necessary as a knowledge of the Romance languages for the investigator of vernacular Latin.* The more thorough the study of the modern tongue, the greater the gain for its earlier phase. For Modern Greek, with its dialects (exclusive, however, of the Tsaconic spoken in the Parnon Mts., a descendant of the Laconian dialect), is a natural development of the Koine, and its origins are to be sought therein. The knowledge of Modern Greek, accordingly, enables us to understand many features of the Koine, and to put a proper estimate upon its recorded forms. With the help of the modern language we may reconstruct its Hellenistic basis and thereby supplement in many points the knowledge derived from the contemporary Hellenistic texts. The character of the Koine as a whole is in fact to be inferred from the character of Modern Greek; for, since the dialects of the latter are to be traced, not to the various types of the ancient language, such as Doric, Æolic, and Ionic, but to the Koine, the Koine, the direct deposit of which we find in the inscriptions and the papyri, must have supplanted the ancient dialects, and must have been a common language in the proper sense, *i.e.* a language spoken by all, as is affirmed by the ancient grammarians. And what holds good of the language as a whole, holds good also of its elements in detail. Thus certain forms in Hellenistic documents—as *e.g.* ἔλεγαν, and the like, in MSS of the LXX and other texts—are proved to have belonged to the spoken Koine by the fact that they survive in Modern Greek. This is true also of words like σικχαίνομαι (Mod. Gr. σιχαίνομαι), which is rejected by the Atticists, and of Lat. loan-words like καλάνδαι (in inscriptions; Mod. Gr. τὰ κάλαντα). Some Latin loan-words, as *e.g.* (ὁ)σπίτι (*hospitium*), 'house,' may of course be regarded as having been introduced into the Koine not later than the close of the ancient period. The Hellenistic substitution of ἵνα for the infinitive culminates in the Mod. Gr. loss of the infinitive, and it is therefore quite wrong to regard, *e.g.*, every ἵνα in Biblical Greek as having the force of the classical final ἵνα—a fact which has a direct bearing upon biblical interpretation. Thus the study of Modern Greek may likewise be of considerable service to the biblical scholar, and may often enable him to decide a doubtful case. If, *e.g.*, the form ἄελος is attested as Hellenistic by the ancients, while the NT has ὕαλος, the Mod. Gr. γυαλί (pron. *yalí*) shows that the NT form too belonged to the Koine.

Moreover, the text of the Bible will occasionally be elucidated by a knowledge of Modern Greek. Thus Wellhausen (*Das Ev. Matthæi*, Berlin, 1904) conjectures that the ἡ ὥρα παρῆλθεν of Mt 14[15] means, not 'the time is past,' but 'the time is advanced'—an explanation which is supported by the Mod. Gr. use of παρά in παραπάνω, 'above'; while the Greek writer Pallis renders the βρώματα of Mk 7[19] not by 'meats,' but in the sense of the homonymous Mod. Gr. word, *i.e.* as 'stench,' 'filth'—an interpretation which at least merits the attention of exegetes. Modern Greek also throws light upon the question of the Semitisms in Biblical Greek (see below).† The projected thesaurus or *idiotikon* of Modern Greek, the compilation of which is being subsidized by the Greek Government, will accordingly prove of great service in the study of Biblical Greek, especially as regards the vocabulary.‡

5. Origin of the Koine.—In its essential character

* Ed. Krumbacher, in the *Festschrift für W. von Christ*, Munich, 1891.

† Ed. G. Goetz, in the *Corpus glossariorum*, iii. [Leipzig, 1892]; cf. J. David, in *Comment. philologæ Ienenses*, v. [do. 1894] 197 ff.

‡ Cf. Vasmer, *Græco-Slavic Studies* (Russ.), 2 pts., St. Petersburg, 1906–07.

§ Cf. Thumb, 'Die griechische Elemente im Armenischen,' in *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, ix. [1900] 388 ff. For the other languages, cf. S. Krauss, *Griechische und lateinische Lehnwörter in Talmud, Midrasch und Targum*, 2 vols., Berlin, 1898–99; also Thumb, *Indogerm. Forsch. Anzeiger*, vi. [1896] 56 ff., xi. [1900] 96 ff.; Perles, in *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, viii. [1899] 539 ff., x. [1901] 300 ff.; A. Schlatter, 'Verkanntes Griechisch,' in *Beiträge zur Förderung christlicher Theologie*, iv. 4 [1900], 49 ff.; Fiebig, 'Das Griechische der Mischna,' in *ZNTW* ix. [1908]; O. von Lemm, 'Griechische und lateinische Wörter im Koptischen,' in *Bulletin de l'Académie de St. Petersbourg*, 5th ser. xiii. 1 [1900] 45 ff.; Wessely, 'Die griechische Lehnwörter der sahidischen und boheirischen Psalmenversion,' in *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie*, liv. [1909]; Rahlfs, 'Griechische Wörter im Koptischen,' in *SBAW*, 1912, p. 1036 ff.

* Cf. Thumb, 'Value of Mod. Gr. for the Study of Ancient Greek,' in *Class. Quarterly*, viii. [1914] 181 ff.

† On the subject of this paragraph cf. Thumb, *Die griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 10 ff.; also in *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum*, xvii. [1906] 247 ff.; A. Pallis, *A few Notes on the Gospels, based chiefly on Modern Greek*, Liverpool, 1903 (to be read with discrimination).

‡ Aids to the study of Modern Greek: G. N. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugr. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1892; Thumb, *Handbook of the Modern Greek Vernacular*, tr. S. Angus, Edinburgh, 1912 (with a bibliographical appendix).

the Koine is the natural development of Attic. As early as the time of the Delian Confederation, Attic had spread beyond the confines of its native region, and Ionic elements—an important feature of the Koine—had already begun to find their way into the Attic vernacular.* In the Attic spoken outside Attica—'Great Attic,' as we might call it—the process of rejuvenescence and fusion was much more rapid, and it was here that the foundations of the Koine were laid.† The resultant modification of Attic appears most clearly in the vocabulary. Similar features had already manifested themselves in the diction of Xenophon and the New Attic Comedy. This modified Attic was used at the Macedonian court before the time of Alexander the Great. But it was in reality the conquests of Alexander and the institution of kingdoms by his successors that diffused the new idiom throughout the Oriental world, and made it the universal language of Hellenism. It is nevertheless quite wrong to assert that this language was created by the Macedonians. The Macedonian contribution is barely discernible, and cannot in any case have been large; it perhaps included the suffix *-ισσα* in *βασίλισσα*. In this process of expansion the Attic, as might be expected, lost some of its characteristic features. Thus the *σσ* found in most of the dialects, including Ionic, more and more superseded the Attic *ττ* (which is almost obsolete in Mod. Gr.), and non-Attic forms showing *ρσ* intermingled with forms showing *ρρ*. Hence *σσ* prevails—in accordance with the papyri—in the LXX, which, however, still retains *ἧττων* and *ἐλάττων*; while we also find here *ἄρσην* and (rarely) *ἄρρην*, *θαρρῶ*, and (rarely) *θαρσῶ*. In the NT likewise *ττ* occurs rarely, while *e.g.* *θαρρῶ* and *θαρσῶ* are both in use. That the use of *ρρ* was not due to the influence of the literary language is shown by Mod. Gr. *θαρρῶ* alongside of *σερνικός* (= *ἀρσενικός*).

The Koine developed more rapidly in the hellenized lands outside Greece than upon its native soil, where the indigenous dialects offered some degree of resistance to its growth. But by the time when the uniform Ionic-Attic alphabet was adopted (400–350 B.C.), the Attic was asserting its power everywhere, and from the 4th cent. B.C. till about the 2nd cent. A.D. the dialects were gradually dispossessed, and at last swallowed up, by the Koine; in its foreign domains, however, the Koine had prevailed from the outset, and had thus gained a marked ascendancy alike as regards culture and as regards the numbers of those who spoke it. The absorption of the dialects did not proceed everywhere at the same pace. The Ionic succumbed most rapidly; the Doric resisted longest: in the Doric area, in fact, there emerged first of all a Doric Koine, which wedged itself also into the non-Doric Arcadia, between the ancient Arcadian dialect and the common Attic tongue. The various aspects of this whole process of development may be traced in the inscriptions. In many localities, as *e.g.* Crete and Rhodes, the gradual subsidence of dialectic forms which is traceable in the inscriptions reflects the changes in the living language. In other parts, as *e.g.* Bœotia, the inscriptions reveal a marked linguistic break, thus indicating either that the local dialect, though no longer spoken, was kept alive for a time as a literary language, or that the Koine had been introduced as a written language before the dialect had entirely disappeared.‡

The process of absorption, of course, could not but react upon the Koine itself. But it is quite wrong to suppose, with P. Kretschmer (*Die Entstehung der Koine*), that the Koine arose from a manifold intermingling of the various Gr. dialects. This hypothesis finds no real support either in the documents of the Koine or in Modern Greek. Thus, to take but a single instance, Kretschmer, in citing the Mod. Gr. accentuation in *ἀνθρῶποι* (= *ἄνθρωποι*), *ἐφάγαν* (= *ἔφαγον*) as a survival of the ancient Doric accentuation, overlooks the fact that other Mod. Gr. accentual changes of the same kind, as in *ἄνθρωπου*, *ἔφαγαμε*, have nothing to do with Doric at all; so that, if the latter forms are due to the operation of analogy (in conformity with *ἄνθρωπος*, *ἔφαγαν*), the examples cited by Kretschmer must be explained in the same way, *i.e.* as due to accentual shifting on the analogy of *ἀνθρώπους*, *ἐφάγαμεν*. What took place in the districts of the ancient dialects was simply that the Koine was at first slightly coloured by the native idiom; and doubtless this local character showed itself still more plainly in the pronunciation, just as, *e.g.*, the domicile of those who speak English—whether it be the north of England, the south of England, Scotland, or North America—can be inferred from their 'accent,' even though they use the forms of the literary language. But the recognizable provincialisms of these local Koine types left only the slightest traces in the process of development towards Modern Greek, the reason being that they had no source of support outside their native region. Thus, *e.g.*, as early as the 3rd cent. B.C. the veterans in the Arsinoite Nome of Egypt—men drawn from the most diverse quarters of Greece—wrote the Koine without any admixture of dialectic forms. Taken all in all, the elements derived from the local dialects of the Koine—apart from the Ionic—are confined to certain forms, such as *λαός*, *ναός*, *λατομία*, the preposition *ἔναντι*, and a few special words, as *e.g.* *βουνός* (attested for Cyrene and Sicily by the ancients).

We cannot easily determine the influence of the vocabularies of the various dialects, as these vocabularies are much less known to us than that of Attic. It was the Ionic dialect alone that, from the period of the Attic naval league, made a distinct contribution to the development of the Koine. But even in the case of Ionic, the extent of its dialectical influence cannot always be defined with precision. Thus, while forms like *σφύρης* in the LXX and the NT, or *ἀρούρης* in early Christian literature, seem to bear a genuinely Ionic character, they may well be later variations formed on the analogy of *δόξα*, *δόξης*; *θάλαττα*, *θαλάττης*, and the like (cf. Moulton, *Einleitung*, p. 70 f.). On the other hand, words like *βάθρακος*, *πάθνη*, *νοσσός* indicate clearly the phonetic form of Ionic, while, again, *e.g.* the aorist *ἔνικον* (in the papyri) instead of *ἤνεγκον*, and the preference for nouns in *-μα* are Ionic, or at all events not Attic, features. A specially characteristic indication of Ionic influence appears in the inflexion of nouns in *-ᾶς*, *-ᾶδος* and *-οῦς*, *-οῦδος*. Such syntactical usages as the preference of *ἵνα* to *ὅπως* and the final infinitive (*e.g.* Mt 5^{17}: *οὐκ ἦλθον καταλῦσαι, ἀλλὰ πληρῶσαι*) may likewise be shown to be Ionic. Of most importance, however, are the Ionic elements of the vocabulary, as it is these that give the Koine a character different from that of Attic. Thus a calculation of Schlageter (*Der Wortschatz*, etc.) shows that the Attic inscriptions outside Attica (till 200 B.C.) contain 18% of Attic, 18% of new (Hellenistic), and a little over 6% of Ionic, but only ·75% of

* Cf. Xenoph. *De Republ. Athen.* ii. 8.

† Cf. the researches of J. Schlageter in his *Zur Laut- und Formenlehre der ausserhalb Attikas gefundenen attischen Inschriften*, Programm, Freiburg i. B., 1908, and *Der Wortschatz der ausserhalb Attikas gefundenen attischen Inschriften*, Strassburg, 1912.

‡ Cf. Thumb, *Die griech. Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 28 ff.; Wahrmann, *Prolegomena zu einer Geschichte der griechischen Dialekte im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, Programm, Vienna, 1907; Kieckers, 'Das Eindringen der Koine in Kreta,' in *Indogerm. Forsch.* xxvii. [1910] 72 ff.; Buttenwieser, 'Zur Geschichte des böotischen Dialekts,' in *ib.* xxviii. [1911] 1 ff.

distinctively Doric words. The proportion of Ionic words increases till about 250 B.C., and then decreases, so that the process of interfusion virtually ceased about the middle of the 3rd cent. B.C.

This feature of the Koine appears, as we might expect, also in Biblical Greek. Words like ἀπαρτίζω (in ἀπαρτισμός), ἔκτρωμα, κοπάζω (of the wind), ὄλυνθος, σανδάλιον, σκορπίζω, etc., in the LXX or NT are of Ionic origin. The Ionic element includes, further, the so-called poetical words of the Koine, *i.e.* Hellenistic words which formerly were to be found only in the poets, but which from the fact of their occurrence in papyrus texts concerned with matters of everyday life, and partly also from the fact of their survival in Modern Greek, are now seen to have belonged to the colloquial language. They include, *e.g.*, βαρέω, ἐντρέπομαι, θαμβέω, μεσονύκτιον, πειράζω, ῥάκος, ὠρύομαι in the LXX and the NT, and ἀλέκτωρ, βαστάζω, ἔριφος, φαντάζω, φημίζω in the NT. Words of this class were imported, first, from the literary Ionic of the earlier period into the language of poetry, and then again from the vernacular Ionic of the later period into the Koine, and there was no direct link of connexion between the two processes.* In the literary criticism of the Hellenistic writers, and especially of the biblical books, the facts just indicated yield an important guiding principle, viz. that their use of Ionic words does not argue a knowledge of, or any dependence upon, the earlier Ionic literature. The fact, *e.g.*, that St. Luke makes use of medical terms found in Hippocrates and other physicians in no way implies a study of medical writings ('Luke the physician'), but only some acquaintance with the ordinary terminology of his age; many such medical words, indeed, as *e.g.* ἔγκυος, στεῖρα, or βελόνη ('the surgeon's needle') had passed into such general use in the vernacular that they prove nothing more than St. Luke's familiarity with the language of his time.

6. The influence of foreign languages. — The Koine may thus be defined as a development of Attic under the influence of Ionic. But as it spread to non-Hellenic lands, such as Asia Minor and Egypt, we must, finally, inquire as to the influence upon it of the languages of these countries, and as to foreign influence generally. Just as the Celts of Gaul exercised an influence upon the grammar and vocabulary of French (the vulgar Latin of Gaul), so, we might expect, would the Koine be affected by the native populations of Asia Minor and Egypt. The Greek spoken by these 'barbarians' shows traces of their own manner of speech in the confusion of *i* and *e* sounds, and of tenues, mediæ, and aspirates (*τ*, *δ*, *θ*). Of such modification, however, very little found its way into the general development of Greek. Probably the pronunciation of πέντε as *pende*, and of λαμπρός as *lambros*, and the like, which make their first appearance in the dialect of Pamphylia, as also the development of *υ* into *ι*, arose in Asia Minor; the disregard of the distinction between long and short vowels (*ω* and *ο*, etc.) perhaps in Asia Minor and Egypt. It was once more the vocabulary that was appreciably affected by foreign languages—the natural result of intercourse. Yet, after all—apart from the local use of Egyptian words in Egyptian Greek—the Oriental languages contributed to the Greek vocabulary in Hellenistic times hardly any more than in the classical period; the converse influence, *e.g.* in Rabbinical Hebrew, was incomparably greater. In Biblical Greek likewise, Semitic elements are scarcely more prominent than elsewhere. We note, *e.g.*, ἀγγαρεύω and παράδεισος, which are of Persian origin; ἀρραβών, θήβη, κάβος, νάβλα, σώρακος (Sem.), and βάϊον, στίμμι (Egypt.); but these words are also found in other documents of the Koine; while, of course, words like ἀββᾶς, ἀμήν, γέεννα, πάσχα, σάββατον (σάμβατον) found their way into the Greek world through the Jewish Christian sphere of ideas. It was from this sphere also that the names of the days of the week (ἡλίου ἡμέρα, σελήνης ἡμέρα, etc.), together with the week of seven days itself, came to the Greeks, and then spread to the rest of Europe.*

As contrasted with the Oriental, the Latin contribution forms a noticeable element in the Koine. Again, it is true, the grammatical influence was of the slightest. A number of suffixes, such as *-ατος*, *-αρις*, *-ουρα*, *-ισιος* (Lat. *-atus*, *-arius*, *-ura*, *-ensis*), were introduced into Greek through the medium of Lat. loan-words, and came to be used with Gr. stems. From the beginning of the Roman sway in Greece to the close of the ancient period, Roman politics and traffic imported a constantly increasing number of Latin words into Greek, and how effectively many of these became naturalized is shown by their survival in Modern Greek. In this respect likewise Biblical Greek reflects the conditions of the common Hellenistic language; in the NT we find, *e.g.*, καῖσαρ, κεντυρίων, λεγεών, πραιτώριον, κῆνσος, κοδράντης, δηνάριον, μίλιον, λέντιον, σουδάριον, φραγέλλιον. That the influence of Latin on Palestinian Greek was by no means slight is attested indirectly by the number of Lat. words more or less naturalized in the Rabbinical literature, and, as appears from their form, introduced through the medium of Greek. Latinisms were occasionally formed by translation ('loan-renderings'), and just as the κεντυρίων is called a ἑκατόνταρχος in Lk 23^{47}, so we may regard τὸ ἱκανὸν ποιεῖν (Mk 15^{15}) and ἐργασίαν δοῦναι as translations of Lat. *satisfacere* and *operam dare* respectively. The extra-biblical literature of early Christianity likewise shows the influence of Latin, and is as yet free from puristic tendencies; thus, *e.g.*, Ignatius does not hesitate to adopt δεσέρτωρ, δεπόσιτα ('pledge') from military usage, or ἐξεμπλάριον ('legally valid copy') from the language of law.†

7. Local variations of the Koine.—*In* order to answer the question whether Biblical Greek shows a definite local character, we must first of all inquire whether local variations or even dialects existed in the colloquial Koine. We certainly cannot look for such differences in the written texts of a cosmopolitan language, as it lies in the very nature of a written language to tend towards uniformity. Our investigation must therefore carefully take account of all phenomena that could be regarded as pointing to local variation. In view of the wide expansion of the Koine, it is natural to suppose that local varieties would exist, *i.e.* that the common language would not be spoken in exactly the same way in Egypt, Asia Minor (Syria), and in the ancient Attic, Ionic, and Doric areas, since the ancient dialects themselves or the languages of the barbarians who had just learned to speak Greek would lend a certain colouring, in pronunciation at least, to the Koine of the various regions. And, as a matter of fact, we are able, partly with the help of Modern Greek, to deter-

* There exist as yet no works (except those of Schlageter, mentioned above) dealing specially with the vocabulary of the papyri and the inscriptions. For the NT cf. T. Naegeli, *Der Wortschatz des Apostels Paulus*, Göttingen, 1905.

* Cf. Thumb, 'Die Namen der Wochentage im Griechischen, in *Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung*, i. [1900] 163 ff.; Schürer, 'Die siebentägige Woche in der christl. Kirche des ersten Jahrhunderts,' in *ZNTW* vi. [1905] 1 ff.

† Cf. T. Eckinger, *Die Orthographie latein. Wörter in griech. Inschriften*, Munich, 1893; Wessely, 'Die lat. Elemente in der Gräzität der Papyri,' in *Wiener Studien*, xxiv. [1902] 99 ff., xxv. [1903] 40 ff.; D. Magie, *De Romanorum iuris publici sacrique vocabulis sollemnibus in græcum sermonem conversis*, Leipzig, 1905; and especially L. Hahn, *Rom und Romanismus im griechisch-römischen Osten*, Leipzig, 1906 (reviewed by Thumb, *Indogerm. Forsch. Anzeiger*, xxii. [1907-08] 39 ff.), also 'Zum Sprachenkampf im römischen Reich,' in *Philologus*, Suppl. x. (1907).

mine the existence of a number of such local variations. Thus the Greek-speaking Egyptians and Asiatics could not keep the *e* and *o* sounds * distinct (a phenomenon which, however, had nothing to do with itacism), and confounded tenues, mediæ, and aspirates, probably substituting tenues, or unvoiced mediæ, for the last two groups. The *η* had a close and an open sound, the latter probably in the East, as may be inferred from the pronunciation of *η* as *e* in the modern dialect of Pontus; *υ* was pronounced as *i*, *ü* and *u* (*iu*), though it is impossible to define the local limits of the variations. Similarly, the intrusion of an inter-vocalic *γ* (as in *κλαίγω* [=*κλαίω*] found in a papyrus of the 2nd cent. B.C.) was merely local, as is shown by Modern Greek; while the sound-change of *λ* into *ρ* as in *ἀδερφός* = *ἀδελφός*, and the substitution of a single for a duplicated consonant, cannot have been universal in the Koine, since the *λ* is still retained in the East (Cappadocia and Pontus), and the double letter in the south-east (Cyprus, Rhodes, etc.), of the Modern Greek area. Finally, the retention and omission of final *ν* must each have had their own local distribution. As regards inflexions, we may draw attention to the Egyptian declension in *-ᾶς, -ᾶτος* as compared with the Ionic *-ᾶς, -ᾶδος* (imparisyllabic nouns of this class are not found in the NT). Further, forms like *γέγοναν* on the one hand, and *ἐπῆλθασι* on the other, as also *ἦλθοσαν* and the like, indicate that, as in Modern Greek, different regions of the Koine levelled the personal endings in different ways. As yet, however, the clearest evidence that by the end of the ancient period the Koine had already split up into actual dialects, in which lay the germs of the dialects of to-day, is found in the imprecation-tablets of Cyprus (3rd. cent. A.D.), the language of which shows traces of both the ancient and the modern dialect of that island.†

But while recent investigation has thus succeeded in proving the existence of local varieties of the Koine, it must refuse to recognize the so-called varieties whose existence has been maintained from ancient times, viz. the Alexandrian and Macedonian dialects. What was regarded, alike in ancient and in modern times, as characteristic of these dialects is found to have belonged to no special region, but to the common Hellenistic language. Not even the stock example *ἐραννάω* (=*ἐρευνάω*) can be claimed for the Alexandrian dialect—let alone Alexandrian Jewish-Greek—as that phonetic form has been traced, *e.g.*, in the Koine of Thera.

8. Biblical Greek as a local variety of the Koine.—We now come to the question how Biblical Greek is related to these local idioms. It is not possible to describe the Greek Bible as the monument of a distinct dialect of the Koine, and still less as the monument of an Alexandrian or Palestinian Jewish-Greek, or of a special 'Christian Greek.' Of the existence of an Alexandrian Jewish-Greek there is no real evidence at all, as was first explicitly proved by Deissmann (see Lit.). Psichari (see Lit.), who has recently investigated the problem, could find no support for the theory that in particular the translators of the OT spoke a Jewish Greek, and so occasionally introduced Hebraisms into their version. The language of the LXX is in reality a 'translation-Greek,' and cannot therefore be adduced as proving the existence of a Jewish variety of the colloquial Koine; nor is all our wider knowledge of the Greek spoken in Palestine, whether derived from direct or indirect sources, sufficient to warrant us in speaking of it as a distinct type; at most it may be described as the Syrian Koine. Biblical Greek, moreover, is by no means identical with what we have been able to establish regarding the Greek of the Palestinian Jews, for the particular change of meaning which certain Greek words underwent in Rabbinical usage does not appear in those words as used in Biblical Greek; thus, *e.g.*, *λειτουργία* in the Rabbinical literature means 'service rendered'; in the Bible (as in Greek generally), 'religious service.'

It is a controversy some centuries old whether the language of the Bible bears a 'Hebrew' colouring or not; the so-called 'Purists' sought to demonstrate the classical, the Hebraists the hebraizing, character of Biblical Greek. The theory of the 'specific quality' of NT Gr. acquired a certain theological importance in virtue of the pointed expression which it received at the hands of R. Rothe, viz. that the NT speaks in the language of the Holy Ghost, who 'framed for Himself a quite distinct religious idiom by transforming the linguistic elements which lay ready for Him, as also the already existent concepts, into a medium appropriate to Him.'* The research of the last fifteen years has shown more and more conclusively that the question in debate was wrongly put, since neither classical Greek nor a supposed Jewish Greek is to be regarded as the foundation of Biblical Greek. To Deissmann (see Lit.) is due the merit of having brought clear principles to bear upon the subject, inasmuch as he showed that Biblical Greek cannot be treated as an isolated phenomenon, and assigned it a place in the general process of a great natural development of language. First of all, as regards the so-called Hebraisms, or, more accurately, Semitisms, the examples usually adduced are either simply fallacious or else indecisive. Leaving out of account the pedantic and barbarous literality in translations of certain parts of the OT (as *e.g.* the tr. of Aquila, who renders אֵת, the sign of the Heb. accusative, by *σύν*), we must admit that the syntax of the LXX has not been modified by the original in any undue degree; thus even the construction *προστιθέναι* with the infinitive (Heb. יָסַף with inf.) cannot be regarded as non-Greek.† Detailed investigation shows that the translators were quite able to keep themselves free from bondage to their original, and that they strove with success to represent the Hebrew form of expression by an excellent Greek diction (cf. Johannessohn, in Lit.). In the NT, again, evidences of a Hebrew ground-colour have proved even less cogent, as is now increasingly recognized. The statement of B. Weiss that the Fourth Gospel has a 'hebraisierender Grundton' has been recently challenged by Wellhausen (*Das Evangelium Johannis*, Berlin, 1908). In point of fact, the more thoroughly we work through the papyri, the smaller grows the number of alleged Hebraisms; we need cite only the constructions *ἐν μαχαίρῃ* and *ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι*. That modes of expression which really occur in Greek, though but rarely, or only in special circumstances, should be found more frequently in Biblical Greek when they happen to coincide with Hebrew usage (as *e.g.* *ἰδού*) need occasion no surprise; it is natural enough in translations or reproductions from foreign languages.‡ Even the vocative *ὁ θεός*, the use of which in Biblical Greek is explained by Wackernagel § as an imitation of Hebrew, may be brought under this general law, since *ὁ θεός* occurs as a vocative—though with a different shade of meaning—also in Greek; while the predicative *εἷς*, and such expressions as *κριτὴς*

* Vowels (*a, e, i*, etc.) as in German.

† Cf. Thumb, *Neue Jahrbücher für das klass. Altertum*, xvii. [1906] 257.

* Cf. Thumb, *Die griechische Sprache im Zeitalter des Hellenismus*, p. 181.

† Helbing, *Grammatik der LXX*, p. 4.

‡ Cf. also Moulton, *Einleitung*, pp. 26, 31.

§ *Über einige antike Anredeformen*, Göttingen, 1912.

ἀδικίας, 'the unjust judge,' have likewise certain points of contact with Greek, and therefore cannot rightly be described as non-Greek Hebraisms or barbarisms.

In the NT, the phenomenon just explained, viz. that relatively rarer forms of expression occur more frequently in Biblical Greek, is one that may be expected with special frequency in those parts that rest on an Aramaic original. But the question whether certain parts of the NT go back to an Aramaic original is one in which the Hebraisms necessarily play a leading part, and which cannot be effectively solved until the full complement of the Hebraisms has been established beyond dispute. Thus, *e.g.*, the monotonous sequence of narrative by means of καί clauses in no sense proves the presence of the Semitic genius of language—often as that assertion has been made. Exact statistical investigations, such as alone could avail us here, are still lacking. Probably the best foundation for such investigations would be the arrangement of words, and especially the position of the verb; and, as a matter of fact, the frequent occurrence of the verb at the beginning of clauses in the Gospel narrative seems to be at variance with ordinary Greek usage, and to have been influenced by the Hebrew diction, though at the same time it is not unknown in Greek.*

The influence of Hebrew upon the phraseology of Biblical Greek is clearly manifest only in the LXX, though there also every particular instance demands the most careful scrutiny.† In the NT the formation of new words to represent special Christian ideas is quite an unimportant element. Deissmann estimates the number of 'biblical words' in the NT as no more than one per cent. Christianity was able to formulate its distinctive conceptions (*e.g.* σωτήρ, εὐαγγέλιον) in the spirit and with the linguistic resources of the Koine; as Deissmann rightly observes, it had not so much a word-forming as a word-transforming power. But such alteration in the meaning of existent words takes place in all cases where a profound change occurs in the civilization—including, of course, also the concepts and ideas—of a people. The discussion of such phenomena forms a chapter of ordinary semasiology, for Biblical Greek does not differ in this respect from Gr. in general. In many cases the NT merely carries forward in Christian concepts the religious signification which had already been fully developed in the extra-Christian Koine, as *e.g.* in σωτήρ, 'saviour';‡ for other examples see the works of Deissmann.

How the study of the Koine texts furthers our knowledge in this field is shown also by G. Thieme, *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander und das NT*, Göttingen, 1906, and J. Rouffiac, *Recherches sur les caractères du grec dans le NT d'après les inscriptions de Priène*, Paris, 1911.

Biblical Greek, then, corresponds to the Hellenistic Greek of the age in phonetics, morphology, syntax, and vocabulary. As, however, the LXX took form in Egypt and the NT on Asiatic soil, it is of course conceivable that the pronunciation and idiom of the Egyptian and Asiatic Greeks would now and again assert themselves, just as, *e.g.*, the literary German of the Austrians can be distinguished from that of the Northern Germans. But, for one thing, the written text is too imperfect a representation of the actual pronunciation, and, for another, our knowledge of the finer provincial differences in the vocabulary and syntax of the Koine is too meagre, to enable us to trace abnormalities in the biblical Koine with certainty. In one respect, however, we may speak of a dialectical modification in biblical texts: the MS tradition of sounds and forms is not homogeneous. Each particular MS betrays the influence of the language, the period, and the country of the writer; while in certain phonetic features, such as the confusion of mediæ, tenues, and aspirates, or the confusion of ι (ει, ι) and υ, οι, and of ε and η, some of the older MSS of the NT (*e.g.* A and ℵ) indicate their Egyptian or Asiatic origin. It should also be noted that in the LXX we find, *e.g.*, the λεκάνη of B appearing as λακάνη in A; that accusatives like νύκταν and βασιλέαν are met with only in A and ℵ, and that differences appear even in the selection of words, as where κανοῦν and ἐνέχεεν in A correspond to κόφινον and ἔβαλεν in B. To what extent the original text itself was affected by the local idiom of the writers (or translators) can be determined only by means of a detailed investigation of the MSS. Thus the accusative form νύκταν may quite possibly be due to the translators of the OT, or to some of them, but that they actually used it (as Psichari* believes) is meanwhile difficult to prove. In view of the fact that the linguistic form of the several MSS still awaits precise investigation, such apparent trifles as, *e.g.*, the ν ἐφελκυστικόν or the dropping of γ between vowels, and such variants as ἔλαβαν, ἐλάβασι, ἐλάβοσαν, must not be overlooked.

Possibly, however, we may be more successful with the question regarding the provincial idiom of the biblical writers, if we examine the syntactical features, as the MS tradition would be less likely to infringe upon the original text in that respect. A noteworthy fact, observed by Radermacher,† is that the use of the article as a relative—a usage authenticated in Attic inscriptions of the 4th cent. A.D. and here and there in Koine texts—seems to be foreign to the NT. Further, the final infinitive, which is a favourite construction in the Ionic of Homer, but is seldom used in Attic, appears with great frequency in the NT, though the substitution of ἵνα for the infinitive in other constructions had developed in a marked degree. Now it is a remarkable fact that the final infinitive is found to depend upon verbs of the same class alike in the NT, in the early Byzantine author Malalas of Syria, and in the Pontic dialect of to-day (the only dialect that still retains the infinitive). This suggests the inference that there was an eastern Koine dialect marked *inter alia* by its retention of the infinitive, and that the language of the NT was more closely akin to that dialect than to the other branches of the Koine, which discarded the infinitive altogether, and in this respect paved the way for Modern Greek usage. Another and perhaps even more characteristic phenomenon is that the Fourth Gospel makes very frequent use of the adjectival pronoun ἐμός, and that similarly the *Acta Johannis* and *Acta Philippi* prefer the adjectival σός, while the rest of the NT writings, like Modern Greek, usually employ the genitives μου and σου. As the adjectival possessives are now retained only by the dialects of Pontus and Cappadocia, we may regard the authors of the Fourth Gospel and the other two works just named—in view of their preference for ἐμός and σός—as having belonged to Asia Minor.

It is therefore possible, with the aid of grammatical characteristics, to assign a particular book of the Bible to a definite portion of the Koine area. We thus at the same time trench upon, and, in principle at least, give an affirmative answer to, the question whether the various constituent parts of the Greek Bible may—not only as regards their style but also as regards their grammar—be dis-

* Cf. E. Kieckers, *Die Stellung des Verbs im Griechischen*, Strassburg, 1911, p. 5.

† Cf., *e.g.*, Thackeray, *A Grammar of the OT in Greek*, i. [Cambridge, 1909], p. 31 ff.

‡ Cf. especially Wendland, *ZNTW* v. [1904] 335 ff.

* 'Essai sur le Grec de la Septante,' in *Revue des études juives*, 1908, p. 164 f.

† *Neutest. Grammatik*, Tübingen, 1911, p. 62.

tinguished from one another in such a way as to warrant us in associating their writers with different districts. Investigation of the local varieties of the Koine (see above) has not yet yielded such results as would enable us to deal with the problem on a comprehensive scale. So far as individuality of diction has as yet been noted in the various biblical writers, it would seem to involve nothing more than differences in culture and in stylistic tendencies: compare, *e.g.*, the Gospels, the Pauline Epistles, and the Epistle to the Hebrews. J. H. Moulton has called attention to such differences,* while H. St. J. Thackeray† has successfully utilized the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain words as a means of breaking up the Greek version of the OT into groups which must have come from distinct hands. The next task of the investigator, however, will be to examine the syntax and vocabulary of the several parts of the Greek OT and NT with reference to the question whether they cannot be brought into relation also with local and chronological modifications of the Koine. A beginning has been made in the works of Thieme and Rouffiac already named.

9. The more important grammatical peculiarities of Biblical Greek.— The definition of Biblical Greek as a monument of the Koine is in no way affected by the discussions of the foregoing paragraph, and a grammatical study of the former gives us a good idea of the Koine in general as contrasted with Attic Greek.‡

(A) *Phonetics.*—(1) Itacism had become a fairly common feature of Greek pronunciation in Asia Minor and Egypt by the beginning of the 2nd century; ει was pronounced as *i*, αι as *e* (*ä*), and οι as *ν* (a sound resembling *ü*, but incapable of being more precisely determined).§ The η was still an *e* sound, but in the countries named was sometimes confused with *i* (ι, ει), as the latter had there a very open pronunciation. The itacistic development is reflected in such biblical modes of spelling as ἴδον (εἶδον), Δανειδ, ἀνάπειρος=ἀνάπηρος, ῥαΐδη (also ῥέδη), ἀνύγω (also ἀνοίγω). Probably αυ and ευ were still pronounced as true diphthongs, *i.e.* as *au*, *eu*. Of the consonants, φ, χ, β, and γ still retained their original values, viz. *p*+*h*, *k*+*h*, *b* and *g*; the native Egyptians and Asiatics made no distinction between these and the corresponding unvoiced explosives *p* and *k* (see above), though the Modern Greek aspirate pronunciation of β and γ had already found a footing: cf. ἀνοίει for ἀνοίγει in LXX; and for δ and θ, the English pronunciation of voiced and voiceless *th* would seem to have prevailed in NT times. ζ was like the English *z* (voiced *s*); cf. the MS form *Ζμύρνα. (2) The distinction between long and short vowels was no longer maintained in colloquial speech; but in the LXX ο and ω are seldom confused. (3) Peculiarities in the usage of vowels: *τεσσεράκοντα (for τεσσαράκοντα); *πιάζω (=πιέζω), 'I seize'; *ταμεῖον=ταμιεῖον; *ὑγεία=ὑγίεια; *νοσσός=νεοσσός. (4) Consonantal peculiarities: *γίνομαι and *γινώσκω; καθ' ἔτος, *καθ' ἰδίαν; ἐφ' ἑλπίδα (ἐφήλπισεν, LXX); *ἀφιδεῖν (the *spiritus asper* is transferred from ἡμέρα, ἀφοράω). The relation of *ἄρκος to ἄρκτος is obscure. Examples of οὐθείς (οὐδείς also used) are more frequent in the LXX than in the NT, and this corresponds to the usage of the Koine in their respective periods.

(B) *Inflexion.*—(1) For the vocative ὁ θεός see above, § 8. Observe τὸ (for ὀ) ἔλεος, and the like. νοῦς is declined νοός, νοΐ after the example of βοῦς, βοός. (2) For νύκταν, *χεῖραν, βασιλέαν, etc., see above. (3) τὸ ἄλας (for ὁ ἅλς); ὄρνιξ for ὄρνις is perhaps a Dorism. (4) Verbs in -μι went gradually out of use, as is attested by the MS readings ἱστάω (LXX), ἱστάνω, *ἀφίω, *συνίω, ὀμνύω. In the inflexion of εἰμί we find an imp. mid. ἤμην. The earliest unmistakable use of ἔνι (=ἔνεστι), from which arose the Mod. Gr. εἶναι, 'he is,' instead of ἐστί is found in the NT; the imperative is ἤτω (for ἔστω). (5) στήκω (Mod. Gr. στέκω), the use of which is better attested in the NT than in the LXX, is an innovation formed from ἕστηκα, and on the analogy of ἥκω, which could be inflected like a perfect (LXX ἥκαμεν and ἥκατε). (6) Contracted verbs: *πεινᾶν and *διψᾶν, but *ζῆν; the Hellenistic χρᾶσθαι is but meagrely attested in Biblical Greek. (7) The spelling χύννω (LXX χύνω) is of special interest, as presents with νν occur also in the Cyprian dialect of to-day, *i.e.* in Eastern Greek. (8) Personal endings: (*a*) the ending -σαν extends far beyond its original usage, but occurs more frequently in the LXX (ἦλθοσαν, ἐφέροσαν, ἐγεννῶσαν, ὡμιλοῦσαν) than in the NT (εἶχοσαν, ἐθορυβοῦσαν): in Mod. Gr. it is confined to contracted verbs; (*b*) the terminations of the first and second aorists begin to coalesce, *e.g.* *εὔραμεν, *εἴδαμεν; as found in the imperfect (*e.g.* *ἔλεγαν), we cannot be so sure that they belong to the original text; (*c*) in 3rd plur. perf. we sometimes find -αν for -ασι, as in *ἑώρακαν, *γέγοναν.

(C) *Syntax.*—(1) Indications of the decreasing use of the dative are the occasional confusion between εἰς with acc., and ἐν with dat., the preference for the gen. and the acc. after prepositions taking three cases, and the growing use of the acc. after verbs like *χρᾶσθαι, καταρᾶσθαι, ἐνεδρεύειν. After certain verbs, moreover, the acc. tends to supersede the gen., as *e.g.* κρατεῖν, καταδικάζειν τινά. (2) A prepositional construction sometimes takes the place of simple noun with case, as *e.g.* ἐσθίειν ἐκ τοῦ ἄρτου, ἀπέχεσθαι ἀπό. (3) The aorist, in comparison with the imp. indic., is more frequently used than in the classical period; the use of the aorist in a perfective sense is made distinct by prepositions, thus πραγματεύσασθαι (Lk 19^{13}), 'trade with,' but διαπραγματεύσασθαι (v.^{15}), 'gain by trading.' This force of the preposition explains also why a preposition is more frequently attached to the aorist than to the present stem; but presents with aoristic force *could* be formed in a similar way: cf. τὸν μισθὸν ἀπέχουσι (Mt $6^{2,5,16}$), 'they have received their reward'; ἀπέχω is used in a like sense in receipts found among the papyri. A characteristic feature of the LXX and NT is that they always employ the aorist imperative in invocations of God—a usage to which we find an analogy in Homer. (4) The extent to which the perfect was used in Biblical Greek with the force of the aorist is disputed; the usage of Hellenistic Greek generally rather favours the aoristic function (as *e.g.* of *εἴληφα, *ἔσχηκα) in Biblical Greek as well. (5) The optative was obsolescent, alike in principal and in subordinate clauses; its disuse is more marked in the NT than in the LXX. (6) The infinitive shows no sign of decay in the LXX; but in the NT it is widely (as in Mod. Gr. always) superseded by ἵνα, hence *e.g.* ζητῶ ἵνα, παρακαλῶ ἵνα; to look for a purposive force in every ἵνα in Biblical Greek is a mistake. The infinitive with the article, however, is common also in the NT, and it may be remarked that a number of old infinitive forms survive in Mod. Gr. as nouns, *e.g.* τὸ φιλί=τὸ φιλεῖν, 'the kiss.' (7) The present participle active shows a tendency to become rigid (the Mod. Gr. λέγοντας is indeclinable), as *e.g.* in Jn 15^{5}: μένων ἐν ἐμοὶ κἀγὼ (μένω) ἐν αὐτῷ. A remarkable feature is the use of the participle

* Especially in his 'New Testament Greek in the Light of Modern Discovery' (*Cambridge Biblical Essays*, London, 1909, p. 461 ff.).

† *op. cit.* i. 6 ff.

‡ In what follows, a star (*) placed before the word indicates that the form is found in both the LXX and the NT; forms not so distinguished are in the NT.

§ The occasional use of *ν* for ον in papyri (cf. δῦλος for δοῦλος in LXX, 1 K 14^{21}) shows that it was akin to *u*; but at an early period it had also the value of *i* in Asia and Egypt.

without copula as a predicate.* As this usage is not only found in papyri, but is still very common in Malalas, it was probably a peculiarity of the Eastern Koine. (8) The wealth of particles characteristic of the classical language has been largely lost. The Gospels, like the popular tales of Modern Greek, generally exhibit a simple co-ordination of clauses, either without connectives or connected by *καί, τότε, δέ, μετὰ τοῦτο, ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ*. As already said, it is quite wrong to regard this feature—and in particular the frequent use of *καί*—as a Hebraism, the paratactic sequence of clauses being in reality a characteristic of simple popular narrative.† (9) In Biblical Greek the verb would seem to head the sentence more frequently than in Greek generally. Its initial position may well be due in part to Semitic influence (see above), but we must on this point await the results of a more searching and detailed investigation.

While the LXX and the NT belong to the same linguistic *milieu*, yet, as has been more than once noted in the foregoing grammatical sketch, they exhibit features indicative of their respective stages of development. In general, we may regard the contemporary papyri as providing the nearest parallels to each, though the LXX is occasionally more archaic than the papyri of its age; thus, while we find in it the forms *ἤκαμεν, ἤκατε, ἤκασι*, we do not find as yet *ἠκέναι, ἠκότων*. No comparison has yet been made between the LXX and the NT as to the relative frequency of the linguistic changes in each—an undertaking for which the MS tradition would have to provide the basis; such a comparison would be the most reliable means of measuring the interval between the two groups of texts.

10. Post-Biblical Greek.—In certain productions of early Christian literature outside the NT canon (the NT Apocrypha, the Apostolic Fathers) the neologisms of the Koine bulk more largely than in the biblical writings, so that these non-canonical works must be regarded as belonging to a later linguistic stratum; with regard to particular books, however, it is more difficult than in the case of the LXX and NT to determine what is to be set down to the MS tradition, *i.e.* to decide whether forms like *λέγουν* (=*λέγουσι*) in the *Acts of Pilate*, or *ἠγάπουν* (=*ἐγάπων*) in the *Acts of Thomas*, were not originally due to later copyists. Apart from this, the linguistic differences found in the several writings of this group themselves, and the linguistic differences between this group and the NT canon, are marked only by larger or smaller concessions to the literary language of the educated. It is no doubt true that, even in the NT, Luke is distinguished from the other Gospels by a certain inclination to Atticism, and that other early Christian productions likewise reflect the literary tendencies of the age. Nevertheless, there was at the outset a sharply marked contrast between Biblical Greek and the literary language of the period; the Atticism (see above) then coming into vogue aimed at the revival of the classical (Attic) diction, and the cultured heathen looked down scornfully upon the 'barbarous sailor-speech' of primitive Christianity (*βαρβαρίζουσα κατὰ κράτος καὶ σολοικίζουσα* and *ὀνοματοποιίαις ξέναις συντεταγμένη*).‡ But just as in the succeeding centuries the youthful and revolutionary spirit of Christianity allied itself more and more with Greek philosophy and culture, and came at length to be quite hellenized, so too the language of Christianity soon lost that charm of originality and naïve freshness which is characteristic of Biblical Greek. It is, in fact, only in the Lives of the Saints and similar productions that we still hear the speech of the simple people to whom the earliest preachers of the gospel appealed.* The great teachers of the Church turned aside from the unschooled language of the Gospels, and adopted the style of cultured heathenism; in other words, they followed the literary fashion of Atticism. Even the early apologist Tatian aspired to be an Atticist, though his success in that direction was but meagre;† while Chrysostom actually gave an Atticistic form to his quotations from Scripture.‡ The development in the language of Greek Christianity from the NT to the close of antiquity is a faithful reflexion of the process through which the Christian religion itself passed. In the course of a few centuries the faith of humble fisher-folk became the dominant religion of the Græco-Roman world, and, passing from its native lowliness to the highest places, it paid its tribute to the culture of its new sphere.

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* Moulton, *Einleitung*, p. 352 ff.

† Examples from the papyri are given by Witkowski, *Glotta*, vi. [1914] 22 f.

‡ See E. Norden, *Antike Kunstprosa*, Leipzig, 1898, ii. 516 ff.

* Cf. Vogeser, *Zur Sprache der griechischen Heiligenlegenden*, Munich, 1907.

† Cf. Heiler, *de Tatiani apologetæ dicendi genere*, Marburg, 1909.

‡ It may be observed in this connexion that F. Blass, who in his edd. of the Gospels of Matthew and John uses these quotations as a means of 'emending' the MS tradition of the NT, is here working on entirely wrong lines.

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A. Thumb.

HELMET.—See Armour.

HELPS.—'Help' (*ἀντίλημψις*) is fairly common in the LXX, in the Psalms, and in 2 and 3 Maccabees. In Sir 11[12] 51[7] we have persons who are in need of *ἀντίλημψις*. The plural *ἀντιλήμψεις* occurs in 1 Co 12[28], coupled with 'governments,' and nowhere else in the NT. The verb from which it comes (*ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι*) is found in Lk 1[54] in a quotation from the LXX, where it is frequent; also in Ac 20[35] in a speech of St. Paul. The verb means 'to take firm hold of' some one in order to help (1 Ti 6[2] is different); and by 'helps' or 'helpings' St. Paul probably means the succouring of those in need, as poor, sick, and bereaved persons. Perhaps the helping of those in mental perplexity or spiritual distress, and all whom St. Paul calls 'the weak,' is also included. H. Cremer (*Bibl.-Theol. Lex.*[3], 1880, p. 386) is mistaken in saying that this sense of 'helping' is 'unknown in classical Greek': it is frequent in papyri, in petitions to the Ptolemys (G. A. Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 92). The Greek commentators are also mistaken in interpreting 'helpings' as meaning deacons, and 'governings' as meaning elders; such definite official distinctions had not yet arisen. St. Paul is speaking of personal gifts. He is not speaking of select persons whom he or the congregation had appointed to any office; and neither he nor they can confer the gifts; that is the work of the Spirit. He exhorts the whole congregation to 'continue to desire earnestly the greater gifts'; and individuals might receive more than one gift from the Spirit.

We have an instance of the gift of 'helping' in Stephanas and his household (1 Co 16[15-18]), and it is expressly stated that they 'appointed *themselves* to minister to the saints.' The Apostle did not nominate them to any office of 'helper,' nor did the congregation elect them to any such post. A person who believed that he possessed the gift tried to exercise it. If he was right in this belief, the people accepted his ministrations. There was no other appointment, and there was no class of officials into which he entered.

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A. Plummer.

HERESY (*αἵρεσις*). — The primary meaning of *αἵρεσις* is 'taking,' used especially of 'taking a town' (Herod. iv. 1). Its secondary meaning is 'choice,' 'preference.' From this it passes to 'the thing chosen,' and so 'a plan,' 'a purpose.' In later classical usage it comes to mean a philosophic school of thought, and hence a sect.

In the passages in which the word occurs in the Acts, it has the meaning of a religious party, *e.g.* Ac 5[17]: *ἡ αἵρεσις τῶν Σαδδουκαίων*; 15[5] 26[5]: *κατὰ τὴν ἀκριβεστάτην αἵρεσιν τῆς ἡμετέρας θρησκείας ἔζησα Φαρισαῖος*. Thus it is used of the Christians not by themselves but by others, *e.g.* 24[5]: *πρωτοστάτην τε τῆς τῶν Ναζωραίων αἱρέσεως*; and again, v.[14]: *κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἣν λέγουσιν αἵρεσιν* (see also 28[22]). In the Epistles it is used of the evil principle of party spirit, division, and self-assertion. Thus in Gal 5[20] it is classed among the works of the flesh in company with *ἐριθεῖαι* and *διχοστασίαι*. In 1 Co 11[18f.] St. Paul uses *αἱρέσεις* as the natural outcome of *σχίσματα*: *ἀκούω σχίσματα ἐν ὑμῖν ὑπάρχειν, καὶ μέρος τι πιστεύω. δεῖ γὰρ καὶ αἱρέσεις ἐν ὑμῖν εἶναι, ἵνα οἱ δόκιμοι φανεροὶ γένωνται ἐν ὑμῖν*. So that, bad though these things are, they may serve a providential purpose in testing men's characters and showing those that can stand the test.

These divisions destroyed the harmony of the Agape. The brotherly spirit which should have characterized the common meal was absent and the sacredness of the Communion was lost in general disorder. In this passage 'heresy' and 'schism' (*q.v.*) approach very nearly to becoming synonymous.

As St. Augustine says: 'Haeresis autem schisma inveteratum' (*c. Crescon. Don.* ii. 7). And Nevin quoted by Trench (*NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 359) says: 'Heresy and schism are not indeed the same, but yet they constitute merely the different manifestations of one and the same disease. Heresy is theoretic schism: schism is practical heresy. They continually run into one another, and mutually complete each other. Every heresy is in principle schismatic; every schism is in its innermost constitution heretical.'

So far we have found no trace of *αἵρεσις* being used in connexion with false doctrine but simply with divisions and factious party spirit. But in 2 P 2[1] a new meaning is introduced, and from the idea of a party or sect we pass to the principles and teaching which characterize the sect. *αἱρέσεις ἀπωλείας* must refer to doctrines which lead to destruction; indeed the following words, 'even denying the Lord that bought them,' point to a specimen of such false teaching, implying either a rejection of Christ as the Son of God, or a denial of His redemptive work. As this Epistle was written at a much later date than the Acts, it marks the gradual transformation that was going on in the meaning of 'heresy' as it passed from party or sect, first to schism and finally to erroneous teaching.

There is no trace in the NT of either *αἵρεσις* or *σχίσμα* denoting a party that had separated itself from the main body. Pharisees and Sadducees were sects in Judaism, not withdrawn from it. Such sects were, so to speak, recognized, not depre-

cated. Again, the parties in the Corinthian Church which called themselves after the names of Paul, Cephas, Apollos, and Christ were divisions in the Church, not separated from it. It was the harm done by strife and the absence of that spirit of unity and charity, which is the very essence of Christianity, that called for the Apostle's rebukes. By the time that we pass into the sub-apostolic period, *αἵρεσις* connotes theological error and false teaching, and the sense of a sect or party gradually recedes till it passes away entirely. Two passages from Ignatius may be quoted in support of this: *ὅτι πάντες κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ζῆτε καὶ ὅτι ἐν ὑμῖν οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ* (*ad Eph.* vi.); and *παρακαλῶ οὖν ὑμᾶς . . . μόνῃ τῇ Χριστιανῇ τροφῇ χρῆσθε, ἀλλοτρίας δὲ βοτάνης ἀπέχεσθε, ἥτις ἐστὶν αἵρεσις* (*ad Trall.* vi.). MORLEY STEVENSON.

HERITAGE.—See HEIR.

HERMAS (Ἑρμᾶς, Ro 16[14]).—Hermas is a Greek name, a contracted form of several names such as Hermagoras, Hermeros, Hermodorus, Hermogenes, etc., common among members of the Imperial household (J. B. Lightfoot, *Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 176). It is the last of a group of five names (all Greek) of persons, and 'the brethren with them,' saluted by St. Paul. Nothing is known of any member of the group. It is conjectured that together they formed a separate *ἐκκλησία* or 'church,' the locality of which we shall suppose to have been Rome or Ephesus, according to our view of the destination of these salutations. Cf. vv.[5. 15] and perhaps v.[11], and 1 Co 16[19] and perhaps Ac 20[20]. Possibly these five men were heads of five separate household churches, or leaders or office-bearers in the Church. T. B. ALLWORTHY.

HERMAS, SHEPHERD OF.—This valuable and interesting relic of the life and thought of the early Roman Church may be described as a manual of personal religion, cast in an imaginative form. It has been compared in the latter respect with Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*, with Dante's *Divina Commedia*, and with the visions of such mystics as St. Teresa and St. Catherine of Siena. Whether it be looked upon as a work of allegorical fiction, or, as G. Salmon strenuously maintains (*Historical Introduction to the NT*[5], p. 529 ff.), a record of actual dream experience, or again, as may well be, a combination of both, its strong moral earnestness and its didactic purpose are equally apparent. It is primarily a call to repentance, addressed to Christians among whom the memory of persecution is still fresh (*Vis.* iii. 2, 5, *Sim.* ix. 28), and over whom now hangs the shadow of another great tribulation (*Vis.* ii. 2, iv. 2). From the first Vision, with its revelation of the sinfulness of sins of thought, and of neglect of responsibility for others, to the last Parable, where the greatness of the Shepherd, the supernatural Being 'to whom alone in the whole world hath authority over repentance been assigned' (*Sim.* x. 1), is ordered to be declared to men, the theme is repentance and amendment of life.

Indeed, the little book would almost seem to have been written partly as an attempt to break through the iron ring of despair resulting from a rigorous acceptance of those words in the Epistle to the Hebrews which speak of the impossibility of repentance for sin committed after baptism (6[6] and 12[17]). The subject is discussed in the Fourth Commandment (*Mand.* iv. 3) in a curiously simple manner. The authority of this teaching is admitted verbally, and then an exception is made, which covers the whole teaching of the book. 'I have heard, Sir,' says Hermas, 'from certain teachers, that there is no other repentance, save that which took place when we went down into the water and obtained remission of our former sins.' The Shepherd replies that this is so. They that have believed, or shall believe, have not repentance, but only remission of their former sins. He then, however, goes on to say that, if after this great and holy calling any one, being tempted of the devil, shall commit sin, he hath only one (opportunity of) repentance. This one opportunity, however, would seem to be embodied in the Shepherd himself, who was sent 'to be with you who repent with your whole heart, and to strengthen you in the faith' (xii. 6), and whose command to Hermas is, 'Go, and tell all men to repent, and they shall live unto God; for the Lord in His compassion sent me to give repentance to all, though some of them do not deserve it, for their deeds' (*Sim.* viii. 11).

1. Authorship. — There are a few references scattered through the work to the circumstances of its author. He had originally been a slave, and was sold to one Rhoda, in Rome (*Vis.* i. 1). After his freedom he had engaged in business and prospered (iii. 6), but he had been corrupted by the affairs of this world (i., iii.), practising deception in the course of his business (*Mand.* iii.). However, he had lost his riches, and become useful and profitable unto life (*Vis.* iii. 6). His worldly loss seems to have been connected with the misdeeds of his children (i., iii.), who had not been very strictly looked after by him. His wife is represented as a person who did not sufficiently restrain her tongue (ii. 2). Hermas depicts himself as slow of understanding, but insatiable in curiosity (*Mand.* xii. 4, *Sim.* v. 5), and at the same time as 'patient and good tempered and always smiling,' 'full of all simplicity and of great guilelessness' (*Vis.* i. 2).

The scene is laid partly in the house of Hermas in Rome, partly in the country where he abides (*Vis.* iii. 1), and once in Arcadia (*Sim.* ix. 1). Mention is made of the road to Cumæ, the Campanian Way, and the river Tiber, in which Hermas sees Rhoda bathing (*Vis.* i. 1).

To the question who Hermas was there are three possible answers. (1) He may, as Origen supposes in his *Commentary on Romans* (x. 31 [p. 683]), have been the Scriptural character mentioned by St. Paul as a member of the Roman Church *c.* A.D. 58 (Ro 16[14]). (2) According to the Muratorian fragment (*c.* A.D. 180), he was brother of Pope Pius I. during his Episcopate (*c.* A.D. 140–155). (3) He may have been an otherwise unknown person who was a contemporary of Pope Clement (*c.* A.D. 90–100). This theory involves the identification of the Church official mentioned in *Vis.* ii. 4 with the Bishop of Rome. 'Thou shalt therefore write two little books, and shalt send one to Clement. . . . So Clement shall send to the foreign cities, for this is his duty.' Of these views Lightfoot with some diffidence prefers the second, while G. Salmon, Zahn, and others accept the third (see J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, 294; G. Salmon, *Introduction to the NT*[5], 46, 534).

2. Date and use by the Church.—Whether the work was written in the beginning or in the middle of the 2nd cent., there is evidence of its wide circulation soon after the latter date. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons in A.D. 177, accepted it and spoke of it as Scripture. 'Well did the Scripture speak, saying, etc.' (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* v. 8). Clem. Alex. quotes it several times (*e.g. Strom.* I. xxix. 181), while Origen in the passage above referred to speaks of it as a very useful, and, as he thinks, Divinely-inspired writing. Tertullian approved of it in his pre-Montanist days, but afterwards condemned it (*de Pudic.* 10). The author of the Muratorian Canon, while seeking to deprecate the public reading of the *Shepherd* in church, commends it for private use.

'But the "Shepherd" was written quite lately in our times by Hermas, while his brother Pius, the bishop, was sitting in the chair of the Church of the city of Rome; and therefore it ought indeed to be read, but it cannot to the end of time be publicly read in the Church to the people, either among the prophets, who are complete in number, or among the Apostles.'

3. Contents.—The book is divided up into five *Visions*, twelve *Mandates* or Commandments, and ten *Similitudes* or Parables. The Visions form the introduction to the rest, the Shepherd not appearing until the last of these. The following outline will give an idea of the purport of the work as a whole.

(1) *Visions.*—In the first Vision Hermas tells how, while journeying to Cumæ, he saw in the opened heavens Rhoda, his former owner, whom he had recently met again, and whom he had begun to esteem as a sister. She rebukes him for an unchaste thought towards herself, and leaves him aghast at the strictness of God's judgment. Then he sees a great white chair of snow-white wool upon which an aged lady in shining raiment seats herself. She tells Hermas that what God is really wroth about is his lack of strictness with his family whereby his children have become corrupt. She then reads from a book the glories of God, but Hermas can only remember the last words, for the rest is too terrible to bear. She rises, the chair is carried away towards the east by four young men, and two other men assist her to depart in the same direction. As she goes, she smiles and says, 'Play the man, Hermas.'

The second Vision takes place a year later, and in the same locality. The aged lady again appears, and gives him a little book that he may copy its contents and report them to the elect of God. He copies it letter for letter, for he cannot make out the syllables, and when he has finished, the book is snatched away by an unseen hand. After fifteen days the meaning is revealed to Hermas, who is directed to rebuke his children for their wickedness, and his wife for her faults of the tongue, as well as to exhort the rulers of the Church. A great tribulation is at hand, with danger of apostasy by Christians. One Maximus, in particular, is to be warned against a second denial. Then it is revealed that the aged woman is not, as Hermas supposes, the Sibyl, but the Church, created before all things. He is directed by her to write two copies of the book, after the revelation is finished, and send one to Clement that he may send it to the foreign cities, and one to Grapte that she may instruct the widows and the orphans. Hermas is to read it to the city along with the elders that preside over the Church.

The main part of the third Vision is the revelation by the lady of the Church under the image of a tower being built by angels upon the waters of baptism. The stones of various degrees of suitability (some of them castaway), are explained to mean different kinds of members of the Church, among whom are 'apostles and bishops and teachers and deacons,' and 'they that suffered for the name of the Lord.' The tower is supported by seven women, Faith, Continence, Simplicity, Knowledge, Guilelessness, Reverence, and Love. Hermas is next commissioned to rebuke the self-indulgence of the well-to-do and the ignorance and divisions of the rulers of the Church. He inquires why the lady was aged and weak in the first Vision, more youthful and joyous in the second, and still more so in the third, and learns that these appearances were the reflexion of his own changing spiritual state.

The fourth Vision occurs twenty days later, on the Campanian Way. Hermas sees a huge cloud of dust, which resolves itself into the form of a beast like a sea-monster, emitting fiery locusts from its mouth. Its length is about a hundred feet, and its head was as it were of pottery, coloured black, fire and blood-colour, gold and white. This is a type of the impending tribulation, but it does not harm Hermas, for the angel Segri has shut its mouth. The colours represent this world (black), the blood and fire in which it must perish, those that have escaped from the world (gold), and the coming age (white).

The fifth episode is called a revelation (Ἀποκάλυψις, not Ὅρασις). The Shepherd, the angel of repentance, now appears for the first time, glorious in visage, with sheepskin wallet and staff. He has been sent by the most holy angel to dwell with Hermas for the rest of his life. Hermas at first fails to recognize him as the being to whom he was delivered, but on recognition proceeds to write down the Commandments and the Parables dictated by the Shepherd.

(2) *Mandates.*—The first Commandment is to believe in and to fear the One God, the Creator, the incomprehensible (ἀχώρητος), and to practise continence; the second to avoid slander, whether by hearing or by speaking it, and to be generous to the needy; the third to abstain from falsehood; the fourth to be pure in thought as well as in deed. An adulterous wife is to be divorced, if unrepentant, but her husband may not marry again, for that would be committing adultery. If she repents after divorce her husband sins if he does not receive her again (after baptism only one opportunity of repentance is given, over which the Shepherd has authority). If a husband or a wife die, the other may marry without sin, but to remain single is better. The fifth Commandment enjoins longsuffering, the opposite of ill-temper (ὀξυχολία), that most evil spirit which causes bitterness, wrath, anger, and spite. The next three Mandates expand the provisions of the first—faith, fear, and temperance. Contrasts are drawn between the two ways (and the two angels) of righteousness and wickedness, between the fear of God and the fear of the devil, and between temperance as to what is evil, and indulgence in what is good. The ninth Commandment extols faith in prayer, and condemns doubtful-mindedness, while the tenth exhorts Hermas to be clothed in cheerfulness and to put away sadness. In the eleventh striking descriptions are given of the false prophet, who absents himself from the Christian assembly, and is consulted as a soothsayer by men in corners, and of the true prophet upon whom the Divine afflatus comes in the course of the Church's worship. The last Commandment is to banish evil desire by the cultivation of desire which is good and holy.

(3) *Similitudes.*—The first Parable is a simple expansion of the theme that the Christian is a sojourner in a foreign city, and should act as a citizen of the city which is his true home. In the second the duty of the rich to give to the poor is illustrated by the figure of an elm and a vine. The former, though fruitless, supports the fruitful vine. So the intercessions of the poor man prevail on behalf of his wealthy benefactor. In the next two, a similitude is drawn between trees in winter, when all are leafless, and all seem equally withered, and in summer, when some are sprouting, while others remain withered. The winter represents the conditions of this world, the summer those of the world to come. The fifth Parable presents the story of a vineyard, a master, and a faithful servant, the exposition of which reveals an early belief in the doctrine of works of supererogation, and an Adoptianist conception of the personality of the Son of God (see below). In the next, two shepherds are shown, one of pleasant mien sporting with his sheep, the other of sour countenance lashing his flock with a whip and otherwise maltreating them. The former is the angel of self-

indulgence and deceit, the latter the angel of punishment. A few days later Hermas is afflicted by this angel of punishment, and in the seventh Parable he is taught that this is because of the sins of his household. The next two are long and complicated. First Hermas sees a great willow tree (the Law of God, which is the Son of God preached unto the ends of the earth) under which stands a multitude of believers. A glorious angel (Michael) cuts rods from the tree and gives them to the people, who in due course return them in great variety of condition — withered, grub-eaten, cracked, green, some with shoots, and some with a kind of fruit. These last are those who have suffered for Christ. They are crowned and sent into the tower with some of the others. The remainder are left to the care of the Shepherd, who, as the angel of repentance, plants the rods in the earth, and deals with the owners according to the results. The ninth Parable is an amplification of the third Vision. Hermas, seated on a mountain in Arcadia, sees a great plain surrounded by twelve mountains, each of which has a different appearance. These are the tribes of the world, varying in understanding and conduct. In the midst of the plain is a great and ancient rock, with a recently-hewn gate in it. This is the Son of God, older than creation, and yet recently made manifest. Upon the rock a tower (the Church) is being built by angels, of stones that are brought through the gate. The first course is of ten stones, the second of twenty-five, the third of thirty-five, the fourth of forty. These are the first and the second generation of righteous men, the prophets and ministers, and the apostles and teachers. These stones come from the deep, and the rest come from the mountains. Some are suitable and others are rejected. The Shepherd, as in the former Parable, deals with the latter, to fit those that are capable for a place in the building. A curious feature is the introduction of the Son of God, already symbolized by the rock and the gate, as the glorious man who inspects the tower and rejects certain of the stones. The purport of the concluding Parable is an exhortation to Hermas to keep the Shepherd's commandments and to publish them to others.

4. References to organization and doctrine of the Church.—(*a*) *Organization.*—In the first respect, the allusions are too slight to give more than a general picture. We read of the rulers (*προηγούμενοι*) of the Church, whom Hermas is directed to exhort (*Vis.* ii. 2) and even to rebuke for their divisions and their ignorance (iii. 9). There are apostles, bishops, teachers, and deacons (iii. 5), also prophets and ministers (*διάκονοι*; *Sim.* ix. 15). There are deacons who plunder the livelihood of widows and orphans, and make gain from the performance of their office (ix. 26), and, on the other hand, bishops who exercise hospitality and are like trees sheltering sheep, receiving into their houses the servants of God at all times, and sheltering the needy and the widows in their visitation (ix. 27). Clement, whose duty is to communicate with foreign cities, may, as we have seen, have been the bishop of Rome, while Grapte, who instructs the widows and the orphans, may have been a deaconess (*Vis.* ii. 4). Hermas, who is told to read his book to the city along with the elders who preside over the Church (*μετὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων τῶν προϊσταμένων τῆς ἐκκλησίας*), may well have been one of the order of prophets. The office of a prophet is held in estimation by the Church. 'When then the man who hath the divine Spirit cometh into an assembly (*συναγωγή*) of righteous men, who have faith in a divine Spirit, and intercession is made to God by the gathering of those men, then the angel of the prophetic spirit who is attached to him, filleth the man, and the man, being filled with the Holy Spirit, speaketh to the multitude, according as the Lord willeth' (*Mand.* xi.). The false prophet, on the contrary, is dumb in the Church assembly, and plies a wizard's trade in corners. In view of the Roman character of the Shepherd, it is interesting to note that the tower which represents the Church is represented as founded, not on Peter, but, in the third Vision, upon the waters of baptism, and, in the ninth Parable, upon the rock of the Son of God.

(*b*) *Doctrine.*—The doctrinal references reveal, at least in the case of Hermas, a creed which is simple and yet has its own peculiarities. Perhaps the most striking of the latter is *the conception of the Son of God.* In the Parable of the vineyard (the fifth) the Son of God is represented as a slave placed in charge, with a promise of freedom if he fulfils his allotted duty. He does so much more than is expected of him that the Divine master of the vineyard resolves that he shall be made joint-heir with His Son, who is represented as the Holy Spirit. 'The Holy Pre-existent Spirit, which created the whole creation, God made to dwell in flesh that He desired. This flesh therefore, in which the Holy Spirit dwelt, was subject unto the Spirit. . . . When then it had lived honourably in chastity, and had laboured with the Spirit, and had co-operated with it in everything, behaving itself boldly and bravely, He chose it as a partner with the Holy Spirit' (*Sim.* v. 6). This Adoptianist conception, which illustrates early Roman speculation on the Person of Christ, finds frequent expression in phrases identifying the Spirit with the Son of God, *e.g.* 'For that Spirit is the Son of God' (ix. 1). In this same fifth Parable we have an early trace of the doctrine of works of supererogation, which, in mediæval times, was so prominent in the Church's system. 'If thou do any good thing outside the commandment of God, thou shalt win for thyself more exceeding glory, and shalt be more glorious in the sight of God than thou wouldest otherwise have been' (v. 3).

Hermas also teaches that the first apostles and teachers who had died, went like Christ, and preached unto the Spirits in prison (ix. 16). His eschatology is in one respect severe and narrow. Not only are unrepentant sinners to be burned, but also the Gentiles, because of their ignorance of God (iv.). In the fifth Vision there is an apparent reference to the belief in guardian angels. When the Shepherd at first appears, Hermas fails to recognize him, as apparently he should have done,* to be the being to whom he was 'delivered,' and only when the visitant changes his form does recognition come. It seems curious that while Baptism is plainly mentioned two or three times (*Vis.* iii. 3, *Mand.* iv. 3, *Sim.* ix. 16) the Lord's Supper does not appear to be alluded to. Fasting is often mentioned, and once we find Hermas keeping a 'station,' as the early fast-days were called (*Sim.* v. 1). In this case he is commanded, not to abstain entirely from food, but to take bread and water.

While Hermas shows fewer traces of the influence of St. Paul than of that of St. James, with whose Epistle he shows great familiarity, he need not be definitely classed as a Judaizer. His office is that of a prophet, and his mission is to recall Christians from the danger of too intimate contact with pagan social influence. He speaks of those 'who have never investigated concerning the truth, nor enquired concerning the deity, but have merely believed, and have been mixed up in business affairs and riches and heathen friendships, and many other affairs of this world' (*Mand.* x. 1), as specially without understanding and corrupt.

* Another explanation is that a previous Vision may have dropped out from the MSS which have come down to us.

Hence his standard of Christian duty is put in the most practical shape: 'faith, fear of the Lord, love, concord, words of righteousness, truth, patience, . . . to minister to widows, to visit the orphans and the needy, to ransom the servants of God from their afflictions, to be hospitable, . . . to resist no man, to be tranquil, to show yourself more submissive than all men,' etc. (viii.). The indwelling of the Spirit of God is a feature of Christian life prominently insisted on, and if intermediate beings like Faith, Continence, Power, Longsuffering (*Sim.* ix. 15) seem to shape the Christian character, these are declared to be 'powers of the Son of God' (ix. 13). God is the Creator alike of the world and of the Church. 'Behold, the God of Hosts, who by His invisible and mighty power and by His great wisdom created the world, and by His glorious purpose clothed His creation with comeliness, and by His strong word fixed the heaven, and founded the earth upon the waters, and by His own wisdom and providence formed His holy Church, which also He blessed' (*Vis.* ii. 3).

Hermas, who was evidently acquainted with the contents of the *Didache*, does not directly cite Scripture by name, but he continually uses Scriptural words and ideas, handling them with a light touch, and working them into new combinations. C. Taylor (*The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*) has investigated these allusions minutely, and considers Hermas to be a valuable witness to the Canon, especially in the case of the four Gospels. He finds in the four feet of the couch in the third Vision (13), with the associated cryptic utterance 'for the world too is upheld by means of four elements,' the source of the famous saying of Irenæus that there can be neither more nor fewer than four Gospels, because there are four regions of the world, and four catholic winds, etc. (see p. 13 ff.). There is a citation of the lost work *Eldad and Medad* (*Vis.* ii. 3), and Segri, the name of the angel who shuts the monster's mouth in *Vis.* iv. 2, is a word derived from the Hebrew verb in Dn 6[22] '*shut* the lions' mouths' (*The Johns Hopkins University Circular*, April, 1884, iii. 75).

5. Text and Versions.—There is no complete Greek text of the *Shepherd*. About the first quarter of it is contained in the 4th cent. Sinaitic MS (ℵ), while the Athos MS (A) written in the 14th cent. is the authority for the rest of the work, except the concluding portion, from *Sim.* ix. 30 to the end, which has to be supplied from the Latin versions. These are two in number, the so-called *Old Latin Version* (L) found in about twenty MSS, and the *Palatine Version* (L_2) existing in one MS of the 14th century. There is also an Ethiopic Version (E) published in 1860 with a Latin translation (see J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, p. 295).

LITERATURE.—J. B. Lightfoot, *The Apostolic Fathers*, 1 vol., London, 1891; O. von Gebhardt and A. Harnack, *Patrum Apost. Opera*, Fasc. iii., Leipzig, 1877; F. X. Funk, *Patres Apostolici*, Tübingen, 1901; C. Taylor, *The Shepherd of Hermas* (Translation, Introduction, and Notes), London, 1903-1906; T. Zahn, *Der Hirt des Hermas*, Gotha, 1868; A. Hilgenfeld, *Hermæ Pastor*, Leipzig, 1887; C. Taylor, *The Witness of Hermas to the Four Gospels*, London, 1892; (Bp. Fell), *Barnabas and Hermas*, Oxford, 1685; G. Salmon, *Historical Introduction to NT*[5], London, 1891.

A. MITCHELL.

HERMES (Ἑρμῆς, Ro 16[14]).—Hermes was a very common Greek name, being the name of the popular Greek god. Lightfoot remarks that, in the Imperial household inscriptions, not less than a score of persons might be counted who bore this name about the date of Romans (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 176). In the NT it is found as the third of a group of five names (all Greek) of Christians saluted by St. Paul (see HERMAS). It is significant that a Christian should have no scruple in retaining as his name the name of one of the gods. Another instance is Nereus (v.[15]).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

HERMOGENES.—See PHYGELUS.

HEROD.—1. Antipas, son of Herod the Great by the Samaritan Malthace. Made tetrarch of Galilee and Peræa after the death of his father in 4 B.C., he ruled over these regions till A.D. 39, when, through the intrigues of Herod Agrippa and his own ambition, he incurred the disfavour of Caligula, and was banished to Lugdunum in Gaul. Capable and successful as an administrator, he is held up to reproach in the Gospels for the scandal of his private life, and his treatment of John the Baptist and Jesus (Mt 14[1-12], Lk 13[31f.] 23[7-12]). Elsewhere in the NT there are only two references to him. The first (Ac 4[27]) occurs in the thanksgiving of the early disciples over the release of Peter and John from imprisonment, and indicates their view of Herod's relation to the tragedy of Calvary. The basis of the thanksgiving is a Messianic interpretation of the 2nd Psalm and a belief in its fulfilment in Jesus. Herod and Pontius Pilate are represented as the kings and rulers of the earth who conspired (Lk 23[12]) against the Lord's Anointed, and wreaked their will on Him, while all the time they were being used by God to further His purpose of redemption. The fact, however, that God over-ruled their evil intentions for good, and caused their wrath to praise Him, though it redounds to His own glory and augments the wonder of His working, is not regarded as any alleviation of their guilt. The sin of Herod, as of Pilate, in relation to Jesus, is clearly implied, and evidently seemed as heinous to the early believers as did his crime against John to the Baptist's followers, who saw in the disasters of his Arabian war (A.D. 36) a Divine retribution for his murder of their master (Jos. *Ant.* XVIII. v.). The other reference to Herod Antipas (Ac 13[1]) is unimportant, though of some interest for the sidelight it casts upon the age of Manaen (*q.v.*), one of the leaders in the Church at Antioch, who is said to have been his foster-brother or early companion.

2. Agrippa I., son of Aristobulus, Herod the Great's son by the Hasmonæan Mariamne. After his father's execution in 7 B.C. he was sent to Rome with his mother Bernice, and lived on terms of intimacy with the Imperial family. In A.D. 23 his intrigues and extravagances had brought him to such straits that he was forced to retire to the Idumæan stronghold of Malatha till he found an asylum with Antipas in Galilee. Evading his creditors, he returned to Rome in A.D. 36, and shortly afterwards was committed to prison for an incautious remark that had reached the ears of Tiberius. There he lay till the following year, when the death of the old Emperor and the accession of his friend Caius (Caligula) restored him to freedom and fortune. The new Emperor bestowed on him the eastern tetrarchy of his half-uncle Philip, which had been vacant for three years, with the title of king, and added to it Abilene, the former tetrarchy of Lysanias in north-eastern Palestine (Lk 3[1]); at the same time he commanded the Senate to decree him prætorian honours, and gave him a golden chain of the same weight and pattern as that which he had worn in his captivity. A few years later the tetrarchy of the exiled Antipas was also conferred on him; and in A.D. 41 Claudius, on his succession to the throne, still further enlarged his possessions with the gift of Samaria and Judæa, and raised him to consular rank. In the splendour of his good fortune Agrippa did not forget his Jewish countrymen, but fitfully at least, and probably from motives of policy, exerted his influence

at the Roman court to mitigate the wrongs and restrictions entailed on them by their religion. On assuming the government of his new dominions —greater than Jewish king ever possessed—he set himself to observe the laws of his country and the practices of the Jewish faith (Jos. *Ant.* XIX. vii.). During his three years of rule, he showed himself sagacious, liberal, and humane; though, in his desire to propitiate the Pharisaic element among his subjects, he raised his hand against the followers of Christ, killed James with the sword, and would have sacrificed Peter also, had he not miraculously escaped (Ac 12^{1-19}). 'He saw it pleased the Jews' is the explanation given of this severity in Acts (12^{3}), and there is no reason to doubt its substantial accuracy. The end came to Agrippa with tragic suddenness in A.D. 44, when his glory was at its height. Between the account of his death given in Acts (12^{20-23}) and that of Josephus (*Ant.* XIX. viii.) there is no more inconsistency than might have been expected from the different circles in which they originated. The latter is more detailed, and yet omits to mention the deputation from Tyre and Sidon who sought reconciliation with King Agrippa through the good offices of his chamberlain. According to Josephus, the occasion of Agrippa's display at Cæsarea was a series of games in honour of Claudius; no angel of the Lord smote him, but an owl appeared as a portent before the fatal seizure; he was carried to his palace, and lingered in agony for five days. There is nothing about his having been 'eaten of worms,' which may have been only a descriptive phrase commonly used of the death of tyrants (2 Mac 9^{9}). Both accounts, however, suggest the interposition of a higher, avenging hand in the sudden death of the king.

3. Agrippa II., son of Agrippa I. and Cypros, the daughter of Phasael, a son-in-law of Herod the Great. At the time of his father's death, he was resident in Rome, and only seventeen years of age. Disposed at first to grant him the succession to the Jewish kingdom, Claudius allowed himself to be dissuaded by his ministers, and re-transformed it into a Roman province. Detaining Agrippa in Rome, the Emperor compensated him six years afterwards for the loss of his paternal inheritance by giving him his uncle Herod's kingdom of Chalcis, as well as the rights, which Herod had possessed, of supervising the Temple and choosing the high priest. A year before his death, Claudius allowed Agrippa to exchange the meagre principality of Chalcis for those parts of his father's dominions, east and north-east of the Sea of Galilee, which had formerly been the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias (Batanæa, Gaulonitis, Trachonitis, and Abila). In A.D. 56 Nero, who had meanwhile succeeded to the throne and expected his aid against the Parthians, added to his kingdom the regions of Tiberias and Tarichеæ, with Julias, a city of Peræa, and fourteen villages in its vicinity. Agrippa showed his gratitude by changing the name of his capital from Cæsarea Philippi to Neronias, in honour of the Emperor, on whose birthday also he had Greek plays annually performed in a theatre which he erected at Berytus. Precluded by his position from independent political action, he contented himself with adorning his cities and conserving his possessions. A Roman at heart, and devoted by education and circumstances to the Roman influence, he endeavoured to bring the customs of his people into conformity with those of the Gentiles. At the same time, he evinced an occasional interest in the Jewish religion, and sought to win over the Pharisees to his projects. In the final struggle between the Jews and Rome, which he did his utmost to avert, he maintained his loyalty to the Imperial power, and at the close of the war was rewarded with an enlargement of his territories. We hear of him in Rome in A.D. 75, when he was raised to prætorian rank. Later on, he corresponded with Josephus about his *History of the Jewish War*. He died, without issue, about the end of the century. It was this king, Agrippa II., who was associated with Porcius Festus, the Roman procurator of Palestine (A.D. 60–62), in the trial of St. Paul recorded in Ac 25^{13}–26^{32}. The remark imputed to him on that occasion ('almost thou persuadest me to be a Christian,' 26^{28}) is interesting for the evidence it affords of the early currency of the name 'Christian.' The character of Agrippa has caused doubt to be thrown on its ordinary interpretation as an admission of the profound impression made on him by St. Paul's appeal. It has been taken to mean either 'you are persuading me somewhat to act the part of a Christian,' or 'on slight grounds you would make me a believer in your assertion that the Messiah has come' (*EBi* i. 754 n., ii. 2037).

LITERATURE.—The great authority for the lives of the Herods is Josephus. E. Schürer, *GJV*[4], Leipzig, 1901–11 (Eng. tr. of 2nd ed. = *HJP*, Edinburgh, 1885–90); A. Hausrath, *NTZG* (Eng. tr. of 2nd ed., London, 1895); and other *Histories of NT Times*, give more or less full accounts of the family. See also artt. *s.v.* in *HDB* and *EBi*.

D. FREW.

HERODION ('Ηρωδίων, WH 'Ηρῳδίων, Ro 16^{11}, a Greek name, suggesting connexion with the family of the Herods).—Herodion is saluted by St. Paul and is described as 'my kinsman' (τὸν συγγενῆ μου). Other 'kinsmen' saluted in Ro 16 are Andronicus and Junias (or Junia) (v.[7]), while three 'kinsmen' send salutations in v.[21]. That St. Paul means that these persons were relations of his is unlikely. It is this interpretation which has given rise to one of the difficulties felt in deciding the destination of the passage vv.[3-20]. Almost certainly we should understand 'fellow-Jews' or 'fellow-members of my tribe' (see Ro 9^{5}). Lightfoot connects Herodion with 'the household of Aristobulus' saluted in the preceding verse. He considers that Aristobulus was a member of the Herodian family, and that his 'household' would naturally include many Orientals and Jews, and therefore probably some Christians (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 175). Of the latter, Herodion may have been one. Others have conjectured that Herodion belonged to 'the household of Narcissus' saluted in the verse which follows.

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

HIERAPOLIS ('Ιεράπολις).—Hierapolis was a city in the province of Asia, picturesquely situated on a broad terrace in the mountain range which skirts the N. side of the Lycus valley. On the S. side, 6 miles away, Laodicea was plainly visible, while Colossæ lay hidden from view 12 miles to the S.E. Differing widely in history and character, these three cities were evangelized together soon after the middle of the 1st century. Hierapolis was probably an old Lydian city, but in the Roman period it was always regarded as Phrygian. A change in the spelling of the name is significant. While the older form—Hieropolis, the city of the *hieron*—limits the sanctity to the shrine, the later form—Hierapolis, the sacred city—conveys the idea that the whole place was holy.

In such an environment Christianity had to contend not merely with a superficial Hellenic culture, but with a deep-rooted native superstition. Politically of little account, Hierapolis was important as the home of an ancient Anatolian nature-worship, the cult of Leto and her son Sabazios. The striking physical phenomena of the place were clear indications to the primitive mind of the dreaded presence of a *numen* which required to be propitiated. The numerous hot streams tumbling down the side of the hill on which the city stood are

strongly impregnated with alum, and the snow-white incrustations which cover the rocky terraces present the appearance of 'an immense frozen cascade, the surface wavy, as of water in its headlong course suddenly petrified' (R. Chandler, *Travels in Asia Minor*[3], 1817, p. 287). From a hole in the ground—probably filled up by Christians after A.D. 320—there issued fumes of mephitic vapour, which seemed to come from Hades, so that the awe-inspiring spot was called the Plutonion or Charonion (Strabo XIII. iv. 14). On account of its marvellous hot springs—regarded as a divine gift—the city was associated with the medicinal art of Æsculapius, and under the Empire it became a famous health resort. It was the birth-place of Epictetus the Stoic.

Hierapolis is mentioned once in the NT (Col 4[13]), as a city causing grave concern to Epaphras, who was apparently the founder and first pastor of its church. The cities of the Lycus valley no doubt received the gospel at the time of St. Paul's prolonged mission in Ephesus, the city from which the light radiated over the whole province of Asia (Ac 19[10. 26]). Having acted as St. Paul's delegate in the Lycus valley (Col 1[7] [RV]), Epaphras knew that the Apostle regarded its churches as in a manner his own, and after some years of strenuous labour the 'faithful minister of Christ' made a journey from Asia to Rome to seek counsel and help in dealing with errors of doctrine and practice which threatened to undo his work.

There is a trustworthy tradition which connects the name of Philip the Apostle with Hierapolis. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus towards the end of the 2nd cent.—as quoted by Eusebius (*HE* iii. 31)—states that Philip, 'one of the twelve,' was among 'the great lights of Asia,' and that he was 'buried at Hierapolis along with his two virgin daughters.' Theodoret (*Commentary* on Ps 116) says that 'the Apostle Philip controverted the error of the Phrygians.' St. John is also believed to have preached at Hierapolis, and the progress of Christianity there was represented as the victory over the Echidna or serpent of Æsculapius, which was identified with Satan. Hierapolis was made a metropolis by Justinian. The ruins of the city are extensive and well-preserved. The theatre is one of the finest in Asia Minor. The white terrace now bears the fanciful name of 'Cotton Castle' (*Pambuk-Kalessi*).

LITERATURE.—W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 1842, i. 507 ff.; T. Lewin, *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1875, i. 356 f.; W. M. Ramsay, *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, 1890, p. 84, and *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, i. [1895] 84–120.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HIGH PRIEST.—See PRIEST.

HOLINESS, PURITY.—This article is intended to include the conceptions of holiness and purity as we find them in the literature of the Apostolic Church. So far as the Gospels are concerned, these have already been dealt with in separate articles in the *DCG*, to which reference is now made. There is a certain advantage in dealing with both subjects in one article, as the two are fundamentally connected; and in the course of the article it will be found that the tie is very close. Both are primarily religious ideas, whose ethical significance diverges. In the NT holiness emphasizes rather the Divine side, and purity the human side of that comprehensive condition of peace with and access to God the Father, along with all the consequences for character which had been mediated through the gospel of Jesus Christ. There seems to be no fundamental difference in the use of the terms 'holiness' and 'purity' by the various NT writers. Hence the method followed in the article has been to use in illustration of the general conceptions certain leading NT passages.

I. *HOLINESS.*—**1. The general conception.**—The original idea is stated by A. B. Davidson (*Ezekiel*, Cambridge, 1892, p. xxxix) to be 'not now recoverable' (cf. Robertson Smith, *RS*[2], London, 1894, p. 140). The most plausible suggestion is that it is connected with a root='separate.' Our idea of holiness is misleading for the interpretation of both OT and NT meaning. To us, holiness is exclusively an ethico-religious quality, attaching to persons, in so far as they are God-like in life and character; and applied (less accurately) to institutions (including sacraments) on account of their religious significance. In ancient Semitic religion, the 'holiness' of God or of men had nothing to do with morality and ethical purity of life. Even in Israel it came to be an appropriate epithet of, almost a synonym for, Deity (cf. Am 4[2] 6[8], where God is said to swear 'by his holiness,' and 'by himself,' without any real difference of meaning). In other words, 'holiness' is a relative term in ancient religion.

'The divine holiness was not so much an object of intellectual contemplation as a fact borne in upon the mind by the constant presence of things and persons that might not be touched, places that might not be entered, and times in which ordinary employments were suspended, because of their appropriation to the service or worship of God' (J. Skinner, *HDB* ii. 397[a]; cf. H. Schultz, *OT Theology*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1892, p. 168 ff.).

Holiness is not to be confused with transcendence in its application to God. Jahweh, as holy, in Hebrew thought is not originally opposed to the universe, but rather is guarded or guards Himself, on the one hand against the arrogance and presumption of man (1 S 6[20]) and, on the other, against the false deity of the national gods (Jos 4[19ff.]). The Hebrews, in transferring the epithet to Jahweh, also took over the ancient idea involved in it, and persisting in the NT, that any thing or person that comes into any relation with Deity is *ipso facto* holy. Any part of God Himself may be holy (*e.g.* His arm, His spirit); or what constitutes His property is 'holy' (*e.g.* His sanctuary, land, people, offerings, or ministers). Angels are also called 'holy ones' (Job 5[1]).

The real antithesis to 'holy' in this original sense is, therefore, 'profane' or 'common' (*ḥôl*, *βέβηλος*, lit. 'that which is allowed to be trodden' [Lv 10[10], 1 S 21[4], 1 Ti 4[7] 6[20], 2 Ti 2[16]]; used in the NT of men [1 Ti 1[9], He 12[16]]). The 'holy' was also accessible only under certain strict ceremonial regulations. And it is just at this point that the affinity of holiness and purity or cleanness becomes apparent (see further under II.).

2. The NT conception.—This idea of 'holiness' as essentially a relationship between God and man, in which God takes the initiative, persists all through the NT; and it is obvious that, as the idea of God developed, holiness would also tend to carry with it ever-increasing moral demands on character. We may therefore turn to the uses of the word in the NT.

There are two main groups of words translated 'holy' in the NT: (1) the *ἅγιος* group (*ἁγιάζω*, *ἁγιασμός*, *ἁγιότης*, *ἁγιωσύνη*); (2) the *ὅσιος* group (*ὁσιότης*, *ὁσίως* [1 Th 2[10]]). *ἱερός* is also twice employed (*e.g.* 2 Ti 3[15], 1 Co 9[13]), but it need not be specially distinguished.

In the NT the terms 'holiness' and 'holy' are applied (1) to God; (2) to Jesus; (3) to the Spirit of God; (4) to things and places; (5) to men.

(1) *The holiness of God.*—That 'holiness' and 'holy' are comparatively infrequent in this connexion in the NT need occasion no surprise. The Apostolic Church in the name 'Father' found a term that included and transcended the holiness of God. Jesus' own description of God is the 'perfect' One (Mt 5[48]), the 'good' One (Mt 19[17], Mk 10[18]).

As we shall see later, however, the judgment of Ritschl (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Bonn, 1870–74, ii. 89, 101; Eng. tr. of vol. iii., Edinburgh, 1900, p. 274) that the Divine holiness, 'in its Old Testament sense, is for various reasons not valid in Christianity, while its use in the New Testament is obscure,' cannot be upheld. Rather there are whole tracts of the NT literature that would remain a sealed book were it not for the guidance of this OT conception. ἅγιος is applied to God, or to the 'name' of God (Lk 1^{49}, Rev 4^{8}). In both these usages the significance is the same, and recalls the original meaning. The conception of the majesty of God is most prominent. In Rev 4^{8} it is the ζῷα who offer the ascription of praise in the form of the Trisagion. If they are taken as representing Nature, and the forces of the natural world, ἅγιος here no doubt emphasizes the sense of 'absolute life and majestic power' (J. Moffatt, *EGT* v. [1910] 381). There is a reminiscence of Is 6^{3}, but with a remarkable absence of the overwhelming impression of moral purity in the prophet's vision. The ethical content of the OT conception is apparent, however, in Rev 6^{10}. There the thought has affinity with Is 5^{16}, where God is said to 'sanctify' Himself, by inflicting righteous punishment on the sinners of Israel. The blood of the martyrs cries for the Divine vengeance, and the holiness of God must always express itself in the form of intense antagonism to the suffering of the innocent and the sin of the oppressor. Probably another side of the same idea is present in Jn 17^{11}, where the Saviour appeals to the holiness of the Father that, in view of the trials and persecutions likely to come upon them, the disciples who are 'in the world' may be protected and vindicated (cf. vv. $^{17.\ 25}$). The Father, as holy, transcends and is separate from the world, but condescends to the needs of the disciples—in other words, 'saves' them (H. J. Holtzmann). The usage in 1 P $1^{15f.}$ is interesting; ἅγιος ought to be translated as predicate. The exhortation is based on Lv $11^{44f.}$, and has no direct connexion with the more profound thought of Mt 5^{48}. The 'holiness' inculcated in the Leviticus passage involves the disuse as food of certain 'creeping things' regarded as repugnant and an 'abomination' to God. As often, holiness and physical purity tend to coalesce. God has called Israel out of Egypt to be a 'separate' nation, and He is 'holy' or 'apart from' the impure usages of heathen nations (cf. Skinner, *HDB* ii. 397[b]; E. Kautzsch, *ib.* v. 682). The idea in Leviticus does not go beyond ceremonial purity (see under II.). Similarly in 1 P $1^{15f.}$, while the idea of God has of course become moralized, and He is spoken of as 'Father,' the exhortation is essentially to abandon the 'former lusts,' on the ground that they too are repugnant to the nature of God and unfit men for the service of the 'living God.' The stress is still on the outward behaviour. As regards the expression ἁγιασθήτω τὸ ὄνομά σου in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6^{9}, Lk 11^{2}), 'name' is of course used in the ordinary biblical sense, and is equivalent to the revealed nature of God, especially as revealed in Jesus—His Fatherhood. There is an implied contrast with a pagan type of prayer (v.$^{7f.}$), which consists in formal and ceremonial repetitions of the same words. Jesus here applies the same revolutionary principle to prayer, in so far as it implies a conception of the character of God, as when He abrogates the ceremonial in conduct as a term of fellowship with God (Mt 15^{11}, Mk 7^{15}). God is 'the Holy One of Israel,' and His name is hallowed or sanctified, or 'counted as holy,' when men revere His majesty (Is 29^{23}), by recognizing, in willing and trustful submission, His Providence (Mt 6^{8}). The whole context in Mt 6^{1-8} is useful as determining the sense in which holiness is here ascribed to God by Jesus. The 'hallowing' of the name is opposed to ostentatious worship, which profanes it. The ethical content given to the word (v.^{5}) by our Lord is profound and far-reaching. The God, and Father, of Jesus is indeed 'exalted above' men in the perfection of His 'goodness' (Mk 10^{18}, Mt 19^{17}); but He is also infinitely accessible to all those who seek Him. Universalism is therefore latent in this opening petition.

The noun ἁγιότης is used of God (*a*) in 2 Co 1^{12} (ἐν ἁγιότητι καὶ εἰλικρινείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ); and (*b*) also in He 12^{10} (εἰς τὸ μεταλαβεῖν τῆς ἁγιότητος αὐτοῦ) (cf. 2 Mac 15^{2}).

(*a*) Another reading is ἁπλότητι ($\aleph^{c}$DEGL, the Latin and Syrian VSS). ἁγιότητι is supported by $\aleph^{*}$ABCKMP 17, 37, 73 and the Bohairic. St. Paul is claiming that his conduct is characterized by these Divine qualities, and 'in so far as they are displayed in men they are God's gift, as he goes on to explain' (J. H. Bernard, *EGT* iii. [1903] 42). Denney finely paraphrases: 'In a holiness and sincerity which God bestows, in an element of crystal transparency, I have led my apostolic life' (*2 Corinthians* [in Expositor's Bible, London, 1894], p. 30). Here, again, the affinity is apparent between the conceptions of purity and holiness. St. Paul is claiming to have walked 'in the light, as he is in the light.' The thought is akin to the Johannine idea 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all' (1 Jn 1^{5}).

(*b*) The word in Hebrews is used similarly to indicate a holiness of God that can be imparted to men. The conception here is not of a holiness that is only possible after death (H. von Soden). We may compare 12^{14}, 'without holiness, no man shall see the Lord,' where, however, the word is ἁγιασμός, or 'consecration' (see SANCTIFICATION), the process, of which ἁγιότης is the result. Here, again, we can detect, shining through the depth of ethical meaning, the fundamental idea of holiness as 'separation.'

'"Holiness" or sanctity in God is properly separation or distance from the world and elevation above it; holiness in men is separation from the world and dedication unto God' (A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 238).

It is significant, as indicating the immense progress attained in the Christian idea, that in the only two instances in the NT where the ἁγιότης of God is spoken of as an abstract term, men are represented as sharing in it.

Th. Haering (*The Christian Faith*, Eng. tr., London, 1913, i. 345) aptly cites the words 'ye would not' (Mt 23^{37}) as the expression of a love that is also holiness, in its reaction against sin. These are words, he says, 'which in their simple seriousness are not surpassed by the awful saying in He 12^{29}.' The love of God in the NT is awe-inspiring in its holiness, which, equally with love, is a term that may be used to express the glorious fullness of His moral excellence. Holiness is the principle and standard of God's love, which is His desire 'to impart' Himself and all good to other beings, and to possess them as His own in spiritual fellowship (W. N. Clarke, *Outline of Christian Theology*, Edinburgh, 1898, p. 98 f.). The reaction of the nature of God against sin is itself love, because thereby it exercises the means for overcoming the opposition to love. The 'wrath' of God (*e.g.* Ro 1^{18}) is a conception that can be adequately expressed and understood only in terms of the biblical conception of His holiness. Holiness, it has to be remembered, is not strictly an attribute, but the fullness of the Divine nature, as love is. We cannot set these two conceptions naïvely side by side. One of the theological tasks of the present is to procure an adequate adjustment of these two aspects of the Divine nature to one another. No theological writer of modern times has realized and met the need so strikingly as Haering (see esp. ii. 494 ff. of his work already quoted).

'We are . . . face to face with the mystery of the Divine personality, of which we are compelled to think as life capable of being moved to its utmost depths, without however being able to press this necessary idea [of holiness] to its logical conclusions' (*ib.* ii. 495).

We must recognize that the love of God, like all perfect love, has 'height,' as well as 'depth,' if we would be filled 'unto all the fulness of God' (Eph $3^{18f.}$).

(2) *The holiness of Jesus.*—In Lk 1^{35} the child Jesus in His pre-natal existence is called *τὸ γεννώμενον ἅγιον*, 'that holy thing that is being generated' (cf. Mt 1^{20}). The expression has no special significance in connexion with the subject of this article. The Holy Spirit is regarded as the origin of the physical existence of Jesus; and therefore the embryo is entirely holy, as deriving existence from God. The application of the term to the physical nature of Jesus must be regarded as the result of reflexion, no doubt influenced by Hellenistic thought, and perhaps in opposition to Docetic theories of His Person. It belongs to a *milieu* where the theological idea of the pre-existence of Jesus has given way to a more popular conception of His physical birth (cf. Lk 1^{15}) (see art. HOLY SPIRIT). We are also faced here with the problem of a possible interpolation in vv.$^{34.35}$ (Moffatt, *LNT*, p. 268 ff.).

Jesus is also referred to as 'the Holy One of God' (Mk 1^{24}, Lk 4^{34}, Jn 6^{69} [acc. to the true reading]). The phrase is evidently a designation of the Messiah. The demons are represented as acknowledging that Jesus is 'the Holy One of God,' *i.e.* One who has been chosen, equipped, and consecrated for the service of humanity against the might of the demonic powers that brought disease and madness by taking possession of the bodies of men. This was regarded in contemporary Jewish thought as a function of the Messiah. The epithet 'holy' is used in the same sense of consecration to special service in Jn 6^{69}, which again may be compared with Jn 10^{36}: *ὃν ὁ πατὴρ ἡγίασεν, i.e.* set apart for a special mission. No feature, however, of the consciousness of Jesus in the Johannine Gospel is more marked than the emphasis on the idea that Jesus in His essential nature transcends the ordinary Messianic categories. Therefore, although *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ* cannot be regarded as the reading in Jn 6^{69}, the same conception of the moral and religious relationship of Jesus with God, His unique Sonship, as transcending Messianic categories (*μονογενής*), expressed so frequently in the Johannine writings by *ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ*, or *ὁ υἱός*, must be regarded as implicit in *ὁ ἅγιος τοῦ θεοῦ* (cf. *ῥήματα ζωῆς αἰωνίου ἔχεις* [v.^{68}]). Jesus is called *ὁ ἅγιος* absolutely in Rev 3^{7} (*ὁ ἅγιος ὁ ἀληθινός*) and in 1 Jn 2^{20}. In the latter passage the idea of the transference of the *χρίσμα* may or may not have an affinity with Hellenistic mystery-religion (R. Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen*, Leipzig, 1910, p. 206 f.); but in any case the *χρίσμα* itself is to be connected with such passages as Ex 29^{7} 30^{31}, and Jesus is 'holy' because He has been 'anointed' or set apart for His particular mission, wherein He perfectly reveals and perfectly does the will of God. In Johannine thought, the Holy Spirit is conferred on Jesus without measure (Jn 3^{34}); it 'abides' in Him ($1^{32f.}$). It is the source of His unique filial consciousness, and in this sense He is set apart by God for His mission, and perfectly carries it out. It is extremely questionable if the Johannine writings ever contemplate the metaphysical notion of the *essential* oneness of the Father and the Son, however justifiable it may be to deduce that conception from the main position adopted, viz. a 'oneness' of love and will. The Johannine position, however, as to the 'oneness' of God and Jesus is clearly developed in the face of physical notions of union with deity, derived from the Hellenistic mystery-religions (cf. W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, Göttingen, 1913, p. 186 ff.). It is significant that the relationship expressed by *ἁγιάζειν* between God and Jesus is one that may be conferred on men by Jesus (cf. Jn 17^{17-19}).

In the Book of Acts Jesus is called *τὸν ἅγιον καὶ δίκαιον* (3^{14}), where the epithet is simply an equivalent for the Messiah; and it has the same meaning in 4^{27} (*τὸν ἅγιον παῖδά σου*), where *παῖδα* is to be translated 'servant' in the sense of Is 52^{13} 61^{1} (see R. J. Knowling, *EGT* ii. [1900], on Ac 3^{13}).

Hitherto we have been dealing with instances of the use of *ἅγιος*. In Ac 2^{27} *τὸν ὅσιόν σου* follows the LXX translation of Ps 16^{10}, and is rendered in the AV and RV 'Thy holy one.' *ὅσιος* is generally used in the LXX to render *ḥāsîd* (cf. Dt 33^{8}, 2 S 22^{26}, etc.). *Ḥāsîd* seems to be governed in its primary meaning by that of *ḥesed* (='loving-kindness'), and to mean 'one who is the object of God's loving-kindness.'

'In its primary sense the word implies no moral praise or merit; but it came, not unnaturally, to be connected with the idea of *chesed* as "loving-kindness" between man and man, and to be used of the character which reflected that love of which it was itself the object; and finally was applied even to God Himself' (A. F. Kirkpatrick, *Psalms*, Cambridge, 1902, Appendix, note I., p. 835 f.).

ὅσιος is applied to God only in Rev 15^{4} 16^{5} in the NT. It is again applied to Jesus in He 7^{26} (*ἀρχιερεὺς ὅσιος ἄκακος*), where the root distinction between *ὅσιος* and *ἅγιος* becomes apparent. The writer is speaking of Christ's moral fitness to be our High Priest, and therefore lays stress on the fact that He is *ὅσιος*, as exhibiting a perfect filial reverence and devotion to His Father's will. *ὅσιος* here is the summary, and also indicates the common source of those inward qualities that constituted the 'holy' character of Jesus. It is interesting to note that *ὅσιος* is conjoined with *δίκαιος* (*ὁσιότης* with *δικαιοσύνη* in Lk 1^{75}; *ὁσίως* with *δικαίως* in 1 Th 2^{10}) in most of the instances of its use in the NT. This is also frequently the case in classical usage. The central idea in both *ὅσιος* and *δίκαιος* is conduct sanctioned by Divine Law; and *ὅσιος* seems to express the Godward, *δίκαιος* the manward, side of such conduct.

It is perplexing to find that in classical usage *ὅσιος* came to mean also 'profane,' but this is accounted for if we remember that a 'profane' place is one that may be trodden by all without doing violence to the majesty of the god; 'profane' conduct, *i.e.*, is conduct allowed by the god. Of the latter usage there is no trace in the NT. The word used is always *βέβηλος*.

ὅσιος, therefore, comes to mean 'holy,' approaching much more nearly to our use of the word in English. In all the uses of the word in the NT, even in the semi-technical applications to Messiah quoted from Acts, the reference is to moral conduct, considered as fitness for the service of God (cf. 1 Ti 2^{8}). (For the Greek conception of *ὅσιος* see art. 'Holiness [Greek]' in *ERE*.)

In Ro 1^{4} St. Paul says that Jesus was 'designated (almost='installed,' *ὁρισθέντος*) Son of God with power according to the Spirit of holiness (*κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης*) by a resurrection of the dead.' *πνεῦμα ἁγιωσύνης* cannot here be merely an equivalent of 'Holy Spirit' (but see Feine, *Neutest. Theologie*, pp. 346 f., 452). The expression 'characterises Christ ethically, as *κατὰ σάρκα* (v.^{3}) does physically' (Denney, *EGT* ii. 586). It is along the lines of this clearly implied distinction between *πνεῦμα* and *σάρξ* that the meaning must be found. There is, however, here no accurate and definite theological distinction between the Divine and the human nature of Jesus. St. Paul is thinking of the complete Personality of Jesus (as also when he says previously *κατὰ σάρκα*), and he means the human *πνεῦμα* (as the human *σάρξ*) of Jesus, the former distinguished by a unique 'holiness' (cf. He 2^{17} 4^{15}). This 'holiness,' as always, consists in complete and unswerving consecration to God, and is manifested in all those qualities that constituted the Personality of Jesus. The Resurrection of

Jesus is the signal acknowledgment by God of the fact. The idea is part of a Messianic apologetic against current Jewish notions. The holiness of Jesus is His complete response to the choice of God in sending His Son to be the Saviour of men, and evokes an equivalent response on the part of God in the miracle of the Resurrection. It is the holiness of men, as constituting an indestructible relationship with God, that is the basis of the flickering hope of immortality in the sense of an endless life with God that we find here and there in the OT. Men have committed themselves to Him, with all that the step involves for conduct, and the promise of the future rests on His faithfulness and power (cf. Ps 73[17], where 'sanctuary' is really 'the holy things of God' or 'the ultimate deeds of God in the full character of His holiness' [G. A. Smith, *Modern Criticism and the Preaching of the OT*, London, 1901, p. 206]). It is not without significance, both for the conception of ἁγιωσύνη in Ro 1[4] as applied to Jesus and for the connexion of the Resurrection of Jesus with human immortality, that St. Paul here uses the phrase, strange in this connexion, ἐξ ἀναστάσεως νεκρῶν, evidently meaning a resurrection in which others will share.

(3) *Holy Spirit* (see art. HOLY SPIRIT).

(4) *Holiness applied to things and places.*—The uses under this heading need no elucidation. We have ἁγίαν πόλιν (Mt 27[53], Rev 11[2] 21[2. 10]); ἁγίας διαθήκης (Lk 1[72]); ἁγίου τόπου (Ac 6[13]); ἁγίαις γραφαῖς (Ro 1[2]); ἅγιος νόμος, ἁγία ἐντολή (Ro 7[12]); ἁγίῳ φιλήματι (2 Co 13[12]); ἁγίῳ ὄρει (2 P 1[18]); ἅγιος ναός (1 Co 3[17]). In one or two of these (*e.g.* 2 P 1[18]) we seem to see the word assuming a formal or traditional sense. This usage is much more common in the OT than in the NT. Over these things and places, as specially related to the redemptive economy of God, God is represented as exercising a watchful care. They 'belong' to Him, as also do His 'saints' (see art. SAINT).

(5) *Holiness as applied to men.*—A large part of what is appropriate to this heading will be found under the article SAINT. This is a very common term, especially in the writings of St. Paul, Hebrews, and Revelation, for the ordinary member of the Christian community. The 'saints' are those 'consecrated' to the service of God. The word does not imply necessarily perfection of moral character, but it does imply, and is used frequently to enforce the teaching, that those that are 'holy' in this sense must become daily more fitted, morally and spiritually, for the service to which they are committed (Ro 6[17. 18. 22], 1 P 1[15. 16]).

The usage of the word ἅγιος as applied to men may be expected to be governed by the idea, applicable also to things and places, that what is related to God or is used in His service is itself 'holy.' Accordingly we find such usages as ἅγιαι προφῆται (Lk 1[70], Ac 3[21], 2 P 3[2]); ἁγίους ἀποστόλους (Eph 3[5]); ἅγιαι γυναῖκες (1 P 3[5]). All these are so spoken of, primarily, as those who have been or are the special instruments of the Divine will and in intimate fellowship with God in the work of revelation and redemption.

Those uses of ἁγιάζω in the NT where the dominant application of the term seems to be deliverance from the guilt of sin by the death of Jesus are not included in this article, but will be dealt with under SANCTIFICATION. In the OT 'guilt' or the sense of guilt is the objective effect of sin (see art. SIN; Schultz, *OT Theology*, ii. 306 ff.). It is a state of alienation from God, a rupture of the relationship between God and man, or God and the nation, which can be restored only by an act of expiation. It must be carefully noted that where ἅγιος or ἁγιάζω is employed in the NT in this sense the primary meaning of the words as='in relationship with God' is still retained. In one passage St. Paul seems to use ἁγιάζω as practically synonymous with δικαιόω (1 Co 6[11]) (cf. Feine, *Neutest. Theologie*,[5] p. 436). The Corinthians are 'justified' or 'acquitted' 'in the name of' Jesus, *i.e.* restored to a relationship of love with God (cf. Eph 5[26], He 10[10. 29]). Christian holiness in its moral aspect is expressed by καθαρίζειν in He 9[14] (cf. O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, Eng. tr., London, 1877, ii. 68 ff.).

Two Pauline passages call for special mention: Ro 11[16] and 1 Co 7[14. 34] (cf. Eph 5[26]). In both of these the conception is that the sanctification of the part involves the sanctification of the whole. In the one case St. Paul is stating the grounds on which he bases his confidence in the future of Israel. He bases it upon the holiness of the Patriarchs (v.[28]) from whom they are descended.

'By the offering of the first-fruits, the whole mass was considered to be consecrated; and so the holiness of the Patriarchs consecrated the whole people from whom they came' (Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5], Edinburgh, 1902, p. 326, *in loco*). The thought is on the analogy of Nu 15[19-21].

In the second passage, the Apostle is dealing with the problem of marriage with an unbeliever, and argues against dissolution of the tie in such cases, on the ground that the Christian partner, as one member of the relationship, thereby 'sanctifies' the other, in virtue of the fact that they are one. The result attaches to the children also. We must be careful, however, not to attach too great moral significance to 'sanctify.' The thought moves strictly within the biblical conception of holiness. Only such marriages are contemplated as have taken place before conversion (2 Co 6[14]). The unbelieving husband is introduced by union with the believing wife into the sphere of 'holiness.' Holiness is not a moral but a religious condition. At the same time, it is not going beyond the actual thought of the Apostle to say that the effect of his words on the believer would be to create a new conception and a new sense of moral and spiritual responsibility for the unbelieving partner. The word ἁγιάζω is in this passage, as it were, caught in the act of passing from the ceremonial to the moral meaning. It is a legitimate inference that the Christian's friends, or possessions, or abilities—all that is indissolubly connected with his personality—should in this sense be holy. At the same time, the emphasis on physical descent in Ro 11[16] shows that St. Paul has not completely transcended materialistic and ceremonial notions in the conception of holiness; and a similar emphasis may be detected in the passage from 1 Corinthians. The idea is still present that holiness can be transferred by physical contact (cf. Ex 29[37], Is 65[5], reading 'lest I make thee holy').

In conclusion, it is advisable to point out the reason for laying stress on the primary conception of ἅγιος in our interpretation of the term in the NT. It is impossible to miss, in the application of ἁγιωσύνη to Jesus in Ro 1[4], or in the frequent conjunction of the ἅγιος and καθαρός groups of words, as in Eph 5[26f.], He 9[14], or in many of the uses of ἅγιος (*e.g.* 1 P 1[16]), the sense that perfection of moral character is intimately bound up with the term, and is never absent in the thought of the NT writers. Wherein, then, consists the significance of the fact that the primary meaning of a relationship to God or to Christ is always dominant? Why is it so pre-eminently a religious rather than an ethical conception? It is very remarkable that an idea common to all ancient religions, where often it has an origin and expression in materialistic forms of thought, should so persistently reappear in the early Christian religion. Undoubtedly thereby the content of the ideal Christian character has been enlarged, deepened, and purified. Holiness comes before morality, as the source before the river. In the Christian ethics, there is no

divorce between holiness and virtue, nor can there be. The choice of men by God, His call, and His setting of them apart for His service—an act sometimes conceived as not a thing of time merely, but begun in the far-off moment of pre-mundane existence 'in Christ Jesus' (Eph 1^4)—must have increased a thousand-fold the grandeur of the moral motive presented even to the weakest, most despicable, and most unworthy 'saint.' The thought is indeed conceived in the Spirit of Him who invited all to receive the love He came to reveal, and established for all time in the heart of His Church the value of each individual life before God, the Father. Moreover, the gift of the Holy Spirit meant essentially that all the graces of the Christian character had their origin in the gift and grace of God Himself. The initiative lies with Him. Love is the fulfilling of the Law. Christian conduct is not a task set by God, but a sharing of the Divine nature; not a doctrine, but a life.

'To the men who wrote the NT and to those for whom they wrote, the Spirit was not a doctrine but an experience; they did not speak of believing in the Holy Spirit, but of receiving the Holy Spirit when they believed' (Denney, *DCG* i. 731a).

The gospel of Christ has ever been attended with the risk of antinomianism, a risk that it has always been willing to take and able to meet (Gal 5^{13}, Ro 6^{14}). The present-day phenomenon of 'practical' Christianity, as distinct from spiritual and devotional—'enthusiasm for humanity'—is really, in its fundamental conception, out of accord with the teaching of the NT on holiness, as a summary of the Christian character. What characterizes the NT writers everywhere is their 'enthusiasm for God,' as revealed in Jesus, and the social conscience is a manifestation from the same religious source. 'Thy brother for whom Christ died' is *the* conception that has revolutionized social life. The term *ἅγιος* in its moral demand dredges the conscience of men, and reaches to the very springs of human conduct (cf. 2 Co 7^1). The same predicate *ἅγιος* can be used of God and of man; and where the need of a substitute is felt, none worthier can be found than in the great saying, *ἔσεσθε οὖν ὑμεῖς τέλειοι ὡς ὁ πατὴρ ὑμῶν ὁ οὐράνιος τέλειός ἐστιν* (Mt 5^{48}). The notion of 'Christian perfection' found in 1 Jn (5^{18}, etc.) can only be reached by realizing that in the Johannine thought the OT conception of holiness is for the most part expressed in more or less mystical fashion under the influence of Greek thought as 'union with God in Christ,' but that, notwithstanding, the Johannine 'sinlessness' is not in the end faultlessness. It is rather the inevitable issue in character of complete loyalty to Jesus Christ (see PERFECT, PERFECTION).

II. *PURITY.*—There are two groups of words in the NT that are translated 'pure,' 'purify,' 'purge,' or 'cleanse.' In the RV 'cleanse' is substituted for 'purge' of the AV in certain passages, but is retained in 1 Co 5^7, 2 Ti 2^{21}, He 1^3 $9^{14.\ 22}$. (1) *καθάρός, καθαρίζω* (Hellenistic form of *καθαίρω*), *καθαρισμός, καθαρότης; καθαίρω; διακαθαρίζω; κάθαρμα, περικάθαρμα; ἀκάθαρτος, ἀκαθαρσία*; (2) *ἁγνός, ἁγνίζω, ἁγνότης, ἁγνῶς; ἁγνεία; ἁγνισμός.* In addition we have *βαπτισμός*, in the sense of 'cleansing,' in Mk 7^4, He 6^2 9^{10}; *ῥαντίζω, ῥαντισμός* (tr. 'sprinkle,' 'sprinkling'), especially in Hebrews; *εἰλικρινής* ('pure').

The ideas of purity and holiness are most clearly associated if we consider their joint affinity with the ancient religious notion of *tabu*. The subject cannot be fully entered upon here, but Robertson Smith (*RS*^{2}, p. 152 ff.) and A. S. Peake ('Unclean, Uncleanness' in *HDB*) should be consulted. It is of advantage, for the sake of clearness of thought, to note that in ancient religion the notion of 'uncleanness' is primary and positive, and that 'cleanness' is really its opposite, and the negative form. This consideration is of importance as being really the origin of that negative morality connected with Jewish ceremonial religion which Jesus abrogated for ever (Lk $11^{24.\ 26}$).

'In rules of holiness the motive is respect for the gods, in rules of uncleanness it is primarily fear of an unknown or hostile power, though ultimately, as we see in the Levitical legislation, the law of clean and unclean may be brought within the sphere of divine ordinances, on the view that uncleanness is hateful to God and must be avoided by all that have to do with Him' (Robertson Smith, *RS*^{2}, p. 153).

The attitude of Jesus towards ceremonial uncleanness does not properly fall within the scope of this article (see artt. 'Purification,' 'Purity' in *DCG* ii.). The scribes, by an elaborate system of casuistry, laid down minute regulations and interpretations of the ceremonial laws of purity; and these dominated the whole religion of Judaism in our Lord's day. They became a grievous burden, under which men became 'weary and heavy-laden.' The gracious invitation of Mt 11^{28} is also the herald of a great religious revolution, and it is in connexion with the ceremonial requirements connected with hand-washing that Jesus enunciates the great law, repealing all the Levitical rules as to unclean meats (Mk $7^{6\text{-}23}$, Mt $15^{3\text{-}20}$). No longer ceremonial, but only moral, defilement is possible.

As regards the practice of the Apostolic Church, the incident of Ac $10^{9\text{-}16}$ is instructive. We may be certain that St. Peter was not the only one who was 'much perplexed within himself' as to the full scope of Jesus' principle that the real seat of defilement is within. The Apostolic Decree of Ac 15^{29} was essentially a concession to Jewish prejudices, but at the same time was no doubt actuated by the spirit of Christian love, which forbids one's doing violence to the conscience of a brother, merely for the purpose of asserting an abstract and selfish liberty (1 Co 8^{13}. $10^{23\text{ff.}}$). It has to be borne in mind: (1) that religious scruples are to be respected (Mk 1^{44}); (2) that when, for example, St. Paul became a Jew to the Jews, and submitted to a rite of purification (Ac 21^{26}), he did so all the more easily that he himself did not cease to be a Jew (see art. FAST). The instances of obedience to the Jewish ceremonial Law in the NT are not entirely to be explained by a theory of deliberate and conscious concession or adaptation.

The conception of purity, however, in the NT (as in the prophetic teaching of the OT) is entirely ethical. If we are to make any distinction between *ἁγνός* and *καθαρός*, it will be found in the direction of the distinction laid down in Westcott's comment on 1 Jn 3^3 (*Ep. of St. John*, London, 1883, p. 98): *ἁγνός* connotes the feeling, and *καθαρός* the state. *ἁγνός* implies a certain inward shrinking from pollution and is applied to Jesus, while *καθαρός* expresses simply the fact of cleanness (cf. *HDB*, art. 'Purity'). In the LXX *ἁγνός* and *καθαρός* are used indiscriminately to translate Heb. *ṭāhôr* (lit. 'brightness'); *καθαρός* occasionally for *bōr* (lit. 'separate'). *ἁγνός* (as also *ἁγνότης*) is always ethical in meaning; *ἁγνίζω* has a ceremonial sense in Jn 11^{55}, Ac $21^{24.\ 26}$ 24^{18}; *ἁγνεία* = 'chastity' in 1 Ti 4^{12} 5^2. *καθαρός* and its cognates vary in meaning between the ceremonial and the ethical. In such a passage as Jn 15^3 we see the word in process of passing from the ceremonial to the ethical meaning.

The word *εἰλικρινής* (Ph 1^{10}, 2 P 3^1) and its noun *εἰλικρινεία* (1 Co 5^8, 2 Co 1^{12} 2^{17}) are worthy of special treatment. In the instance quoted from 2 Peter, it is to be suspected that the usage of the writer is not very accurate. He is fond of 'bookish' words. The etymology is very doubtful, but the sense is abundantly clear. In Ph 1^{10} the mind that is *εἰλικρινής* is enabled *δοκιμάζειν τὰ διαφέροντα* ('to approve the things that are excellent,' RV; cf. Ro 2^{18}). Bengel's note is 'non modo prae malis bona sed in bonis optima.' There is a type of character which may hold fast the good, and miss the best (cf. our

Lord's Parables of the Treasure hid in the Field, and the Pearl of Great Price). The character described possesses such clear moral perception that it is enabled to welcome and understand and love the 'highest' when it sees it. The goal and ultimate standard of human conduct is the judgment-seat of Christ—'the day of Christ,' as the Philippian passage has it. In Plato, *Phædo*, 81 B, C, the ψυχὴ εἰλικρινής is contrasted with the ψυχὴ μεμιασμένη καὶ ἀκάθαρτος, stained and polluted by its connexion with the body. The use of εἰλικρινής in the NT is an example of the way in which a word is ennobled and enriched by being taken over into Christian thought. The Orphic doctrine of the defilement of the spirit by contact with the body (σῶμα σῆμα—the body the prison-house of the soul *), elaborated by Plato, is cast aside, and the great result of pure ethical vision is attained through the discipline and control of the passions. The meaning seems to be that form of ethical purity which is expressed in a mind uncontaminated and unwarped by sensual or sordid passion. Clearly St. Paul uses it in this sense in 2 Co 1^{12} and 2^{17}. His motives are unmixed (cf. the phrase 'the unleavened bread of εἰλικρινείας' in 1 Co 5^{8}). All that he has done, or is doing, is worthy to be seen as in an atmosphere of pellucid clearness, ἐν ἁγιότητι καὶ εἰλικρινείᾳ τοῦ θεοῦ, οὐκ ἐν σοφίᾳ σαρκικῇ ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι θεοῦ. The purity of which he speaks must be regarded as a gift of God. It is remarkable that in *Phædo* 81 A the soul that is εἰλικρινής is compared with the experience by the initiated of the Divine Vision. In any case, the emphasis is on the comprehensive ethical quality of purity, in the sense of 'sincerity' or 'reality,' which plays such a dominant part in the Pauline ethics (2 Co 13^{8}; cf. Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des NT*, p. 349 f.). (For the Stoic conception of εἰλικρινεία cf. Posidonius, *ap.* Sext. Emp. *adv. Math.* ix. 71–4; Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* i. 40, 42, 43; and E. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1913, pp. 107–8.)

ῥαντισμός (ῥαντίζω; ῥαίνω in classical Greek) is translated 'sprinkling' in the EV. It is applied to the cleansing influence of the sacrifice of Jesus on the human conscience (He $9^{13.\ 21}$ 10^{22}, 1 P 1^{2}). It is frequently used in conjunction with αἷμα. Its use can be understood only if we remember that 'in the consciousness of the pious Israelite, sin, guilt, and punishment are ideas so directly connected that the words for them are interchangeable' (Schultz, *OT Theology*, ii. 306). Guilt is a state of impurity which manifests itself in a consciousness of alienation from God, and antagonism to the Divine Law, and it is from the sense of guilt that the blood of Jesus is said to 'sprinkle' or 'cleanse' men. We may also compare He 12^{24}, where 'a blood of sprinkling' is spoken of as 'speaking better things than that of Abel.' The blood of Abel cried for vengeance (Gn 4^{10}); the life-blood of Jesus is a more powerful appeal than the mere martyr blood. We shall seek in vain for any theoretical principle, on the basis of which the NT writers—especially the writer of Hebrews—apply the symbolism of the OT sacrificial system to the Death of Jesus. The situation is simply that what was experienced in the worship of the OT was experienced in full and satisfying reality in the conscience of the NT believer. The probability is that no principle suggested itself or was felt to be needed (cf. A. B. Davidson, *Hebrews*, p. 176 ff.). This fact suggests a profound application to the question of religious unity to-day, especially in connexion with sacraments and orders. In this region, emphasis on the necessity of principles tends to disunion, on common experience to real and fundamental unity. In both OT and NT thought the 'cleansing' that is denoted by ῥαντισμός is the removal of the obstacle to taking a real part in the religious services of the sanctuary (Nu 19). In the NT the obstacle is conceived as a guilty conscience, and the profundity of the NT conception consists in the fact that a guilty conscience is thought of as an obstacle to the service of God in the fullest ethical sense. It is a hindrance arising no longer in the external region of bodily defilement, but in the inner sphere of a man's own consciousness. Here we have another link connecting the ideas of 'purity' and 'holiness' (cf. also Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, ii. 66 ff., and art. SANCTIFICATION).

* Cf. J. Adam, *The Religious Teachers of Greece*, Edinburgh, 1908, p. 96 ff.

LITERATURE.—The literature cited in the article; the Commentaries on the various passages; *NT Theologies* of H. J. Holtzmann (²Tübingen, 1911) and P. Feine (Leipzig, 1910); H. Weinel, *Biblische Theologie des NT*, Tübingen, 1911; artt. in *DCG*, *HDB*, and *ERE*. More practical works: F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, 3rd ser., London, 1876, p. 122 ff.; E. H. Askwith, *The Christian Conception of Holiness*, do. 1900; G. A. Smith, *Isaiah*, do. 1888–90, i. 63 ff.; J. H. Jowett, *The Epistles of St. Peter*, do. 1905, p. 45 ff.; Amiel's *Journal*, tr. Mrs. Humphry Ward, do. 1891, pp. 136, 207; J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, do., ed. 1895, p. 358 ff.; A. C. McGiffert, *Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 508 ff.; A. Maclaren, *Sermons preached in Manchester*, 2nd ser.³, London, 1873, p. 112 ff.

R. H. STRACHAN.

HOLY DAY.—The term was employed in the Jewish Law to denote a day set apart for the service of God. Especially is it used of the Sabbath. It might be a day on which certain restrictions were laid on individual liberty. The scope of this article is confined to the attitude adopted by the Apostolic Church towards the Jewish 'holy days.' The subject is really part of a much larger one—the question of its attitude towards the Jewish Law. Jesus, while completely abrogating the ceremonial Law (see art. HOLINESS), yet attended Jewish feasts; and St. Paul, notwithstanding his attitude towards the Jewish Law, is represented in Ac 20^{16} as hastening his sea-journey, in order to be at Jerusalem for the day of Pentecost.

To discuss the whole question of the Sabbath in relation to the Apostolic Church would be to transgress the limits of this article, but the position that must in general be adopted is that there is no trace in the NT of an arbitrary and conscious substitution of the Lord's Day for the Jewish Sabbath. The process of early Christian thought in this connexion, as in connexion with holy days in general, was really determined not by enactment, but by the action of the great guiding principles of spiritual freedom and brotherly love. Indeed, the original motive of the institution of the Jewish Sabbath, before its observance was overlaid with minute Rabbinical details, was not so much that the Israelite should rest himself, as that he should give others rest. The life and work, the example and precept, and above all the Resurrection of Jesus, implied the complete abrogation of the Mosaic dispensation; but as that dispensation was still part of the personal environment, and eventually bound up with the personal religion of individual Christians—both Jew and Gentile—for many generations, it is not to be expected that its cogency would at once cease to be felt. 'The dead leaves of Judaism fell off gradually, they were not rudely torn off by man' (*HDB* iii. 139[b]). It is only by keeping the principle laid down by Jesus Himself in Lk 5^{39} fully in view that the relationship of the Apostolic Church to holy days in general, and to the Sabbath in particular, can be understood. As will be seen, the determining factor in the gradual displacement of the Sabbath by the Lord's Day, in the Christian Church, determined also the general attitude to all holy days. That factor was the Resurrection of Jesus, the experience of the New Creation, and the inevitable sense of victory over all that would fetter Christian freedom (see further, art. SABBATH).

Bearing in mind what has been said, we are not

surprised to discover a certain amount of compromise, wherever the Apostolic Church had to give conscious expression to its views and to give guidance to its members on the question of the observance of holy days. The Apostolic Decree of Ac 15[19-21] has only a very general bearing on our particular subject, but the matters with which it deals—the problems of meals and heathen religious practices—are closely connected. We must also remember that as Christianity in the course of its missionary expansion came in contact with Hellenistic Judaism, the Pagan religious spirit, with its insistence on the observance of heathen festivals, would encourage a return to and an emphasis upon 'holy days.' There are three passages in St. Paul's writings that may be adduced in illustration.

1. Gal 4[10].—'Ye observe days, and months, and seasons, and years.' St. Paul is really combating the influence of those who were making the attempt to judaize, insisting that submission to Jewish rites was necessary for salvation, and discrediting the freedom of the Pauline gospel as antinomianism. At the same time, it is apparent from the context that the Galatians had, no doubt through the influence of Pagan festivals, laid great stress on the observance of these days as connected with deliverance from the power of the *στοιχεῖα*, which are undoubtedly intermediate beings, connected with the growth of angelology in later Judaism, and readily identified by the Galatians with heathen demonic powers, in which they once believed (cf. A. S. Peake, *EGT*, 'Colossians,' London, 1903, p. 522 f.; following F. Spitta, *Der zweite Brief des Petrus und der Brief des Judas*, Halle, 1885, p. 263 f.). They were in bondage to them which by nature are 'no gods' (v.[8]). Such observances would destroy the spirit of sonship (v.[6]), the privilege of immediate access to the Father, which constituted the gospel he had preached to them. Accordingly we may conjecture that, apart from the demand for circumcision, St. Paul is not here condemning the observance of holy days as such, but only as leading, by way of a revived Judaism, back to Paganism. The Galatians are accused not so much of wickedness, as of 'foolishness' (*ἀνόητοι Γαλάται*, 3[1]), or want of judgment. No doubt it was really moral earnestness that led them astray. To follow the definite moral precepts of Judaism, taken over into Christianity, impressed them as a safer course than to venture on the broad sea of Christian freedom and the guidance of the Spirit.

2. Ro 14[5.6].—The situation in Rome was somewhat different. The reference here to the observance of 'days' is connected with the question of the responsibility of the strong for the conscience of the weak (v.[1]). The weak in faith are those who have an inadequate grasp of the great principle of salvation by faith in Christ. They are the 'scrupulous' in conscience, who, like the Galatians, are afraid to be guided except by definite legal enactments. It is interesting to note that St. Paul does not call the weak brother *ἀσθένης*, but speaks of *τὸν ἀσθενοῦντα* = 'one who may become strong' (F. Godet, *Com. on Romans*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1881–82, ii. 329). He is one whose conscience has to be considered, but within limits, as the rebuke to his censoriousness in v.[4] shows. The days mentioned are not necessarily Sabbath days, but may be any holy day—a fast or a feast. It is held by some (E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London, 1904, p. 126; J. Denney, *EGT*, 'Romans,' 1900, p. 702) that St. Paul has in view a definite sect of vegetarians. If that be so, the days in question would be days on which flesh might or might not be eaten, while in some cases complete abstinence from flesh might be demanded. In any case, it is significant that 'eating' is closely conjoined with the observance of the 'day'; and whether the day were feast or fast or Sabbath, the principles inculcated by St. Paul apply equally well. The day in itself, like the eating, is indifferent, and therefore the Christian is free to observe it or not according as the spirit of Christian brotherhood and a regard for the unity and peace of the Church may dictate. By indifference to external observances, a 'free' Christian may injure the conscience of another. At the same time conduct here, as always, is determined ultimately not by direct reference to the 'weak' brother, but by reference to Christ. No man liveth to himself, but 'to the Lord' (v.[7]). It is His interest alone that is to be considered, and the weak brother is to be considered as one 'for whom Christ died.' St. Paul, in his impartial fashion in dealing with all such questions, rather creates an atmosphere in which the elements for decision are clearly seen than lays down any legislative enactment. The authority of the Church is neither more nor less than the authority of Jesus, interpreted by the individual conscience, in close Christian relationship to those who constitute the Church a body of believers. There is nothing whatever that is purely legal and statutory in the Christian religion. 'All shall stand before the judgment-seat of God,' and St. Paul asks the Romans to remember that both those who observe the 'days,' and those who do not, are striving for the same end. They both are regarding the day 'to the Lord,' or with His interests in view (v.[6]).

The particular difficulty in Rome was probably of Essene origin, akin to that in Colossæ (B. Weiss, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., London, 1887–88, i. 330; Denney, *loc. cit.*). A. C. McGiffert (*Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897, p. 368) contends that it was due to some form of Alexandrian Judaism. Certainly the difficulty is not occasioned by Pharisaic Legalists, as in Galatia.

3. Col 2[16] (in the AV *ἑορτῆς* of this verse is translated 'holyday,' the only instance of the word in the EV of the NT). The argument is practically the same as in Ro 14[5]. 'Let no man judge you on the basis of eating and drinking, or in the matter of a feast or a new moon or a Sabbath.' St. Paul means that such ground is inadequate for moral judgment of a man. *ἐν μέρει ἑορτῆς, κτλ.* cannot be translated 'in the partial observance of' (Chrysostom). As regards the character of the movement which is opposed by St. Paul, and finds its expression in the legal observance of holy days, it seems to have been a theosophy, consisting of a blend of Judaism with some form of syncretistic religion. It is impossible to identify the foreign element exclusively with Essenism or Mithraism. It is simply the product of that 'Hellenism' which everywhere confronted the Christian missionary (cf. E. Bevan, *Stoics and Sceptics*, Oxford, 1913, ch. iii.). The 'days' were evidently connected with the worship of *στοιχεῖα* or 'intermediate beings' (see above), whose functions were 'not only creative but also providential, in a sense, resembling those of the saints in Roman Catholicism' (Moffatt, *LNT*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 152). One result seems to have been asceticism (2[21f.]). The material was contrasted unfavourably with the spiritual, and the body was considered as the tomb of the soul (the ultimate issue of the *σῶμα σῆμα* of Plato). Moreover, this insistence on 'days' carried with it an emphasis on individual speculative and mystical attainments which destroyed the universality of the gospel (3[11]).

The aim of this article has been to indicate the complexity of the movement in the Apostolic Church that issued in the gradual weaning of Christianity, as interpreted by St. Paul, and those who adhered to him, from the observance of Jewish holy days. Missionary activity made plain in experience that the multiplied observance of 'days, and months, and seasons, and years' as legal enactments formed

a congenial soil on which heathen conceptions of deity might take fresh root within the Christian Church. The missionary activity of the Christian Church to-day is also exercising a similar profound influence on Christian thought. No one ought to pretend that the discipline of the Church, so far as it is expressed in the weekly day of rest and worship, or in the observance of seasons or sacraments, is without significance for the Christian life. It directs attention to aspects of the Christian faith that would otherwise find no place in the mechanical routine of ordinary life; yet not even the religious observance of the first day of the week ought to be regarded as legal or statutory. An act of faith was the source in which it originated, and its maintenance must be conducted in the free atmosphere of faith. Many things are yet to break forth upon the mind of the Church from the Word of God, and none are more significant than the principles relating to holy days that were brought into being through the contact of the apostolic faith with contemporary practice and thought. It is only by 'being fully assured in our own mind,' by contracting the habit of deciding for ourselves in such matters, and at the same time by having regard to the mind of Christ, as expressed in the constraint of Christian brotherhood, that true Christian freedom of conscience will be developed, and that fear, which so often manifests itself in scrupulosity, obscurantism, and legalism, will be cast out.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works mentioned in the article reference may be made to J. B. Mozley, *University Sermons*, London, 1876, serm. ii.: 'The Pharisees'; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, 3rd ser., do. 1876, p. 246 ff.; J. H. Newman, *Parochial and Plain Sermons* (Selection, ed. Copeland[5], do. 1891), p. 189 ff.; J. R. Seeley, *Ecce Homo*, do., ed. 1895, ch. xiii.; *Tracts for the Times*, ii. (1834–35), do. 1840, no. 56; J. Ll. Davies, *The Example of Christ*, do. 1860, p. 350.

R. H. STRACHAN.

HOLY OF HOLIES, HOLY PLACE.—See TABERNACLE, TEMPLE.

HOLY SPIRIT.—The community brought together by the disciples of Jesus was sustained by the conviction that it possessed the Spirit of God, and in that possession it saw the peculiar feature which distinguished its members alike from the Greeks and from the Jews. This is a fact of fundamental importance for the entire subsequent history of Christianity.

I. *THE PRESUPPOSITIONS OF THE CONVICTION.*—**1. The Jewish doctrine of Scripture as the sole medium of the Spirit.**—The term 'Holy Spirit,' רוּחַ הַקֹּדֶשׁ, was coined by the theology of the Palestinian Synagogue. The adjunct 'holy' was rendered necessary by the fact that the word 'spirit' was also applied to the force from which emanated man's inward life generally. The addition of the adjective 'holy' signifies that the spirit so distinguished belongs to God. The phrase derives its content from what the prophets say regarding the nature of their prophetic experience, which they ascribe to their being moved by the Spirit of God. Hence the tradition of the Synagogue associates the conception with the writings by which the message of the prophet is mediated to the community. By the time the Church of the New Testament took its rise, the doctrine of Inspiration was already formulated as a dogma, and dominated the whole religious life of Judaism. The expression 'Holy Spirit,' in its connexion with the written word, was at once taken over by Christianity (Mk 12[36], Mt 22[43], Ac 1[16] 28[25], He 3[7] 9[8] 10[15], 1 Ti 3[16], 2 P 1[21]). The absolute bondage of the Synagogue to the Scriptures had the result that the Holy Spirit was assigned only to the prophets of past times, and not to persons then living. As the community now possessed no prophets, but was wholly dependent upon Scripture, its tradition included the principle that 'the Holy Spirit had been taken away from it.' But as the communion of God with His people had not been broken off, that principle did not exclude the possibility that the Holy Spirit might be bestowed upon individuals (cf. Lk 2[25])—at times, namely, when the gift of prophecy was vouchsafed to them—or that the conduct of the people as a whole might be directed by the Holy Spirit (cf. the saying of Hillel, *Tôsephtâ Pĕsâḥîm*, iv. 2). The actual scope of this idea, however, was circumscribed by the fact that the nation's portion in God was based upon the Law. It was therefore necessary that the individual should learn God's will from Scripture, and practise obedience thereto by his own effort. This excludes the idea of a Divine work manifesting itself in the inner life of man. Hence even the teachers of the Law abstained from tracing their learning to the action of the Spirit, and based their authority upon the experience which they had derived from their knowledge of the Law and tradition. When Scripture proved inadequate to the clear ascertainment of the Divine will, recourse was had to signs, and especially to voices coming from above. These facts show clearly how far the primitive Church's belief that it was guided by the Spirit of God transcended the prevailing religious ideas of contemporary Judaism.

2. The Messiah as the new vehicle of the Spirit.—The second presupposition of the Christian conviction regarding the Spirit lay in the fact that, in accordance with the promises, the Messiah was expected to be the vehicle of the Spirit. Since it was His function to bring perfection to His people, the gift that distinguished the earlier servants of God was His in a superlative degree. Accordingly He has the Spirit 'not by measure' (Jn 3[34]). By the Spirit He is one with God, and is able to work the work of God in men. This principle is common to the Messianic hope, the preaching of John the Baptist, the witness of Jesus to Himself, and the message of His disciples in all its various forms. The conviction was intensified by the culminating events of the life of Jesus, since, as the Risen One, He reveals in Himself the work of the Spirit; the Spirit giveth life. Then, as He still maintains in His state of exaltation His intercourse with His disciples, and does this in such a way that, like God, He is present with them and reigns over them, the Spirit becomes the medium by which He consummates His work. Thus the avowal of the Messiahship of Jesus involved the doctrine that the Spirit of God is effectively operative in man. The man whom Christ rules is guided by the Spirit, and he who is united with Christ partakes of the Spirit.

3. The prophetic idea that the Spirit would be given to all.—The conception of the perfected community connoted also the idea—derived from prophecy—that in it the Spirit would be vouchsafed to all. This idea likewise was ratified by the life of Jesus, inasmuch as He placed His relation to His disciples wholly under the law of love. Between Himself and them He established a perfect communion, and thus all that belonged to Him passed over to them. His filial relation to God made them children of God; His Word, with full authority to do wonders, was imparted to them too; His passion called them to suffering and death; His risen life and His coming dominion invested them also with glory. The perfect character of the fellowship which Jesus instituted between Himself and His disciples involved the conviction that they likewise should receive the Spirit of God, even as it had been imparted to Him. Thus the events of Easter by which that fellowship was consummated after His death were directly linked

with the belief that now the disciples also had become possessed of the Spirit; the breath of the Risen Lord imparts the Spirit to them (Jn 20^{22}).

II. *THE COMING OF THE SPIRIT TO THE DISCIPLES OF JESUS*—**1. A fact of historical experience.**—In the primitive community's recollections of its beginnings it stands out as a significant fact that the descent of the Spirit is regarded as a particular experience, taking place on a particular day, and associated with the founding of the Church (Ac 2). The doctrine of the Spirit thus becomes more than a theological inference from the character of God or of Christ, and does not remain a mere hope derived from the utterances of Scripture or of Jesus; on the contrary, it expresses, for the religious consciousness of the primitive Church, something that it had actually experienced, and it possesses the certitude of historical fact. The type of tradition given in Ac 2 appears also in St. Paul, in the fact, namely, that he regards the sending of the Spirit, no less than that of the Son, as a work of God—as the work, indeed, by which the Advent of the Son was fully realized (Gal 4^{4-6}). The same idea appears in St. John, who speaks of the descent of the Spirit as the act of the Exalted Christ (Jn 7^{39} $14^{16.\ 26}$ 16^{13}). This interpretation of religious history was fraught with most important consequences, inasmuch as it dissociated the conception of the Spirit from the subjective religious states of the individual. Believers were now convinced that their possession of the Spirit was not dependent upon their purely personal experience. The message of the Spirit's presence came to all men as a historical fact no less secure than the message of the Advent of Christ Himself. It is true, of course, that the individual could recognize the effects of the Spirit's presence in his personal experience, and he might accordingly be asked whether he had on his part received the Spirit (Ac 19^{2}; cf. 1 Co 3^{16}), but his certainty in the matter did not rest wholly upon his inward condition. Hence the assertion of the Spirit's operation still remained unshaken even when an individual or a community proved unsteadfast; the belief that they were partakers of the Spirit was safeguarded against every doubt (cf. Gal 3^{2} 5^{16}, 1 Co 3^{16} with 3^{3} 6^{19}). That belief flowed directly from the Christology of the primitive Church, and could become liable to doubt only by the dissolution of the union between the community and Christ.

2. Connexion with the inauguration of apostolic work.—It was, again, a matter of the utmost importance for the religious experience of the primitive community that it associated the coming of the Spirit with the beginnings of apostolic labour. The day of Pentecost was not, indeed, included in the Easter period, though with the glorified life of Jesus was associated the conviction that the Spirit had now laid hold of the disciples too. But the occurrences which manifested to the disciples the descent of the Spirit were distinguished from the events of Easter: the latter perfected the fellowship of Jesus with His disciples, while the former inaugurated their apostolic work and laid the foundation of the Church. In the NT doctrine of the Spirit this continues to manifest itself in the fact that the Spirit is always associated with the task imposed upon the Church. The Spirit equips the Church to witness for Jesus, and endows it with power for its Divinely-given work. The conception of the Spirit is not associated with the personal blessings which the individual craves for, as, *e.g.*, with his progress in knowledge, his felicity, or his moral growth and perfection; what was expected from the Spirit was rather the equipment for the effective work necessary to the preaching of Christ and the institution of the Church. Hence the apostles were regarded as in a supreme degree the mediators of the Spirit (cf. Ac $8^{15f.}$ 19^{6}, 1 Co 12^{28}, 2 Co 3^{6}), this pre-eminence extending also to such as were actively engaged in the evangelization of the nations (1 P 1^{12}, 2 Ti $2^{6f.}$, 1 Ti 4^{14}). In sending forth evangelists and in defining their spheres of labour (Ac 13^{2} $16^{6f.}$), in the judicial procedure by which they withstood sin (Ac 5^{3}, Jn $20^{22f.}$), in prescribing the moral regulations which were to prevail in the community (Ac 15^{28}), their action was at once appropriate and effective in virtue of the Spirit's guidance. But this did not involve any opposition between them and the community at large, as the latter was called to full and complete fellowship with them as partakers of the Divine grace. Thus the possession of the Spirit was not the exclusive privilege of an official class, but was granted to the entire community entrusted with the service of God, and baptism is accordingly offered to all in view of the promise of the Spirit (Ac 2^{38} $19^{2f.}$, 1 Co 6^{11}).

3. The Spirit sent by Christ.—The community believed that the sender of the Spirit was Christ (Ac 2^{33}). Accordingly it sought to prove the Messiahship of Jesus by the fact that the Spirit was revealed in the community (Ac 5^{32}; cf. art. PARACLETE). This made it impossible to separate the doctrine of the Spirit from the doctrine of Christ, or to regard the former as superseding or transcending the latter. On the contrary, the statements which set forth the operations of the Spirit serve in reality to enunciate the presence and work of Christ. The Spirit who animates the community is the Spirit of Christ (Ro 8^{9}, 2 Co 3^{17}, Ac 16^{7}). This inseparable union between Christ and the Spirit, making it impossible for any one to receive the Spirit except in personal connexion with Christ, is clearly formulated by St. Paul in the words: 'the Lord is the Spirit' (2 Co 3^{17}). This point of view had two closely inter-related consequences: first, that primitive Christian faith continued to base itself upon the earthly life of Jesus; and, secondly, that it did not consist merely of recollections of that life, but developed into fellowship with the Exalted Christ. Had the Spirit occupied a position independent of Christ, the primitive faith would inevitably have acquired that mystical tendency which finds the evidences of Divine grace exclusively in the inner life of man. But, as it is the Spirit's function to lead men to Christ, the message which makes known Christ's life and death is the foundation-stone of the community. Thus the conviction that one was living in the Spirit involved no disdain of the body, no opposition to nature and history; on the contrary, the sure token of the Spirit's influence was not the belief which separated Christ, as the mere semblance of a heavenly being, from nature and history, but the confession that He had truly come in the flesh (1 Jn $4^{2f.}$, 2 Jn ^{7}). Nor, again, did the believer's relation to Christ consist merely in his knowledge of the Saviour's earthly career; and, in point of fact, that consciousness of unlimited fellowship with Christ which forms one of the essential characteristics of the NT Epistles is based upon the belief that the earthly work of Jesus is still carried on in the operations mediated by the Spirit.

4. The Spirit imparted to the community by God.—The doctrine that the Spirit reveals Christ implies another, viz. that it is God who imparts the Spirit to the community, and that He Himself dwells with it in the Spirit. That theological type of Christology according to which Christ is the Son who is one with God in the sense that God works through Him passes over into the doctrine of the Spirit. The formulæ which speak of the

work of Christ as a manifestation of Divine power are therefore applied also to the work of the Spirit. The Spirit is conceived, not as a substitute for the action of God, but as its medium; nor is it regarded as a power installed between God and man; its function, rather, is to bring to man the very presence of God Himself. Thus the community and its individual members are spoken of as the Temple of God—as the place in which He dwells (1 Co 3^{16}, 2 Co 6^{16}, Eph 2^{21}, 1 Ti 3^{15}, 1 P 2^{5}, 1 Co 6^{19}). In this we can trace the root of the Trinitarian conception of God. Christ and the Spirit are regarded co-ordinately as the two agents through whom the grace of God completes its work in man, and through both the one will expressive of the Divine grace is realized. Thus the work of Christ and that of the Spirit are in complete harmony with each other and with the work of the Father. It is this formulation of the Trinitarian conception with which St. Paul introduces his enumeration of the gifts of the Spirit (1 Co 12^{4-6}; cf. 1 Co 13^{13}, Eph 4^{4-6}); and it appears also in the account of what Jesus said to Nicodemus (Jn 3^{3-21}), where the sequence is the new birth due to the Spirit, belief in the Son, and the deeds 'wrought in God.' Essentially the same formulation is found in the salutation of 1 Peter (1^{2}), and in a like sense we must interpret the baptismal formula in Mt 28^{19}, where the one Name into which the nations are to be baptized embraces the Son and the Spirit as well as the Father, because the work of calling man to God and of bringing him within the Divine grace is effected by Christ through the medium of the Spirit.

It is supposed by many, indeed, that in Mt 28^{19} we have a formula from a later theology, dating from the post-apostolic period, and interpolated into the Gospel. We must bear in mind, however, that the teaching of Jesus certainly contained the statement that He would work through the Spirit, and that He would do so by imparting the Spirit to His people. It is inconceivable that in primitive Christian times there could have been a form of baptism in which the Spirit was not named. Moreover, even if in that age the Gospel still clung closely to the Jewish expectation of the Messiah, dissociating the working of the Spirit from the present, and assigning it wholly to the coming dispensation—the idea being that the Spirit would raise from the dead all who had been baptized into Christ—yet, even on that hypothesis, the preaching of Christ must still have embraced the promise of the Spirit.

Of a formulistic use of the Trinitarian designation of God the NT shows no trace. Thus, when the Christian community is questioned regarding the nature of its Deity, it may give a complete answer by saying that beside the one Father it sets the one Lord (1 Co 8^{6}); and in baptism it was only necessary to invoke the name of Christ (Ro 6^{3}, 1 Co 1^{13}, Gal 3^{27}). But in such cases it is always implied that Jesus manifests Himself to men as Lord by acting upon them through the Spirit (cf. Ac 2^{33} 8^{16} 10^{48} 19^{5}). Primitive Christianity, however, felt the overt recognition of the Spirit to be of the utmost importance, because it saw the crowning work of Divine grace, not in its general action upon human beings through the invisible government of God, or in its manifestation in the earthly work of Christ, but rather in its operations in man himself—in its quickening of his thoughts and his love, and in its enrichment of the inner life.

5. The relation of the Holy Spirit to the human spirit.—The relation of the Holy Spirit to the spirit of man is not dealt with separately in the NT. The principles which here guided the thoughts of the apostles sprang directly from the distinctive characteristics of Divine action. The intense desire to clothe the knowledge of God in clear and pregnant words never tempted them to seek to solve the mystery that veils the creative operations of God. Hence, too, they never tried to explain how the Spirit of God acts upon the human spirit, how it enters into and becomes one with it. St. John, in intentionally placing near the beginning of his Gospel Christ's reference to birth from the Spirit as an insoluble mystery (Jn 3^{8}), is but adhering to a principle which the apostles in their teaching never departed from. But the Divine action has the further characteristic that it frames its perfect designs with absolute certainty. Hence the action of the Spirit likewise is set forth in unconditional statements. The Spirit endows man with no mere isolated gifts, but creates him anew. The Spirit gives life; by it men are born of God (Jn 3^{5} 7^{39}, 1 Co 15^{45}, Tit 3^{5}). Man's knowledge is guided by the Spirit in the way of perfect truth (1 Co $2^{10.\ 15}$, 1 Jn 2^{27}). The faith, hope, and love which the Spirit bestows are enduring gifts (1 Co 13^{13}). As the Spirit makes the human will perfectly obedient to the Divine will, the entire demand which is set before believers may be summed up in the precept, 'Walk by the Spirit' (Gal 5^{16}). Thus the operation of the Spirit is not restricted to any particular function, as, *e.g.*, the increase of knowledge, or the arousing of joy, or the strengthening of the will. On the contrary, the Spirit lays hold upon human life in its entire range, and brings it as a whole into conformity with the ideal: it gives man power and knowledge, the word and the work, faith and love, the ability to heal the sick, to raise the fallen, to institute and regulate fellowship. It is in virtue of the efflux of the Divine action out of the Divine grace that the work of the Spirit reveals itself in the endowment which raises man to his true life and true autonomy. Thus the thought of the Spirit is associated with the idea of freedom (2 Co 3^{17}, Ro 8^{2}, Gal 5^{18}), inasmuch as man receives from the Spirit a power and a law that are really his own. It is this that distinguishes the operations of the Spirit from morbid processes, which impede the proper functions of the soul. The mental disturbances and the suspension of rational utterance which may be conjoined with experiences wrought by the Spirit are not regarded as the crowning manifestation of the Spirit. Its supreme work consists not in rendering the human understanding unfruitful, but in endowing it with Divine truth, and permeating the human will with Divine love (1 Co $14^{14f.}$, Ro 12^{2} 5^{5}).

Hence the apostolic doctrine of the Spirit involved no violation of human reason, as would have been the case had it absolved the intellectual processes from the laws of thought; nor did it assign a mechanical character to the will, as it would have done if the prompting of the Spirit had superseded personal decision. The Spirit gives man the power of choice, makes his volition effective, and induces him to bring his will into subjection to the Divine Law. The thought of the Spirit does not do away with the sense of responsibility, but rather intensifies it, and the Law now lays upon the soul a sterner obligation. As 'the conscience bears witness in the Holy Spirit' (Ro 9^{1}), its authority is inviolable. Those who live in the Spirit are therefore required to walk after the Spirit by submitting to its guidance (Ro $8^{4.\ 13}$, Gal 5^{25}). Nor does the Spirit lift one above the possibility of falling away. If man receives the gifts of the Spirit in vain, refusing its guidance, and in selfish desire applying these gifts to his own advantage, his sin is all the greater (Eph 4^{30}, He 6^{4-6}). To this line of thought attaches itself quite consistently the fact that the community suffers no loss of liberty through the doings of those who speak and act in the Spirit. The Spirit gives no man the right to assume despotic power in the community. Hence the injunction not to quench the Spirit is conjoined with the counsel to test all the utterances that flow from the Spirit (1 Th 5^{19-22}, 1 Co 14^{29-31}, 1 Jn 4^{1}).

As the government of God, the Creator, embraces both the external and the internal, the operation of the Spirit finally extends also to the *body*. From the Spirit man receives the new, incorruptible, and immortal body (Ro 8^{11}, 1 Co $15^{44\text{-}46}$). This manifestation, however, does not take place in the present age, but is connected with the revelation of Christ yet to come. As regards the present, the experience of the Spirit generates the conviction that the goal has not yet been reached, and that the perfect is not yet come, for meanwhile the Spirit makes manifest the Divine grace only in the inner life of man. It is true that in the propositions setting forth the action of the Spirit, the Divine grace finds supreme expression. In them the consciousness of being reconciled to God is clearly set forth. Man's antagonism to God is at an end, and his separation from Him has been overcome. Fellowship with God has been implanted in the inner life, and this determines man's whole earthly career and his final destiny. At the same time, however, the doctrine of the Spirit lays the foundation of hope, and sets the existing Church in the great forward movement that presses towards the final consummation. For it is but in the inner man, and not in the body, or in that side of our being which nature furnishes, that our participation in the Divine grace is realized. Hence the Spirit is called the first-fruits, and the earnest that guarantees the coming gift of God (Ro 8^{23}, 2 Co 1^{22} 5^{5}). Thus from the apostolic experience of the Spirit, side by side with faith there arises hope; and, as both have the same source, they reinforce each other.

Here again, therefore, there was a profound cleavage between the Christian doctrine of the Spirit and the pre-Christian ideas regarding it. The former dissociated itself not only from the mantic phenomena that occupy a prominent place in polytheistic cults, but also from the ideas with which the Jewish Rabbis explained the operations of the Spirit in the prophetic inspiration of Scripture. The intervention of the Spirit had been universally represented as the suppression of human personality. This view was founded upon the assumption that a revelation of God could be given only in the annulment of the human, that the voice of God became audible only when man was dumb or asleep, and that the operations of God were visible only when man was deprived of volition by an overpowering impulse. Such notions are far remote from the propositions expressive of the Spirit's work among Christians, although they may to some extent survive in the early Christian view of the OT Scriptures, and the exegetical tradition with which these were read. The profound revolution of thought seen here was not the result of any merely psychological change, or of fresh theories regarding the nature and action of the human or the Divine Spirit, but was due to the transformation wrought in the conception of God by the earthly career of Jesus. The faith that found its object in Jesus penetrated all the ideas by which the Christian community interpreted the government of God, and subordinated them to its recollections of Jesus. The figure of Jesus became the pattern to which all its thoughts about the Holy Spirit were conformed. The disciples had seen in Him a human life marked by a clear certainty, a solemn vocation, and a power of freedom, which were quite individual and personal. Yet that life was wholly given to the service of God, at once revealing His character and fulfilling His will, because the will of God manifested itself in the life of Jesus as grace. This fact did away with the idea that the Spirit of God operates in man only as a force that lays hold of and overpowers him—a view which could seem the sole possible one only so long as the unreconciled mind regarded God as an enemy to be feared. Similarly, there was now no place for the thought that the Spirit of God acted only upon the human understanding, simply endowing the mind with ideas. This view, again, rested upon the belief that the will of man as such was evil, and incapable of being used in the service of God. But Jesus had implanted faith and love in the hearts of His disciples, and their sense of being reconciled to God transformed their thoughts about the Holy Spirit. No longer did they think of the Spirit as annulling the human functions of life, for they now realized that the Holy Spirit made it possible for man to live, not from and for himself, but from and for God.

6. The Spirit given in a special measure to some.—With the belief that the Spirit lays hold of all who accept Jesus was connected the fact that some were regarded as in a special sense 'spiritual' (*πνευματικοί*). That the Divine love made all men equal was an ideal quite alien to the Apostolic Church. It was expected that the Spirit would establish the fellowship of believers in such a way that each member should retain his own individual type. The fact that the same Spirit operated in all guaranteed the unity of the Christian body. That unity, however, did not degenerate into uniformity, for, since the Spirit works in all as a life-giving power, the community combined in itself an infinite profusion of national, social, and individual diversities. From the one Spirit, accordingly, proceeds the 'one body' (1 Co $12^{12ff.}$, Ro 12^{5}, Eph 4^{4}), and this implies that the many who compose the community have not all the same power and function, but differ from one another in their gifts and vocations. Hence, besides the continuous activities which constitute the stable condition of the Christian life—besides faith, love, repentance, knowledge, etc.—there are special and outstanding occasions on which the individual or even an assembly is 'filled with the Holy Spirit' (Ac $4^{8\text{-}31}$ 13^{9}). Similarly, certain individuals stand forth from the mass as in a peculiar sense the vehicles of the Spirit, and as making its presence and operations known to the community.

To the link with Israel and the acknowledged validity of the OT was due the fact that the highest position among the *πνευματικοί* was assigned to the *prophet*. The paramount gift for which the community besought God was the Word, and the prophet was one in whom the Word asserted itself in such manner as to be clearly distinguishable from his own thoughts, and to give him the conviction that he spoke as one charged with a Divine commission. We have here the remarkable fact that prophecy once more arose with extraordinary power in connexion with the founding of the Church. It burst forth in Jerusalem—in Barnabas, Agabus, Judas Barsabbas, Silas, the daughters of Philip—and this fact shows conclusively that the pneumatic character of the Church was not a result of the Apostle Paul's work, but was inherent in itself from the first. In the Gentile communities too, however, prophecy manifested itself immediately upon their foundation; thus we find it in Antioch (Ac 13^{1}), probably also in Lystra (1 Ti 1^{18}), in Thessalonica (1 Th $5^{19f.}$, 2 Th 2^{2}), in Corinth (1 Co 14), in Rome (Ro 12^{6}), in the Churches of Asia (Ac 20^{23}); women likewise had the prophetic gift (1 Co 11^{5}). As the prophet did not receive the word for himself alone, but was required to make the Divine will known to all, or to certain individuals (1 Co $14^{24f.}$), he came to occupy a position in the community that had the dignity of an office. To his utterances was ascribed the authority of a Divine commandment binding upon all. Still, the term 'office' can be applied to the position of the prophet only under one essential restriction, viz.

that his function stood apart from anything in the nature of judicial administration, being based upon an inner experience which was independent alike of his own will and the decrees of the community. Thus, besides the vocations of the prophets and the πνευματικοί, certain special *offices*—the episcopate and the diaconate—were created for the discharge of functions necessary to the life of the community—offices which did not demand any peculiar charismatic gift, but only an efficient Christian life (1 Ti 3). From this development of ecclesiastical order, however, it must not be inferred that there was any secret antagonism to the prophets, or any lack of confidence in the leading of the Spirit. On the contrary, the procedure of the apostles and the communities in instituting these offices simply gave expression to the feeling that special provision must be made for the activities which are indispensable to spiritual fellowship. With that procedure was conjoined gratitude for the prophetic gift which on special occasions helped the community to form decisions without misgiving. The Apostle Paul assisted his communities alike in securing prophetic instruction and in instituting offices (Ro 16[1], Ph 1[1]).

Correlative with the word which came from God and was audible in the community was the worship offered by the community; and here, again, besides the thanksgiving that united all before God, there was a *special form of prayer*, which flowed from a particular operation of the Spirit and was given only to some. This was that form of religious worship for which the community framed the expression 'speaking with a tongue.' It took its rise in Palestine (Ac 2[4] 10[46]), and manifested itself also in the Gentile communities, as in Corinth and Ephesus (1 Co 14, Ac 19[6]). This kind of prayer was specially valued because it directed the speaker's mind towards God with powerful emotion (1 Co 14[2. 28]), and because its singular mode of utterance broke through the ordinary forms of speech. As on high the angels praise God with angelic tongues, so the earthly Church worships Him not only with human tongues, but with new tongues—the tongues of angels (1 Co 13[1]). With this was associated the further idea that the utterance given by the Spirit united mankind in the worship of God, those who were meanwhile kept apart by the diversity of tongues being made one in faith and prayer (Ac 2).

As belief in the Spirit involves the idea that it manifests the power of God, a place beside the prophet and the 'speaker with a tongue' was assigned also to the *worker of miracles*. The special manifestations of the Spirit include that singular intensification of trust in God which brings help to those in special distress, and, in particular, to the sick and those possessed with demons (1 Co 12[9f.]). The belief of the community regarding this aspect of the Spirit's work was moulded by its memories of the life of Jesus, and in part also by its ideas regarding the OT prophets. The 'sign' was an essential element in the equipment of the prophet. This appears from the fact that in the miraculous narratives of the NT miracles are not represented as every-day events that may occur in the experience of all believers, but are valued as a peculiar provision for the work of those who bear a special commission. The Gospels, the Book of Acts, and the utterances of St. Paul regarding his 'signs' (2 Co 12[12]), all show distinctly that miracles were intimately related to the apostolic function.

Further, the πνευματικοί as a special class bring out the difference between the religious life of the Christian Church and that of the Synagogue. The prophet was then unknown in the latter, and the Divine word came to it exclusively through the Scriptures. Now, however, the prophetic word taken over from Israel was supplemented in the Church by an operative utterance of God. And just as the Rabbis did not arrogate to themselves the inspiration of prophecy, so they disclaimed the power of working miracles. They did, however, always recognize a supernatural factor in the ordering of human affairs, and in prayer, in dreams, in times of distress, the thoughts of the devout often dwelt upon the Divine omnipotence. On the other hand, the need of ascertaining the Divine will from signs, of interpreting dreams, of listening for Divine utterances, of inferring from one's feelings in prayer that the prayer was heard, of deducing the eternal destiny of the dying from their last words—of all this the NT knows nothing, and that not in spite of, but precisely in virtue of, its doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Inasmuch as the Spirit brings men into conscious union with God, there is no further need for *signs*—such need having a place in religion only so long as men bow before an unknown God and an inscrutable will. The certitude of the NT worker of miracles who felt that he had a right to invoke the aid of Omnipotence forms the counterpart to the certitude of the prophet who was convinced that he spoke under a Divine compulsion, and it sprang from a conviction that held good for all, viz. that God had revealed Himself in Christ in such a way that the personal life of the believer was rooted in His perfect grace.

III. *DIFFERENT TYPES OF THE DOCTRINE OF THE SPIRIT IN THE NT PERIOD.*—**1. The Pauline.**—The considerations by which St. Paul was led towards his new and distinctive theology prompted him also to frame a doctrine of the Spirit.

(*a*) *The Spirit and the Law.*—For St. Paul the religious problem had assumed the form: Either the Law or Christ; and he effected his union with Jesus by a resolute turning away from the Law. A religious life based upon the Law forms a clear antithesis to life in the Spirit, for a law externally enjoined upon man—the transgression of which was guilt, and obedience to which was desert—excludes the idea that God Himself acts upon man inwardly. The Law, in short, sets man at a distance from God, making him the creator of his own volition and the originator of his own sin and righteousness. In this fact the Apostle, as a Christian, saw the plight of the Jews, and of mankind in general; for righteousness can be won, not by any performance of the Law, but only by a manifestation of the righteousness of God. Thus from man's own spiritual state arises the problem of how he is to be brought into that relationship with God which is grounded in God's own work and the gift of His grace. The gift of His grace cannot consist merely in a change of man's external condition, as if he had only to look forward to a transformation of nature and a re-organization of the world. To seek for help in that direction would be to deny the Law, the holiness of which consists precisely in this, that it makes obedience to God the condition of His fellowship with man. Hence the grace of God must move man from within, and must so act upon him as to make him obedient to God. That operation of God in man in virtue of which man surrenders himself to God the Apostle finds in the work of the Holy Spirit (Ro 8[1-4], Gal 5[22f.]). Subjection to the Law is thus superseded by subjection to the Spirit (Ro 7[6]), and legal worship gives place to worship offered through the Spirit (Ph 3[3]). Christians are thus absolved from the Law in such a way that the Law is really fulfilled.

(*b*) *The Spirit and the Scriptures.*—The obedience rendered by the Jews was based upon their belief that the Divine will had been revealed to them in the Scriptures. The knowledge of God was therefore to be obtained by study of the holy writings delivered to them. The Law produced the scribe,

the theological investigator (1 Co 1^{20}). As a Christian, St. Paul, however, rejected this method of seeking the knowledge of God as decisively as he rejected the meritorious character of Pharisaic works. How is man to become possessed of the knowledge of God? He knows God only when he is known by Him. But how is he to acquire a knowledge of God that does not come to him through Scripture or tradition, but is given by the Divine leading of his inner life? The knowledge of God is shed forth in man by the Spirit (1 Co 2^{11}, 2 Co 2^{14}; cf. 3^{3}). Here we have the root of that vital contrast between the letter and the spirit which forms one of the distinctive features of the Pauline theology (Ro 7^{6}, 2 Co 3^{6}).

(*c*) *The Spirit and the flesh.*—St. Paul uses the term 'flesh' to denote man's incapacity to bring his desires into conformity with the Divine Law. The Apostle thereby gives expression to the idea that the inner life of man is dependent upon bodily processes. In deriving the evil state of man from that dependence he was not simply thinking of the impulses which are directly subservient to the needs of the body, but he also recognized in the dimness of man's consciousness of God and the meagreness of his religious experience that despotism of the flesh to which our whole inner life lies in subjection. From ancient times 'flesh' had been used as the correlative of 'spirit.' How is man to rise above himself, and be delivered from the thraldom of sensuous impressions and bodily appetites? The power that sets men free from selfish desire—natural though such desire may be—and turns him towards the Divine purposes, is the Spirit (Ro 8^{5-8}).

(*d*) *The Spirit and the work of Christ.*—St. Paul recognized in the Death and Resurrection of Jesus the factor which determined the relation of all men to Jesus Himself. That the Messiah had been crucified and raised again from the dead was, in the Apostle's view, the good tidings of God. What St. Paul saw here was not Law, which dooms man to death, but Love, which dies for man; nor was it the separation of the guilty from God, but rather the proffer of such fellowship with Him as takes sin away by forgiveness; it was not the preservation of the flesh, but the complete surrender of it—the judgment of the Divine Law upon the flesh, and the beginning of a new life, a life no longer subject to natural conditions, but one that makes manifest the glory of God. By what means, then, can Christ carry on in man the experience which He had consummated in His own person, and so effect the due issue of His Death and Resurrection? For St. Paul the only answer that could be given to that question was that Christ reveals Himself through the Spirit. Love asks for the fellowship that rests upon an inward foundation, and draws men to Christ not by force but through their own volition. Thus love rises supreme above the interests of the flesh, and is directed to an end that wholly transcends nature. Man now becomes a mirror of Christ's glory (2 Co 3^{18}), and his end is to know Christ as the power which raises him from the dead (Ph $3^{10f.}$).

(*e*) *The Spirit and faith.*—Once St. Paul had come to recognize a revelation of God in the Death and Resurrection of Jesus, it was for him a fact beyond dispute that man's participation in the Divine grace rests upon faith. Man's need of the Divine forgiveness, as well as his actual experience of it, finds its consummation in the fact that he gives his trust to God, and possesses righteousness in faith alone. This attitude implies, however, that he is now delivered from self-centred desire, and has renounced all the cravings of the flesh. But the act of thus committing oneself wholly to the Divine grace is the work of the Spirit. Only in virtue of that work can our faith become our righteousness. The very fact that faith has a source lying above human nature makes it possible for faith to influence our thoughts and desires, so that we can now act by faith, as those who no longer commit sin, but do the will of God.

(*f*) *The Spirit and the Church.*—St. Paul, in regarding the Church as the fellowship of faith, thereby made the Church free—the sanctuary of the perfect sincerity which safeguards each from undue accommodation to others, and the home of that perfect love which actuates each to labour with all his capacity on behalf of the common fellowship. St. Paul's confident belief that the communities maintain their unity, even though that community is not protected by external force or strengthened by an outward bond, could have its source only in his conviction that the unity of the Church was rooted in the Spirit. Because he believed in the one Spirit he believed in the one body.

Thus all the lines which exhibit the characteristic tendencies of the Apostle's thought converge in his doctrine of the Spirit. As St. Paul aspired to a righteousness apart from the Law, and to a knowledge of God apart from the wisdom of the world; as he sought to secure the victory over evil by emancipation from the flesh; as he drew from the Cross the conviction that Jesus binds men to Himself in a perfect union, and as he thus came to have faith, and found fellowship with all through faith, he could not make his gospel complete without the doctrine that the Spirit of God dwells in man. Apart from that principle, his doctrine of sin becomes a torment, his opposition to the Law would be antinomianism, his union with the Crucified an illusion, his idea of the righteousness of faith a danger to morality, and his doctrine of the Church a fanaticism. For the vindication of his gospel it was therefore necessary that his Churches should exhibit the workings of the Spirit; only in that way could they become the Epistles of Christ and set their seal upon the Apostle's commission (2 Co 3^{3} 11^{4}, Gal 3^{2}).

The structure of St. Paul's theology renders it unlikely that his doctrine of the Spirit was materially affected by his intercourse with philosophically-minded Greeks. Nowhere in St. Paul do we find concrete parallels either to the Platonic repudiation of sense in favour of reason, or to the Cynic protest against culture, or to the mystical teachings which implied that the soul is an alien sojourner in the body. It is certainly possible, perhaps even probable, that the forceful way in which he made use of the antithesis between flesh and spirit as a means of evoking faith and repentance was in some manner related to the dualistic ideas which prevailed in Greek metaphysics and ethics. But his conscious and successful rejection of all the Hellenistic forms of doctrine in that field is clearly seen in the remarkable fact that there is not a single passage in his letters which would go to prove that the antithesis between the materiality of nature and the immateriality of God, between the concrete image of sense and the pure idea, had any meaning for him at all.

2. The primitive type of the doctrine and its relation to the Pauline type.—It would be altogether erroneous to think that the conviction of the Spirit's indwelling in believers was first introduced into the Church by St. Paul. Every single document of primitive Christianity implies that the possession of the Spirit is the distinctive feature of the Christian society. When Christians spoke of themselves as 'saints,' and thus indicated the difference between them and the Jews, they had in mind not the measure of their moral achievements, but the fact that they were united to God

through their knowledge of Christ. Their union with God, however, was rendered effective and manifest precisely in virtue of the Spirit's work in their lives. But while St. Paul relates every phase of the Christian life to the Spirit, so that believers may learn to think of their entire Christian experience as life in the Spirit, and so that the Church may recognize the working of the Spirit in all that it does, the leaders of the Church in Jerusalem keep the thought of the Spirit apart from their own self-consciousness. It is certainly the case that here the Church's relation to God is conceived as determined by the new covenant which the coming of the Spirit has brought to all. The individual believer, however, was not encouraged to find the basis of that belief in the work of the Spirit which he could trace in his own experience; on the contrary, each found the adequate ground of his conviction in that manifestation of the Spirit which is apparent to all. In the eyes of the Church the apostles are those who teach in the Spirit, perform miracles in the Spirit, and administer judgment in the Spirit, and beside them stand prophets who make manifest to all the reality of the new Divine covenant. The conception of the Spirit, however, was not thereby rendered particularistic, nor was its action regarded as restricted to the special class of the πνευματικοί. It was, in fact, impossible for those who confessed Christ, the Perfecter of the community, to divide the community into two groups —those who know God and those who know Him not, or those who obey Him and those who resist Him. Only in the indwelling of the Spirit as shared by all was it made certain that the members of the Church were members of the Kingdom of God. When all is said, however, the consciousness of believers in which they know that they are under the influence of Divine grace is much more vigorously developed in the Epistles of St. Paul than in the documents bearing the Palestinian stamp, viz. the writings of James, Matthew, Peter, and John.

(*a*) *The Epistle of James.*—St. James assures those who draw near to God with sincere repentance that God will draw near to them (4[8]). But he does not describe how the presence of God becomes an experience in the penitent. The wisdom that produces pride he reproves as sensual (ψυχική [3[15]]); the true wisdom, on the contrary, is spiritual; but he is content to say of it simply that it comes from above. To one who is in perplexity as to his course, St. James gives the promise that he shall receive wisdom in answer to prayer (1[5]). Here too, therefore, a work of God is said to take place in the inner life—a Divine operation regulating the thoughts and desires of man. That directing power of God acting from within is just what St. Paul calls Spirit, but this term is not used here. Again, man is born of God, through the word of truth (1[18]), and the doer of the Law is brought into the state of liberty (1[25]). Both of these assertions approximate to what is expressed elsewhere in Scripture by statements referring to the Spirit. We thus see that the exhortations of the Epistle are nowhere based upon the legalistic point of view. The injunction of Scripture or the precept of the teacher is never regarded as taking the place of one's own ethical knowledge. Casuistry is set aside, as is also the idea of merit. The individual is called upon to submit to God in his own knowledge and love. But the writer does not deal with the manner in which this autonomous turning of the will towards God is brought about.

(*b*) *Matthew.*—An obvious parallel to this appears in St. Matthew. Here baptism into the Spirit implies that, besides the work of the Father and the Son, that of the Spirit likewise avails for all who are called to follow Jesus (Mt 28[19]). Except in this connexion, however, the Spirit is only once referred to, viz. as a special support to those who have to proclaim the message of Jesus before the secular powers (10[20]).* Nevertheless, the vocation of the disciples, in all its grandeur and its solemn obligation, is realized with extraordinary vividness and most impressively depicted in the First Gospel. The disciples are the light of the world, the stewards of the treasure committed to them by Jesus, the loyal husbandmen through whose labours the vineyard yields fruit for God, the fishers of men who must cast out the net, the sowers to whose exertions the harvest is due. But the Gospel does not show how Christians are to acquire the inward provision for their task. In the conviction that they are the guardians of the commission of Jesus lies also their glad confidence that they are able to discharge it.

(*c*) *First Epistle of Peter.*—As Matthew concludes with a distinct reference to the Trinity, so the First Epistle of Peter opens with one (1[2]). The sequence of the Persons here—God the Father, the Spirit, Jesus Christ—which finds a parallel in the salutation at the beginning of Revelation (1[4]), is probably to be explained by the fact that Jesus is quite unmistakably represented as man, even when He is associated with the Father and the Spirit. The same fact appears also in the statement that His blood and His obedience are the means by which the sanctification imparted by the Spirit is won, in accordance with the foreknowledge of God. The mention of Jesus, accordingly, follows that of the Spirit through whom the humanity of Jesus was endowed with Divine power and grace, just as believers are enabled to participate in what the Cross of Christ secures for them in virtue of the sanctification bestowed upon them by the Spirit. In 1 Pet. the Spirit is spoken of also as constituting the endowment of those who had carried the gospel to Asia Minor (1[12]), and as thus setting them beside the prophets in whom the Spirit of Christ spoke (1[11]). Since the new birth is effected by the Word (1[23]), it is not surprising that the community should be called the Temple. The sacrifices which it offers bear the impress of the Spirit (2[5]). Those who are brought before secular tribunals for Christ's sake are assured that the Spirit of God rests upon them (4[14]), and here the promise which Jesus gave to His disciples is extended to the Church at large. Those who after death obtain the gift of life receive it through the Spirit (4[6]), just as Jesus Himself, after being put to death, was quickened by the Spirit (3[18]). We thus see that this hortatory Epistle proceeds upon the idea that it is the Spirit of God that secures for the Church its portion in the Divine grace. But the Epistle furnishes nothing that can compare with the great utterances of St. Paul regarding the operations of the Spirit, as *e.g.* in Ro 8, Gal 5, 1 Co 2. 12, 2 Co 3. Its exhortations appeal to the ethical knowledge and the power of volition which reside in believers themselves.

(*d*) *The Johannine writings.*—(1) *Revelation.*—A similar representation is given in the Revelation of St. John. That Jesus governs the Christian society through the Spirit is attested here by its having received the gift of prophecy. What the Apocalypse speaks of figuratively as a writing of Jesus to the angels of the Churches it also desig-

* It is true that in 12[31f.] Christ and the Spirit are conjoined as the revealers of Divine grace, and in such a way as to imply that the offer of Divine grace is consummated through the Spirit, so that the guilt of those who speak against it is irreversible. Yet it is not distinctly said here that the Spirit will become manifest also after the earthly mission of Jesus. The primary reference of the passage is to the revelation of God which is effected by the works of Jesus.

nates literally as a speaking of the Spirit to the Churches (2^7, etc.; cf. 19^{10}). When consolation is given to those who are dying in the Lord, or when the Church prays for the Coming of Jesus, it is the Spirit that speaks (14^{13} 22^{17}). As every prophet receives the Spirit in such wise as to possess Him individually, the Spirit is also referred to as plural: God is the Lord of the spirits of the prophets (22^6; cf. 1 Co 14^{32}). The relation of the Spirit to Christ is set forth in the assertion that the Lamb has seven eyes, which are the seven spirits of God (5^6): the Spirit gives Jesus the power of vision by which He surveys the world from the throne of God. The Spirit's relation to God is expressed in the figurative statement that the seven spirits burn as lamps before the throne (4^5; cf. 1^4): the Spirit is the light of heaven. These figures do not imply, however, that St. John regarded the Spirit as broken up into seven independent and co-ordinate beings. That no such idea was in his mind is evident from the fact that he ascribes these seven Spirits to God and Christ, in whom the unity of personal life is inviolable. Whether the metaphor was in some way suggested by astronomical conceptions, as *e.g.* the seven heavens, or the seven planets, it is impossible to determine, as other metaphors of the Apocalypse speak only of a single heaven, and never refer to the planets at all. On the other hand, it is clear that the form of the metaphor was in some way influenced by the Messianic interpretation of Zec 4^{10}.

The Spirit, however, is not nearly so prominent in St. John's prophetic visions as are the angels. While the Spirit is the source of knowledge—of the omniscience of Jesus and God, and of the certitude of the Christian which surveys the Last Things—yet, when the catastrophic interventions of Divine power in the world's history are to be portrayed, it is the angels who appear as the agents of the Divine purposes. Still St. John summons Christ's people to that heroic conflict and that service of perfect love in which they are ready to die for Christ's sake, and to stand against the world even when, under a single head, it concentrates all its force to make war upon Christ. In this, however, their eyes are not bent upon their own spiritual standing; rather they are turned away from man towards the higher realm where the Lamb seated upon the throne of God rules all things.

(2) *Gospel.*—The great theme of St. John's Gospel is the Divine sonship of Jesus; the faith of the disciples finds its object in Him, and their love is service to Him. His credentials consist in His possession of the Spirit (1^{32} 3^{34}). The Spirit is the medium through which Jesus accomplishes His work. Hence the two metaphors with which St. John expresses the work of Jesus, viz. 'life' and 'light,' apply also to the work of the Spirit. The Spirit is one with the word of Jesus, and makes that word the source of life (6^{63}). It is associated with baptism in such wise that the water initiates the new life in man (3^5); it works in the flesh and blood of Jesus, so that they can be eaten and drunk, and thus give life to believers (6^{63}). After the departure of Jesus, moreover, the Spirit is the power by which the disciples complete their task, for the truth dwells in them through the Spirit (cf. art. PARACLETE). The Spirit institutes the new type of worship in the community (4^{23}). In the Fourth Gospel, therefore, the Spirit is in its Divine pre-eminence exalted above the human consciousness. It is manifested only in its work, and this is simply the Christian life—the faith directed to Jesus, and the love tendered Him; for the Spirit does not reveal itself, but glorifies Christ.

(3) *First Epistle.*—According to the First Epistle of St. John, again, it is the Spirit that bestows the word—not only the word of prophecy, but also that of confession (4^{1-6}). The Spirit becomes manifest in leading men to confess Jesus. Hence it is conjoined with the water and the blood as the power that generates faith in Christ (5^8), and therefore it is also that gift which manifests and safeguards the perfect fellowship of Jesus with believers (3^{24}). It keeps the community from the seduction of error, for it teaches and reveals the truth ($2^{21.\ 27}$). The community must have absolute confidence in the guidance of the Spirit; by its possession of the Spirit it secures fellowship with the apostle, since the Spirit makes it submissive to him (4^6), and at the same time it secures its independence, since it discovers knowledge for itself, and is not fettered to the apostle. The designation here applied to the Spirit, viz. 'oil of anointing' (*χρίσμα* [2^{27}]), reminds the readers of what imparted the Spirit to them: they possess Him as the property of the Anointed (Χριστός), who consummates His fellowship with them, and shares with them His chrism, in the fact that the Spirit leads them to knowledge and certitude.

The references to the Spirit in all the three documents just dealt with reveal their specifically Johannine colouring in their speaking of the Spirit as the source of knowledge. As the Christian life consists in the knowledge of God, it is the Spirit also that brings about the new birth from God.

That point of view common to all the Palestinian teachers, which distinguishes their utterances regarding the Spirit from the Pauline doctrine, is clearly related, both positively and negatively, to the religious attitude of the Jews. From that attitude sprang the Christian sense of being under obligation to God, and the Christian estimate of obedience as the chief element in religion. The promise of the Spirit did not lead the Christians of Palestine to observe its work in themselves, to find their joy therein, and to enrich and perfect their spiritual life thereby; it prompted them, rather, to do the will of God in obedience to Jesus. It was therefore enough for them that the work of the Spirit should be manifest in the existence of the Church and the word that sustained it. Simultaneously, however, their controversy with the Jews wrought with profound effect upon the religious standpoint of the Christians. The Jew, in virtue of his Divine calling, acquired a proud self-consciousness, and, after every religious effort he put forth, he was inclined to display and admire it. Thus the apostolic preaching came to be a ceaseless striving against religious vainglory. Might not the conviction that the Church possesses the Spirit engender pride? Must it not prove positively baneful that man should discern the workings of Divine grace in the movements of his thought and will? With a humble but bold sincerity the leaders of the Palestinian Church sought to prevent believers from dwelling upon their personal experiences of the Spirit, and discountenanced introspection except as a means of maintaining their union with Jesus in penitence and obedience. In this attitude we see also the strength of the hope which turned their longings towards the coming world and the coming Christ: in that consummation the work of the Spirit will at length be fully manifested in those whom it raises from the dead.

3. Hellenistic-Jewish tendencies.—The tendencies introduced into the Gentile Churches by Hellenized Jews were fraught with important consequences. The issues are seen with special clearness in the Epistles to the Corinthians, but it is evident from Ph 3 that similar phenomena had emerged in Rome and Macedonia, while the

Pastoral Epistles and the Johannine writings show that they had appeared also in Asia Minor. In this Gentile soil the gift of the Spirit was accounted the supreme prerogative of Christians. But the idea of perfection was taken over from the Greek and Jewish religious tradition, and fused with faith in the Spirit. In Corinth this led to the zealous cultivation of *glossolalia*—partly because of the state of devout exaltation to which the gift raised the speaker and in which he experienced a strange delight, partly because of the admiration which its striking manifestations evoked. That one who prays should be exalted above reason by the Spirit was regarded as something eminently desirable. Here too, however, Christianity simultaneously acquired an intellectualistic tendency. The Spirit endows man with knowledge, and sets him among the wise who can interpret the work of God. In his conduct, again, the πνευματικός attests his privilege by the daring which enables him to do what for others would be a sin. He enters heathen temples without fear (1 Co 8^{10}); he does not need to shun impurity (6^{13}), and he can even contract a marriage revolting to ordinary human feeling (5^{1}). In Corinth, likewise, the possession of the Spirit was supposed to be attested by contempt for the natural, and this in turn gave rise to ascetic tendencies (7^{1}). As the perfectionist finds complete satisfaction in the communion with God bestowed upon him by the Spirit, his hope for the future dies away (15^{12}, 2 Ti 2^{18}); for naturally such a religious attitude could have no final ideal standing supreme above present attainment. It thus tended to arrest that forward process into which St. Paul had brought his churches (Ph 3). Moreover, the link with the earthly career of Jesus was dissolved. The moral intensity of His call to repentance was not realized, and, accordingly, His Death upon the Cross lost all significance. The Exaltation of Jesus could, therefore, no longer be based upon the self-humiliation in which He became obedient to the death of the Cross (Ph 2^{5-11}). The immediate outcome of these views was a division of the Church into distinct groups, since the πνευματικοί had sought to institute a spiritual despotism over it (1 Co 3^{5-23}, 2 Co 11^{20}), treating the rest—those who did not possess the characteristic tokens of the Spirit—as spiritual minors. These facts explain the manner in which the later Epistles of St. Paul speak of the Spirit; and, with regard to the Johannine writings as well, we must take into consideration not only their relation to the Palestinian type of Christianity, but also their opposition to the πνευματικοί who made the Spirit subservient to religious egotism. Similar considerations must be kept in view in our interpretation of the Epistle to the Hebrews. This Epistle does not treat of the doctrine of the Spirit with anything like the elaboration we find in its Christology; it says very little of the Spirit's work in the Church. It refers to it once as the power which lends authority to the words of those who preach Jesus (2^{4}); and, again, it brings out the awful degree of guilt incurred by those who fall away, by pointing to the greatness of the gift they have despised (6^{4} 10^{29}).

The apostles sought to maintain the purity of their views regarding the Spirit and to prevent its being made a mere tool of religious egotism by making the Church subordinate to Jesus, and engaging it in the practical tasks necessary to the formation of pure and perfect fellowship within its own circle and in all the natural relations of life. It was the operation of that ideal that led to the ranking of faith above knowledge, and to the expulsion of the egoistic tendency from the religious life of the Church. The preaching of the Resurrection of Jesus as the act of God that procures life for the world (1 Co 15); the concentration of personal volition on the one aim of knowing Christ (Ph 3); the Johannine representation of the unity of Jesus with the Father as that which exalts Him above all; the portrayal of Jesus in Hebrews as the One Priest, who, having Himself been made perfect through sufferings, has also made us perfect—all these converge in a single point: they show that the essential element of the Christian life is faith in Jesus Christ. Perfectionism with its egotistic tendency is thus overcome, for faith turns us away from ourselves, and looks to the grace of Christ as the source of our righteousness and of our spiritual life. In this way the Christian society maintains its place in the great forward process which presses towards the realization of the perfect in the future age.

And with faith in Jesus the apostles co-ordinated the commandment of love, calling upon the Church to engage in the tasks that arise out of our intercourse with one another. This, again, meant not only the overcoming of the intellectualistic tendency which would have made the Church the arena of theological disputation, but also the repudiation of all opposition to the natural relations of human life, for love becomes perfect only when it takes account of our neighbour's situation as a whole, and cares for his natural as well as his spiritual needs. Thus the labours and controversies of the Apostolic Age had as their outcome the establishment of the principle that the Spirit of God manifests His work in man by endowing him with faith and love (cf. 1 Ti 1^{5}).

LITERATURE.—I. (*a*) For the Jewish tradition: P. Volz, *Der Geist Gottes*, Tübingen, 1911; (*b*) for the conceptions current in Hellenism, H. Weinel, *Die Wirkungen des Geistes und der Geister im nachapostolischen Zeitalter bis auf Irenæus*, Freiburg i. B., 1899. II. H. Gunkel, *Die Wirkungen des heiligen Geistes*[3], Göttingen, 1909; M. Kähler, *Dogmatische Zeitfragen*, i., Leipzig, 1898: 'Das schriftmässige Bekenntnis zum Geiste Christi,' p. 137; H. H. Wendt, *Die Begriffe Fleisch und Geist im biblischen Sprachgebrauch*, Gotha, 1878. III. J. Gloël, *Der heilige Geist in der Heilsverkündigung des Paulus*, Halle, 1888; H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, London, 1909; F. von Hügel, *Eternal Life*, Edinburgh, 1912.

A. SCHLATTER.

HOME.—1. The English word 'home' represents more than one Greek word; most commonly οἶκος gives the idea. Thus κατ' οἶκον = 'at home' (Ac 2^{46} RV and AVm, and 5^{42} RV; AV 'from house to house' and 'in every house'); while κατ' οἴκους in 20^{20} = 'from house to house,' AV and RV, private as opposed to public teaching being referred to; and κατὰ τοὺς οἴκους in 8^{3} = '[entering] into every house.' 'At home' renders ἐν οἴκῳ in 1 Co 11^{34} 14^{35}. In 1 Ti 5^{4} widows' children are bidden εὐσεβεῖν τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον, 'show piety at home' (AV), or 'towards their own family' (RV). In Tit 2^{5} RV the young married women are to be οἰκουργοί, 'workers at home' (AV οἰκουροί, 'keepers at home'; the former word is not found elsewhere, but is attested by all the best MSS).

The same idea is given by τὰ ἴδια, lit. 'their own belongings,' in Ac 21^{6} ('returned home');* and figuratively in 2 Co $5^{6.8}$ by ἐνδημεῖν, 'to be at home' (lit. 'among the people'), and ἐκδημεῖν, 'to be absent from home'; perhaps also by the phrase, ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Πατρός μου, 'in my Father's house' (figuratively, or else lit. of the Temple), of Lk 2^{49}. Again, πόλις (Lat. *civitas*) conveys the idea of a 'home' (cf. He $11^{10.16}$ 12^{22} 13^{14}, and especially Mt 12^{25}: πόλις ἢ οἰκία). To us the word 'city' conveys the idea of streets and buildings; to a Greek or Roman, and so to an early Christian, it means an organized society which is the home of those who inhabit it (see B. F. Westcott, *Hebrews*, 1889, p. 388 ff.). So also we may paraphrase Ph 3^{20} thus: 'Our

* Cf. οἱ ἴδιοι, 'one's own people,' in 1 Ti 5^{8}, and especially in Jn 1^{11}, where both expressions are joined together. The Incarnate came to His own home (τὰ ἴδια), but His own chosen people, the Jews (οἱ ἴδιοι), received Him not.

home (πόλις) is in heaven, while on earth we are only travellers and passers-by.'

2. The idea of home is much dwelt upon in the Pastoral Epistles. There is a striking difference in the NT between the qualifications of an 'apostle' in the widest sense, of a travelling missionary having oversight of the churches (such is also the meaning of 'apostle' in the *Didache*), and of the local 'bishop' or 'presbyter' and deacon. The 'apostle' may be married (1 Co 9[5]), but his home life is not emphasized; while in the case of the local officials the home is much spoken of. Thus in the Pastoral Epistles the bishop must be husband of one wife, given to hospitality, ruling well his own house, having his children in subjection; for ruling his family well leads to his ruling his flock well; a test of his having trained his children well is that they believe, and are not accused of riot and are not unruly (1 Ti 3[1-5], Tit 1[6]). Deacons must be husbands of one wife, ruling their children and their own houses well (1 Ti 3[12]). These Epistles also deal generally with Christian home life; the faithful are to provide for their own households (1 Ti 5[8]); married women must be good house workers (above, **1**; cf. the virtuous woman of Pr 31[10ff.]), and must love their husbands and children (Tit 2[4f.]). Among widows' qualifications is that of having brought up children, who in turn are bidden to requite their parents by supporting the widowed mother and grandmother (1 Ti 5[10]; cf. vv.[4. 16]). We have several distant glimpses of devout Christian homes in the NT—of Timothy with his mother and grandmother at Lystra, of Philip with his daughters at Cæsarea, and of some others, for which see FAMILY.

3. Hospitality is closely connected with the idea of 'home.' For the large guest-rooms which made this possible on a comparatively extended scale, see HOUSE. Instances of hospitality are common in the apostolic writings. Simon the tanner entertains St. Peter (Ac 10[6]), Lydia at Philippi shows hospitality to St. Paul (16[15. 40]), the jailer there brings the apostles into his house and sets meat before them (16[34]); Titus Justus at Corinth (18[7]), Philip at Cæsarea (21[8]), Mnason of Cyprus at Jerusalem, or at a village between Cæsarea and Jerusalem (21[16]; see W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 302 f.), Publius in Malta (28[7])—all entertained the Apostle hospitably. In Ro 16[23] Gaius is famous for this quality; he is the host of the whole Church, apparently at Corinth (cf. 1 Co 1[14]). It is just possible that he may be the same as the hospitable Gaius of 3 Jn[1. 5], but the name is a common one. With the last passage contrast the want of hospitality shown by Diotrephes in 3 Jn[9f.].

The duty of showing hospitality is insisted on in the case of a 'bishop' in 1 Ti 3[2], Tit 1[8] (he is to be φιλόξενος), and in the case of a widow in 1 Ti 5[10] (ἐξενοδόχησεν); and Christians in general are bidden to 'pursue' (Ro 12[13]) and 'not to forget' (He 13[2]) love unto strangers (φιλοξενία), to be 'lovers of strangers' (φιλόξενοι, 1 P 4[9]), *i.e.* not to be givers of feasts but to receive strangers (C. Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude* [*ICC*, 1901], 173; cf. Job 31[32]). In these injunctions there is a reminiscence of our Lord's words, 'I was a stranger, and ye took me in' (Mt 25[35]). See, further, art. HOSPITALITY.

A. J. MACLEAN.

HONEST.—1. The word 'honest' in the AV bears the Latin (*honestus*, fr. *honos* = 'honour') and the older English senses of (*a*) 'regarded with honour,' 'honourable,' and (*b*) 'bringing honour,' 'becoming' (art. 'Honest, Honesty' in *HDB*). It is used in translating (1) μαρτυρουμένος (Ac 6[3]); the 'deacons' must be men of 'honest report' (AV), *i.e.* of honourable repute (cf. He 11[2. 39], etc.). (2) καλός; it is a Christian duty 'to take thought for things honourable (AV, 'honest') in the sight of all men' (Ro 12[17]), *i.e.* to live morally above suspicion in the eyes of the world. The same phrase (taken from the LXX translation of Pr 3[4]) occurs in 2 Co 8[21]. St. Paul's precautions to avoid slander in the administration of Church funds provide an illustration of the principle. καλός is translated in the RV 'honourable' ('honest,' AV) in 2 Co 13[7], and 'seemly' ('honest,' AV) in 1 P 2[12]. Since integrity wins men's moral respect, 'honestly' is retained as the RV translation of καλῶς in He 13[18], and the RVm rendering of καλῶν ἔργων in Tit 3[14] is 'honest occupations.' (3) εὐσχημόνως (Ro 13[13], 1 Th 4[12]); both the AV and the RV translate 'honestly,' but 'becomingly' or 'worthily' seems preferable (the same adverb is translated 'decently' in 1 Co 14[40]). (4) σεμνά; 'whatsoever things are honest (AV; 'honourable,' RV) . . . think on these things' (Ph 4[8]). Various renderings have been suggested—'reverend' (AVm), 'seemly' (Ellicott), 'venerable' (Vincent), 'whatever wins respect' (Weymouth), 'the things which produce a noble seriousness' (M. Arnold). The corresponding noun in 1 Ti 2[2] is translated in the RV 'gravity.'

2. The idea of honesty in our modern sense is fairly conspicuous in the writings of the Apostolic Church (cf. the Gospels, where there is practically no direct reference to this virtue; see art. 'Honesty' in *DCG*). Thieves and avaricious men shall not enter the Kingdom of God (1 Co 6[8-10]). Liars cannot enter the New Jerusalem (Rev 21[27] 22[15]): their part is in the fiery lake (21[8]). Deceit (δόλος) finds its place in the black list of pagan vices (Ro 1[29]): it is one of the signs of an unregenerate world (3[13]; cf. 2[21]); the Christians, becoming new men, must put away falsehood, and speak truth, each man with his neighbour (Eph 4[22. 25], Col 3[9]). He that stole must steal no more, but must work with his hands 'in honest industry' (Eph 4[28]). None must suffer disgracefully for thieving (1 P 4[15]). The dishonesty of Ananias and Sapphira meets with terrible punishment (Ac 5). Fair dealing in sexual relations is recognized (1 Co 7[5]). A contemptible form of dishonesty is that of a religious teacher whose motive is self-interest, and who is so degraded as to trick his hearers (2 Co 2[17] 11[20], Ro 16[18], Eph 4[14]). St. Paul, in contrast, asserts his own purity of motive (1 Th 2[2f.], 2 Co 7[2] 12[16f.], Ac 20[33]) and honesty of message (2 Co 4[2]). The burden of the social-reform prophets of the OT is repeated in the denunciations of the unscrupulously rich—'Behold, the hire of the labourers, who mowed your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth out' (Ja 5[4]). See further art. 'Honest, Honesty' in *HDB* for literary illustrations of the use of the word 'honest.'

H. BULCOCK.

HONEY (μέλι).—The words of God are often compared to food that is exceedingly agreeable to the palate—sweeter than honey (Ps 19[10] 119[103]). The prophet of the Revelation received from an angel's hand a little book (βιβλαρίδιον)—evidently some special source, probably Jewish, which he has incorporated in his own work—and was enjoined to eat it (Rev 10[8f.]). In his mouth it was sweet as honey (cf. Ezk 3[3]), but as soon as he swallowed it he felt its bitterness (Rev 10[10]). To be taken into God's council and made cognizant of His purposes gave promise of the most delightful experiences; but a prophet's sense of the reaction of Divine holiness against the world's sin, and his call to be the herald of Divine judgments, often made his ministry anything but enviable. Jeremiah, to whom God's revelation, when first received, was the joy of his heart, afterwards found the truth so bitter that he refused to publish it, until it began to be like a fire shut up in his bones (Jer 15[16] 20[9]). Every true messenger of God, resolute in facing

hard facts, endured sufferings to which the false prophet, optimistically predicting smooth things, was an utter stranger. 'The persecutions, the apostasies, the judgments of the Church and people of the Lord saddened the spirit of the Seer and dashed his joy at the first reception of the mystery of God' (Alford on Rev 10^{10}). The alternation of spiritual joy and sorrow—the *μέλι* and the *πικρία* of evangelism—has been the lot of every true prophet, ancient and modern. 'Laughter was in this Luther, as we said; but tears also were there. Tears also were appointed him; tears and hard toil. The basis of his life was sadness, earnestness' (Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 1872, p. 131).

JAMES STRAHAN.

HONOUR.—In the NT two Gr. words, in various forms, are thus translated: (1) *δόξα, δοξάζειν*, as in the phrases 'by honour and dishonour' (2 Co 6^{8}), and 'one member be honoured' (RVm 'glorified,' 1 Co 12^{26}); the words are derived from *δοκεῖν*, 'to think,' 'hold an opinion,' or 'hold in repute or honour'; hence the noun has the significance of 'good-repute,' 'honour,' 'glory'; (2) *τιμή, τιμᾶν, τίμιος* (from the root *τίειν*, 'to pay a price' and then 'to pay honour'). *τιμή* is the most frequent word for 'honour' in the NT. Primarily it means the price which is paid or received for something, as in the phrase 'the price of blood' (Mt 27^{6}, also Ac 4^{34} 5^{2} 19^{19}). The metaphorical sense, indicating something of price, worth, or value, naturally follows, like 'dignity,' 'veneration,' 'honour,' and 'ornament,' as in the expression 'a vessel for honour' (Ro 9^{21}), 'in honour preferring one another' (Ro 12^{10}), 'honour to whom honour' (Ro 13^{7}). The verb *τιμᾶν* is used in the sense of valuing, as 'the price of him that was priced, whom certain of the children of Israel did price' (Mt 27^{9}); but elsewhere it has the meaning 'to venerate,' 'hold in honour,' as 'Honour thy father and mother' (Eph 6^{2}), 'honoured us with many honours' (Ac 28^{10}).

The words *δόξα* and *τιμή* and their verbal forms are employed in the LXX to translate כָּבוֹד, הָדָר and יְקָר. The two words 'glory' and 'honour' appear together in descriptions of the Exaltation of Christ—'crowned with glory and honour' (He $2^{7.9}$, 2 P 1^{17}); of the bliss of the future world—'glory, honour, and immortality' (Ro $2^{7.10}$); of what the kings are to bring into the heavenly Jerusalem—'They shall bring the glory and honour of the Gentiles (*ἐθνων*) into it' (Rev 21^{26}). The two words are also used together in the description of the triumph of faith's trial 'that it might be found unto . . . glory and honour at the revelation of Jesus Christ' (1 P 1^{7}), and in doxologies ascribing 'praise, honour, and glory' to Christ (Rev $5^{12.13}$), and to God (1 Ti 1^{17}, Rev $4^{9.11}$ 7^{12}).

Three passages where *τιμή* occurs require separate treatment. In 1 Ti 5^{17}, 'Let the elders that rule well be counted worthy of double honour, especially those who labour in the word and teaching' (RV), the context plainly indicates that the 'honour' is to be taken as 'honorarium' or 'stipend.' The reason given for such treatment is expressed in the words which follow: 'For the scripture saith, Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn. And, The labourer is worthy of his hire' (1 Ti 5^{18}; cf. J. R. Dummelow, *The One Volume Bible Commentary*, p. 999; H. R. Reynolds, in *Expositor*, 1st ser. vol. iv. p. 47; see also *HDB* v. 441).

In 1 P 2^{7} the phrase *ὑμῖν οὖν ἡ τιμὴ τοῖς πιστεύουσιν* is variously translated: 'Unto you therefore which believe he is precious' (AV); 'For you therefore which believe is the preciousness' (RV); 'in your sight . . . is the honour' (RVm). In the preceding context reference is made to Christ as a 'precious' stone (1 P $2^{4.6}$), and if that connexion is maintained in v.^{7}, the sense would be 'unto you who believe Christ is all that God had declared; you have seen Him as precious, the preciousness.' But it is possible to connect the words with the phrase immediately before them, and read them by way of amplification—'He that believeth on Him shall not be put to shame; unto you therefore who believe he is the honour, or ornament,' *i.e.* 'instead of shame you find the honour or ornament of your life in Christ.' Our opinion favours the latter rendering.

The other passage is in Col 2^{23}, *οὐκ ἐν τιμῇ τινὶ πρὸς πλησμονὴν τῆς σαρκός*, which is translated, 'not in any honour to the satisfying of the flesh' (AV), 'not of any value (honour, RVm) against the indulgence of the flesh' (RV). Both translations are unsatisfactory: the AV because it does not give any clear or practical meaning, and the RV because, though it gives a good sense, it gives a somewhat strained force to *πρός*. Eadie's translation and interpretation seem to us the best: 'Which things, having indeed a show of wisdom in superstition, humility, and corporeal austerity, not in anything of value, are for, or minister to, the gratification of the flesh.' 'The apostle means to condemn these precepts and teachings; his censure is that they produce an effect directly the opposite to their professed design' (*Com. in loco*). Other commentaries on the passage may be consulted for the various interpretations which are attached to it. WH bracket the words along with the three which precede them, as indicating a doubtful text. It is possible that some word or particle has dropped out of the passage.

The man of the world's conception of honour does not appear in the NT.

LITERATURE.—Wilke-Grimm, *Clavis Novi Testamenti*, 1868, *s.vv.* *δόξα, δοξάζω*; *DCG* i., art. 'Honour'; *HDB* ii., art. 'Glory'; J. R. Dummelow, *The One Volume Bible Commentary*, 1909, p. 999; H. R. Reynolds in *Expositor*, 1st ser. vol. iv. p. 47; A. S. Peake, *EGT*, 'Colossians,' 1903, p. 535; G. Jackson in *Expositor*, 6th ser. vol. xii. pp. 180-193.

JOHN REID.

HOPE (*ἐλπίς*).—'Hope may be defined as desire of future good, accompanied by faith in its realization. The object both of faith and of hope is something unseen. Faith has regard equally to past, present, or future, while no doubt in Scripture referring mainly to the future. Hope is directed only to the future. Expectation differs from hope in referring either to good or evil things, and therefore lacks the element of desire' (J. S. Banks in *HDB*, *s.v.*).

We shall divide our study of the word and idea in the Apostolic Church into two parts: (1) the Pauline conception of hope; (2) the idea of hope in other apostolic and sub-apostolic writings, exclusive of the Gospels.

1. The Pauline conception.—According to St. Paul, hope has for its object those benefits which, though promised to the Christian Church, are not yet within its reach (Ro 8^{24}). It is therefore described generally as the hope of salvation (1 Th 5^{8}; cf. Ro 8^{20-24}), as indeed the last term includes generally deliverance from all evils and the bestowment of all good. It is the hope of the resurrection (1 Th 4^{13}), inasmuch as the resurrection is at once deliverance from death and the beginning of future felicity. It is the hope of glory or of the glory of God (Ro 5^{2}, Col 1^{27}; cf. 2 Co 3^{12}), in so far as the happiness of the future state is set forth under the figure of splendour and brightness, involving the perfection of the outward as well as of the inward life. Again, it is the hope of righteousness (Gal 5^{5}), *i.e.* of justification, inasmuch as justification, or the acceptance by God of believers as righteous, is the necessary condition of and prelude to final felicity. Once more, as all these benefits are to be realized at the Parousia of Christ, it is spoken of as the hope of the Lord

(1 Th 1^3). Again, inasmuch as these same blessings are to be enjoyed in heaven, our hope is said to be laid up in heaven (Col 1^5); and as the mystical indwelling of Christ is the earnest and promise of future salvation (cf. the present writer's *Man, Sin, and Salvation*, 95 ff.), Christ in us is spoken of as 'the hope of glory' (Col 1^{27}).

Hope is also variously characterized by St. Paul in reference to the foundation on which it rests. It is the hope of the gospel (Col 1^{23}), inasmuch as it is guaranteed by the gospel promises; it is the hope of the Scriptures (Ro 15^4), inasmuch as it rests upon those of the OT. It is the hope of the Divine calling (Eph 1^{18} 4^4), in so far as it is substantiated to the individual by the immediate call of God. It is hope in Christ (1 Co 15^{19}), as founded in faith upon Him; while God is the God of hope (Ro 15^{13}), as its Object, Inspirer, and Giver (cf. 2 Th 2^{16}).

In Ro 5 St. Paul has described the growth of hope with experience. As justified, we already rejoice in the hope of the glory of God (v.^{2}). Tribulations, however, serve to intensify and deepen our hope. Tribulation works patience, and patience experience (δοκιμή, the approved character of the veteran), and experience hope (vv.$^{3.4}$); and this hope never disappoints, because the love of God is shed abroad in the heart through the Holy Spirit given unto us (v.^{5}).

Finally, hope is one of the most distinctive marks of the Christian life in opposition to the hopelessness of the Gentile world (Eph 2^{12}; cf. 1 Th 4^{13}).

2. In the other apostolic and sub-apostolic writings.—The only difference between St. Paul and the other apostolic and sub-apostolic writers is that, just as they have less of a theological system than St. Paul, so the references to hope in their writings have a less distinctly theological character. But the substance of the idea is the same.

Christians are heirs of salvation in hope (Tit 1^2 3^7). Christ is our hope (1 Ti 1^1, Tit 2^{13}; Ign. *Eph.* xxi. 2, *Magn.* xi., *Trall.* Introd: ii. 2, *Phil.* xi. 2). We hope in Him (*Ep. Barn.* vi. 3, viii. 5, xi. 11, xvi. 8), in His Cross (xi. 8). God has united us to Himself by the bond of hope (He 7^{19}, 1 Clem. xxvii. 1; cf. Ac 24^{15}, 1 P 1^{21}); we hope in Him (1 Ti 4^{10} 5^5 6^{17}).

A striking expression for the value of hope in the Christian life is found in 1 P 1^3: God has begotten us again unto a living hope by the Resurrection of Christ from the dead. Cf. *Ep. Barn.* xvi. 8, ἐλπίσαντες . . . ἐγενόμεθα καινοί; cf. also Herm., *Sim.* IX. xiv. 3, 'When we were already destroyed, and had no hope of life, (the Lord) renewed our life.' Hope, in fact, is the content of the Christian's life (1 P 1^{13} 3^5, He 3^6 6^{11} 10^{23}; Clement, *ad Cor.* li. 1, lvii. 2; *Ep. Barn.* xi. 8; Herm. *Vis.* I. i. 9, *Mand.* V. i. 7, *Sim.* IX. xxvi. 2; Ign. *Magn.* ix. 1, *Phil.* v. 2). In the beautiful language of He 6^{19} it is, moreover, 'an anchor of the soul, both sure and stedfast, and entering into that which is within the veil; whither as a forerunner Jesus entered for us.'

Looking at the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Age as a whole, St. Paul included, we may say that hope is one of its chief characteristics. 'We are accustomed to describe the Apostle Peter as the Apostle of Hope on the ground of the first letter ascribed to him, but wrongly, in so far as the strong emphasis on hope is not peculiar to him, but can be demonstrated equally in all other writings of this time, although indeed certain *nuances* exist' (A. Titius, *Die NT Lehre von der Seligkeit*, iv. 71). The special fervour of hope in the NT and the Apostolic Fathers is, of course, in part traceable to the belief in the immediate nearness of the Parousia, which is common to the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Age as a whole. The hope of the Parousia brought the future vividly into connexion with the present. Hence Titius in the above-mentioned work thus describes the age in question: 'The value of the present consists (for it), though not exclusively, yet essentially, in that the future belongs to it. If the expectations of the future should turn out to be deceitful, therewith everything which makes the present religiously valuable would be annihilated' (*loc. cit.*). Christianity, therefore, differs from what has gone before it just in its 'newness of hope' (Ign. *Magn.* ix. 1), its better hope (He 7^{19}).

We may effectively illustrate the meaning of St. Paul's contrast between the hopelessness of the heathen world and the hope of the Christian Church by a reference to E. Rohde, *Psyche*^{3}, ii. 393 f. Here a dark picture is given of the later Hellenic culture. There were certainly hopes of continued existence after death, scattered abroad in the Greek world. But they had no definite or dogmatically defined content. 'And it is forbidden to no one to give his dissentient thoughts a hearing in his own mind and a voice upon his tombstone, though they should lead to the opposite pole from these hopes. A doubting "If" frequently inserts itself in the inscriptions on the graves before the expression of the expectation of conscious life, full sensibility of the dead, the rewarding of souls after their deeds: "if there below is still anywhere anything." The like is to be found often.'

Sometimes even doubt is put on one side, and it is definitely declared that there is no life after death. All that is told of Hades with its rewards and punishments is an invention of the poets. The dead become earth or ashes, pay the debt of nature, and return to the elements whence they were made. 'Savage accusations of the survivors against death, the wild, loveless one, who, without feeling, like a beast of prey has torn from them their dearest, allow us to recognize no gleam of hope of the preservation of the departed life' (p. 394). But, again, complaints are declared to be useless, resignation alone remains. '"Be of good cheer, my child, no one is immortal," runs the popular formula, which is written on the graves of the departed. "Once I was not yet, then I was, now I am no more, what is there further?" says the dead on more than one tombstone to the living, who soon will share the same lot. "Live," he cries to the reader, "since to us mortals nothing sweeter is given than this life in the light"' (*ib.*).

Finally we meet with the thought that the dead lives on in the memory of posterity, in general form and still more in the devotion of his family; this is the only comfort which many a one in this late Hellenism can find to enable him to bear the thought of his own transitoriness.

Over against this sombre background, then, Christianity shines out in the ancient world like a Pharos, radiating the light of a clear and certain hope into the darkness. Nor is that hope absolutely bound up with the nearness of the expectation of the Parousia, though there is no doubt that it was that which gave to the early Christian hope its extreme keenness. The essence of the Christian hope is the hope of immortality guaranteed by God in Christ; as the contrast with the uncertainty of the decadent Hellenic culture well shows.

LITERATURE.—E. Reuss, *History of Christian Theology in the Apostolic Age*, 1872-74 (particularly valuable for its treatment of St. Paul's conception of hope; it has been freely drawn upon in this article); R. S. Franks, *Man, Sin, and Salvation*, 1908, p. 95 ff.; A. Titius, *Die NT Lehre von der Seligkeit*, 1895-1909, iv. 71; E. Rohde, *Psyche*^{3}, 1903, ii. 393 f.; C. Buchrucker, art. 'Hoffnung,' in *PRE*^{3} viii. [1900] 232 ff.; H. M. Butler in *Cambridge Theological Essays*, 1905, p. 573; J. R. Illingworth, *Christian Character*, 1904, p. 63; W. Adams Brown, *The Christian Hope*, 1912, p. 9; J. Armitage Robinson, *Unity in Christ*, 1901, pp. 123, 153, 265; Mandell

Creighton, *The Mind of St. Peter*, 1904, p. 1; P. J. Maclagan, *The Gospel View of Things*, 1906, p. 203; R. G. Bury, *The Value of Hope*, 1897.

R. S. FRANKS.

HORN (κέρας). — Except in Lk 1^{69} ('horns of salvation'), the only allusions to 'horns' in the NT are in the Apocalyptic Visions (Rev 5^{6} 9^{13} 12^{3} $13^{1.\ 11}$ $17^{3.\ 7.\ 12.\ 16}$). The horn as an emblem of strength and power is obviously derived from the animal world. The bull has always been recognized among primitive peoples as a fitting symbol for strength; hence the horn of a bull, which is the characteristic feature of that animal and its natural weapon of offence, acquired a special significance. We thus find it used symbolically by the Babylonians and Assyrians, the horned cap being the distinguishing mark of the gods. The first occurrence of its emblematic use in the OT is in Dt 33^{17}, where Ephraim is said to have the horns of a wild ox (רְאֵם). Other examples will be found in 1 S $2^{1.\ 10}$ and also in 1 K 22^{11}, where Zedekiah is said to have made 'horns of iron,' whereby Israel would 'push the Syrians, until they be consumed.' In the later books of the OT the horn is used as 'the symbol of a dynastic force' (cf. Zec $1^{18ff.}$, Dn $7^{7ff.}$ $8^{3ff.}$), and it is used in the same sense in Rev 12^{3} $13^{1.\ 11}$ $17^{3ff.}$.

In Rev 5^{6} the 'seven horns' symbolize the power of the Lamb as the victorious Christ, and the 'seven,' which throughout the OT and the NT represents fullness, here denotes the all-sufficiency of that power. In the 'horns of the golden altar' in Rev 9^{13} we seem to have an echo of Ex $27^{1.\ 2}$; as H. B. Swete says (*The Apocalypse of St. John*², 121), there may here be some allusion to the 'four corners of the earth' mentioned in 7^{1}, and the 'single' voice is a suitable mouthpiece for the single-hearted and unanimous desire of the Church throughout the world. In Rev 12^{3} the great red dragon is furnished with ten horns. The horns, however, are not crowned, and it is interesting in this connexion to compare and contrast the account of the wild beast of the sea (13^{1}), where the beast is represented as having ten diadems on its ten horns. The ten crowned horns in the latter passage (13^{1}) denote ten kings and represent the forces which, arising out of the Roman Empire itself, like horns out of a beast's head, would ultimately bring about its dissolution. The second beast (Rev 13^{11}) is of a different character: he has 'two horns like unto a lamb,' but, notwithstanding his gentle and docile appearance, 'he spake as a dragon.' He represents a religious power, and at once recalls the 'false prophets (Mt 7^{15}) which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly are ravening wolves.' Lastly, 'a scarlet-coloured beast . . . having seven heads and ten horns' (Rev 17^{3}), is the undoer of 'the great harlot' (v.^{16}). The reference is again to the doom of the Roman Empire. The ten horns are 'ten kings which have received no kingdom as yet' (v.^{12}), but are destined to 'receive authority as kings, with the beast, for one hour.' Both the kings and the beast to whom 'they give their power and authority' will be impotent in their attack against the Lamb, but nevertheless they are destined to be the willing or unwilling agents of the Divine purpose—'they shall hate the harlot, and shall make her desolate and naked, and shall eat her flesh and shall burn her utterly with fire. For God did put in their hearts to do his mind.' The harlot is the great city (*i.e.* Rome; v.^{18}), and she was to receive her death-blow at the hands of those who 'have received no kingdom as yet.' The Seer's prediction was amply verified by the numerous invasions of barbarian hordes, which blackened the page of Rome's history in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D., and finally laid its long-established Empire in ruins.

LITERATURE.—H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*², 1907, pp. 78, 120, 149, 221 f., 224 f.; Murray's *DB*, 355; *HDB* ii. 415 f.; *EBi* i. 209 f.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

HORSE.—In the NT, as in the OT, the horse is always the war-horse, never the gentle, domesticated creature beloved by the modern Arab. Asses, mules, and camels were the beasts used by the Jews in common life, both for riding and burden-bearing.

(1) When Christian art depicts the conversion of St. Paul, it usually represents him as falling from an affrighted horse to the earth. The narrative in Acts does not state that he was riding at all, but it seems probable that as the emissary of the High Priest, engaged on important and urgent business (Ac $9^{1f.}$), he would not make a journey of 150 miles on foot. His task and his spirit were warlike—he was breathing threatening and slaughter—and he may have taken a small troop of horsemen with him. Strict Pharisees, however, never rode on horseback, and it is at least as likely that he and his companions were mounted on asses or mules.

(2) When St. Paul was arrested in Jerusalem, and had to be taken beyond the reach of conspirators, he was escorted to Cæsarea by a company of 70 horsemen (Ac $23^{23.\ 33}$). These cavalry, which had been temporarily assisting the Roman garrison in Judæa, had their headquarters at Cæsarea. Josephus makes repeated reference to an *ala* of Sebastian and Cæsarean horsemen that was attached to the auxiliary cohorts (see Schürer, *HJP* I. ii. [1890] 52). The single cohort which was stationed in Jerusalem all the year round was apparently re-inforced at the time of the Passover by cavalry and infantry from Cæsarea.

(3) St. James ($3^{2f.}$) uses the bridling of the horse, whose 'whole body' is thereby turned at the rider's pleasure, to illustrate the complete self-control which a man achieves by merely bridling his lips. It is generally true that if the tongue does not utter the angry word, the hand does not grasp the sword, the feet do not run to evil and make haste to shed blood.

(4) The horse is conspicuous in the symbolism of the Apocalypse (15 references). Like the fiery steed in Job (39^{19-25}), he goes forth to meet the armed men, and smells the battle from afar. Whether he belongs to the Church militant, or to some worldly power, or to the under world, he is always the war-horse—always 'prepared unto battle' or 'running to battle' (Rev $9^{7.\ 9}$). He is familiar with 'the sounds of chariots' (9^{9}). When he appears, we expect to see the rider's drawn sword (19^{21}); we are not surprised at the sight of blood; and in one gruesome scene the deep pools of gore come up to the horses' bridles (14^{20}). A white horse represents victory, a red horse carnage, a black horse famine, and a pale horse death (6^{2-8}). One victorious trooper carries a bow (6^{2}); he is the light-armed Parthian, whose shafts were so dreaded by the Romans—'fidentemque fuga Parthum versisque sagittis' (Virg. *Georg.* iii. 31). A host of fiendish mounted horses, 200,000,000 strong, armed with breastplates of red, blue, and yellow (of fire and hyacinth and brimstone, 9^{17}), are more like the steeds of those heavy-armed Parthians who appeared at Carrhæ 'with their helmets and breastplates flashing with flame . . . and the horses equipped with mail of brass and iron' (Plut. *Crassus*, 24). But these fiend-horses are monsters, which have the heads of lions, and breathe fire and smoke and brimstone (cf. Wis 11^{18}; Virg. *Æn.* vii. 281). Against the armies of earth and Hades Christ comes forth from the opened heavens sitting on a white horse, and all His followers ride on white horses and are clad in white uniform (Rev $19^{11.\ 14}$). The combined forces of evil make

war in vain against this Rider and His horsemen (19[19]), who are, in the phrase of a later time, Knights of the Holy Ghost.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HOSEA ('Ωσηέ).—This prophet's gracious words in 2[23], containing a Divine promise that faithless Israel will be restored to God's favour and be for ever His faithful people, receive in St. Paul's revolutionary exegesis (Ro 9[25f.]) a new application to the Gentiles, who had not, till the Christian era, been the people or the beloved of God, but who at length become the objects of His love and are called the sons of the living God. Before the coming of the Messiah there was probably no more Christ-like teacher than the prophet of Mount Ephraim, who provided our Lord with His favourite quotation, 'I will have mercy [=*hesed*, love] and not sacrifice'; and it is evident that his prevision of a new covenant, linking Divine and human love in everlasting bonds, was scarcely less precious to the Apostle of the Gentiles than to the Saviour of the world.

JAMES STRAHAN.

HOSPITALITY (φιλοξενία, lit. 'love of strangers').—Hospitality, by which is meant the reception and entertainment of travellers, is and always has been regarded as one of the chief virtues in the East; it is therefore not surprising to find comparatively frequent references to the duty of its strict observance throughout the pages of the NT (Lk 7[44ff.], Ro 12[13. 20], 1 Ti 3[2] 5[10], Tit 1[8], He 13[2], 1 P 4[9], 3 Jn [5ff.]). The customs of hospitality were clearly recognized as binding in the time of Christ (Lk 7[44ff.]), and hospitality was regarded as the proof of righteousness, and the natural test of a man's character in the final judgment (Mt 25[35]). The conditions of the time made hospitality practically a necessity for travellers, while it was vital to the very existence of the early Christian Church. The ordinary ties of friendship as well as kinship had in many cases been severed, and Christians regarded themselves and were regarded by the outside world as aliens, bound together as the members of one family. The coherence of that family required that, whenever a Christian migrated from one place to another, he should be received as a welcome guest by the Christians residing there (cf. Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] [*ICC*, 1902], 363) and, indeed, without such hospitality missionary work would have been out of the question (cf. Ac 10[6] 21[16], Ro 16[23]). We accordingly find it commended and enjoined as a duty incumbent on the various Christian communities in the letters of the apostles, as well as in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers (*e.g.* Clement*). Thus St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, urges them to 'communicate to the necessities of the saints,' and to be 'given to hospitality.' The duty of entertaining the ordinary wayfarer was not indeed ignored. Thus in He 13[2] the faithful are enjoined not to forget 'to show love unto strangers; for thereby some have entertained angels unawares,' while later on, the heathen writer Lucian† ridicules the liberality shown by Christians towards strangers. Discrimination must, however, be exercised, and no hospitality is to be accorded to those who come as the heralds of another gospel—'receive him not into your house, neither bid him God-speed: for he that biddeth him God-speed is partaker of his evil deeds' (2 Jn [10f.]).

But the Christian, though under an obligation to strangers in general, was obviously under a greater obligation to his fellow-Christian. The distinction between these two obligations is recognized in 1 Ti 5[10], where the writer, in his enumeration of the various virtues which qualify women to be 'enrolled' as widows, says, 'if she hath used hospitality to strangers, if she hath washed the saints' feet,' *i.e.* accorded *especial* hospitality to Christians as opposed to strangers. The washing of a guest's feet by his host was a mark of honour to the guest and of deep humility on the part of the host (cf. 1 S 25[41]); hence the significance of our Lord's rebuke to Simon the Pharisee (Lk 7[44]), and of His own action at the Last Supper (Jn 13[4ff.]). Again, kissing was and is another act of courtesy usually accorded to strangers of distinction, but significantly denied to our Lord by His Pharisaical host (Lk 7[45]). In Palestine to-day the natives may be seen kissing the mouth, the beard, and even the clothes of their honoured guests (cf. Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, i. 143). They refuse all remuneration for their services, but, after three days, the host may ask his guest whether he intends to prolong his stay, and, if so, the host may provide him with work. For three days the hospitality accorded is regarded strictly as a right to which the guest is absolutely entitled, and the guest can, of course, on the expiration of three days, take up his abode in another tent in the same place, and thus renew his right. During his sojourn, the person of the guest is inviolable, and this is the case even if he be the sworn enemy of the man of whose hospitality he is partaking. The Oriental view of the binding nature of this virtue is well expressed in the two local proverbs—'every stranger is an invited guest,' and 'the guest while in the house is its lord.'

LITERATURE.—B. F. Westcott, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889, p. 429; E. C. Wickham, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1910, p. 123; C. J. Ellicott, *The Pastoral Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1864, pp. 73*f.*, 185; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902), 363; *Speaker's Commentary*: 'Romans to Philemon,' 1881, p. 786; C. Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude* (*ICC*, 1901), 173; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, pp. 288, 363; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, new. ed., 1910; J. C. Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1887, i. 143, 306, 443; H. C. Trumbull, *Studies in Oriental Social Life*, 1894, pp. 73–142; A. Edersheim, *Sketches of Jewish Social Life*, 1908; G. Robinson Lees, *Village Life in Palestine*, new ed., 1905; Smith's *DB*, ed. Fuller, vol. i. pt. i. pp. 1401–03; *SDB* 365–67; *DCG* i. 751.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

HOUR (figurative).*—As in the literal sense 'hour' signifies a point in, or part of, the course of a day, so in the NT it is used metaphorically to signify a point or period in a course of historical development. In Ro 13[11] the use is vividly realistic. The present time of trial is like the dark and gloomy night, but 'salvation' draws nigh; already, therefore, it is 'the hour to awake out of sleep.' With this single exception, the metaphorical sense of the word is peculiar to the Johannine group of writings (cf. Jn 2[4] 4[21] 12[23] 13[1], etc.), and may be defined as the *fixed* time, in distinction from καιρός, the *fit* time ('the boast of heraldry, the pomp of power . . . await alike th' inevitable hour'). Thus the Apocalypse speaks (14[15]) of the 'hour' for reaping the harvest of the earth, which is the 'hour' of God's judgment (14[7]) upon the pagan world. To the faithful church in Philadelphia (3[10]) safe-keeping is promised from the 'hour of testing' which is about to come upon the whole earth, *i.e.* the period of trial which is to usher in the Messianic deliverance. This is defined (13[14-17]) as a time of seduction to the worship of the Beast (the Imperial cult); but in 1 Jn 2[18] the sign of this 'last hour' is already seen in the rise of Antichrist, yea, of 'many antichrists,' *i.e.* the Gnostic propagandists. In many passages the appearance of false teachers is foretold or discerned as a symptom that the last hour of this world's day is running its course (Mt 24[5. 11. 23. 24], Lk 21[8], 1 Ti 4[1-3], 2 P 3[3], etc.).

ROBERT LAW.

HOUSE.—In this article the references in the

* *ad Cor.* i. 17. † *de Morte Peregrini*, § 16.

* For 'Hour' in the literal sense see TIME.

NT to the structure and appointments of a house will be collected together, and a description of a house in apostolic times will be given, with illustrations from the present writer's observations in his Eastern travels. For 'house' in the sense of those who inhabit the building, and of descendants, see FAMILY.

1. Foundations and materials.—Great attention was paid to the foundations; they were if possible of stone, even if the walls were of mud. The foundations (the apostles and prophets) and the corner-stone (Christ) are the principal elements in the spiritual house (Eph 2^{20}). The importance of the foundations of the wall of the holy city is illustrated in Rev $21^{14ff.}$ by their being adorned with precious stones. It thus happens in the present day that in the ordinary Eastern house the foundations often cost as much as all the rest of the building put together. In places where stone is plentiful all houses are built of that material; otherwise only the very rich men's houses are of stone and all others are built of sun-dried bricks (sometimes of kiln-dried bricks, which are more expensive), or even of mud set in layers, each layer being left to dry hard before the next layer is placed on the top of it. The sun-dried bricks are made simply of clay with which chopped straw is mixed (Ex 5^{7}), and are set to dry in the sun for a few days before they are wanted for the building. Thus brick-making and house-building go on together on the same ground. The perishable nature of the material explains why, with the exception of the royal palaces, which were built of stone, nearly all Nineveh has completely vanished. If Layard's rather doubtful theory is correct (*Nineveh and its Remains*, London, 1849, vol. ii. p. 236 ff.), that vast city of 'three days' journey' [round the walls] (Jon 3^{3}) occupied the large area between the fortresses, which alone remain to this day, and was some 75 miles in circumference; but of the buildings in the centre of the area there is not a trace. The same thing also explains the references to 'digging through' houses in Mt 6^{19} 24^{43}, Lk 12^{39}; this is quite an easy thing to do.

2. The roof (δῶμα; sometimes στέγη, Mt 8^{8}, Lk 7^{6}).—This is flat, made of mud laid on beams of wood, crossed by laths, and covered with matting. It is used in summer as a sleeping-place, and by day (especially in the evening) as a sitting-room, or often as a promenade, for roofs of adjacent houses in the villages are frequently joined together. It is possible sometimes to walk from one end of the village to the other without descending the ladders or staircases to the courtyards and streets. Hence in time of persecution the fugitive would do well to flee along the roofs rather than fall a prey to the enemy in the streets (Mt 24^{17}, Mk 13^{15}, Lk 17^{31}). So St. Peter goes to the roof to pray (Ac 10^{9}). The roof is a favourite place for village gossip; this is the 'proclamation on the housetops' of Mt 10^{27}, Lk 12^{3}. The nature of the material of the roof explains how easy it was to dig through it (Mk 2^{4}, ἐξορύξαντες; cf. Gal 4^{15}) in order to let the paralytic down; the mention of tiles in ‖ Lk 5^{19} is merely a paraphrase adopted by St. Luke for the comprehension of his more Western readers—or at least of readers less acquainted with the customs of Palestine than those of St. Mark (W. M. Ramsay, *Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*, 1898, p. 57 f.).

3. The windows (θυρίδες).—In the East these now usually look into the courtyard, not into the street, as privacy is of the greatest importance. Such was probably the case in Ac 20^{9}, where Eutychus, sitting in a window, falls from the third story (ἀπὸ τοῦ τριστέγου); as Eastern houses are usually of two stories (for the kitchen see below), we must here have an exception to the general rule. It is not common for windows to be in the outside wall of a town; yet this must have been the case in Ac 9^{25}, 2 Co 11^{33}, where St. Paul is let down through the town wall and escapes, in both cases from Damascus, for both passages seem to refer to the same incident (cf. also Rahab, Jos 2^{15}). Except in the better houses, no glass is used in the windows; oiled cotton or paper serves instead of glass in the winter, being removed in the summer. Glass (other than that used for mirrors) is mentioned in the NT only in Rev 4^{6} 15^{2} $21^{18.\ 21}$; its costliness in ancient times, as in the modern East, is seen by its being coupled with gold in Job 28^{17} RV.

4. The house-gate.—The door or gate itself is θύρα (Mk 2^{2}, Jn 18^{16}, figuratively in Rev 3^{20}), but πυλών is the gateway or entry of a house, especially if large, as well as of a city (Mt 26^{71}, Lk 16^{20}, Ac 10^{17} $12^{13ff.}$; in the last passage the full expression 'door of the gate' (θύρα τοῦ πυλῶνος) is used, but in v.^{14} πυλών includes θύρα, for it is 'opened' by Rhoda; cf. artt. DOOR and GATE). For a house-gate πύλη is not ordinarily used; it is the gate of a city, and so of a public building like the Temple or a prison (Ac 3^{10} 12^{10}, but 3^{2} has θύρα). The house-gate was naturally kept locked in troublous times, as in Ac 10^{17} 12^{13-16}, and was guarded by a porter (Mk 13^{34}, ὁ θυρωρός) or a portress (Jn 18^{16}, ἡ θυρωρός; cf. Mk 14^{69}, Ac $12^{13ff.}$), just as the figurative sheepfold in Jn 10^{3} is guarded by 'the porter,' probably the Holy Spirit (H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the NT*, 1909, p. 146). The entry (πυλών) is either the same as, or else leads into, the fore-court (προαύλιον) of Mk 14^{68}, where ‖ Mt 26^{71} has πυλών. Outside the gate of the great houses the beggars sit (Lk 16^{20}, Lazarus), as they did at the gate of the Temple (Ac $3^{2.10}$). Inside the gate, perhaps in the fore-court, were the water-pots for washing (Jn 2^{6}); evidently not in the guest-room.

5. The courtyard (αὐλή).—This occupied the centre of the house (Mt 26^{69}, Mk $14^{54.\ 66}$). We read of a charcoal fire in it—a brazier in the open air (Mk $14^{54.\ 67}$, Lk $22^{55f.}$, Jn $18^{18.\ 25}$), in the middle (Lk 22^{55}). On this courtyard the rooms opened; our Lord inside was visible to Peter in the court (Lk 22^{61}). The rooms, in places where there is little cold weather, might be entirely open to the court, as may be seen at the present day, *e.g.* at Mosul; or, in colder places, might open on the court with doors and windows, with or without a covered gallery.

6. The kitchen.—The kitchen itself is not mentioned in the NT, though the oven (Mt 6^{30}) and kitchen utensils (Mk 7^{4}) are referred to. Yet in all but the richer houses it is the most commonly used part of the house, and the family ordinarily live in it; in some Eastern countries it is emphatically called 'the house' as opposed to 'the rooms.' The oven is a hole in the floor; the fire, of dried manure, is kindled at the bottom; and the sides are made of hardened clay, to which the flaps of dough adhere until they are baked and ready to be hooked out as bread. Other food is cooked over the fire in pots. As there is no chimney (in our sense of the word), the kitchen must necessarily be of one story only, to allow of a hole in the roof for the escape of the smoke.

7. The rooms.—(*a*) There is not in the East, in the ordinary houses, the distinction usually found in the West between bedrooms and sitting-rooms. The latter are turned into bedrooms by spreading the bedclothes on the floor. Thus the 'bed-chamber' (κοιτών, Ac 12^{20}) of which Blastus was guardian would be unusual except in a great house such as that of Herod.

(*b*) Most houses, even of the comparatively poor, have a fairly large room or rooms, often, but not always, on the first floor, to entertain guests who come unexpectedly, for Eastern hospitality is great

(see HOME). Hence we read that the **upper room** (*ἀνώγεον* or *ἀνώγαιον* or *ἀνωγεών* or *ἀνάγαιον*) of Mk $14^{14f.}$, Lk $22^{11f.}$ was large, and it is expressly called a 'guest-chamber,' *κατάλυμα*, *i.e.* a place where the guests unpack their baggage; it may be doubted if *κατάλυμα* in Lk 2^7 is rightly rendered 'inn,' for this in 10^{34} is called *πανδοχεῖον*. Probably the *κατάλυμα* was a guest-chamber in a house where Joseph expected to lodge, but it is a word elastic in meaning (see A. Plummer, *St. Luke*[2] [*ICC*, 1898], 54). The upper room of the Last Supper was very probably the place where the Ten and the rest were assembled on Easter Day, and if so must have been somewhat large, though the word used (*ἠθροισμένους*, Lk 24^{33} RV; cf. v.[9]) suggests crowding, just as the compounds *συνηθροισμένοι*, *συναθροίσας* in Ac 12^{12} 19^{25} suggest a large assembly. In Acts the word used for such an upper room is *ὑπερῷον*, 1^{13} $9^{37.\ 39}$ (Dorcas) 20^{8} (at Troas). The room mentioned in 1^{13} must have been large, for it held 120 people; and it was perhaps the same as the *coenaculum* of Mk $14^{14f.}$, for it is called '*the* upper room' (RV). It has been suggested that as different words are used, the rooms must have been different; yet this would not account for St. Luke's using *ἀνώγεον* in his Gospel, and always *ὑπερῷον* in Acts. It was no doubt in such a guest-chamber on the first floor that Jesus healed the paralytic, for it was under the roof. (With this arrangement for an upper room we may compare the ordinary provision in a caravanserai of a room or rooms over the gateway for the guests, while the stables are below, and round the courtyard.) Such an upper room is probably the *ξενία* in Philem [22], Ac 28^{23}—a lodging in a private house. In response to St. Paul's request, Philemon would doubtless offer his own guest-room. When the Apostle arrived in Rome he probably at first lodged, guarded by soldiers, in the guest-room of a friend, though afterwards he hired a private house (*μίσθωμα*, Ac 28^{30}). For the use of these guest-rooms as the first Christian churches, see FAMILY.

(*c*) Besides the above rooms we read in the NT of a *ταμεῖον* (better *ταμιεῖον*) and an *ἀποθήκη*. The latter is a barn or granary (Mt 3^{12} 6^{26} 13^{30}, Lk 3^{17} $12^{18.\ 24}$). The former is properly a store-chamber (Lk 12^{24}), and is usually used in that sense in the LXX (Dt 28^{8}, etc.). All Eastern houses have such chambers, and for security they are usually placed so as not to have an outside wall, but to open off the kitchen. Hence any inner chamber used for living in came to be so called (Mt 6^{6} 24^{26}, Lk 12^{3}). The Latin translations of *ταμεῖον* vary greatly (Plummer, *St. Luke*[2], 318).

8. Paving of the rooms.—This is very seldom of wood (except in Solomon's Temple, 1 K $6^{15.\ 30}$, where the wood was overlaid with gold), but, even on the upper floors, of beaten mud, sometimes of a sort of cement. In rich houses pavements of stone or marble were used; thus the Gabbatha (*Λιθόστρωτον*) of Jn 19^{13} was probably a hall paved with stone.

9. Furniture of the rooms.—Very little is said of this in the NT; and, in truth, Eastern houses need little furniture. Carpets (with straw mats under them to protect them from the mud floor), mattresses, and bedclothes are practically the only necessaries. When we read in the NT the various words for a 'bed' as used for sleeping in—*κλίνη* (Mt 9^{2}, Lk 5^{18}), *κλινίδιον* (Lk $5^{19.\ 24}$; the same as *κλίνη*, v.[18]), *κράββατον* (Mk 2^{4} 6^{55}, Jn 5^{8})—only mattresses and bedclothes are meant. The man who rises in the morning 'takes up his bed,' and, rolling it up in an outer cover, places it against the wall, where it serves as a cushion in the day-time. The same is probably true of *κλίνη* in Mk 7^{30}, Lk 17^{34}, Rev 2^{22}, where either sense is possible; and of the *κλινάρια καὶ κράββατα* in Ac 5^{15} (inferior MSS substitute *κλίναι* for the former word), where the sick are laid in the streets. On the other hand, the low couches (*κλίναι*, *triclinia*, *τρικλίνια* [the last not in the NT]) used for meals are clearly articles of furniture in Mk 4^{21} 7^{4} (here a 'Western' addition, but it may be genuine), Lk 8^{16}; for a lamp may be put under them (cf. *ἀρχιτρίκλινος*, Jn 2^{8}). On these couches the people reclined; hence *ἀνάκειμαι* is 'to sit at meat' (Mt 9^{10}, etc.), and the guests are *ἀνακείμενοι* (Mt 22^{10}). It seems doubtful if *bedsteads* are ever mentioned in the NT; see, further, art. BED, COUCH. The 'candlestick' or lamp-stand (*λυχνία*) mentioned in the above passages is also a piece of furniture, set in the middle of the room to hold the light. Chairs and tables are not much used by non-westernized Orientals to this day; but sometimes a low stand is placed on the floor to hold food at meals, though more often the meats are placed on a tablecloth on the ground. Thus 'table' in the Bible does not usually denote an article of furniture, except in the case of the money-changers in Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}, Jn 2^{15}, where a house is not being spoken of. The throne (*βῆμα*), of a king is mentioned in Ac 12^{21}, and figuratively the *θρόνος* of God and the *θρόνοι* of angels or men (Mt 19^{28}, Rev 20^{4}, etc.) are spoken of; but ordinary people sat, as they still sit in the true East, on the ground, or on cushions, though chairs or seats (*καθέδραι*) were not unknown (Mt 21^{12}, Mk 11^{15}).

LITERATURE.—C. Warren in *HDB* ii. 431, art. 'House' (especially for the OT); A. J. Maclean and W. H. Browne, *The Catholicos of the East and his People*, London, 1892; A. H. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*, do. 1849, especially pt. i. ch. vi. and vii., pt. ii. ch. ii.

A. J. MACLEAN.

HUMILITY (*ταπεινοφροσύνη*). —**1. In the OT.**—The word is common in the NT, but, according to Lightfoot (*Philippians*[4], 1878, p. 109), does not occur earlier. 'Even the adjective *ταπεινόφρων* and the verb *ταπεινοφρονεῖν*, though occurring once each in the LXX (Pr 29^{23}, Ps 130^{2}), appear not to be found in classical Greek before the Christian era.' Moreover, in heathen writers *ταπεινός* has almost invariably a bad meaning: it signifies 'grovelling,' 'abject.'

'It was one great result of the life of Christ,' says Lightfoot (*loc. cit.*), 'to raise "humility" to its proper level; and, if not fresh coined for this purpose, the word *ταπεινοφροσύνη* now first became current through the influence of Christian ethics.'

All the same, it is to be recognized that the virtue of humility is greatly commended in the OT, and its place in the Christian ethic can only be properly understood when we remember this. Especially in the Psalms and Proverbs and some of the Prophets is the value of humility recognized, and the NT writers sometimes enforce what they have to say on the subject by a quotation from the OT (cf., for instance, Pr 3^{34}, Ja 4^{6}).

2. In the NT.—The value of humility was a chief point in the teaching of Jesus Himself, and the apostolic writers follow Him in their estimate of it. The root of humility, as it is described in the NT, is a true estimate of oneself as in the sight of God. It presupposes, therefore, a knowledge of our weakness. 'Recognizing this, man ceases to hold himself of great account, and therefore easily believes that others are more excellent than himself, nor takes it amiss that they are preferred before him' (J. F. Buddeus, *Institutiones Theologiæ Moralis*, Leipzig, ed. 1727, p. 141).

Above all, however, the recognition of one's position in the sight of God leads to humility towards Him. Before Him no one can boast (1 Co 4^{6}); whatever merit one possesses rests upon the Divine grace (1 Co 4^{7}). 'He is humble before God, who attributes nothing to himself, or to his own strength, and regards himself as simply unworthy of all Divine benefits' (Buddeus, *loc. cit.*; cf. 1 P 5^{6}, Ja 4^{16}, Ac 2^{20}).

But, as has been already indicated, humility is also to be exercised towards our fellow-men. St. Paul and St. Peter alike enforce the need of such humility (Ph 2^{3-5}, Col 3^{12}; cf. 1 Co 13^4, 1 P 5^5). St. Paul, moreover, adduces as the great example of such humility the humility of Christ in the Incarnation, in that He laid aside the form of God, and took upon Him that of a servant, becoming obedient to death, even the Death of the Cross (Ph 2^{5-8}). It is not necessary here, in simply treating of the virtue of humility in the apostolic writings, to go on to discuss the Kenosis, on which so much has been said and written; but it may perhaps fitly be pointed out how this instance of the Lord's humility in the Incarnation has been made use of in Catholic Christianity from Augustine onwards. Pride, according to St. Augustine, is the root of all sins; therefore to cure it God wrought in the Incarnation by introducing into humanity the antidote of humility. The humility of Christ is the cure of man's pride. By St. Francis of Assisi this humility of Jesus was connected closely with the thought of His earthly privations; and thus was struck the key-note of the peculiar mediæval piety of the imitation of the lowly Jesus.

3. In the Apostolic Fathers.—Among the sub-apostolic writings outside the NT, 1 Clem. stands out because of its particular emphasis on humility. It may indeed almost be regarded as a sermon on humility, with many instances, examples, and exhortations. The emphasis on this particular virtue follows naturally from the situation at Corinth, which the Epistle of the Roman Church through Clement is intended to deal with. A contention has taken place in the Church, in which two parties are involved. The majority of the community are on the one side, led by a few headstrong and self-willed persons (1^1). On the other side are the officers of the Church, the presbyters, with very little support in the Church. During the conflict some presbyters have actually been deposed by the Church (44^6). The Epistle of the Roman Church, indited by Clement, is intended to bring about the submission of the Church to its presbyters, and so restore unity. No wonder then that such stress is laid on the virtue of humility. What is aimed at is to produce a proper submission to constituted authority in place of the present sedition against it. To quote the passages on humility would occupy too much space. ταπεινός occurs in xxx. 2, lv. 6, lix. 3; ταπεινοφρονέω in ii. 1, xiii. 1, 3, xvi. 1 f., 17, xvii. 2, xxx. 3, xxxviii. 2, lxii. 2; ταπεινοφροσύνη in xxi. 8, xxx. 8, xxxi. 4, xliv. 3, lvi. 1, lviii. 2; ταπεινόφρων in xix. 1; ταπεινόω in xviii. 8, 17, lix. 3; and ταπείνωσις in xvi. 7, liii. 2, lv. 6. Two passages will give an idea of the general drift of the exhortation and argument on the point of humility. 'Let us therefore be lowly-minded, brethren, laying aside all arrogance and conceit and folly and anger, and let us do that which is written. For the Holy Ghost saith, Let not the wise man boast in his wisdom, nor the strong in his strength, neither the rich in his riches; but he that boasteth, let him boast in the Lord, that he may seek Him out, and do judgment and righteousness' (xiii. 1 [Lightfoot's tr.]). 'For Christ is with them that are lowly of mind, not with them that exalt themselves over the flock. The sceptre [of the majesty] of God, even our Lord Jesus Christ, came not in the pomp of arrogance or of pride, though He might have done so, but in lowliness of mind, according as the Holy Spirit spake concerning Him [here are quoted Is 53^{1-12} and Ps 22^{6-8}]. Ye see, dearly beloved, what is the pattern that hath been given unto us; for if the Lord was thus lowly of mind, what should we do, who through Him have been brought under the yoke of His grace' (*ib.* xvi. 1, 2, 17).

The Epistle of Barnabas also commends humility: it is a point in the way of light (xix. 3). Cf. also Ign. *Smyrn.* vi. 1, 'Let no one's position puff him up; for faith and love are everything, of which things nothing takes precedence.' Cf. yet again Hermes, *Mand.* xi. 3, where humility appears as the mark of the true prophet, by which he may be surely known from all false prophets.

4. St. Paul and false humility.—In conclusion, mention must be made of St. Paul's condemnation of a false humility in Col $2^{18.\ 23}$. Certain false teachers had appeared at Colossæ, who maintained that a perfection beyond that attainable by ordinary Christians could be realized only by a γνῶσις, which paid special worship to the angelic powers, and reverenced the particular ordinances enjoined by them. 'Amongst these ordinances were Jewish circumcision and the observance of Jewish feast-days, new moons and sabbaths. We may remember that Paul himself in Gal. (3^{19} $4^{3.\ 8-10}$) regards the Jewish ceremonies as ordinances of the angels of the Jewish law. But it was not merely the Jewish law which was observed by the Colossian teachers; they added other precepts of their own of an ascetic character by the observance of which especially communion with the angels might be attained. The idea is that, as the angels are above this world, so the ascetic, by cutting himself off from the things of the world, draws near to the angels, and becomes fit to associate with them' (R. S. Franks, *Bible Notes on the Writings of St. Paul*, 1910, p. 76).

St. Paul declares all such subservience to the angels to be a false humility, inasmuch as it detracts from the true reverence due to Christ alone, who is the Head of the angels, whose power over the world, moreover, He has broken by His Cross, by dying on which He annulled the bond they held against men in the Law (Col $2^{14.15}$).

LITERATURE.—A. Ritschl, *The Christian Doctrine of Justification and Reconciliation*, Eng. tr., 1900, p. 632; W. Herrmann, *The Communion of the Christian with God*, Eng. tr., 1906, p. 267; E. Hatch, *Memorials*, 1890, pp. 127, 213; H. P. Liddon, *Sermons preached before the University of Oxford*, 1st ser., 1869, p. 139, 2nd ser., 1879, p. 18; W. R. Inge, *Faith and Knowledge*, 1904, p. 107; J. Warschauer, *The Way of Understanding*, 1913, p. 140.

R. S. FRANKS.

HUSBAND.—See FAMILY, MARRIAGE.

HYACINTH.—See JACINTH.

HYMENÆUS.—Hymenæus is a heretic mentioned in 1 Ti 1^{20} in conjunction with Alexander (*q.v.*) as one who had made shipwreck of the faith and, therefore, had been delivered to Satan. He is also mentioned in 2 Ti 2^{17} in conjunction with **Philetus** as teaching a doctrine which ate into the body of the Church like a gangrene—the doctrine that the resurrection was past already. Nothing further is known of the three teachers mentioned in the two texts, and their sole importance to the student lies in the nature of their doctrine. It came from the masters of Gnosticism, who from Simon Magus onwards had taught the inferior or evil character of matter, in opposition to the fathers of the Catholic Church, who assigned to the world a sacramental character. According to Irenæus (*adv. Hær.* II. xxxi. 2), the followers of Simon and Carpocrates taught that 'the resurrection from the dead was simply an acquaintance with that truth which they proclaimed.' Tertullian (*de Res. Carn.* xix.) charged his adversaries with alleging that even death itself was to be understood in a spiritual sense, since death was not the separation of body and soul, but ignorance of God, by reason of which man is dead to God, and is not less buried in error than he would be in the grave.

'Wherefore that also must be held to be the resurrection, when a man is re-animated by access to the truth, and having dispersed the death of ignorance, and being endowed with new life by God, has burst forth from the sepulchre of the old man, even as the Lord likened the Scribes and Pharisees to "whited sepulchres" (Mt 23[27]). Whence it follows that they who have by faith attained to the resurrection are with the Lord after they have once put Him on in their baptism.'

The ground for this spiritualizing of death is given in a homily of Valentinus quoted by Clement Alex. (*Strom.* iv. 13):

'Ye are originally immortal, and children of æonian life, and ye willed that death should be your portion, that you might exhaust it and consume it, so that death might die in you and through you. For, when you release the world, you yourselves are not undone, but are lords over creation and over all corruption.'

According to Clement, Basilides also held that a 'saved race' had come down from above in order to remove death, and that the origin of this death was to be sought in the Demiurge. And a little later in the same chapter Clement tells us that the followers of Valentinus called the Catholics 'psychical,' as did the 'Phrygians,' the implication being that the Catholics thought, when death was mentioned, of the death of the body, and the Gnostics of the death of the soul. A further implication is that the moment of regeneration, or of passing through the third gate, overshadowed in the Gnostic mind the incident of physical death, as not merely giving a change of status, but as being an actual admission into the Divine world, and therefore into a world over which physical death had no jurisdiction. With this should be compared the passage in Rev 20[5, 6] which speaks of 'the first resurrection' and of the blessed and holy state of him who had part in it. 'It is "the souls" of the martyrs that St. John sees alive; the resurrection is clearly spiritual and not corporeal' (H. B. Swete, *Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, p. 266). In agreement with this we have Jn 5[21], which says that both Father and Son quicken the dead and raise them up; and v.[24], which declares that he who has come to put his trust in the Son *hath* passed out of death into life. (The clause which refers the resurrection to the last day in Jn 6[40, 44, 54] may be suspected, with J. Kreyenbühl [*Das Evang. der Wahrheit*, Berlin, 1905, ii. 52], to be an interpolation.)

The delivering of Hymenæus and Alexander to Satan is to be understood as an excommunication from the fold of grace and safety, and a consequent transition into the world outside the Church where Satan has his throne—the world of suffering, disease, and death. It is not impossible that 'Hymenæus' is an ironical nickname denoting that the bearer was one who shared the Gnostic dislike of marriage, or else scoffing at the Gnostic doctrine of the mystic marriage of the soul with the spirit. Cf. ANTIPAS, BALAAM, NICOLAITANS.

W. F. COBB.

HYMNS.—The hymns of the Apostolic Church included the OT Psalms and the Evangelical Canticles of Lk 1 and 2. We possess also some fragments embedded in NT writings, which show how they were used to express religious emotion both in public and in private. St. Paul suggests further that they should be used for instruction and warning (Col 3[16]). He distinguishes (as in Eph 5[19]) between three kinds—psalms, hymns, and spiritual songs (odes) (see PSALMS, SPIRITUAL SONGS). The word 'psalm' (1 Co 14[26], Ja 5[13]) properly includes the idea of a musical accompaniment (Basil, *Hom. in Ps.* 44; Greg. Nyss., *Hom. in Ps.*, ch. iii.). The word 'hymn' might be used of a song of praise to God whether accompanied or not. The word 'song' ('ode') applies to all forms of song, and was in fact a general term for lyrical poetry. In Eph 5[19] the terms 'singing' and 'playing' correspond with the words 'hymns' and 'psalms.' They are to be addressed 'to the Lord,' just as Pliny in his famous letter to Trajan (*Ep.* x. 97) describes the Christians as meeting before dawn and singing a hymn to Christ as God antiphonally (*secum invicem*).

The fragment in Eph 5[14]

'Awake, thou that sleepest,
And arise from the dead,
And Christ shall shine upon thee'

is possibly a fragment of a hymn addressed to a convert at baptism.

Another fragment is 1 Ti 3[16]:

'He who was manifested in the flesh,
Justified in the spirit,
Seen of angels,
Preached among the nations,
Believed on in the world,
Received up in glory.'

Such examples throw light on the difficult question of the source of the quotation in 1 Co 2[9] which is apparently a free translation or paraphrase from the Hebrew of Is 64[4]. Clem. Rom. (*ad Cor.* xxxiv.) mixes it up with the LXX. According to Jerome, the passage occurs in the *Ascension of Isaiah* and the *Apocalypse of Elias*. Origen (on Mt 27[9] [Migne, *Patr. Græca*, xiii. 1769]) says St. Paul quotes from the latter. As Lightfoot puts it (*Notes on Epistles of St. Paul*, 1895, p. 177), 'If it could be shown that these apocryphal books were prior to St. Paul, this solution would be the most probable.' But they are not. So we fall back on the suggestion that St. Paul (and they also?) quoted an early Christian hymn based on Isaiah like the *Sanctus* of the liturgies.

The doxologies in 1 Ti 1[17] 6[16], 2 Ti 4[18] may likewise have been fragments of hymns. Only one of the hymns in the Apocalypse alludes to the situation described in the vision, *i.e.* 5[9], referring to the opening of the Book with the Seven Seals. The rest express generally the praise which the Church offers to God and to Christ. It is quite natural that reminiscences of Christian hymns should find their way into the seer's book. On the other hand, if they are the first effort of an inspired imagination, we may regard them as types of future hymnody. The Song of Moses in 15[3], like the older Song of Moses in Dt 32, which was used as a Sabbath hymn in the Jewish liturgy, found its way into the liturgical Psalter of *Codex Alexandrinus*.

The Song of the living creatures in 4[8] varies from the *Sanctus* of Isaiah's vision which is followed in the Liturgies and the *Te Deum*. It is addressed to God as Almighty, and evokes the response of the elders, who in the words 'our God' claim 'a relation to Him which the Creation as such cannot claim' (H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, p. 74).

In 5[12] the angels offer a fuller doxology to the Lamb, and the response of all creation with a fourfold doxology, and of the living creatures with the familiar 'Amen' which ended the eucharistic thanksgiving of the Church on earth, is 'highly suggestive of the devotional attitude of the Asiatic Church in the time of Domitian towards the Person of Christ' (Swete, *op. cit.* p. 84). Of a similar character is the Song inserted in the prophecy (11[15-18]) when 'great voices' announce the coming of the kingdom, and the elders respond:

'We give thee thanks, O Lord God, the Almighty,
Which art, and which wast;
Because thou hast taken thy great power, and didst reign.
And the nations were wroth,
And thy wrath came,
And the time of the dead to be judged,
And to give their reward to thy servants, the prophets,
And to the saints,
And to them that fear thy name,
The small and the great;
And to destroy them that destroy the earth.

The writings of the Apostolic Fathers add nothing to our knowledge, though Ignatius delights in the thought of the hymn of praise for his martyrdom which the Church in Rome will sing (*ad Rom.* 2): 'that forming yourselves into a chorus in love ye may sing to the Father in Jesus Christ, for that God has vouchsafed that the bishop from Syria should be found in the West, having summoned him from the East' (cf. *Eph.* 4).

From these hints we may construct an outline of the psalmody of the early Church, to which we may probably add a very interesting collection of private psalms recently discovered by Rendel Harris and published by him in 1909—the *Odes of Solomon* (*q.v.*). He found them with the *Psalms of Solomon* in a MS of the 15th or 16th cent. from the neighbourhood of the Tigris. He thinks that they were written in Palestine about the year A.D. 100 (Batiffol [*Les Odes de Salomon*, Fr. tr. by Batiffol and Labourt, 1911] gives the date as 100–120). On the other hand, Harnack (*TU*, 3rd ser. v. 4 [1910]) regards all the Christian allusions as interpolations of the date *c.* A.D. 100 in an earlier Jewish collection of *c.* A.D. 70. He calls the finding of the *Odes* the most important discovery since the *Didache*, and epoch-making for the higher criticism of the Gospel of John, because these Jewish Odes (not only the Christian edition) contain all the essential elements of the Johannine theology, together with its religious tone. F. C. Burkitt, however (*JThSt* xiii. [1912–13] 374), who has found a Nitrian MS of the 15th cent. in the British Museum, regards them as later, as 'part of the literary activity of the Syriac Monophysite community in Egypt.' He attributes absence of direct references to Baptism and the Eucharist to the fact that the author was 'writing in the style appropriate for pseudepigraphical composition.' One feels that superhuman skill would be required by a writer who attempted to reconstruct the undeveloped theology of the *Odes* without betraying his later standpoint.

Harnack, with justice, calls the writer an original poet, whose metaphors and similes are excellently chosen and arrest attention by their beauty and strength. His mystical teaching on peace and joy and light and living water is thoroughly Johannine.

Ode 4 opens with a historical allusion to some attempt to alter the site of the Lord's Sanctuary, probably a reference to the closing and dismantling of the temple of Onias, at Leontopolis in Egypt, by the Romans in A.D. 73: 'No man, O my God, changeth thy holy place; and it is not [possible] that he should change it and put it in another place: because he hath no power over it.'

As a specimen of the style Ode 7 may be quoted: 'As the impulse of anger against evil, so is the impulse of joy over what is lovely, and brings in of its fruits without restraint. My joy is the Lord and my impulse is towards Him: this is my excellent path: for I have a helper, the Lord. He has caused me to know Himself, without grudging, by His simplicity: the greatness of His kindness has humbled me. He became like me, in order that I might receive Him: He was reckoned like myself in order that I might put Him on; and I trembled not when I saw Him: because He is my salvation. Like my nature He became that I might learn Him, and like my form, that I might not turn back from Him . . . and the Most High shall be known in His saints, to announce to those that have Songs of the Coming of the Lord; that they may go forth to meet Him, and may sing to Him with joy and with the harp of many tones. The seers shall come before Him and they shall be seen before Him, and they shall praise the Lord for His love: because He is near and beholdeth, and hatred shall be taken from the earth, and along with jealousy it shall be drowned: for ignorance has been destroyed, because the knowledge of the Lord has arrived.'

It would be easy to multiply quotations, but this is impossible here. There are many phrases which arrest attention, like the first words of Ode 34, which Harnack calls the 'pearl of the collection': 'No way is hard when there is a simple heart.' But even more attractive than the phrases and the metaphors is the consistent spirit of joyfulness: 'Grace has been revealed for your salvation. Believe and live and be saved.' Thus the last words of Ode 34 lead up to the triumphant 'Hallelujah' which closes each hymn. Whatever may be the final verdict of critics as to the date, the beauty of the thoughts is an abiding possession for all who are interested in early Christian hymns.*

LITERATURE.—H. Leigh Bennett, art. 'Greek Hymnody,' in Julian's *Dict. of Hymnology*[2], 1907; F. Cabrol, art. 'Cantiques,' in his *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, 1909; E. A. Abbott, *Light on the Gospel from an ancient Poet*, 1912; see also the series of artt. on 'Hymns (Christian)' *in ERE*.

A. E. BURN.

HYPOCRISY (ὑπόκρισις). — The noun ὑποκριτής does not occur after the Synoptic Gospels, but ὑπόκρισις is found in Gal 2^{13}, 1 Ti 4^{2}, 1 P 2^{1}, and the compound verb συνυποκρίνεσθαι, 'to dissemble along with another,' is used in Gal 2^{13}.

The development of the meaning of ὑποκρίνεσθαι can be clearly traced. In Homer and Herodotus it meant 'to reply,' *e.g.* 'to give an oracular answer' (Herod. i. 78, 91); then 'to answer on the stage,' 'to speak in dialogue,' 'to play a part' (Arist. *Pol.* v. xi. 19); then 'to be an actor in real life,' 'to dissemble,' 'to feign,' 'to pretend.' The last is probably the only meaning of the word in the NT, though E. Hatch (*Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, p. 92) thinks that among Greek-speaking Jews ὑπόκρισις had come to mean 'irreligion,' 'impiety.'

'Sincerity, a deep, great, genuine sincerity, is the first characteristic of all men in any way heroic' (Carlyle, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, 1872, p. 42). The hypocrite does not dare to show himself as he is. His fear of criticism compels him to wear a mask. ὑπόκρισις includes both simulation and dissimulation. Bacon's definitions (*Essays*, vi.) are clear and sharp as usual:

'There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self. The first, Closeness, Reservation, and Secrecy; when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is. The second, Dissimulation, in the negative; when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is. And the third, Simulation, in the affirmative; when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.'

Gal 2^{11-14} alludes to a crisis in which even the Apostle Peter dissembled, the other Jewish Christians of Antioch dissembling with him (συνυπεκρίθησαν), and even Barnabas, against his better judgment, was carried away by their ὑπόκρισις. The fear of offending the narrow guardians of Judaistic orthodoxy was the cause of all this inconsistency on the side of the party of Christian liberty and progress. St. Peter did not really believe that he would be defiled by eating Gentile food. At Joppa he had learned to cast his ceremonial scruples to the winds (Ac 10^{9-16}); at Cæsarea he had preached in the house of the Italian Cornelius, keeping company with 'one of another nation' (ἀλλοφύλῳ, v.[28]), and witnessing a Gentile Pentecost (vv.[44-47]); and with the Greek Christians of Antioch he at first saw no more harm in eating and drinking than in singing and praying. But circumstances arose in which he had not the courage to continue putting his principles into practice. When he had to choose between giving the cold shoulder to his Gentile brethren and displeasing the circumcised, the vacillating weakness of his character was illustrated once more. He was not even yet quite worthy of his great name—Peter, the man of rock. Concealing his liberal convictions, he behaved as if he were a strictly conservative Jew. And his example proved infectious, for he could not act as a mere private individual. The influential leader of the Twelve Apostles drew after him many Jewish Christians, including even

* The Christian teaching includes references to the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost (19, 23), the Son of God and Son of Man (36, 3), born of a Virgin (19), the pre-existent (19), who became Man (7), suffered (31), died on the Cross (27, 42), descended into Hell (42), was justified (31), and exalted (41).

St. Paul's fellow-apostle, who had been living for years in intimate fellowship with the ceremonially unclean. Whatever excuses may be made for St. Peter's conduct—which some modern scholars (like most of the Fathers of the early Church) are disposed to regard in a much more favourable light than St. Paul did (A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, 1897, p. 206 f.)—it was a betrayal of the cause of spiritual freedom. His silent withdrawal from his Gentile brethren was as eloquent as any words could have been. It did as much harm as if he had issued a proclamation, 'Before we Jews can eat with you Gentiles, ye must bend your necks to the yoke of the law.' It was because in his heart he no longer believed anything of the kind that his action was rightly called ὑπόκρισις. But the terms in which he is elsewhere spoken of in the same letter (1^{18} $2^{11.}$) make it evident that his aberration was only temporary, and that there remained no essential difference between 'the gospel of the uncircumcision' and 'the circumcision' (2^{7}).

In 1 Peter, which many critics still accept as genuine, this same Apostle enjoins his readers to put away all hypocrisies, and to make a fresh start as if they were new-born babes (2^{1L}). The injunction implies the possibility. It is sometimes pessimistically said that there is no remedy for hypocrisy. J. R. Seeley (*Ecce Homo*, 1873, p. 116) calls it 'the one incurable vice.' The *Divine Comedy* represents the hypocrite as clothed for ever in a robe of lead—'O in eterno faticoso manto!' (*Inferno*, xxiii. 67). J. B. Mozley (*University Sermons*[2], 1876, p. 34) says: 'The victim of passion then may be converted, the gay, the thoughtless, or the ambitious . . . they may be converted, any one of these—but who is to convert the hypocrite? He does not know he is a hypocrite. . . . The greater hypocrite he is, the more sincere he must think himself.' It is perhaps faithless, however, to despair of any man, and one may doubt whether our Lord would have expended such a passionate energy of scorn—which, in a heart like His, is a form of love—upon incurables (Mt 23). 'Every son of Adam can become a sincere man, . . . no mortal is doomed to be an insincere man' (Carlyle, *op. cit.* p. 116).

JAMES STRAHAN.

HYSSOP (ὕσσωπος, אֵזוֹב). — Hyssop is a wall-growing plant used by the Jews in ritual sprinklings. It is mentioned by the writer of Hebrews in his review of the ordinances of the OT (He 9^{19}). Scarcely any other Scriptural plant has given rise to so much discussion. The hyssop cannot be the ὕσσωπος of Greek authors (*Hyssopus officinalis*), which is not a native of Syria. Among the many suggestions that have been made (see J. G. B. Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch*[3], Leipzig, 1847–48, *s.v.* 'Ysop'), the choice seems to lie between the caper (*Capparis spinosa*) and a kind of wild marjoram (*Satureja thymus*) which the Arabs call *ṣa'tar*. Both these plants grow on Syrian rocks and walls. Tristram argues for the caper (*Nat. Hist. of the Bible*, 1867, p. 455 f.). One objection to this plant is that its prickly branches and stiff leaves make it unsuitable for forming a bunch or wisp; another, that it is differently named in Scripture (צְנִנָּה in Ec 12^{5}). The *ṣa'tar* was first suggested by Maimonides (*de Vacca Rufa*, iii. 2), followed by D. Kimchi (*Lex. s.v.*). It is excellently adapted for use as a sprinkler. Its identity with the hyssop is accepted by Thomson (*Land and Book*, new ed., London, 1910, p. 93), who describes it as 'having the fragrance of thyme, with a hot, pungent taste, and long, slender stems,' and by G. E. Post, who says (Smith's *DB*, Am. ed., p. 1115, foot-note): 'The fact that many stalks grow up from one root eminently fits this species for the purpose intended. The hand could easily gather in a single grasp the requisite bundle or bunch all ready for use.'

JAMES STRAHAN.

I

ICONIUM (Ἰκόνιον, now *Konia* or *Konyeh*).—This city, which was partly evangelized by St. Paul, occupied one of the most beautiful and fertile inland sites of Asia Minor, compared by T. Lewin (*The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*[3], 1875, i. 144 f.) to the oasis of Damascus. Lying in a crescent of Phrygian hills at the western limit of the vast upland plain of Lycaonia, and watered by perennial streams which, through irrigation, make it to-day a garden-city, it must have been a place of importance from the earliest times. Xenophon, the first writer who mentions it (*Anab.* I. ii. 19), says that Cyrus, travelling eastward, came 'to Iconium, the last city of Phrygia; thence he pursued his route through Lycaonia.' The inhabitants always regarded themselves as of Phrygian, not of Lycaonian, extraction, and the strongest evidence that they were right was their use of the Phrygian language. On the other hand, many writers—Cicero (*ad Fam.* XV. iv. 2), Strabo (XII. vi. 1 [p. 568]), Pliny (*HN* v. 25), and others—having regard to the later history of Iconium, invariably designate it as a city of Lycaonia (*q.v.*). During the 3rd cent. B.C. it was ruled and, to a great extent, hellenized by the Seleucids. After the battle of Magnesia (187 B.C.), it was presented by the Romans to the king of Pergamos; but as he never took effective possession of it, the Galatians appropriated it about 165 B.C. Mark Antony, the 'king-maker,' gave it to Polemon in 39 B.C. and transferred it in 36 to Amyntas, king of Galatia, whose wide dominions, after his death in 25 B.C., were formed into the Roman province Galatia. Under Claudius the city was honoured with the name of Claud-Iconium, a proof of its strong Roman sympathies, but it was not raised to the rank of a *Colonia* till the reign of Hadrian. It remained a city of the province Galatia till A.D. 295, when Diocletian formed the province Pisidia, with Antioch as its capital and Iconium as its 'second metropolis.' In 372 Iconium became the capital of the new province Lycaonia, an arrangement which held good all through the Byzantine period.

When St. Luke relates that the Apostles Paul and Barnabas, being persecuted at Iconium, 'fled into the cities of Lycaonia' (Ac 14^{6})—an expression which implies that in his view Iconium was not Lycaonian—he adheres to the popular and ignores the official geography. So central and prosperous a city, traversed by a trade-route leading direct to the Cilician Gates, and connected by a cross-road with the great high-way to the Euphrates, naturally attracted many traders and settlers from the outside world. Well-chosen as a sphere of missionary activity, the first attempt to preach the gospel in it proved very successful, and though the enmity of the Jews compelled the apostles to desist from

their efforts for a time, St. Luke speaks of the faith of 'a great multitude both of Jews and of Greeks' (Ac 14[1]).

Iconium figures largely in the Galatian controversy. What is certain is that St. Paul and Barnabas preached and made many converts in the city during their first missionary campaign, and that they re-visited it on their homeward journey, 'confirming the souls of the disciples' (14[1. 22]). The persecutions which St. Paul endured there are alluded to in 2 Ti 3[11]. On the South-Galatian theory, he paid the city two more visits, if, as Ramsay and others assume, Iconium is included in 'the region of Phrygia and Galatia' (16[6]) and in 'the region of Galatia and Phrygia' (18[23]). In the interval between the Apostle's last two visits, he received the alarming tidings that his Galatian churches—which, on this hypothesis, were Antioch, Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe—were being perverted by Judaizers, whose fatal errors his Epistle to the Galatians was immediately written to confute. Some indication that his vehement letter and his final visit accomplished his purpose is afforded by the fact that the Galatian Church contributed part of the Gentile love-offering to the poor saints in Jerusalem (1 Co 16[1]). On the North-Galatian theory St. Paul, using 'Galatians' in the popular, not the Roman, sense, wrote to churches which he had founded in Galatia proper, which Livy calls Gallo-Græcia (see GALATIA).

It is a mere legend that Sosipater (Ro 16[21]) was the first and Terentius or Tertius (16[22]) the second bishop of Iconium. The city is the principal scene of the *Acta Pauli et Theclæ*, which date back to the 2nd cent. and have a foundation in fact (see W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Rom. Emp.*, 1893, p. 375 ff.). The Council of Iconium was held in 235. When the city became the capital of the Seljuk State, which was founded about 1072, its splendour gave rise to the proverb, 'See all the world; but see Konia.' To-day it has a population of 50,000.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Leake, *Asia Minor*, 1824; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor*, 1842; Murray's *Guide to Asia Minor*, ed. C. Wilson, 1895, p. 133 f.; W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities of St. Paul*, 1907, pp. 315-382.

JAMES STRAHAN.

IDOLATRY.—So deep-rooted was the Jewish hatred of idolatry, and so general had been the condemnation of the practice, that our Lord found no reason for insistence upon the generally accepted commandments on the subject. But as soon as the gospel message began to be preached outside the pale of Judaism, the matter became one of the pressing questions of the day. Protests against the popular practice had not been wanting from the older Greek thinkers; Heraclitus, Xenophanes, and Zeno had all raised their voices against image-worship. But the popular mind was not affected by their teaching, and many were the apologists who wrote in favour of the established custom. It is not surprising to read (Ac 17[16]) that, when St. Paul visited Athens, 'his spirit was provoked within him, as he beheld the city full of idols,' even though the statement is not strictly accurate. His whole training rendered him antagonistic to anything approaching idolatry; and in his letters the same feeling is expressed. No Christian was to keep company with idolaters (1 Co 5[10f.]), who could not inherit the Kingdom of God (6[9], Eph 5[5]). He reminds the Thessalonians that they had abandoned the old idolatrous worship 'to serve the living God' (1 Th 1[9]). Yet from the Christian point of view there is only one God, and the true Christian cannot but recognize that thus 'no idol is anything in the world' (1 Co 8[4]).

But there are two aspects of idolatry which caused the greatest anxiety in the primitive Church.

(*a*) The decision of the Jerusalem Council as to the duties incumbent upon heathen converts contains the significant phrase, 'that they abstain from the pollutions of idols' (Ac 15[20]), 'from meats offered to idols' (v.[29]). The command is intended as a comprehensive one, meaning that idolatry in every form is to be avoided; 'participation in the idolatrous feasts is especially emphasised, simply because this was the crassest form of idolatry' (A. Harnack, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 257). But it was also the means of subtle temptation, which gave rise to a serious question. The probability was that most of the meat sold in the markets as well as that set before the guests at Gentile tables had been 'offered to idols.' What was the Christian to do? Was he to buy no meat? Must he refuse all such invitations? It must not be forgotten that the breach between St. Paul and the Judaizers had never been really healed. The partisans on either side were ever on the look-out for opportunities to widen it. The leaders did their utmost to heal the quarrel. Therefore, in dealing with the questions raised by the Corinthian Church, St. Paul was compelled to remember that he must not give any offence to the Judaizing section, which was evidently represented there (1 Co 1[11ff.]), since he had acquiesced in the Apostolic Decree. It is true that this was only in the nature of a compromise, but its recommendations must be carried out as far as possible. On the other hand, the Gentile section of the community, which was responsible for raising the question, was in favour of a broad-minded view. And St. Paul's dilemma was increased by the fact that his sympathies were with them. He lays the greatest stress, therefore, upon the principle that idolatry is wholly hateful and must be carefully guarded against (1 Co 10[14]). In the worship of Israel, to eat the sacrifices of the altar is to have communion with the altar. It is true that the idol is nothing, and the sacrifice therefore has no meaning, yet idolatry among the heathen is demon-worship rather than the worship of God; would they wish to have communion with demons? (1 Co 10[15ff.]). It was all very well to shelter behind the fact that Christians really know that there is only one God; but all have not this knowledge: consequently the weaker brethren—that is, those who are perplexed and troubled by these questions—may be led into danger by our actions. Yet a compromise is possible. They are to buy what is offered, and eat what is set before them, asking no questions (v.[28ff.]). If either the seller or the host say, 'This has been offered to idols,' whether in a friendly or a hostile spirit, the Christians must have nothing to do with it. It is all a matter of expediency and, in part, of love. God's glory must come first; neither Jew nor Greek nor the Church must be needlessly offended.

(*b*) The second aspect of idolatry afforded even more grievous trials, and was eventually the source of serious persecution: it was the rise of Emperor-worship. It is not difficult to see that such a cult was almost inevitable under existing circumstances. There had always been a tendency among Greeks and Romans to deify heroes of the past, but the practice gradually grew up of erecting temples in honour of living heroes (Plutarch, *Lysander*, xviii.; Herodotus, v. 47). It was perhaps not unnatural that a cult of the all-victorious city of Rome should arise, and as early as 195 B.C. there was a temple in its honour at Smyrna. Taking all these facts into consideration, the development of the Imperial cult under the Empire was only to be looked for. After the death of Julius Cæsar a temple in his honour was erected at Ephesus (29 B.C.), and it was only a step to pay a like honour to Augustus during his lifetime (Tacitus, *Ann.* iv. 37). Such men as Gaius and Domitian were ready enough to

encourage the idea (Suetonius, *Domit.* xiii.). In the province of Asia the cult was hailed with delight, and the result, as touching Christians, is seen in the Apocalypse (13). Such a cult was bound to change the whole relationship between Christianity and the Roman power. As a general rule it would be quite possible to escape offending susceptibilities with regard to the worship of the older gods, but the new cult was so universal and so popular that it soon became fraught with grave danger for members of the Christian community. Antichrist had indeed arisen, and fierce warfare could be the only result.

LITERATURE.—For the whole subject: J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*[2], 1900, also edition of Pausanias, 1898; V. Chapot, *La Province romaine proconsulaire d'Asie*, 1904; for (*a*): Commentaries of Heinrici (1896), Schmiedel (1892), Ellicott (1887), Stanley (21858), Robertson-Plummer (1911) on 1 Co 8–10; and for (*b*): H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907, pp. lxxviii–xciii; B. F. Westcott, *Epp. of St. John*, 1883, pp. 250–282; E. Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial*, 1891; G. Boissier, *La Religion romaine*, 1892, i. 109–186; G. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, 1902, pp. 71–78, 280–289.

F. W. WORSLEY.

IGNATIUS.—1. Life.—From the date of the Apostolic Decree (Ac 15[23-29]) onwards, *i.e.* from about A.D. 50, there is absolutely no evidence as to the history of the Church of Antioch. In the time of Origen and Julius Africanus, Ignatius was considered as the second of the Antiochene bishops. Between him and Theophilus († *c.* 185) three bishops were usually placed—Hero, Cornelius, and Eros, of whom nothing was known but their names. Euodius was regarded as Ignatius' predecessor (Harnack, *Chronologie*, i., Leipzig, 1897, p. 210). But as a matter of fact, as Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*[2], pt. ii. vol. ii., London, 1889, p. 471) says: 'The dates of the first century, the accession of Euodius A.D. 42, and the accession of Ignatius A.D. 69, deserve no credit.' The information to be gleaned from the *Apost. Constit.* VII. xlvi. 4 (ed. Funk, Paderborn, 1905), such as that Euodius was ordained bishop by St. Peter and Ignatius by St. Paul, does not seem to be of any greater value than the foregoing. St. John Chrysostom, in the panegyric which he pronounces at Antioch on St. Ignatius, supposes that Ignatius knew the apostles and received the laying on of hands from them (*in S. Martyrem Ignatium*, 1 and 2 [Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, i. 587 f.]). The *Apost. Constit.* and St. John Chrysostom represent the same legend in formation. The extent of Eusebius' information (*HE* III. xxxvi. 2) was that St. Peter was the first bishop of Antioch and that Ignatius was his second successor, Euodius being the first. He depends for his knowledge on Origen (*Hom. in Lucam*, 6), and is in turn followed by Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.* 16).

Apart from the fact that he was bishop of Antioch and the details furnished by his authentic letters, the history of Ignatius is absolutely unknown. Some critics have tried, with more zeal than discretion, to fill up the gaps in the history with conjectures, but these are quite worthless. For example, E. Bruston (*Ignace d'Antioche*, Paris, 1897, p. 112 f.) advances the theory that Ignatius was neither Greek nor Syrian, but Roman, his proof being that Ignatius' name is a Latin one (cf. Forcellini-De-Vit., *Onomasticon*, *s.v.* 'Ignatius = Egnatius'), and that he has all the characteristics of the Roman mind, which is essentially practical! Von Dobschütz (*Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., 1904, p. 235 f.) says, with equal justification: 'Ignatius is a genuine Syrian. His diction, which, for Greek, is almost intolerably affected, everywhere reveals the fiery rhythm of Syriac poetry with its wonderful richness of colouring and imagination.'

In the signature of each of his seven letters, Ignatius calls himself Ἰγνάτιος ὁ καὶ Θεοφόρος. On the analogy of expressions like Σαῦλος ὁ καὶ Παῦλος (Ac 13[9]), we may suppose that Θεοφόρος is not an epithet but a proper name (Lightfoot, p. 22). Zahn (p. 3) compares it with Οὐέττιος Ἐπάγαθος in Eusebius, *HE* V. i. 9. As to when and why Ignatius took the name of Θεοφόρος, we have to confess complete ignorance.

The author of the Passion of Ignatius, entitled the *Martyrium Colbertinum* (Funk, ii. 276), calls him a 'disciple of the Apostle John' and 'a thoroughly apostolic man,' but he gives no evidence for the truth of his statements. In his Letter to Polycarp (i. 1) Ignatius seems to say that he has just met Polycarp for the first time (Funk, *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandlungen*, ii. [Paderborn, 1899] 340). As Polycarp was an Asiatic disciple of St. John, this would be a proof that Ignatius was not a co-disciple of his. Besides, Ignatius is absolutely silent on the subject of the Apostle John, which, had Ignatius known him, would be very puzzling, considering that Ignatius wrote a long letter to the Ephesians.

An attempt has been made to find in *Romans*, iv. 3, an indication that Ignatius was a slave. But the text has probably a spiritual and not a literal meaning (cf. *Philadelphians*, viii. 1; Lightfoot, p. 210). It is inconceivable that a slave should ever have been put at the head of a Christian community.

Ignatius was not a Roman citizen, since he was condemned to be thrown to the beasts. The modest expressions that Ignatius uses in speaking of himself suggest that he was not a Christian by birth, but became one later on. His previous life may have had some analogy with that of the Apostle Paul before his conversion. 'But for myself I am ashamed to be called one of them [*i.e.* the Antiochene Christians]; for neither am I worthy, being the very last of them and an untimely birth' (*Romans*, ix. 2).* There are similar protestations of humility in *Eph.* xxi. 2, *Trall.* xiii. 1, and *Smyrn.* xi. 1.

Eusebius places the martyrdom of Ignatius in the time of Trajan (A.D. 98–117)—a wide choice of date to which no objection can be raised (Lightfoot, p. 469 f.). There seems good reason, however, for deciding on the last years of Trajan's reign as the most likely date (Harnack, *Chronologie*, i. 406).

According to the *Martyrium Colbertinum*, ii. 1–2 (Funk, ii. 276), Ignatius appeared before Trajan in the 9th year of his reign (26 Jan. 106–26 Jan. 107), when the latter was passing through Antioch on a march against the Parthians (the war against the Parthians, however, only began in 112). He was condemned by the Emperor and sent to Rome, where he died on 20 Dec. 107, in the consulate of Sura and Senecio (vii. 1, p. 284). This date is debatable, for the oldest known reference to the 'natale' of Ignatius, found in the Syriac Martyrology published by Wright, fixes the anniversary as 17 Oct. (Bolland, *AS*, Nov. i. 1 [1894], p. lxii. [text restored by Duchesne]: καὶ ιζ′, Ἰγνάτιος ἐπίσκοπος Ἀντιοχείας ἐκ τῶν ἀρχαίων μαρτύρων). The place of the martyrdom is not mentioned. Wright's Martyrology is certainly not later than the middle of the 4th cent., and appears to have been compiled in Antioch. This date (17 Oct.) is confirmed by St. John Chrysostom and other writers and documents (H. Quentin, *Les Martyrologes historiques*, Paris, 1908, p. 548). Lightfoot says (p. 434): 'The only anniversary, which has any claims to consideration as the true day of the martyrdom, is October 17.' If, then, the date of 20 Dec. for the martyrdom of Ignatius is not correct, no reliance can be placed on the date of the consulate of Sura and Senecio. The main part of the *Martyrium Colber-*

* The translations of the text of Ignatius are taken from Lightfoot.

tinum belongs to the 5th or, at the earliest, the end of the 4th century. For its chronology it depends on Eusebius' *Chronicle*, and even it gives no guarantee of absolute exactitude. All one can say is that Eusebius placed the martyrdom of Ignatius in the time of Trajan. Nothing more definite is given.

No historical value can be attached to the rest of the *Martyrium Colbertinum*, or to the *Martyrium Vaticanum* (which is independent of the foregoing and perhaps dates from the 5th cent.), or to the Latin, Armenian, or Greek texts where the two *Martyria* are combined (on this worthless hagiographic literature see Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Litt.* i. pp. 143–145).

Apart from these documents, we have no information as to the circumstances in which the bishop of Antioch was imprisoned and then sent to Rome. But, if the martyrdom took place A.D. 110–117 we have the evidence of Trajan for this period, in his letter to Pliny (Pliny, *Ep.* xcviii.) defining the legal position of Christianity: Christianity is a *religio illicita*, but public action can be taken against Christians only by means of the *delatio*; 'Puniendi sunt, si deferantur et arguantur.' It may be supposed, then, that Ignatius was *delatus* to the Roman magistrates of Antioch.

In *Eph.* xxi. 2, he writes: 'Pray for the church which is in Syria, whence I am led a prisoner to Rome—I who am the very last of the faithful there'; in *Rom.* ix. 1: 'Remember in your prayers the church which is in Syria, which hath God for its shepherd in my stead. Jesus Christ alone shall be its bishop—He and your love.' Some time after —*i.e.* on his arrival in Troas—Ignatius seems to have given up all anxiety about the Church of Antioch: 'Seeing that in answer to your prayer and to the tender sympathy which ye have in Christ Jesus, it hath been reported to me that the church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, it is becoming for you as a church of God, to appoint a deacon to go thither as God's ambassador, that he may congratulate them when they are assembled together, and may glorify the Name' (*Philad.* x. 1). He writes to Polycarp: 'Seeing that the church which is in Antioch of Syria hath peace, as it hath been reported to me, through your prayers, I myself also have been the more comforted since God hath banished my care' (vii. 1). To the Smyrnæans he is even more explicit: 'It is meet that your church should appoint, for the honour of God, an ambassador of God that he may go as far as Syria and congratulate them because they are at peace, and have recovered their proper stature, and their proper bulk hath been restored to them' (*τὸ ἴδιον σωματεῖον*; xi. 2); and he adds: 'It seemed to me a fitting thing that ye should send one of your own people with a letter, that he might join with them in giving glory for the calm which by God's will had overtaken them, and because they were already reaching a haven through your prayers' (xi. 3). If it were a question of a persecution limited to Antioch, it would not be very clear how peace could have restored its stature to the Church of Antioch, *i.e.* its spiritual stature, in the sense of *Eph.* inscr.: *εὐλογημένῃ ἐν μεγέθει*. We are, then, led to suppose that it is not peace after persecution but peace after discord that is meant. With Ignatius gone, the Church of Antioch was left without a pastor, and the community (*σωματεῖον*) had become disunited and was in a state of schism. The insistence with which Ignatius speaks of the return of the repentant rebels to union with God and communion with the bishop (*Philad.* iii. 2, viii. 1, *Smyrn.* ix. 1) is perhaps the consequence of the painful experience he has just passed through in Antioch.

Ignatius, though arrested and condemned in Antioch, is sent to Rome. He knows that he is condemned to be thrown to the beasts (*Rom.* v. 1–2). In *Rom.* iv. 1, he begs the Christians of Rome not to intervene to rob him of the martyrdom he awaits, and it is thus obvious that he must have been tried and found guilty in Antioch. The fact of his being condemned in Antioch and yet undergoing his sentence in Rome is not unique. Rome gathered victims from all the ends of the earth to take part in the cruel games of her amphitheatre.

In Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, we find that Ignatius, on his arrival in Philippi in Macedonia, was no longer alone but in the same convoy as other Christians in chains (*Phil.* i. 1, ix. 1, xiii. 2). The journey from Antioch to Rome was made partly by land and partly by sea (*Rom.* v. 1); Ignatius was in chains, and a squad of ten soldiers guarded him night and day and spared him no ill-treatment (*Rom.* v. 1; cf. *Passio Sanctæ Perpetuæ*, iii. 6: '. . . concussuræ militum').

The first town we know of Ignatius' passing through is Philadelphia in proconsular Asia (*Philad.* vii. 1). Of the itinerary he followed between Antioch and that town we know nothing.

After Philadelphia we find him in Smyrna, where Polycarp is bishop. Later he thanks the Smyrnæans effusively for the welcome they gave him and his two companions Philo and Rheus Agathopus (*Smyrn.* ix. 2, x. 1). In Smyrna he made a comparatively long stay—time enough to get to know the Smyrnæan families he greets at the end of his letter (xiii. 1, 2). While he was in Smyrna the neighbouring churches sent deputations to greet him and console him in his imprisonment. From Smyrna itself Ignatius writes a letter of thanks to each of the churches who had sent delegates: the first is the Epistle to the Ephesians, the second the Letter to the Church of Magnesia on the Mæander, the third the Epistle to the Trallians. From Smyrna, too, Ignatius sends his Letter to the Romans, which alone bears a date—the ninth day before the Kalends of September, *i.e.* 24 Aug. (*Rom.* x. 3).

The zeal of the neighbouring churches to greet Ignatius is very remarkable. 'For when ye heard that I was on my way from Syria, in bonds for the sake of the common Name and hope . . . ye were eager to visit me,' writes Ignatius to the Ephesians (i. 2). The Ephesians sent their bishop, Onesimus (i. 3), their deacon, Burrhus (ii. 1), and several other Christians—Crocus, Euplus, Fronto, etc. (*ib.*). The Magnesians sent their bishop, Damas, the presbyters Bassus and Apollonius, and their deacon Zotion (ii.). At the end of his Epistle to the Magnesians, Ignatius writes: 'The Ephesians from Smyrna salute you, from whence also I write to you. They are here with me for the glory of God, as also are ye; and they have comforted me in all things, together with Polycarp, bishop of the Smyrnæans. Yea, and all the other churches salute you . . .' (xv.). The Trallians sent their bishop, Polybius (i. 1). To them Ignatius writes: 'I salute you from Smyrna, together with the churches of God that are present with me; men who refreshed me in all ways both in flesh and in spirit' (xii. 1). The way in which these three Asian churches vied with each other to pay court to Ignatius leads us to believe that other churches probably followed suit: 'I write to all the churches, and I bid all men know, that of my own free will I die for God . . .' (*Rom.* iv. 1); and again: 'My spirit saluteth you, and the love of the churches which received me in the name of Jesus Christ, not as a mere wayfarer: for even those churches which did not lie on my route after the flesh went before me from city to city' (ix. 3).

The Epistle to the Romans is not a reply to a direct deputation sent to Ignatius by the Church of Rome. Ignatius has been informed of the Romans' feelings towards him and of their design to snatch him from martyrdom if possible, and he forestalls them by begging them to do nothing. He sends them the letter by the hands of Ephesians who have apparently told him of the Romans' plans (x. 1), and who have means of transporting the letter to Rome. Ignatius uses this means, although he knows that Antiochene devotees have gone straight to Rome. He says of them: 'As touching those who went before me from Syria to Rome unto the glory of God, I believe that ye have received instructions; whom also apprise that I am near' (x. 2).

From Smyrna, Ignatius and his guard journey to Troas, probably by sea. From there Ignatius dispatches three letters: the first to the Church of Philadelphia ('The love of the brethren which are in Troas saluteth you,' xi. 2); the second to the Smyrnæans; and the third to Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna. In the last letter Ignatius apologizes for not being able to write to all the churches, the reason being that he has just been suddenly ordered to embark at once for Neapolis in Macedonia, the port for Philippi.

Before leaving Troas, Ignatius receives comforting news of his beloved Church of Antioch. He suggests that Polycarp should depute one of the Smyrnæans to go to Antioch to show the love that the Church of Smyrna bears to the Church of Syria (vii. 2). 'I salute him that shall be appointed to go to Syria,' he writes. 'Grace shall be with him always, and with Polycarp who sendeth him' (viii. 2). He begs Polycarp to write to the churches lying between Smyrna and Antioch, enjoining them to send messengers or letters to the Church of Antioch as a token of their love (viii. 1). He writes to the same effect to the Philadelphians. 'As a church of God' they ought to elect a deacon and commission him to carry their congratulations to the devotees assembled together at Antioch and to glorify 'the Name' with them. If they do this, they will be following the example of several churches, some of whom have sent a bishop, and some presbyters or deacons (x. 1-2).

From Neapolis Ignatius is taken to Philippi. A few details of this journey may be gleaned from Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, written in reply to a letter sent from the Philippians to Polycarp (iii. 1): 'Ye wrote to me, both ye yourselves and Ignatius, asking that if any one should go to Syria he might carry thither the letters from you. And this I will do, if I get a fit opportunity, either I myself, or he whom I shall send to be ambassador on your behalf also' (xiii. 1). From this passage we may infer that Ignatius wrote to Polycarp during his stay in Philippi; and that the Philippians wrote to the Church of Antioch at the same time as to Polycarp. The Philippians had given Ignatius a hearty welcome, and Polycarp commends them for having 'received the followers of the true Love and escorted them on their way . . . those men encircled in saintly bonds which are the diadems of them that be truly chosen of God and our Lord' (i. 1).

By the time Polycarp wrote this letter, Ignatius had left Philippi and was *en route* for Rome: 'Moreover, concerning Ignatius himself and those that were with him, if ye have any sure tidings, certify us' (xiii. 2). It would be difficult to believe that this request for news of Ignatius could by any possibility be later than the receipt of the tidings of his death. It is true that in another passage Polycarp commends the patience of 'the blessed Ignatius, and Zosimus, and Rufus,' and compares it with that of St. Paul and the other apostles, adding: 'all these ran not in vain . . . they are in their due place in the presence of the Lord, with whom also they suffered' (ix. 1, 2); but it is not unlikely that the last phrase refers only to St. Paul and the other apostles. On this hypothesis, then, Polycarp would not know the fate of Ignatius, Zosimus, and Rufus till after the dispatch of his letter to the Philippians.

From the time he left Philippi we know nothing further of Ignatius. Origen says that he fought against the beasts in Rome during the persecution. Eusebius (*HE* III. xxxvi. 3) repeats this statement, and adds that in Rome Ignatius became 'food for the beasts.' In this he was certainly influenced by Ignatius' letter to the Romans ('I am God's wheat, and I am ground by the teeth of wild beasts,' iv. 1). This Epistle is the sole extant reference to the martyrdom of Ignatius. Even in Rome itself there seems to have been no note made of the incident.

From Jerome we learn that Ignatius was buried in Antioch: 'Reliquiæ corporis eius in Antiochia iacent extra portam Daphniticam in cœmeterio' (*de Vir. illustr.* 16). This was written in A.D. 392, and, as far as we know, Jerome did not take his information from any written source, but probably speaks *de visu*.

'In his panegyric on Ignatius pronounced in Antioch (386-97), St. John Chrysostom celebrates the triumphal return of the martyr to his episcopal city, and the honours that were paid him by the cities on the route [*Patr. Graeca*, l. 594]. The orator no doubt takes his clue from spectacles of the same nature seen for some years previously in different centres of the Eastern Empire. It is quite evident that the remains of the holy martyr could not have been brought back in this way in the very thick of the persecution' (H. Delehaye, *Les Origines du culte des martyrs*, Brussels, 1912, p. 69; so also Lightfoot, p. 431 f.).

In the time of Theodosius II. (408-450), Ignatius' remains (or bones believed to be his) were transferred from the cemetery *extra muros* to the ancient Temple of Fortune, now turned into a basilica (Euagrius, *HE* i. 16 [ed. Bidez-Parmentier, London, 1899, p. 25 f.]).

The whole question of the transference of Ignatius' bones from Rome to Antioch is a difficult one. Delehaye writes: 'It is difficult to come to any finding on the question of the reality of the transference of St. Ignatius' remains from Rome and of the period when this took place' (*loc. cit.*). If St. Ignatius suffered martyrdom in Rome, and if, as Euagrius says, 'he met his death in the amphitheatre of Rome, finding his tomb in the bellies of the wild beasts in fulfilment of his own wish,' one may suppose that nothing remained of his body. In *Rom.* iv. 2 he wrote: 'Rather entice the wild beasts, that they may become my sepulchre and may leave no part of my body behind.' Of course one may always agree with Euagrius that at least Ignatius' 'tougher bones' were saved.

As to the time of the transference, if it did take place, we are equally at sea. By the end of the 4th cent., as we have seen above, public opinion was quite decided that Ignatius' remains were *in cœmeterio* in Antioch. But the transference of the remains in the 2nd or 3rd cent. would be an anachronism, and in the 4th cent. some note would undoubtedly have been taken of the fact. We must conclude, then, that, if the remains of Ignatius preserved in Antioch are authentic, it is quite possible that Ignatius did not suffer martyrdom in Rome at all, but returned to Antioch and died there. The existence of his tomb in Antioch is more probable on this supposition than on the

hypothesis of the transference of his remains from Rome to Antioch.

2. MSS and VSS of the Epistles.—The words of Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians (xiii. 2) are the earliest evidence of a collection of Ignatius' letters: 'The letters of Ignatius which were sent to us by him, and others as many as we had by us, we send unto you, according as ye gave charge; the which are subjoined to this letter; from which ye will be able to gain great advantage. For they comprise faith and endurance and every kind of edification, which pertaineth unto our Lord.' Eusebius (*HE* iii. 36) apparently knows of a collection of seven of Ignatius' letters, with Polycarp's Letter to the Philippians, which is identical with our present group of letters, even down to the order in which the Epistles are given: *Eph.*, *Magn.*, *Trall.*, *Rom.*, *Philad.*, *Polyc.*, *Smyrn.*, and Polycarp's *Philippians*.

This original collection of letters fell into the hands of a forger, who made interpolations in the text of the authentic Epistles and also manufactured six additional letters—Mary of Cassobola (there is a Cilician town called Castabala, possibly the same as Cassobola) to Ignatius, Ignatius to Mary of Cassobola, to the Tarsians, to the Philippians, to the Antiochenes, and to Hero the Deacon. We have thus an Ignatian collection of thirteen letters. The identification of the forger with the unknown compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* is a theory highly favoured by Funk. He regards him as having been a Syrian Christian of the beginning of the 5th cent., probably belonging to an Apollinarist order, and he even finds in his work points of contact with Theodore of Mopsuestia (*Patr. apostol. opera*, ii. pp. ix–xiii, and *Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandlungen*, ii. [Paderborn, 1899], pp. 347–359).

Three other spurious letters of Ignatius may be passed over quickly—one supposed to be addressed to the Blessed Virgin Mary, with the Virgin's reply, and two addressed to the Apostle John. The oldest witness to these three Latin letters is Denis of Chartreux († 1471); the oldest MS of them dates from the 12th century. These Epistles are usually regarded as forgeries of Latin provenance and of the Middle Ages.

In 1845, Cureton published *Eph.*, *Magn.*, and *Rom.* in a Syriac version, which comprises the three authentic Epistles in an abridged form. Cureton put forward the hypothesis that the Syriac text represents all that is authentically Ignatian, and that consequently *Trall.*, *Philad.*, *Polyc.*, and *Smyrn.* are spurious compositions. This theory was accepted for some time by quite a number of critics, but it has now been abandoned: the three Syriac letters are nothing more nor less than an abridgment of the three Greek Epistles. (These apocryphal texts may be found in the editions of Zahn, Lightfoot, and Funk.)

We may now turn our undivided attention to the Greek collection of the seven authentic letters.

The authenticity of these Epistles was for long a matter of keen controversy. At first only the Latin collection comprising the Epistles to the Apostle John and the Virgin Mary, or the three apocryphal letters published in Paris in 1495, were known. Three years later (1498) Lefèvre d'Etaples published in Latin the collection comprising the thirteen spurious or interpolated letters, the Greek text of which was printed at Dillingen in 1557. This collection was speedily recognized to be unauthentic, but, though the Magdeburg Centuriators repudiated the thirteen letters *en bloc*, Baronius and Bellarmin defended them *en bloc*. The Protestant Scultetus, in his *Medullae theologiae patrum syntagma* (Neustadt, 1609) was of opinion that only the seven letters attested by Eusebius were authentic. In 1646 Vossius published the authentic Greek text of six of the seven letters, the Greek text of the seventh—the Letter to the Romans—being published by Ruinart in 1689. But it was a long time before the authenticity of these seven letters was generally accepted. It would be useless to retrace the history of this painful controversy with its tedious conflict of confessional (Saumaise, Blondel, Daillé) or pseudo-critical (Baur, Hilgenfeld, Lipsius) prejudices, which was finally terminated by Zahn's *Ignatius von Antiochien* (Gotha, 1873) and F. X. Funk's *Die Echtheit der ignatianischen Briefe* (Tübingen, 1883). E. Bruston's objections and conjectures (*Ignace d'Antioche*) were never taken seriously, nor were those of D. Völter (*Die ignatianischen Briefe*, Tübingen, 1892). See, however, M. Rackl, *Christologie des heiligen Ignatius von Antiochien*, Freiburg i. B., 1914, pp. 11–86.

A reply to the difficulties raised by the opponents of the authenticity of the letters will be found in J. Réville's *Les Origines de l'épiscopat* (pp. 442–81) and in E. Hennecke's *Handbuch zu den neutest. Apokryphen* (Tübingen, 1904, p. 191 f.). Difficulties naturally exist, writes R. Knopf, but they are not to be weighed against 'the uninventible form of these writings, the originality of the man which seems to speak forth from the pulsing lines, and the wealth of personal references which entwine the letters' (*Das nachapostolische Zeitalter*, Tübingen, 1905, p. 37; cf. O. Stählin, *Christl. griech. Litt.*, Munich, 1914, p. 975).

The seven Epistles of Ignatius are attested, as we have said, first by the Epistle of Polycarp, and then, at the beginning of the 4th cent., by Eusebius. Between these two witnesses we may insert Irenæus (*adv. Haer.* v. xxviii. 4), who does not name Ignatius but cites his Letter to the Romans: 'Quemadmodum quidam de nostris dixit, propter martyrium in Deum adiudicatus ad bestias, "quoniam frumentum sum Christi et per dentes bestiarum molor ut mundus panis inveniar."' Harnack thinks that Clement of Alexandria is so closely dependent on Ignatius that he must have read him (cf. *Paedag.* I. vi. 38, II. viii. 63, *Excerpt. Theod.* 74 with *Trall.* viii. 1, *Eph.* xvii. 1, xix. 2); so also Origen (*de Orat.* 20 = *Rom.* iii. 3; Hom. vi. *in Luc.* = *Eph.* xix. 1; *in Cant. Cantic.* prolog. = *Rom.* vii. 2). Harnack ignores all doubtful witnesses like Melito, Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tertullian, the Lyons Martyrs, and the Acts of St. Perpetua. We shall pass over all attestations later than Eusebius (see Harnack, *Die Ueberlieferung der altchristl. Litteratur*, Leipzig, 1893, pp. 79–86).

The question whether Lucian the satirist, in lines 169–170 of his *de Morte Peregrini*, was thinking of Ignatius or even had direct knowledge of his letters is a point on which one hesitates to decide. Funk (*Patr. apostol.* i. pp. lx–lxi) and Réville (*Origines de l'épiscopat*, Paris, 1895, p. 448 f.) incline to an affirmative view, while Harnack (*Ueberlieferung*, p. 79) remains doubtful.

Smyrn. iii. 3–xii. 1 is preserved in the Papyruskodex 10581 (5th cent.) of Berlin (see C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Altchristl. Texte*, Berlin, 1910, pp. 3–12). The Greek text of all the authentic letters except the Epistle to the Romans is given in the Codex Laurentianus, lvii. 7 (11th cent.), fol. 242–252, which was used by Vossius for the *editio princeps*. The MS G.V. 14 (16th cent.) in the Casanate Library is a copy of the Laurentianus. The letter to the Romans is given in the Paris gr. 1491 (10th cent.), which was used by Ruinart. The separation of the Letter to the Romans from the six other authentic letters is perhaps due to the fact that the first collection of Ignatius' letters was made in Asia—witness what Polycarp says in his *Philippians*—and thus did not contain the Epistle to the Romans (so Harnack, *Ueberlieferung*, p. 76).

The Latin version published by Ussher (Oxford, 1644) was the work of Robert Grosseteste, bishop

of Lincoln (13th cent.); it was translated from an excellent Greek MS now lost, and is an extremely close rendering of the original. Ussher had at his disposal two Latin MSS—one the lost Codex Montacutianus and the other the existing Codex Caiensis, 395 of Cambridge (15th cent.). Grosseteste's version comprises the first six authentic letters and the *Martyrium Colbertinum*, including the Letter to the Romans.

We also possess the seven letters in an Armenian translation possibly dating from the 5th cent., and some fragments of a Syriac translation which formed the basis for the Armenian rendering. Lightfoot and Harnack think that the Syriac collection of *Eph.*, *Magn.*, and *Rom.* in an abridged form published by Cureton is an excerpt from this Syriac translation of the seven authentic letters.

3. Ecclesiastical position.—(1) *Church organization.*—If one had to prove that the Christianity of the beginning of the 2nd cent. was a city-religion one would find ample material in the letters of Ignatius. The visible unity is the Church, and each church bears the name of the city where it is established: 'the church which is in Ephesus of Asia,' 'the church which is in Magnesia on the Mæander,' 'the holy church which is in Tralles of Asia,' 'the church of God the Father and of Jesus Christ which is in Philadelphia of Asia,' 'the church of God the Father and of Jesus Christ the Beloved . . . which is in Smyrna of Asia'—so Ignatius styles the churches in the inscriptions of his letters.

The Church of Antioch is called 'the church which is in Antioch of Syria' (*Philad.* x. 1, *Smyrn.* xi. 1), but it is also spoken of as 'the church which is in Syria' (*Magn.* xiv., *Eph.* xxi. 2, *Rom.* ix. 1). Ignatius calls himself 'bishop from Syria' (*Rom.* ii. 2). This has been taken as an indication that Ignatius was bishop not only of Antioch but of the whole province of Syria, Syria being understood as including several lesser churches and several lesser bishops (K. Lübeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients*, Münster, 1901, p. 43; Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*, Leipzig, 1902, i. 384). The text of *Philad.* x. 2, which speaks of 'the churches which are nearest' (*αἱ ἔγγιστα ἐκκλησίαι*), does not say which city they are near; they may be churches of Asia or even of Cilicia (H. de Genouillac, *L'Eglise chrétienne au temps de saint Ignace d'Antioche*, Paris, 1907, p. 67 f.). Even if it were proved that Syria contained other churches than Antioch, *e.g.* the churches of Apamia or Bercea, the bishop of Antioch might still have considered himself emphatically the bishop of Syria, without being in any sense a metropolitan. To speak of a metropolitan bishop in the time of Ignatius is an anachronism.

The Christian community bearing the name of the church of such and such a city is not a purely mystical body, but a visible unity having frequent assemblies. 'Let meetings (*συναγωγαί*) be held more frequently,' Ignatius writes to Polycarp (iv. 2, 3). 'Seek out all men by name. . . . Let slaves not desire to be set free at the public cost' (*ἀπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ ἐλευθεροῦσθαι*; note the expression *τὸ κοινόν*, a synonym for the local church [*Philad.* i. 1]. If the community can buy out slaves, it must have a common purse). In the Letter to the Smyrnæans (vi. 2), the heretics are reproached for acting contrary to the Spirit of God: 'They have no care for love (*ἀγάπης*), none for the widow, none for the orphan, none for the afflicted, none for the prisoner, none for the hungry or thirsty.' In these words we have a résumé of the gospel of love, and an indication of the practical assistance rendered by every Christian community to those in need. Ignatius begs Polycarp to call together the faithful into a sort of deliberative assembly (*συμβούλιον*) to elect (*χειροτονῆσαι*) a messenger to go to Antioch (vii. 2; cf. *Philad.* x. 1 and *Smyrn.* xi. 2). The church assembles *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό*, 'in one place'; not to come *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is to show pride and to stand self-condemned (*Eph.* v. 2): to come *ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτό* is to cast down the powers of Satan (xiii. 1). The faithful must give the Gentiles (*ἔθνεσιν*) no occasion to calumniate God's people (*τὸ ἐν θεῷ πλῆθος*, *Trall.* viii. 2); they must abide in concord and in common prayer (xii. 2); they must flee evil arts (*κακοτεχνίας*); women must be 'content with their husbands in flesh and in spirit' (*Polyc.* v. 1). If a Christian desires to abide in chastity to the honour of the flesh of the Lord, he may do so, but on condition that he does it without pride (v. 2; this is a somewhat remarkable recommendation, as it is a repudiation of the Encratite conception of the Christian life). Each church has its widows, whom it has to care for (*Polyc.* iv. 1; *Smyrn.* xiii. 1). Ignatius recommends that those who marry—male or female—should not enter into wedlock without the consent of the bishop, for marriage should be 'after the Lord and not after concupiscence' (*Polyc.* v. 2).

Each church has a bishop at its head; this is true not only of Antioch, but also of Ephesus (*Eph.* i. 3), Magnesia (*Magn.* ii.), Tralles (*Trall.* i. 1), Philadelphia (*Philad.* i. 1), and Smyrna (*Smyrn.* xii. 1). Next to the bishop there is a *πρεσβυτέριον* or group of *πρεσβύτεροι*: so at Ephesus (*Eph.* iv. 1, xx. 2), Magnesia (*Magn.* ii., xiii. 1), Tralles (*Trall.* ii. 2, xiii. 2), Philadelphia (*Philad.* vii. 1), and Smyrna (*Smyrn.* xii. 2). Under the presbyters, there are deacons (*Eph.* ii. 1, *Magn.* ii., *Trall.* ii. 3, iii. 1, vii. 2, *Philad.*, subscr., vii. 1, x. 1, *Smyrn.* viii. 1, xii. 2).

The Epistles are a perpetual appeal to unity on the part of the Christian community by submission to the deacons, the presbytery, and the bishop. Ignatius writes to the Ephesians: 'I have received your whole multitude (*πολυπληθίαν ὑμῶν*) in the person of Onesimus' (*Eph.* i. 3). They will be sanctified if they submit to their bishop and presbytery (ii. 2), if they and their bishop have but one thought, if their presbytery is united to the bishop as 'its strings to a lyre' (iv. 1). The bishop is to be regarded as the steward, whom the proprietor (*οἰκοδεσπότης*) has entrusted with the management of his house (*οἰκονομίαν*); and even as the Master Himself (vi. 1). In *Magn.* (ii.) Ignatius commends Zotion the Deacon for submitting 'to the bishop as unto the grace of God and to the presbytery as unto the law of Jesus Christ.' The presbyters, again, are subject to their bishop, however young he may be (iii. 1). The bishop is but the visible bishop; above him is the invisible Bishop, God the Father, the universal Bishop (*ὁ πάντων ἐπίσκοπος*, iii. 1, 2). The bishop presides, and thus takes the place of God; the presbyters represent the council (*συνέδριον*) of the apostles; the deacons are entrusted with the diaconate of Jesus Christ (vi. 1: 'a service under Jesus Christ' [Lightfoot, ii. 120]). The Magnesians are to continue in union with their revered bishop, and 'with the fitly wreathed spiritual circlet of the presbytery, and with the deacons who walk after God' (xiii. 1). The same advice is found again in *Trall.* (ii. 1–2, iii. 1, xii. 2, xiii. 2), *Philad.* (ii. 1, iii. 2, vii. 1), and *Smyrn.* (viii. 1, xii. 2).

The ecclesiology of Ignatius does not regard union and discipline merely as a means of sanctification but as the condition of Christianity. Some call their chief 'bishop,' but 'in everything act apart from him,' and 'do not assemble themselves together lawfully according to commandment' (*μὴ βεβαίως κατ' ἐντολὴν συναθροίζεσθαι*, *Magn.* iv.). 'Neither do ye anything without the bishop and the presbyters' (vii. 1). Apart from the bishop,

the presbytery, and the deacons, 'there is not even the name of a church' (*χωρὶς τούτων ἐκκλησία οὐ καλεῖται, Trall.* iii. 1). Similar declarations may be found in *Philad.* (iii. 2). To the Smyrnæans Ignatius writes (viii. 1–2): 'Let no man do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid (*βεβαία*) eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it. Wheresoever the bishop shall appear, there let the people (*πλῆθος*) be. . . . It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptize or to hold a love-feast' (*ἀγάπη*; *i.e.* 'eucharist'). The Letter to Polycarp contains a still more striking piece of advice: 'Please the Captain in whose army ye serve, from whom also ye will receive your pay. Let none of you be found a deserter' (vi. 2).

A. Michiels (*L'Origine de l'épiscopat*, Louvain, 1900, pp. 396–98) has tried to show that Ignatius regards this three-grade hierarchy—'and notably the episcopate'—as of Divine institution. But Ignatius does not look at the problem from this point of view at all. He regards the Church as a sort of extension of the gospel by the apostles: 'I take refuge in the gospel as the flesh of Jesus and in the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church' (*Philad.* v. 1). The Church is the visible realization of salvation: 'For as many as are of God and of Jesus Christ, they are with the bishop; and as many as shall repent and enter into the unity of the Church, these also shall be of God, that they may be living after Jesus Christ' (iii. 2). And 'if any man followeth one that maketh a schism (*σχίζοντι*), he doth not inherit the Kingdom of God. If any man walketh in strange doctrine (*ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ γνώμῃ περιπατεῖ*) he hath no fellowship with the passion' (iii. 3). This is equivalent to saying that union with the local church, under the authority of the bishop, is the *sine qua non* for justification by the blood of Christ, for inheriting the Kingdom of God, and for life after Jesus Christ. Union with the Church is thus not a matter of ecclesiastical law or of individual choice, but one condition of salvation. If this is the view taken by Ignatius, how could he help believing that the visible and hierarchical Church was instituted by the will of God? 'He has an intensely clear perception that the *mind of God* for man's salvation has expressed itself not in any mere doctrine but in a divinely instituted society with a divinely authorized hierarchy. This is the *mind of God* . . . so clearly that he who would . . . run in harmony with the divine purpose must perforce have merged his individuality in the fellowship of the Church and submitted his wilfulness to her government' (C. Gore, *The Ministry of the Christian Church*[2], London, 1888–89, p. 299).

J. Réville (*Les Origines de l'épiscopat*, pp. 508–519) is very firm on the authenticity of the Ignatian letters, but sets himself the task of minimizing the witness they bear to the three-grade hierarchy and principally to the monarchical episcopate. First of all he holds that this episcopate took its rise in Asia, and that in the time of Ignatius it did not exist or scarcely existed outside Asia; he concedes, however, that Antioch had a monarchical episcopate. Let us say at the very beginning that nowhere—not even in his Letter to the Romans—does Ignatius lead us to think that the monarchical episcopate was found only in Syria or Asia: he even suggests that such an episcopate exists everywhere, when he says to the Ephesians: 'Even as the bishops that are settled in the farthest parts of the earth are in the mind of Jesus Christ' (*οἱ ἐπίσκοποι οἱ κατὰ τὰ πέρατα ὁρισθέντες, Eph.* iii. 2; for the meaning of *κατὰ τὰ πέρατα*, cf. *Rom.* vi. 1: *τὰ πέρατα τοῦ κόσμου*). Réville is wrong in saying that 'the monarchical episcopate makes its entry into the history of the Church at the beginning of the 2nd cent.,' for in Ignatius' letters it is already an established institution. And even supposing Ignatius 'gives us his ideal rather than the ecclesiastic reality of his time,' this ideal is merely the submission, union, and perfect conformity of all to the bishop in each church; it is not the existence of a single bishop, for that is already an accomplished fact in each church. 'Ignatius' testimony presents us with the monarchical episcopate as firmly rooted, completely beyond dispute. . . . He speaks of the bishops as established in the farthest parts of the earth. He knows of no non-episcopal area' (Gore, *op. cit.*, p. 300 f.). Harnack's conclusions on this point are hesitating (*Entstehung und Entwickelung der Kirchenverfassung*, Leipzig, 1910, pp. 60–63).

Each church has common worship. 'If the prayer of one and another hath so great force, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church?' (*Eph.* v. 2). The assembly is above all a gathering together for prayer, 'for thanksgiving to God and for his glory' (*συνέρχεσθαι εἰς εὐχαριστίαν θεοῦ καὶ εἰς δόξαν*, xiii. 1), prayer for all men that they may find God (x. 1), for the other churches (xxi. 2), or for any private individual (xx. 1). In the assembly there is to be but one prayer, one supplication, one mind in common (*Magn.* vii. 1). 'And do ye, each and all, form yourselves into a chorus (*χορὸς γίνεσθε*) that being harmonious in concord and taking the keynote of God (*χρῶμα θεοῦ*) ye may in unison (*σύμφωνοι*) sing with one voice' (*ᾄδητε ἐν φωνῇ μιᾷ, Eph.* iv. 2; this metaphor is to be understood of the unanimity of the Christians in each church, but it presupposes also the use of singing in Christian assemblies). The bishop presides at the assembly (*Smyrn.* viii. 1–2); it is he who sits in the chief place (*προκαθημένου, Magn.* vi. 1).

Ignatius does not tell us the procedure for the election of a deacon, presbyter, or bishop, but three times over (*Philad.* x. 1, *Smyrn.* xi. 2, *Polyc.* vii. 2) the word *χειροτονεῖν* is used to express the method by which the assembly elects an ambassador to go to some distant church; it is not a far cry to suppose that the members of the hierarchy were elected in the same way by the general vote. But Ignatius believes that God ratifies this choice and the one elected is the elect of God; he congratulates the bishop of Philadelphia on having been invested with 'the ministry which pertaineth to the common weal (*τὴν διακονίαν τὴν εἰς τὸ κοινόν*), not of himself or through men, nor yet for vain glory, but in the love of God the Father and the Lord Jesus Christ' (*Philad.* i.; this is not an allusion to party factions, as Réville maintains, but an echo of St. Paul [Gal 1[1]] and an assimilation of the episcopate to the apostolate).

Nowhere in Ignatius' Epistles is there any mention of Christians credited with personal *charismata*, nor is there any word of local or itinerant prophets such as we find in the apostolic period (C. H. Turner, *Studies in Early Church History*, Oxford, 1912, p. 22 f.). The bishop, according to Ignatius, has the sole right of speaking in the name of the Spirit. As von Dobschütz says: 'It is interesting to see how in this quite Catholic-minded bishop [Ignatius], who thinks only of the great of the Old Testament past as prophets, there yet speaks to the Churches of Asia Minor a "minister of the spirit" (*θεοφόρος*), living wholly in ecstasy and revelations (*Eph.* xxi., *Trall.* v., *Philad.* vii., *Polyc.* ii.)' (Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, p. 238).

Baptism is mentioned (*Polyc.* vi. 2) as a compact as binding as the relation of soldier to *militia*. No baptism may take place without the bishop (*Smyrn.* viii. 2). The Eucharist may not be cele-

brated without the bishop: 'Let that be held a valid eucharist which is under the bishop or one to whom he shall have committed it' (viii. 1). The one to whom the Eucharist is committed is someone lower than the bishop: apparently a presbyter. To celebrate the Eucharist is called *ἀγάπην ποιεῖν* (viii. 2). Mention is made of it again in *Eph.* xx. 2: '. . . that ye may obey the bishop and the presbytery without distraction of mind; breaking one bread (*ἕνα ἄρτον κλῶντες*), which is the medicine of immortality (*φάρμακον ἀθανασίας*) and the antidote that we should not die but live for ever in Jesus Christ.'

In the Letter to the Philadelphians, again, we find: 'Be careful therefore to observe one eucharist (for there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ and one cup unto union in His blood . . .)' (iv.). The text of *Smyrn.* vi. 2–vii. 1 is less clear: the heretics 'abstain from eucharist (thanksgiving) and prayer, because they allow not that the eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ. . . . They therefore that gainsay the good gift of God (*δωρεᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ*) perish by their questionings.' By *δωρεᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ* Ignatius means the Incarnation; 'the "gift of God" is the redemption of man through the incarnation and death of Christ' (Lightfoot, ii. 307). To talk of the Eucharist being 'the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ' is a very direct expression of eucharistic realism, but it may have a secondary meaning and be used as a metaphor to designate the presence of Christ in the Church (C. Gore, *The Body of Christ*, London, 1901, p. 292 f.). The ministry of the deacons stands in close relation with the celebration of the Eucharist. They are 'deacons of the mysteries of Jesus Christ'; they are not 'deacons of meats and drinks but servants of the Church of God' (*Trall.* ii. 3). *διάκονοι μυστηρίων Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ* might be taken to refer to the eucharistic liturgy, but this interpretation is extremely conjectural, and 'mystery' probably means 'faith' (cf. *Rom.* vii. 3, where the terms *ἄρτος* and *πόμα*, *σάρξ* and *αἷμα* refer to Christ in heaven).

(2) *The false teachers.*—The unity in each church is contrasted with the divisions among heretics. Onesimus, bishop of Ephesus, praises his flock for their orderly conduct (*ἐν θεῷ εὐταξίαν*), for 'living according to truth,' and letting no heresy 'have a home among them' (*οὐδεμία αἵρεσις κατοικεῖ*, *Eph.* vi. 2). Ignatius, too, congratulates the Ephesians on the fact that there has never been any dispute among them (*μηδεμία ἔρις*), and that they have always 'lived after God' (viii. 1). But there are false teachers, men who bear the Christian name and yet act in a manner unworthy of God. These men are to be 'shunned as wild-beasts; for they are mad dogs, biting by stealth' (vii. 1). Ignatius praises the Ephesians for not allowing them to sow bad seed among them and for stopping their ears so as not to hear them (ix. 1). Woe to him who 'through evil doctrine corrupts the faith of God,' for he 'shall go into unquenchable fire; and in like manner also shall he that hearkeneth unto him' (xvi. 2).

In his Letter to the Magnesians Ignatius gives some more definite characteristics of these false teachers. He seems to make a distinction between (1) *ἑτεροδοξίαι* and (2) *μυθεύματα παλαιὰ ἀνωφελῆ* (*Magn.* viii. 1). But this antithesis is probably purely verbal, *μυθεύματα* being the equivalent of *ἑτεροδοξίαι*, and both terms recalling 1 Ti 1^4 4^7, Tit 1^{14}. So *ἀνωφελής* is probably an echo of Tit 3^9 and *παλαιά* possibly of 1 Co 5^7, Ignatius thus making use of St. Paul's language to designate the errors of his time. In the same Epistle Ignatius adds: 'For if even unto this day we live after the manner of Judaism, we avow that we have not received grace'—an expression which might be taken as meaning that the *μυθεύματα* are Judaistic errors, but this would be an abuse of the term *Ἰουδαϊσμός*, which is also taken from St. Paul (Gal 1^{13}), and is diverted from its proper sense to signify here life without the grace of redemption. The Magnesians are to live 'after Christ' and not appeal to the 'prophets' as an excuse for living otherwise, for even the holy prophets lived 'after Christ' (viii. 2). They must no longer *σαββατίζειν* (*i.e.* live as a Jew—without grace, ix. 1), but learn to live 'as beseemeth Christianity' (*κατὰ χριστιανισμόν*; the first example of the use of *χριστιανισμός*), knowing that 'whoso is called by another name besides this, is not of God' (x. 1). They are to reject the old leaven (*ζύμην τὴν παλαιωθεῖσαν*), and betake themselves to the new, which is Jesus Christ (x. 2). It is absurd to pronounce the name of Christ and practise Judaism (*Ἰουδαΐζειν*), for 'Christianity did not believe in Judaism, but Judaism in Christianity' (x. 3). Ignatius concludes his argument by saying: 'I would have you be on your guard betimes, that ye fall not into the snares of vain doctrine (*κενοδοξία*); but be ye fully persuaded concerning the birth and the passion and the resurrection' (xi.). The homogeneity of this exposition suggests that the false teaching Ignatius has in mind is Docetism, and that it is the Docetists that he accuses of 'judaizing,' not that there was a party of Docetists on one side and a party of Judaizers on the other.

In his Epistle to the Trallians, Ignatius returns to the same subject: 'Take only Christian food (*τῇ χριστιανῇ τροφῇ*), and abstain from strange herbage, which is heresy' (vi. 1). 'Not indeed that I have known of any such thing [as heresy] among you' (viii. 1). Jesus Christ is a descendant of David and the son of Mary; He was born, ate and drank, suffered, died on the Cross, and was truly (*ἀληθῶς*) raised from the dead (ix. 1–2). The heretics Ignatius has in view deny the reality of the humanity of Christ (*λέγουσιν τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι αὐτόν*, x.), and herein lies their error—Docetism. 'Shun ye therefore those vile offshoots that gender a deadly fruit, whereof if a man taste, forthwith he dieth' (xi. 1).

In *Phil.* ii. 1 we find similar advice with regard to the *κακοδιδασκαλίας*, 'those noxious herbs, which are not the husbandry of Jesus Christ' (iii. 1). If anyone interprets the prophets in the sense of Judaism (*ἐάν τις Ἰουδαϊσμὸν ἑρμηνεύῃ ὑμῖν*), the Philadelphians are not to listen; 'for it is better to hear Christianity from a man who is circumcised than Judaism from one uncircumcised' (vi. 1). The Docetists whom Ignatius accuses of 'judaizing' are uncircumcised—apparently Greeks.

Again in *Smyrn.* ii., Ignatius repeats that Christ suffered *really* (*ἀληθῶς ἔπαθεν*), really rose again (*ἀληθῶς ἀνέστησεν ἑαυτόν*), and did not suffer only in appearance (*τὸ δοκεῖν πεπονθέναι*) 'as certain unbelievers say' (here the reference is apparently to the same Docetists as are described in *Trall.*). If it was only in semblance (*τὸ δοκεῖν*) that Christ lived His life on earth, then it is only in semblance that Ignatius is in chains (*κἀγὼ τὸ δοκεῖν δέδεμαι*, iv. 2); but Christ's Passion was as real as Ignatius', and what profit is it to him if men praise him and blaspheme the Lord, not confessing that He was a bearer of flesh? (v. 2). Here we have an indication that Docetists were to be found in Smyrna and that they were anxious to deal kindly with the captive Ignatius, but he would have none of them. The names of these men are the names of infidels (*ὀνόματα ἄπιστα*), which he will not even write. 'Far be it from me even to remember them, until they repent and return to the passion' (v. 3), *i.e.* to faith in the reality of the Passion of Christ. Note that the Docetists he denounces had not penetrated to Ephesus, they had met with no suc-

cess in Tralles, and Ignatius puts the Smyrnæans on their guard against these 'wild beasts in human form' (*ἀπὸ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ἀνθρωπομόρφων*). The Smyrnæans are not to welcome them (*παραδέχεσθαι*), nor even to meet them (*συναντᾶν*), but to pray for their conversion, however difficult such conversion may be (iv. 1). 'I have learned,' he writes to the Ephesians (ix. 1), 'that certain persons passed through you from yonder' (*ἐκεῖθεν*: here again, as in *Smyrn.*, he mentions no names. The heretics may possibly have come from Smyrna, and, in any case, they infest Asia and are an equal peril to the Philippians. There is nothing to prove that Ignatius did not become acquainted with them in Antioch). In the Letter to the Romans, no heretics are mentioned.

The heretics denounced by Ignatius in Asia, and perhaps more definitely in Smyrna, are not Judaizers in the proper sense of the word, for they only 'judaize' to the extent of denying the flesh of Christ and the redemptive power of His Passion. They are at war with the hierarchy, are dissenters from the Church, and seem to have separated themselves voluntarily. Ignatius speaks of them as 'outside the sanctuary' (*ἐκτὸς θυσιαστηρίου*), *i.e.* 'without the bishop and presbytery and deacons' (*Trall.* vii. 2). Wheresoever the bishop is, there the people should be, 'even as where Jesus may be, there is the universal Church' (*ἐκεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*, *Smyrn.* viii. 2). Here we have for the first time in history the term *καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία* in the sense of 'universal Church,' the universality of the Church throughout the world being contrasted with the local churches where each has its own bishop (Lightfoot, pp. 310–312; cf. *Smyrn.* i. 2: *ἐν ἑνὶ σώματι τῆς ἐκκλησίας*). The epithet *καθολικὴ* is used in a geographical sense, and not yet in its ecclesiastical sense, where 'catholic' is contrasted with 'heretical' (cf. 1 Clem. lix. 2 and *Didache*, ix. 4).

4. Sources of Ignatius' teaching.—Among the sources of Ignatius' teaching, first place must be given to St. Paul. In his letters Ignatius never fails to do special honour to the churches he addresses if they have received a letter from St. Paul, *e.g.* the Ephesians (*Eph.* viii. 1, xii. 2) and the Romans (*Rom.* iv. 3). In all his letters we find reminiscences of the Pauline Epistles, esp. 1 and 2 Cor., Rom., Gal., Phil., 1 and 2 Thess., Philem., Eph., Col., 1 and 2 Tim., and Titus (see E. von der Goltz, *Ignatius von Antiochien als Christ und Theologe* [=*TS* xii. 3, Leipzig, 1894], pp. 178–194, who gives parallel texts of Ignatius and St. Paul). We might add 1 Pet. (*ib.* p. 194 f.), but the dependence of Ignatius on Heb. and James is not evident.

According to von der Goltz, Ignatius did not know the Fourth Gospel, although his letters are full of Johannine thoughts, but merely participated in the Johannine *Gedankenwelt*, without actually reading the Gospel. It is more probable, however, that Ignatius used the Fourth Gospel, without quoting it. It is a very curious fact that in his Letter to the Ephesians Ignatius makes not the slightest allusion to the Apostle John. Ignatius certainly knew the Synoptic tradition, for there are clear traces of his dependence on Matthew, although we have no sign of dependence on Mark, and only one doubtful allusion to Luke.

Ignatius makes frequent appeal to what he calls *εὐαγγέλιον*, to the apostles, and to the prophets: 'taking refuge in the Gospel as the flesh of Jesus and in the Apostles as the presbytery of the Church. Yea, and we love the prophets also' (*Philad.* v. 1 f.). The prophets are the OT (*Smyrn.* v. 1); the Gospel gives us authentic knowledge of Jesus Christ (*χριστομαθίαν*, *Philad.* viii. 2). In this connexion Ignatius writes: 'For I heard certain persons saying, If I find it not in the charters (*ἀρχεῖα*), I believe it not in the Gospel. And when I said to them, It is written (*γέγραπται*), they answered me, That is the question (*πρόκειται*)' (no doubt a reference to the Docetists). 'The gospel is a written document about which there is much controversy. Further on Ignatius describes the contents of the gospel, *i.e.* the Incarnation or *παρουσίαν τοῦ σωτῆρος*, the Passion and the Resurrection (ix. 2). The gospel is a fulfilment of OT prophecy (*ib.*). The Lord and the apostles are nearly always mentioned together: 'Do your diligence therefore that ye be confirmed in the ordinances (*δόγματα*) of the Lord and of the Apostles' (*Magn.* xiii. 1), and Jülicher was right in saying that the words of Serapion (bishop of Antioch, *c.* A.D. 200), 'We receive Peter and all the other apostles as Christ' (Euseb. *HE* VI. xii. 3), might have been pronounced a century earlier (*Einleitung in das NT*[5. 6], Tübingen, 1906, p. 430). Yet in the time of Ignatius the canon of the NT was not 'a purely ideal canon,' as Jülicher thinks, and when Ignatius speaks of *γέγραπται* and *ἀρχεῖα* he is thinking of authentic documents, which have been accepted by the Church. There is no doubt, however, that Ignatius accepts elements foreign to our ecclesiastical canon, as *e.g.* the words of the Risen Christ: 'I am not a demon without body' (*δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον*, *Smyrn.* iii. 2), which may have originated in the *Κήρυγμα Πέτρου*, in the Gospel of the Hebrews, or in a gloss on Lk 24[39]. Another foreign element is the description of the wonderful Nativity star (*Eph.* xix. 2), which is probably a gloss on Mt 2[2] and an echo of Nu 24[17].

5. Ignatius' theology, christology, and pneumatology.—The doctrine of Ignatius as shown in his vocabulary and ideas gives no hint of Hellenic culture. God is One; but the philosophic implications of this statement are not to be sought for. God manifested Himself through Jesus Christ His Son and Word (*εἷς θεός ἐστιν, ὁ φανερώσας ἑαυτὸν διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ, ὅς ἐστιν αὐτοῦ λόγος ἀπὸ σιγῆς προελθών, ὃς κατὰ πάντα εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν*, *Magn.* viii. 2). Jesus Christ pre-existed in God; He was with the Father before the worlds and appeared at the end of time (. . . *Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὃς πρὸ αἰώνων, παρὰ πατρὶ ἦν καὶ ἐν τέλει ἐφάνη*, vi. 1). Christ is One: 'He came forth from One Father and is with One and departed unto One' (*ἕνα Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν ἀφ' ἑνὸς πατρὸς προελθόντα καὶ εἰς ἕνα ὄντα καὶ χωρήσαντα*, vii. 2 [the last phrase is an allusion to the Ascension]). Christ was in God before time, invisible, impalpable, impassible, and it was for us He became visible and passible (*Polyc.* iii. 2). Christ is the Word coming forth from the silence of God, *i.e.* He is revealed to the world by the Incarnation (there is no reference to the part the Word had in the Creation); He comes forth from the Father to reveal Himself (no reference to the eternal generation of the Word—in fact, Christ is in God *ἀγέννητος* as He is *ἀπαθής*, *Eph.* vii. 2). See J. Tixeront, *Histoire des dogmes*, i. [Paris, 1905], p. 136.

Ignatius' christology is presented as a refutation of Docetism, which regards Christ as a pneumatic being, and special stress is therefore laid on the real humanity and the bodily and passible being of Christ. Christ was conceived in the womb of Mary (*ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας*), He is of the seed of David and of the Holy Ghost (*ἐκ σπέρματος μὲν Δαυὶδ, πνεύματος δὲ ἁγίου*); He was born and was baptized (*Eph.* xviii. 2). He was really born of a virgin (*γεγεννημένον ἀληθῶς ἐκ παρθένου*, *Smyrn.* i. 1). 'He was the son of Mary, who was truly born and ate and drank, was truly persecuted under Pontius Pilate, was truly crucified and died . . .; who moreover was truly raised from the dead' (*Trall.* ix. 1, 2); 'truly nailed up in the flesh for our sakes under

Pontius Pilate and Herod the tetrarch' (*Smyrn.* i. 2); 'He was in the flesh even after the resurrection; and when he came to Peter and his company (*τοὺς περὶ Πέτρον*) . . . they touched him, and they believed' (iii. 2).

Ignatius teaches the corporeity of Christ with such insistence because Christ is by nature *πνεῦμα* (Harnack, *Dogmengeschichte*[4], Tübingen, 1905, i. 213; W. Sanday, *Christologies Ancient and Modern*, Oxford, 1910, p. 10). Christ is 'of flesh and of spirit, generate and ingenerate, God in man, true Life (*i.e.* God) in death (in a mortal body), son of Mary and Son of God, first passible and then impassible' (*σαρκικὸς καὶ πνευματικός, γεννητὸς καὶ ἀγέννητος, ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ θεός, ἐν θανάτῳ ζωὴ ἀληθινή, καὶ ἐκ Μαρίας καὶ ἐκ θεοῦ, πρῶτον παθητὸς καὶ τότε ἀπαθής, Eph.* vii. 2; cf. *Polyc.* iii. 2). Ignatius thus posits in Christ the dualism of *σάρξ* and *πνεῦμα*: through the *σάρξ* Christ is generate, born of Mary, passible and mortal; through the *πνεῦμα* He is ingenerate (*i.e.* without beginning), He is life, He is impassible, He is God; in a word, Christ is God come in the flesh (*ἐν σαρκὶ γενόμενος θεός*).

The interpretation that Christ in the flesh became God has the context against it, for Christ did not become *ἀγέννητος*, nor *ἐκ θεοῦ*: He realizes at one and the same time the two antinomial series of predicates. Through the *πνεῦμα* which is *ἐν σαρκί*, Christ is one with the Father: He is *πνευματικῶς ἡνωμένος τῷ πατρί* (*Smyrn.* iii. 3), and yet after the flesh He is subordinate to the Father ([*ὑποταγεὶς*] *τῷ πατρὶ κατὰ σάρκα, Magn.* xiii. 2) and has pleased God who sent Him (*εὐηρέστησεν τῷ πέμψαντι αὐτόν*, viii. 2). It is very difficult (in spite of Harnack [*Dogmengesch.*[4] i. 216]) not to recognize in these statements of Ignatius all the presuppositions of the doctrine of the two natures; in any case, adoptianism is excluded.

The union of man and God in Christ is nowhere defined by Ignatius, but one passage may be taken to have this meaning: 'If,' says Ignatius to the Ephesians (v. 1), 'I in a short time had such converse (*τοιαύτην συνήθειαν*) with your bishop, which was not after the manner of men but in the Spirit, how much more do I congratulate you who are closely joined with him (*ἐγκεκραμένους*) as the Church is with Christ Jesus and as Jesus Christ is with the Father, that all things may be harmonious in unity' (*ἵνα πάντα ἐν ἑνότητι σύμφωνα ᾖ*). Here we have the union of Christ with the Father compared to the union of the Church with Christ, and the union of the believers with the bishop. The two terms *συνήθεια* and *ἐγκρᾶσις* are not equivalent, the second being metaphorical, and only the first counting. But it would be rather risky, especially when dealing with Ignatius, to base a whole logical theory on a single word.

Christ is called *θεός*, although He is distinct from the Father. Ignatius speaks, *e.g.*, of 'the will of the Father and of Jesus Christ our *God*' (*ἐν θελήματι τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ ἡμῶν, Eph.* inscr.). Even in His Incarnation Jesus is called *θεός*: *ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς ὁ Χριστὸς ἐκυοφορήθη ὑπὸ Μαρίας κατ' οἰκονομίαν θεοῦ* (*Eph.* xviii. 2; cf. *Rom.* inscr. and iii. 3). Von der Goltz is quite justified in saying that Ignatius distinguishes between Christ and the Father in so far as He is a person, pre-existent, historical, or exalted; all modalism is excluded, and only subordination remains possible. In the opinion of the present writer Ignatius regards Jesus Christ as God in His own person. Von der Goltz supposes that for Ignatius, Jesus Christ is God in relation to us, but Ignatius himself excludes relativism. In *Eph.* xv. 3 he writes: 'Nothing is hidden from the Lord, but even our secrets are nigh unto Him. Let us therefore do all things as knowing that He dwelleth in us, to the end that we may be His temples and He Himself may be in us as our God. This is so, . . .' (*ἵνα ὦμεν αὐτοῦ ναοὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν ἡμῖν θεός· ὅπερ καὶ ἔστιν*). Christ is our God not only in so far as He lives in us, but absolutely (*ὅπερ καὶ ἔστιν*). The expression *θεὸς ἡμῶν* does not give God a purely subjective value. Again, Jesus Christ is not only our God or God for us, He is very God: 'I give glory to Jesus Christ the God who bestowed such wisdom upon you' (*δοξάζω Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν τὸν θεὸν τὸν οὕτως ὑμᾶς σοφίσαντα, Smyrn.* i. 1); cf. *Trall.* vii. 1 and *Smyrn.* x. 1, where the designation *θεός* is given to Christ absolutely. We shall omit *Smyrn.* vi. 1, where a gloss has been inserted in the text.

The work of Christ consisted in giving man a knowledge of God. Jesus Christ is the *λόγος* of God, come forth from the silence of God (*Magn.* viii. 2). He is the mouth which lieth not, and in which the Father hath spoken truly (*τὸ ἀψευδὲς στόμα ἐν ᾧ ὁ πατὴρ ἐλάλησεν ἀληθῶς, Rom.* viii. 2). He is the knowledge of God: 'wherefore do we not all walk prudently, receiving the knowledge of God, which is Jesus Christ' (*λαβόντες θεοῦ γνῶσιν, ὅ ἐστιν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Eph.* xvii. 2; cf. iii. 2). The teaching of Christ is a doctrine of incorruptibility (*διδαχὴ ἀφθαρσίας, Magn.* vi. 2). The incorruptibility is not the fruit of the *διδαχή* but the fruit of the Death and Resurrection of Christ. The Cross, 'which is a stumbling-block to them that are unbelievers, is to us salvation and life eternal' (*σωτηρία καὶ ζωὴ αἰώνιος, Eph.* xviii. 1). God became manifest in the flesh to prove the newness of imperishable life, and the destruction of death (*καινότητα ἀϊδίου ζωῆς . . . θανάτου κατάλυσιν*, xix. 3). The Passion of Christ and His blood shed for us are an earnest of this renewal of humanity; it is what Ignatius calls *οἰκονομίας εἰς τὸν καινὸν ἄνθρωπον Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πίστει καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ ἀγάπῃ, ἐν πάθει αὐτοῦ καὶ ἀναστάσει* (xx. 1). Ignatius gives no explanation of this mystery—either of the virtue of Christ's Passion or of the manner in which this virtue is communicated to the believing. But he lays great stress on the Passion of Christ and on the *ἀφθαρσία* it procures—an insistence which is explained when we remember not only that he was refuting Docetism but also that this tenet of Pauline theology was for him one of fundamental importance.

That the Spirit stands in opposition to the flesh we have already gathered from many examples. This was a familiar article of faith to Ignatius: the flesh is man, the Spirit is a principle which comes from God and acts in man (*τὸ πνεῦμα . . . ἀπὸ θεοῦ ὄν*) searching out his closest secrets (*Philad.* vii. 1). The prophets were the disciples of the Spirit (*Magn.* ix. 2). The Spirit inspires the spiritual man, and Ignatius is conscious of being so inspired: 'It was the preaching of the Spirit who spoke on this wise' [by my mouth] (*τὸ πνεῦμα ἐκήρυσσεν λέγον τάδε, Philad.* vii. 2). On this point Swete shrewdly observes: 'It is interesting to observe that Ignatius can combine a claim to prophetic inspiration with a passionate zeal for a regular and fully organized ministry' (*The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church*, London, 1912, p. 14).

The believers are the 'building of God the Father' (*οἰκοδομὴν θεοῦ πατρός*), 'hoisted up to the heights through the engine of Jesus Christ (*μηχανῆς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*), which is the Cross, and using for a rope the Holy Spirit' (*σχοινίῳ χρώμενοι τῷ πνεύματι τῷ ἁγίῳ, Eph.* ix. 1). Ignatius adjures the Magnesians to remain united in flesh and spirit (*σαρκὶ καὶ πνεύματι*), by faith and love, in the Son, the Father, and the Spirit (*ἐν υἱῷ καὶ πατρὶ καὶ ἐν πνεύματι, Magn.* xiii. 1). The Spirit is named along with the Logos (*ἐν ἀμώμῳ πνεύματι καὶ λόγῳ θεοῦ, Smyrn.* inscr.). The apostles were obedient *τῷ Χριστῷ καὶ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ πνεύματι* (*Magn.* xiii. 2; it is difficult not to regard this as an example of

the trinitarian baptismal formula [Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*[4] i. 175]).

The Father is plenitude (πλήρωμα, *Eph.* inscr.). The Son is the Logos of God (*Magn.* viii. 2), the thought of God (γνωμὴ θεοῦ, *Eph.* iii. 2), and the knowledge of God (γνῶσις θεοῦ, xvii. 2). The Spirit is the χάρισμα of Christ (τὸ χάρισμα ὃ πέπομφεν ἀληθῶς ὁ κύριος, *ib.*), and in this sense the Spirit is the Spirit of Jesus Christ (*Philad.* inscr.), although one cannot identify Christ and the Holy Spirit in any way, as Harnack would have us do (*Dogmengesch.*[4] i. 214), basing his argument on *Magn.* xv., where ἀδιάκριτον πνεῦμα is a synonym of ὁμόνοια and not of ἅγιον πνεῦμα. The Word and the Spirit are not known except by their missions in time.

Christianity, in opposition to Judaism, is the life of Christ in us (Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς τὸ ἀληθινὸν ἡμῶν ζῆν, *Smyrn.* iv. 1; cf. *Eph.* iii. 2, xi. 1, *Magn.* i. 2, ix. 2), which is manifested through faith and love (*Eph.* xiv. 1; cf. *Smyrn.* vi. 1, *Philad.* ix. 2). This life is the fruit of the Spirit; it is the Spirit in contrast with the flesh. 'The σαρκικοί cannot do τὰ πνευματικά, neither can the πνευματικοί do τὰ σαρκικά' (*Eph.* viii. 2), and Ignatius even goes the length of saying, 'No man professing faith sinneth' (οὐδεὶς πίστιν ἐπαγγελλόμενος ἁμαρτάνει, *Eph.* xiv. 2).

As Christ is joined to the Father so the Church is joined to Christ (*Eph.* v. 1), for Christ is in every believer (xv. 3). He 'breathes incorruption upon the Church' (xvii. 1). He is the High Priest to whom is committed the holy of holies; to Him alone the secrets of God are confided, He is the door of the Father through which Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Prophets, the Apostles, and the Church enter in (*Philad.* i. 9).

The time of the end is at hand ('These are the last times,' ἔσχατοι καιροί, *Eph.* xi. 1). All those who believe in Christ will rise again (*Trall.* ix. 2). The believers are members of Christ through His Cross and Passion, and the Head cannot exist apart from the members, so that in the end there will be unity, God Himself being Unity (τοῦ θεοῦ ἕνωσιν ἐπαγγελλομένου, ὃς ἔστιν αὐτός, *Trall.* xi. 2). We find no trace of millennarianism and no apocalyptical imagery. The things of heaven (τὰ ἐπουράνια) are mentioned only in the abstract (*Trall.* v. 2), and with them the angelical orders (τὰς τοποθεσίας, τὰς ἀγγελικάς, τὰς συστάσεις, τὰς ἀρχοντικάς: terms which seem to foreshadow Gnosticism). Cf. *Polyc.* ii. 2: 'And as for the invisible things, pray thou that they may be revealed unto thee' (τὰ δὲ ἀόρατα αἴτει ἵνα σοι φανερωθῇ).

This short analysis of the theologoumena of Ignatius will have shown the justice of F. Loofs' verdict (*Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*[4], Halle, 1906, p. 102) that 'Johannine and Pauline thoughts ring through the theology of Ignatius'; but it is not correct to say that his theology is 'a theology of Asia Minor' distinct from 'ordinary Gentile Christianity' (cf. Harnack, *Dogmengesch.*[4] i. 168). It is rather the theology of the presbyters quoted by Irenæus; his theology, as Harnack says (*op. cit.* i. 241) is of the same nature as that of Melito and Irenæus, 'whose predecessor he is'; it is the tutiorist theology of tradition which afterwards triumphantly withstood the Gnostic crisis; it was not brought into being by that crisis, but must certainly have existed prior to it although later than the monarchical episcopate. Ignatius has no creative genius, but, as Sanday aptly says, 'the striking thing about him is the way in which he seems to anticipate the spirit of the later theology; the way in which he singles out as central the points which it made central, and the just balance and proportion which he observes between them' (*Christologies*, p. 10 f.).

What has given authority to Ignatius' letters is his martyrdom. His letters, written in an abrupt and nervous style, overloaded with metaphors, incoherent, popular, and lacking every Hellenic grace, are yet endowed with such pathetic faith and such passionate joy in martyrdom, with such overwhelming love of Christ, that they are one of the finest expressions of the Christianity of the 2nd century.

6. Special points raised by the Epistle to the Romans.—Some special questions raised by the Letter to the Romans, whose authenticity we assume as beyond question, have been reserved for separate treatment.

Ignatius says that he has been most eager to see the 'godly countenances' of the Christians of Rome, and he hopes to salute them 'for wearing bonds in Christ Jesus' (*Rom.* i. 1). He implores them to do nothing to save him from martyrdom; he dreads their very love; for 'it is easy for them to do what they will' (ὑμῖν γὰρ εὐχερές ἐστιν, ὃ θέλετε ποιῆσαι, i. 2), *i.e.* the Romans were in a position to ensure Ignatius' liberation. As Harnack says (*Dogmengesch.*[4] i. 486; cf. Lightfoot, p. 196), 'Ignatius presupposes great influence on the part of the separate members of the community in the higher ruling circles.' The insistence with which Ignatius endeavours to dissuade the Romans from any possible intervention on his behalf would seem to indicate that the Romans had some definite plan in hand and that he had been informed of it.

Again, in the Letter to the Romans (iii. 1) we find: 'Ye never grudged any one; ye were the instructors of others (ἄλλους ἐδιδάξατε). And my desire is that those lessons shall hold good which as teachers ye enjoin' (ἐγὼ δὲ θέλω ἵνα κἀκεῖνα βέβαια ᾖ ἃ μαθητεύοντες ἐντέλλεσθε). The word μαθητεύειν means 'to make disciples,' as μαθητεύεσθαι means 'to be a disciple' (*Eph.* iii. 1). Thus the Romans gave instruction, made disciples, and laid down precepts. Ignatius is here probably thinking of such documents as 1 Clement, where the Church of Rome instructs other churches in their duty (so Duchesne, *Eglises séparées*, Paris, 1896, p. 129; Harnack, *loc. cit.*; and Batiffol, *Eglise naissante*, Paris, 1909, p. 170), or he may have had in mind practical examples of martyrdom in the Church of Rome (in *Eph.* i. 2 he hopes to be able to follow the heroic example of these martyrs [ἵνα ἐπιτυχεῖν δυνηθῶ μαθητὴς εἶναι; cf. *Magn.* ix. 2, *Rom.* iv. 2, v. 3]). The second interpretation perhaps suits the context better (cf. Lightfoot, ii. 202).

In *Rom.* iv. 3 Ignatius says: 'I do not enjoin you, as Peter and Paul did. They were Apostles, I am a convict.' The word κατάκριτος (*condemnatus*) is difficult to explain; but it may at any rate be taken as an expression of Ignatius' humility such as is found in *Trall.* iii. 3: 'I did not think myself competent for this, that being a convict I should order you as though I were an apostle' (ἵνα ὢν κατάκριτος ὡς ἀπόστολος ὑμῖν διατάσσωμαι). The apostles were, after Jesus Christ, the authorities of most account. 'I do not command you, as though I were somewhat' (οὐ διατάσσομαι ὑμῖν ὡς ὤν τις), writes Ignatius to the Ephesians (iii. 1; cf. 1 Co 7[17]). In the quotation from *Rom.* iv. 3 given above Ignatius mentions St. Peter and St. Paul because they alone of all the disciples had any dealings with the Romans: 'they had been at Rome and had given commandments to the Roman Church' (Lightfoot, ii. 209). This allusion to St. Peter is generally taken as evidence of the fact that St. Peter went to Rome (cf. F. Sieffert, art. 'Petrus' in *PRE*[3] xv. [1904] 200; F. H. Chase, art. 'Peter (Simon)' in *HDB* iii. [1900] 769).

While Ignatius is still in Asia, Christians of Antioch go directly before him from Syria to Rome 'unto the glory of God.' Ignatius is aware of this fact, and he writes to the Romans (x. 2): 'they are

all worthy of God and of you, and it becometh you to refresh them in all things.'

From this we may learn that there were great facilities for communication between Antioch or Ephesus (x. 1) and Rome. The Christians from Syria were most heartily welcomed at Rome, and from that time onwards the Church of Rome was known for its hospitality and generosity. In the address of the Letter to the Romans, the Church of Rome is saluted in most emphatic terms. If we compare this with the addresses of the other letters we shall find that this emphasis is part of Ignatius' style (Polycarp, on the other hand, couches his address to the Philippians in the simplest terms); but, all the same, he salutes the Church of Rome with more emphasis than the other churches, which shows the great consideration shown at this time by other churches (esp. the Church of Antioch) to the Church of Rome. As Harnack says: 'However much one tones down the exaggerated expressions in his Letter to the Romans, so much is clear—that Ignatius assigns to the Roman community a position of real superiority over the sister-communities . . . the effusiveness of the address shows that he values and salutes this community as the foremost in all Christendom' (Harnack, *loc. cit.*).

Three of the predicates applied to the Roman Church by Ignatius in the address may now be considered.

(1) The believers are ἀποδιυλισμένοι ἀπὸ παντὸς ἀλλοτρίου χρώματος, 'filtered,' 'pure,' 'free from all polluting colouring matter' (cf. Lightfoot, p. 193). As we have already noted, Ignatius does not think there are any heretics in Rome, and here he praises the Romans for not mixing any foreign colouring matter with the purity which befits them, as elsewhere he expresses a wish that among the Ephesians there may be no plant of the devil (*Eph.* x. 3). In the case of the Ephesians it is a mere wish, but with the Romans it is an accomplished fact.

(2) The Church of Rome προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων. The verb προκάθημαι is translated *praesideo*, προκάθισις *sessio* (*in throno, in tribunali*); προκάθηται='has the chief seat, presides, takes the precedence' (Lightfoot, ii. 190). Ignatius applies this epithet elsewhere to the bishop and the presbytery (προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου εἰς τόπον θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων εἰς τύπον συνεδρίου τῶν ἀποστόλων [*Magn.* vi. 1]; and again ἐνώθητε τῷ ἐπισκόπῳ καὶ τοῖς προκαθημένοις εἰς τύπον καὶ διδαχὴν ἀφθαρσίας [*ib.* 2]). Ignatius thus attributes to the whole Roman Church a gravity comparable with that of the bishop and the presbytery. Zahn thinks that ἐν τόπῳ is a bad reading, and suggests ἐν τύπῳ: 'Ecclesia igitur Romana tamquam exemplar, ab omnibus imitandum, hominibus imperio Romano subditis præest' ('Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ,' p. 57). This correction has not been accepted by any other critic, and indeed, if Ignatius had wanted to say that, he would have written rather εἰς τύπον. Then again, προκάθηται is not to be taken with χωρίου, as if Ignatius were saying that the Roman Church presided over the Roman region and 'the suburbicarian bishops' (Lightfoot, ii. 190); but it is to be understood absolutely, and ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων designates the place where the Church presides. The curious tautology ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου must be equivalent to ἐν τόπῳ ἢ χωρίῳ, and thus signifies the town of Rome. This interpretation of Funk's seems more objective than Lightfoot's (p. 190 f.), who prefers to give the text a 'suburbicarian' meaning.

(3) The Church of Rome is called ἀξιόθεος, ἀξιέπαινος, ἀξιοεπίτευκτος, ἁγιάγνος καὶ προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης, χριστόνομος, πατρώνυμος. This accumulation of epithets is an example of Ignatius' emphasis; but the expression προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης does have a more precise meaning. This time προκαθημένη is not to be taken absolutely but construed along with ἀγάπης: the Roman Church presides over love. Lightfoot (p. 192) takes the meaning to be: 'the Church of Rome, as it is first in rank, is first also in love,' but it is doubtful if ἀγάπης has this causative sense of ἀγάπη or ἐν ἀγάπῃ. The Latin version of the interpolated Letters of Ignatius translates the words 'fundatur in dilectione et lege Christi,' but the verb προκάθημαι has not this meaning in Ignatius. Harnack's interpretation 'procuratrix fraterni amoris' is not exact either. The verb προκάθημαι with the genitive implies presidency over a city or a region: ἐκεῖνος τοιγαροῦν ὁ ὕψιστος καὶ μέγιστος Ζεύς, ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς λαμπροτάτης ὑμῶν πόλεως writes the Emperor Maximin Daia in a letter to the people of Tyre (Euseb. *HE* IX. vii. 7). Funk (*Patr. apost.* i. 253) quotes from Theodoret the expression applied to Rome: τῆς οἰκουμένης προκαθημένη; and from John Malalas that applied to Antioch: προκαθημένην τῆς ἀνατολῆς. We may compare also Philostorgius representing Constantine προκαθημένου τῶν ἐπισκόπων (*HE* vii. 6 [ed. Bidez, 1913, p. 85]). Thus the word ἀγάπη must be a metaphorical word for some collectivity, which cannot be the Church of Rome, because here the Church of Rome is the subject of which προκαθημένη is the epithet. It would be very extraordinary if ἀγάπη meant the Christian communities near Rome, or even the Christian communities of Italy, for that would be limiting arbitrarily the meaning of the word ἀγάπη. We are left then with the explanation that ἀγάπη is that in which the distant churches like Antioch and Ephesus are united to the Church of Rome. Ignatius writes to the Trallians (xiii. 1): ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη Σμυρναίων καὶ Ἐφεσίων; and to the Romans (ix. 3): ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς . . . ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν τῶν δεξαμένων με (cf. *Philad.* xi. 2 and *Smyrn.* xii. 1: ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς ἡ ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν τῶν ἐν Τρωάδι). Just as the collectivity of the believers of one church is designated by the expression ἀγάπη τῶν ἀδελφῶν, and two or three churches are designated by the phrase ἀγάπη τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, so it is natural that προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης should mean προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης τῶν ἐκκλησιῶν, 'president of the love or collectivity of the churches.'

The Letter to the Romans presents one difficulty formulated by J. Wordsworth (*Ministry of Grace*, London, 1901, p. 126) in these words: Ignatius 'twice speaks of himself as "Bishop of Syria" or "of the Church of Syria" (chs. 2 and 9): but he is entirely silent as to any such office in the Church of Rome. . . . If then, Clement, or any other single Church officer, had been "Bishop of Rome," in the sense that Ignatius was "Bishop of Syria," the language of the latter in writing to Rome would be almost inexplicable' (cf. also J. Réville, *Origines de l'episcopat*, p. 510). If we take the trouble to read the Letter to the Romans carefully, we shall find still more extraordinary facts, viz. that Ignatius does not speak of presbyters or deacons either, so that if the objection of Wordsworth and Réville is valid, we should have to say that the Church of Rome, at the time of Ignatius' Letter, had no hierarchy, no deacons, no presbytery, no bishop. As a matter of fact, Ignatius regarded each church as having its unity in its totality, and his letters are addressed to churches, to each church as such (exc. the Epistle to Polycarp), just as the Epistle of Clement does not bear the name of Clement, but is addressed by 'the Church of God which sojourneth in Rome to the Church of God which sojourneth in Corinth.' It is very probable that Clement was προκαθήμενος, although in his time the line of demarcation between episcopate and presbytery was still blurred. It is difficult to say when the monarchical episcopate strictly began

in Rome, but the episcopal lists of Rome, Antioch, Corinth, etc., must have been nothing but forgeries if there was not early in the communities a *primus inter pares*, at the head of the presbytery, such as Clement was when he wrote to the Church of Corinth (Harnack, *Entstehung und Entwickelung*, p. 72). Thus the silence of Ignatius in his Letter to the Romans cannot be taken as a proof that Rome had no hierarchy at the time at which it was written. On Ignatius and the Roman primacy see A. Harnack, 'Das Zeugnis des Ignatius über das Ansehen der römischen Gemeinde,' in *SBAW*, 1896, pp. 111–131; J. Chapman, in *Revue Bénédictine*, 1896, pp. 385–400; Funk, [*Kirchengeschichtl. Abhandlungen*, i. [Paderborn, 1897], pp. 1–23.

LITERATURE.—This has been cited throughout the article. For general bibliography see O. Bardenhewer, *Gesch. der altkirchl. Litteratur*, i., Freiburg i. B., 1902, pp. 119–145, and M. Rackl, *Christologie des heiligen Ignatius*, do. 1914, pp. xv–xxxii. The best modern critical editions are those of T. Zahn ('Ignatii et Polycarpi Epistulæ' in *Patr. apostol. opera*, ii., Leipzig, 1876); F. X. Funk (in *Opera patr. apostolicorum*, Tübingen, 1878 ff.); J. B. Lightfoot (*Apostolic Fathers*², pt. ii. vol. ii., London, 1889). See also A. Lelong, *Ignace d'Antioche*, Paris, 1910.

P. BATIFFOL.

IGNORANCE.—As the apostolic writers dealt mostly with moral and spiritual matters, they usually spoke of ignorance in a sense that was not merely intellectual. Thus (Eph 4[18]) the ignorance of the Gentiles was associated with vanity of mind, darkening of understanding, alienation from God, and hardening of heart, in a way that linked it to the deeper faculties of the soul. Even *νοῦς* is the faculty for recognizing moral good as well as intellectual truth, and *διάνοια* includes feeling and desiring as well as understanding. Ignorance arose, according to the apostles, as much from the condition of the conscience and the spirit as from the state of the mind (cf. 2 Ti 3[7]). Holding this conception, the apostles taught that ignorance sprang either from the state of the heart or from lack of the Christian revelation. The latter condition was much dwelt upon, for to all the apostles the Coming of Jesus Christ was the shedding forth of so great a light that all who had not seen that light dwelt in darkness, while they insisted also that light sufficient was given in the world to learn about God, if only men had not been led away by evil desires (Ro 1[20]). Thus arose the ignorance of God (Ac 17[23]), the yielding to lusts (1 P 1[14]), the rejection of Jesus of Nazareth (Ac 3[17]), and, in St. Paul's own experience, the persecution of the followers of Jesus Christ (Ac 26[9]).

The double source of these sins of ignorance led to God's method of dealing with them. As they arose from evil in men, they were not left unpunished by God (Ro 1[28]); but, as they were done in ignorance of the full revelation, they were 'winked at' or 'overlooked' by God (Ac 17[30]), or in the forbearance of God were passed over (Ro 3[25]). This passing over (*πάρεσις*) did not exclude punishment, and was not equivalent to forgiveness (*ἄφεσις*); but it prepared the way for repentance (Ac 3[19]) and for the receiving of the mercy of God in Christ Jesus (1 Ti 1[13]).

The densest ignorance came to those who had heard the gospel of Christ and had persisted in rejecting it, for on them the curse foretold by Isaiah was abiding (Ac 28[26]). Such people, whatever their superficial knowledge might be, were walking in such darkness that they were content to live in sin and to be guilty of hatred of their brothers (1 Jn 3[6] 2[11]).

Even in the experience of those who had come to a knowledge of Christ as Saviour and Lord there existed much ignorance.

(1) If Christ Himself knew not the day of the Great Appearing, it was not to be wondered at that the times and the seasons for the coming of God's Kingdom in glory were hid from His disciples (Ac 1[7]). It is evident from some of the apostolic writings (cf. 1 Thess.) that many believed that the Great Day was to come almost immediately, and were totally ignorant of the delay that was to ensue.

(2) Another subject of which there was much ignorance was the state of the dead. The apostles in their eschatology did little to dispel the darkness connected with the present condition of the dead. Sometimes they referred to the blessedness of those 'with Christ' (Ph 1[23]), sometimes to their quiescence in a state of sleep (1 Co 15[20]), and sometimes to the activities carried on (1 P 4[6]), but the intermediate state was comparatively uninteresting to the Apostolic Age, as their main thought centred in the Resurrection and the Parousia. Even with regard to these great events of the future there was not always assured knowledge; disciples of Christ were not only doubtful of the Resurrection, but even opposed to its teaching, and St. Paul laboured to dispel their ignorance; while many sorrowed about their brethren who had passed away as if they had lost the opportunity of being present at the Parousia of Christ, not knowing that both those asleep and those alive would then together meet the Lord in the air (1 Th 4[15]).

(3) According to the apostles, ignorance could never be wholly eliminated from Christian life, while the circle of knowledge must be constantly enlarged. The apostles were never content to leave even the humblest Christians in a state of ignorance, and one indication of this desire may be found in the phrase that recurs so often in the Epistles of St. Paul: 'I would not have you to be ignorant, brethren' (Ro 1[13] 11[25], 1 Co 10[1] 12[1], 2 Co 1[8], 1 Th 4[13]). But the apostles acknowledged that ignorance was found even in the most mature Christian experience. Thus they taught that there had been revealed to all Christians the great end of their life, viz. the perfecting of salvation, but they indicated that there was constantly shown a real ignorance of what was needed at any particular crisis in life. Hence Christians knew not what to pray for as they should at particular moments (Ro 8[26]), but in this ignorance the Holy Spirit helped within the heart by unutterable groanings. Still further, Christian experience was limited by its own capacity in face of the boundlessness of the Divine attributes. The apostles proclaimed that the love of God was made known pre-eminently in the life and death of Christ, but there were depths in God's love that could never be fathomed by human knowledge. Christians knew that love, but even at the end they had to confess their ignorance, for it passed knowledge (Eph 3[19]). The apostles had no hesitancy in believing in a real knowledge of God, but they declared that a complete or exhaustive knowledge lay beyond even the most mature Christian experience. The only thorough Agnosticism spoken of by the apostles was such as certain Corinthians were in danger of, according to St. Paul, and was associated with their low ethics, their heathen intimacies, and their disbelief in the Resurrection. These characteristics were liable to produce a persistent ignorance of God (*ἀγνωσία θεοῦ*, 1 Co 15[34]) which was shared with the worst of the heathen and from which they could be saved only by being aroused from the stupor of pride and sensualism.

D. MACRAE TOD.

ILLUMINATED.—See ENLIGHTENMENT.

ILLYRICUM ('Ιλλυρικόν).—This was the name of a Roman province bounded on the W. by the Adriatic, and extending from Pannonia on the N.

to Macedonia on the S. Though so near to Italy, it was for long comparatively unknown. Strabo writing about A.D. 20 says: 'Illyria was formerly neglected, through ignorance perhaps of its fertility; but it was principally avoided on account of the savage manners of the inhabitants, and their piratical habits' (VII. v. 11). It was subjugated by Tiberius in A.D. 9. When St. Paul contemplated a journey by Rome to Spain, he justified his desire for fresh fields by saying that from Jerusalem and round unto Illyricum (*καὶ κύκλῳ μέχρι τοῦ Ἰλλυρικοῦ*) he had fully preached the gospel of Christ (Ro 15[19]).

Meyer, Gifford, and others (*in loco*) explain *κύκλῳ* as the region round Jerusalem, *i.e.* Judæa, Syria and Arabia. But in order to bear this sense the word would require the article. The meaning is rather that all the countries between Jerusalem and Illyricum—Syria, Cilicia, Galatia, Asia, Macedonia, Achaia—forming a rough arc of a circle, have been evangelized by the Apostle.

The words 'unto Illyricum' do not necessarily imply that he had preached within this province. He may be indicating the exterior rather than the interior limit. In his third journey he revisited Macedonia, and 'having made a missionary progress through those parts' (*διελθὼν δὲ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα*) he came to Greece (Ac 20[2]). 'Those parts' might include the south of Illyricum, but probably meant no more than the west of Macedonia. Strabo (VII. vii. 4), describing the *Via Egnatia*, which began at Dyrrachium (the modern *Durazzo*), notes that it traverses a part of Illyria before it enters Macedonia, and that 'on the left are the Illyrian mountains.'

'St. Paul would have followed this road as far as Thessalonica, and if pointing Westward he had asked the names of the mountain region and of the peoples inhabiting it, he would have been told that it was "Illyria." The term therefore is the one which would naturally occur to him as fitted to express the limits of his journey to the West' (Sanday-Headlam, *in loco*).

Writing as a Roman citizen to Christians in Rome, St. Paul avoids the ordinary Greek Ἰλλυρίς or Ἰλλυρία, and merely transliterates the Latin provincial term *Illyricum*. In the second half of the 1st cent. the name Dalmatia (*q.v.*), which had formerly meant the S. part of the province of Illyricum, began to be extended to the whole. For a time Illyricum and Dalmatia were convertible terms. Pliny has both; Suetonius marks the change from the one to the other; and from the Flavian period onward the term regularly used is Dalmatia. St. Paul, keeping pace with Roman usages, employs the new provincial name in a part of 2 Tim. which is generally accepted as genuine (4[10]).

St. Jerome and Diocletian were Illyrians. The region now comprises Bosnia, Herzegovina, Montenegro, and N. Albania, and is as wild and unsettled as ever.

'The eastern coast of the Adriatic is one of those ill-fated portions of the earth which, though placed in immediate contact with civilization, have remained perpetually barbarian' (T. Arnold, *Hist. of Rome*, 1838–43, i. 492).

LITERATURE.—T. Mommsen, *Hist. of Rome*, Eng. tr., 1894, Index, *s.v.*; *Prov. of Rom. Emp.*[2], 1909, i. 199; artt. *s.v.* in *HDB* (Ramsay), *SDB* (Souter), and Smith's *DGRG* (E. B. James).

J. STRAHAN.

IMAGE.—The use of this term in the apostolic writings may be conveniently discussed under three heads.

1. Connexion with idolatry.—Apart from Ro 1[23], where St. Paul is reviewing the corruption of the pagan world and the perversity with which men neglected the living God for 'the likeness of an image' of men, birds, quadrupeds, and reptiles, all our references are found in the Apocalypse and concern the particular form of idolatry that acutely distressed the early Church, viz. the worship of the bust of Cæsar. This 'image' is first brought forward in Rev 13[14f.] (but cf. 'Satan's throne' at Pergamum, 2[13]). The Seer has described the Roman Empire in the guise of a monster rising out of the sea (v.[1ff.]), and its counterpart, a monster from the land (afterwards described as the false prophet), who represents the Cæsar-cult and its priests in the Eastern provinces. This sacerdotal land-monster is plausible and seductive, and his inducements to Christians to show themselves good citizens are backed up by miracles. The image or statue of the first monster, *i.e.* the bust of the Emperor, is set up among the statues of the gods to receive the offerings and devotion of the citizens, and through ventriloquy it seems to have the power of speech. The cult was enforced with all the resources that could be devised, and to counteract it an angel utters fearful judgment on all who worship the monster and his statue (14[9–11]). The supremely happy fate of those who resisted both blandishment and compulsion is depicted in 15[2f.] and 20[4]; the punishment of those who conformed, in 16[2] and 19[20]. See, further, art. IDOLATRY.

We may note at this point that the word *εἰκών* (like *εἴδωλον*) in classical Greek usually stands for the portrait statues or paintings of men and women; seldom for images of the gods. An instance of its use in the NT which may be regarded as focusing the range of its varied application and as a transition from the above discussion to those which follow, is found in He 10[1], where the Mosaic Law is spoken of as being a mere 'shadow' of the coming bliss, instead of representing its reality or being its 'very image.' 'The "shadow" is the dark outlined figure cast by the object . . . contrasted with the complete representation (*εἰκών*) produced by the help of colour and solid mass. The *εἰκών* brings before us under the conditions of space, as we can understand it, that which is spiritual' (B. F. Westcott, *in loc.*).

2. Christ as the image of God.—Two of the passages where Christ is spoken of as the image of God are Pauline—2 Co 4[4] ('the image of God'), and Col 1[15] ('the image of the invisible God'). The first is in a context which clearly points back to the Apostle's conversion experiences. All his thought turns on his doctrine of the Divinity of Christ, and the basis of that doctrine was the bright vision he had beheld on the way to Damascus. This was his distinctive gospel, that which marked him off from those who simply knew the human Jesus, blameless and pure though His life had been. In the second passage he is concerned to set before the people of Colossæ the overwhelming superiority of Christ as a mediator between man and God, over the many and strange spirits and forces which they thought of as intervening between the Divine and the human. Hence he uses the word *εἰκών*, which, even in its material sense already referred to, connotes true representation rather than accidental similarity, and representation of that which is at any rate temporarily out of sight. His thought is that Christ is the external expression as it were of God: at once His representation and manifestation. 'Ethically and essentially He is at once the Revealer and the Revelation of the Eternal Spirit' (J. Strachan, *The Captivity and the Pastoral Epp.* [Westminster NT, 1910], p. 41). It is not simply that He is like God—He *is* God manifest. And beyond the reference to the earthly life and ministry of Christ, even primarily perhaps, there is the implication that in the timeless heavenly life He is the *εἰκὼν θεοῦ*, God's representative acting in the sphere of the visible (cf. Jn 1[18], He 1[3]). We may state it more fully thus: Christ is the outcome of His Father's nature, and so related to Him in a unique manner; and He is especially the means by which the Father has manifested Himself to all that is without, from the first moment of creation and for ever, though the centre and focus of that manifestation is the Incarnation. We recall at once the Johannine doctrine of the Logos; the one is a manifestation to the mind of man through Ear-gate, the other ('Image') through Eye-gate. A title given to the Logos in the Midrash, 'the light of the raiment of the Holy One,' is suggestive in this connexion. We are reminded also of Christ's own word recorded in Jn 14[9]: 'he that hath seen me hath seen the

Father' (cf. also $8^{19.42}$). There are other modes of the Divine manifestation; through creation itself he who has an eye to see may behold 'the invisible things of God' (Ro 1^{20}), but there is no revelation or manifestation so sure, so adequate, so satisfying as that in Christ.

At this point we may notice the striking expression in He 1^{3} where Christ, in a passage reminding us of Colossians, is spoken of as 'the very image of God's substance.' The word used is *χαρακτήρ*, which meant originally a graving tool and then the impression made by such a tool, especially on a seal or die, and the figure struck off by such seal or die; hence the translations 'stamped with God's own character' (Moffatt), 'the impress of God's essence' (Peake). The Son is thus the exact counterpart of the Father, the exact facsimile, the clear-cut impression which possesses all the 'characteristics' of the original. Again it is noteworthy that Philo (*de Plant. Noe*, § 5) speaks of the Logos as the impression on the seal of God. Westcott (*in loc.*) distinguishes *χαρακτήρ* from *εἰκών* by saying that the former 'conveys representative traits only,' while the latter 'gives a complete representation under the condition of earth of that which it figures'; and from *μορφή*, 'which marks the essential form.'

3. Man as the image of God or of Christ.—The fundamental text, Gn $1^{26.27}$, is the basis of St. Paul's statement in 1 Co 11^{7} (cf. Col 3^{10}). Man is the image of God in those matters of rational and moral endowment which distinguish him from the humbler creation. St. Paul would no doubt have subscribed to Justin Martyr's statement that God 'in the beginning made the human race with the power of thought and of choosing the truth and doing right, so that all men are without excuse before God; for they have been born rational and contemplative' (*Apol.* i. 28). In neither the OT nor the NT are we to press for a difference between 'image' and 'likeness,' which are used as synonyms. The image has, however, been marred and obscured by men's sin. Yet there is the glorious possibility of its renewal and restoration. The new man in Christ Jesus bears once more the image of his Creator (Col 3^{10}); he becomes akin to God, is able to know Him (*εἰς ἐπίγνωσιν*) and His will in all the affairs of life. In this perfected likeness to God human distinctions, whether of nationality, religious ceremonial, culture, or caste, fall away—'in it there is no room for Greek and Jew, circumcised and uncircumcised, barbarian, Scythian, slave or free man; Christ is everything and everywhere.' This agrees with Ro 8^{29}, in which the elect are spoken of as sharing the image of God's Son—that He might be the firstborn of a great brotherhood. Thus it matters little whether we speak of bearing Christ's image or God's, and it is fruitless to debate which is prior in time. The two are one. To be conformed to the image of Christ is to share not only His holiness but His glory—a thought brought before us in 2 Co 3^{18} ('We all mirror the glory of the Lord with face unveiled, and so we are being transformed into the same image as himself, passing from one glory to another') and in 1 Co 15^{49} ('as we have borne the image of material man so we are to bear the image of the heavenly Man'). In the first of these passages the spirit of the believer is likened to a mirror which receives the unobstructed impression of the glory of the Lord. That glory takes up its abode in the Christian, and instead of fading as in the case of Moses, becomes ever more glorious (cf. Ro 8^{11}). The assimilation of Christ's mind and character involves the assimilation of His splendour. The outer man may perish but the inner man, the real man, waxes more and more radiant, strong, and immortal, till it dwells, like its Lord, wholly in the light. With these passages, and especially with the second, which points forward, we may compare 1 Jn $3^{2f.}$, 'We are to be like him, for we are to see him as he is.' While the primary implication is ethical and spiritual it is not the only one in the NT thought of our likeness to Christ.

LITERATURE.—Besides the Commentaries, especially A. S. Peake, *EGT*: 'Colossians,' 1903; A. Menzies, *The Second Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Corinthians*, 1912; and B. F. Westcott, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, 1889; see, for Christ as the image of God, W. L. Walker, *Christ the Creative Ideal*, 1913, pp. 52 f., 60 f.; H. R. Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, 1912, pp. 65, 83; for man as the image of God, H. Wheeler Robinson, *Christian Doctrine of Man*, 1911, p. 164 f.; on image-worship in the Roman Empire and its parallels to-day, C. Brown, *Heavenly Visions*, 1910, pp. 70 f., 175–183.

A. J. GRIEVE.

IMMORTALITY.—The subject of immortality may be treated from many points of view—doctrinal, metaphysical, biological. But the scope of this article is necessarily limited to the historical method of treatment, and is further confined to a definite portion of the historical field—the 1st cent. of Christianity. Hence many aspects of the subject are excluded. For the previous development of the belief in immortality the reader is referred to the articles dealing with this and the related subjects in *HDB*, *DCG*, and *ERE*. The following is the outline of the treatment of the subject in this article:

I. General discussion of the place occupied in religious thought at the beginning of the Apostolic Age by the belief in immortality.
II. Particular history of the development of the belief during the Apostolic Age:
  1. Pauline doctrine of immortality.
  2. Petrine doctrine of immortality.
  3. Johannine doctrine of immortality.
  4. Apostolic Fathers' doctrine of immortality.
III. Conclusion. Literature.

I. *GENERAL DISCUSSION.*—At the beginning of the Apostolic Age the Græco-Roman world might almost be compared to the Pool of Bethesda at the critical moment of the angelic visitation. There was a troubling of the waters, and a steadily increasing number of seekers after spiritual health. The subject of immortality was, so to speak, in the air. The various Mystery-cults, with varying forms of ritual, all agreed in offering to the initiate the hope of a future life of bliss after death. Abundant evidence for this may be found in books and monographs dealing with the subject of the Mystery-cults in the Roman Empire. At the same time, along a totally different line of development, the Jew had arrived at a conception of immortality which was bound up with a spiritual conception of God and man's relation to God. In communion with God lay both the essence of immortality and its guarantee for faith. In Alexandrian Judaism, as represented by Philo, we have the blending of the Platonic doctrine of immortality, based on the distinction between the higher and the lower elements in man, with the Pharisaic assertion of the value of the individual to God and its grasp of the eternal character of the soul's communion with God. Hence we can discern at least three distinct elements at work in the formation of current ideas about immortality.

(1) The view of a future life which rested upon the Eastern dualistic attitude towards matter and spirit. This Eastern, and especially Persian, element which entered so largely into the Mystery-cults of the century before and the century following the birth of Christ, laid stress upon the deliverance of the soul, by purificatory rites and by asceticism, from the bondage of the body, and thus pointed a way to ultimate salvation and immortality by union with the god. The resemblance of the rites of the Mystery-cults to various elements in the Christian sacraments has led many scholars to trace the influence of these cults of the Græco-Roman world upon the form which Christianity assumed as it developed a system of ritual and doctrine. This point will be discussed briefly in dealing with St. Paul's doctrine of immortality.

(2) The Platonic element in Alexandrian Judaism, modified by Stoic influence, laying stress on the eternity of Reason, and hence offering an abstract form of immortality in which the continuance of personal identity was not involved.

(3) The Pharisaic doctrine of immortality with its insistence on the permanence of personal identity preserved in communion with God. The place of the body was not clearly defined, as Pharisaic Judaism held the immortality of the soul in combination with various forms of eschatological expectation, in which a body, spiritual or quasi-spiritual, was involved.

The Jewish view was, of course, not confined to Palestine, but, as we know, was spread throughout Egypt, Asia Minor, and all the Mediterranean coasts by means of the synagogue. All these elements intermingled and formed the basis of the popular attitude towards the future life, in the 1st cent. of Christianity.

But the form which the doctrine of immortality took in primitive Christianity is by no means explained when we have examined the conditions of thought under which it grew up. It certainly cannot be explained without them, but neither can it be explained wholly by them. Christianity gave its own definite form to all that it took up from the current thought of its time, and the outstanding factor in the form which the primitive Christian hope assumed is the Resurrection of Christ. It has been argued that the form which the belief in the Resurrection took, especially in St. Paul, was determined by these external influences, especially by the existence in various Mystery-cults of the idea of the death of the god and his resurrection. But these offer no true parallel to the belief in a historic Resurrection and do not explain either its existence or the peculiar moral value attached to the Resurrection of Christ by the primitive Church.

When we come to the historical account of the doctrine of immortality in the 1st cent. of Christianity, we find, in the first place, that it is inseparably connected with the Resurrection of Christ, and, secondly, that it is also inseparable from primitive Christian eschatology. 'The resurrection of the body and the life of the world to come' is the phrase which crystallizes the growth of the idea of immortality for the popular mind during the early stages of Christianity. We shall find, however, in both Pauline and Johannine teaching, much that transcends the form of belief as crystallized in the credal phrase.

II. *PARTICULAR HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT.*—**1. Pauline.**—It is impossible to work through the Pauline treatment of the subject without discovering that St. Paul had no doctrine of immortality. He deals with the subject only so far as it arises out of the question of salvation through Christ and the implications of salvation. Hence the most illuminating method of understanding St. Paul's attitude towards immortality will be to trace the bearings of his theory of salvation as it is worked out in Romans, the most definitely soteriological of his Epistles. The following are the principal points that arise from the examination of the Epistle.

(1) *Eschatological background.* — There is an eschatological background to the whole of St. Paul's thinking on the subject of salvation. This is not to say that the ethical nature of the salvation is excluded; on the contrary, the ethical is inseparable from the eschatological, the connexion between life and righteousness being of the very essence of St. Paul's thought. But from the outset and right through, the eschatological outlook is apparent. In Ro 2^7, one of the most general statements on the subject, St. Paul says that in the revelation of God's righteous judgment He will render eternal life to all those who are seeking glory and honour and immortality (ἀφθαρσία); in 5^2, there is the justified boast in the hope of the glory of God; in 5^{17}, those who receive the gift of righteousness shall reign in life; in 8^{11}, the mortal bodies of those indwelt by the Spirit are to be quickened.

This eschatological colouring is more apparent in the earlier Epistles, *e.g.* 1 and 2 Thessalonians, than in the later. But even in the later Epistles, *e.g.* in Philippians, it appears: $3^{20.21}$, 'for our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of his glory, according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto himself.'

Thus the eschatological element in the belief is not secondary or non-essential; it shows in the first place that St. Paul's sense of the necessity of a future glorified life is part of a larger scheme of things—the future Kingdom of God and its manifestation on earth.

(2) *Christ as an earnest of the future life.*—The present condition of Christ's existence is both the pattern and the guarantee of the believer's future state of existence. This is perhaps the most characteristic and original part of St. Paul's thinking on this subject, and requires the most careful study. It is true that various elements existed in Apocalyptic and Rabbinical systems of thought in St. Paul's time which may have suggested in details the form of his thought. For example, the idea of a spiritual body was not new; it occurs in *Midr. Rab.* and in the Gnostic *Hymn of the Soul* (see Rendel Harris's edition of the *Odes and Psalms of Solomon*, 1909, Introduction, p. 67 f.) and the conception of the transformation of the righteous into the likeness of Messiah occurs first in *Enoch* xc. 38.

But the Death and Resurrection of Christ as historical facts are the decisive elements which St. Paul lays hold of and works out in their relation to the Kingdom of God, making new combinations of old ideas, throwing fresh light on the purpose of God, and filling the old categories of thought with a new vital force. No apocalyptic scheme offered any such conception as the Death and Resurrection of Messiah, and the acceptance by St. Paul of the Death and Resurrection of Jesus as historical facts, together with his identification of Jesus with the Messiah, set a train of thought working in his mind which yielded entirely new forms, not to be explained by any patch-work of older elements to be found in them. There are certain essential points of St. Paul's scheme of things which were never grasped by the Apologists and the early interpreters of Apostolic Christianity. This was partly because the eschatological element was not understood, and perhaps still more because St. Paul's attitude towards the human side of the Incarnation was not understood. The side upon which Irenæus lays stress, the answer to the question *Cur Deus Homo?* was fully grasped and developed, viz. the 'deification' of man through the Incarnation of the Son of God. But owing to the rise of christological controversies the emphasis laid by St. Paul and the primitive Church on the ethical value of the Resurrection of Christ and its implications dropped out of sight.

(*a*) First of all, then, for St. Paul the Resurrection of Christ has an ethical value which is of great importance in his view of the future life of believers. The Resurrection of Christ was not a foregone conclusion resulting from His Divinity, but it was intimately connected with Christ's faith and holiness as man. His Resurrection was according to the Spirit of holiness; He was raised from the dead by the glory of the Father. In His Resurrection the full working of the law of the Spirit of life was displayed. 'He lives to God.' The word 'glory' which St. Paul uses to describe

the present state of the risen Christ as well as His future manifestation has both an ethical and a quasi-material significance. The full moral likeness to God which Christ displayed has its counterpart in His present state of existence, 'the glory of God in the face (*ἐν προσώπῳ*, possibly better rendered 'in the person' [cf. 2 Co 2^{10}]) of Jesus Christ.'

(*b*) This resurrection state of Christ is spiritual. The historic Christ retaining His moral characteristics has passed into a spiritual condition, by the operation of a law made manifest for the first time in His case. Christ is identified with the Spirit. He is no longer limited in manifestation by time and space, but can dwell in those who receive Him by faith. It is the real Christ that St. Paul conceives of as dwelling in believers and thereby bringing into operation in them the same law that resulted in His own Resurrection and victory over 'the law of sin and death.'

(*c*) The ultimate result of this indwelling of the Spirit of Christ is to assert the complete triumph of life over death even in the bodies of believers (Ro 8^{11}). The full manifestation of this life will bring deliverance for creation (v.^{21}) from the bondage of corruption (*φθορά*). For St. Paul, then, immortality is not *ἀθανασία*, but *ἀφθαρσία*. It is an integral part of the triumph of the Kingdom of God, beginning with the Resurrection of Christ (1 Co $15^{20\text{-}23}$: *ἀπαρχὴ Χριστός*).

(3) *The corporate nature of the future life.*—The last point that comes out from the study of St. Paul's teaching on this subject is the corporate nature of the future existence, in strong contrast to the immortality presented by Plotinus and the later Neo-Platonists—an immortality of 'the Alone with the Alone.' The indwelling Spirit of Christ is the ground of unity, as well as the assurance of immortality; the future life of bliss is the life of a blessed community of glorified persons, united to Christ and like Him morally and spiritually, finding their joy in the activities of eternal life, doing the will of God.

The Pauline view of the subject is also bound up with the Parousia and with the closely allied subject of the resurrection of believers. Hence the reader is referred to the articles on these subjects in this Dictionary for supplementary discussion of the Pauline teaching.

2. Petrine and other primitive teaching.—For the sake of convenience, the general teaching of the Catholic Epistles and the Pastorals is taken together with the Petrine doctrine of immortality. The doctrine of 1 Peter may be said to represent the general standpoint of the primitive Apostolic Church on this matter, while the Pauline and the Johannine teaching contain developments which profoundly affected the thought of the Church but which were never wholly understood and accepted.

(1) *The First Epistle of Peter* shows the same eschatological background that we find in St. Paul and everywhere in the primitive Church, and the same view of the ethical value of the Resurrection of Christ: 'who *through him* are believers in God, which raised him from the dead, and gave him glory; so that your faith and hope might be in God' (1 P 1^{21}).

But there is nothing of the extraordinary development of the consequences of the Resurrection-life of Christ in the Spirit, and the resultant view of the Kingdom as already manifested in its working. The most important passage for our purpose is 1 P $3^{18\text{-}20}$, the 'Descent into Hell' of the Creeds.

Rendel Harris (*Side-lights on NT Research*, 1908, p. 208) has proposed the emendation *ἐν ᾧ καὶ Ἐνώχ* on the supposition that *Ἐνώχ* has dropped out by haplography, and would refer the passage to a reminiscence of the visit of Enoch to the condemned watchers and his intercession for them (see *Enoch* xii., xiii.). But the interruption to the general sense of the passage is too serious, except on a very low estimate of the logical sequence of thought in the Epistle, to admit of the probability of this ingenious suggestion.

If the passage be interpreted to refer to the visit of Christ to the souls in Sheol during the interval between His Death and His Resurrection, then this is the only NT passage which supports such a conception, and it is a possible view that the Christian interpretation of the passage has been influenced by the strong belief which grew up in the primitive Church in the descent of Christ to Hades. But the passage requires fuller treatment than space allows of here (see, further, art. DESCENT INTO HADES). If the credal interpretation be accepted, the passage is evidence rather for an intermediate state than for any clearly defined doctrine of the immortality of the soul. It does not necessarily imply more than is implied in the later Jewish view of Sheol. Still more perplexing is 4^6, if the same interpretation be attached to it. But it is possible to interpret both passages of the preaching of Noah to those who though dead *now*, were alive at the time when the Spirit of Christ in Noah preached to them. Then the last clause of 4^6 may be evidence for the future state of the condemned. After judgment they continue to live in spirit in relation to God. Apart from this the writer's attention is fixed on the coming 'glory,' 'the crown of glory,' to be revealed at the Parousia.

(2) *Hebrews.*—The author of the Epistle to the Hebrews retains the eschatological background common to the early Church, but adds to our inquiry one important new conception—that which is implied in the term *τετελειωμένος*. Christ in His present risen state is spoken of as *τετελειωμένος* (7^{28}); the spirits in the heavenly Jerusalem are called the spirits of 'the perfected righteous,' *δικαίων τετελειωμένων* (12^{23}; cf. also 5^9 11^{40}, Lk 13^{32}). It is difficult to find the Pauline conception of a glorified body here. It would rather seem to present the Alexandrian Judaistic point of view that the righteous immediately after death reach their perfected state of bliss in full communion with God. The writer undoubtedly believes in the Resurrection of Christ and also in the ethical aspect of it already mentioned, but he does not seem to carry on, as St. Paul does, the consequences of this to the bodily resurrection of believers. But he clearly looks forward to a *σαββατισμός* for the people of God, a heavenly city, and a corporate immortality, all based upon the present risen life of Christ.

(3) *The Pastoral Epistles* add one or two points. The dogmatic conception of abstract immortality—what Friedrich von Hügel (*Eternal Life*) calls 'quantitative immortality'—perhaps appears in 1 Ti 6^{16}: *ὁ μόνος ἔχων ἀθανασίαν*. In 4^8 a sharp distinction is drawn between 'the life that now is and that which is to come,' a sign of the passing of the eschatological form of the distinction between 'the present age' and 'the coming age.' The rich are charged to lay hold on what is truly life (*τῆς ὄντως ζωῆς*, 6^{19}).

In 2 Ti 1^1 we have the Pauline conception, 'the promise of life which is in Christ Jesus'; 2^{11}, 'if we suffer with him we shall reign with him'; 4^1, living and dead are to be judged by Christ at His appearing; 4^{18}, 'shall save me unto his heavenly kingdom.' But the two most characteristic passages in this Epistle are 1^{10}, where our Saviour Jesus Christ has annulled death and brought life and immortality (*ἀφθαρσίαν*) to light, through the gospel; and 2^{10}, where speaking of 'the elect' the writer says 'that they too may obtain the salvation that is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory.' Tit $1^{1\text{-}2}$ echoes the phrase of 2 Ti 1^1, the hope of eternal life, still reflecting the eschatological colouring. In Tit $2^{12\text{-}13}$ 'the present age' is con-

trasted with 'the appearing of the glory of the great God and our Saviour Christ Jesus,' also spoken of as 'the blessed hope'; in $3^{5ff.}$ the bath of regeneration (παλιγγενεσία) and the renewing of the Holy Ghost are connected with righteousness and the hope of eternal life after the Pauline manner.

3. Johannine.—The three groups of Johannine literature are here treated separately.

(1) *The Apocalypse.*—The phrase which is so characteristic of the Fourth Gospel, 'eternal life,' does not occur in the Apocalypse. For our subject we have the following passages: 2^{11}, the overcomer 'shall not be hurt of the second death'; 3^{5}, the overcomer's name will not be blotted out of the book of life. In 4^{4} the 'elders' (who may possibly represent those who have attained—the 'elders' of He 11) are seen in the symbolic garb of victors. In 6^{9} the souls of the martyrs are seen under the altar, crying for vengeance. In 7^{13-17} there is a description of those who have come out of great tribulation and who enjoy perpetual bliss before the throne of God. In 20^{4} those who are slain during the great tribulation are raised for the millennial kingdom, and reign with Christ for a thousand years. 20^{5} adds 'the rest of the dead lived not again until the thousand years were ended.' Then in 20^{11-15} 'the dead small and great,' *i.e.* apparently 'the rest of the dead,' are raised and judged according to their works, and all not found written in the Book of Life are cast into the Lake of Fire.

Here again the eschatological interest is paramount. The future existence of individuals is not a question of psychological or philosophical interest, but is determined by the view of the future Kingdom of God. Hence 'quantitative immortality' does not appear. The righteous receive the reward of their works and patience, and enter on a blessing which appears to extend beyond the millennial kingdom, and at any rate reaches its climax there. The writer is not so interested in anything after that. But the future fate of the wicked is indeterminate. The view taken as to this depends upon our interpretation of the writer's symbolism. The fire may be destructive, purgative, or penal. The torment of the beast and the false prophet is spoken of, but the final end of the wicked is not explicitly stated. They are cast into the Lake of Fire.

(2) *The Epistles.*—In the Johannine Epistles the Parousia still forms the background of Christian hope, but the precise form of the hope is vague, and shows signs of transformation into a purely spiritual expectation. The contribution of the Epistles belongs rather to the subject of the Parousia (*q.v.*). The term 'eternal life' occurs frequently, but never with the eschatological sense in which it is used in St. Paul's Epistles and the Pastorals. But the profound ethical implication of likeness to God and to Christ fills the term with a new meaning. 'The life of the coming age,' the original sense of the term חַיֵּי עֹלָם, has become the life of God, expressed in Christ, imparted to the believer, working itself out in moral likeness to God, and perfected when Christ appears. He who dwells in God and God in him can never die, and he who loves dwells in God, and partakes of God's eternal life. Immortality is 'qualitative' wholly here, with no thought of duration.

(3) *The Fourth Gospel.*—Here the transformation of the eschatological background is practically complete. Subsequent developments really consisted, not in a deeper and richer spiritualization of the eschatological view-point, with all its stimulus and insistent pressure of the real world surrounding and penetrating the phenomenal world, but in the total abandonment of eschatology and consequent impoverishment of the Church's life. But in the Fourth Gospel the intensity and reality of the hope are retained, while the particular Jewish colouring and schemes of thought are quietly dropped, with a few exceptions.

In this Gospel 'eternal life' is the principal category under which the subject of immortality falls to be considered. The most important group of passages is in the 6th chapter. Here our Lord, after the miracle of the loaves, and evidently, in the mind of the author of the Gospel, explaining the significance of the miracle, claims that He is the living bread come down from heaven. Those who eat of this bread live for ever. Continuing to explain the saying, our Lord adds that the bread is His flesh and His blood, and that he who eats the flesh and drinks the blood of the Son of Man has eternal life, and will be raised by Christ at the last day. Again, 'he that eateth this bread shall live for ever.' It is possible that we must accept the predestinarianism of $vv.^{36-37}$ as part of the older eschatological colouring. But evidently a difficult point is involved here. Schweitzer would explain the passage as the expression of 'a speculative religious materialism which concerns itself with the problem of matter and spirit, and the permeation of matter by Spirit, and endeavours to interpret the manifestation and the personality of Jesus, the action of the sacraments and the possibility of the resurrection of the elect, all on the basis of one and the same fundamental conception' (*Paul and his Interpreters*, p. 202 f.). That is, broadly speaking, the immortality described in the Fourth Gospel is sacramental, conditioned entirely by participation in the sacraments which, through the communication to them of the Spirit of the Risen Christ, have received this potency.

Like so much of Schweitzer's exegesis, this is brilliant and stimulating, but not wholly sound. Throughout the Gospel the possession of eternal life is independent of sacraments and connected simply with faith in Christ: 'he that believeth on me hath everlasting life,' 'he that believeth on me, though he were dead, yet shall he live, and he that liveth and believeth on me shall never die.' The charge of 'unintelligent spiritualizing' is hasty and unfounded. As in the Synoptic Gospels, so also in the Fourth Gospel, Schweitzer has not recognized the peculiar ethical element which is the real basis of the primitive Church's view of the Resurrection of Christ, and of the resurrection and future state of believers.

So in the Fourth Gospel the immortality implied is at bottom ethical; it is the life of God which Christ is in Himself and has come to earth to reveal, and in order to impart it in its fullness He must enter upon the spiritual state. It is expedient for them that He should go away. After His departure they will know that He is in the Father, they in Him, and He in them.

Hence, while in St. Paul we have the eager movement of the new life towards its glorious consummation, in the Fourth Gospel we have rather the steady contemplation of the fully revealed nature of the life of God in this world now. In both cases all the interest is centred on the purpose of God in its realization, rather than on the individual man and his ultimate fate. So that we have the appearance of the conditional immortality which is found in Athanasius, really only apparent, because the nature of immortality as a dogma was not in question, but the wider issue of the coming in of the Kingdom of God. In the Fourth Gospel we have also the corporate nature of the life insisted on. In St. Paul, spirit, soul, and body are to be preserved to the day of Christ; there is no immortality of the soul conceived of as a mere abstraction, but the eternal gain for the Kingdom of God of a person, whole and entire. In the Fourth Gospel there is not the

same prominence given to the resurrection of the body, but ultimately the body of him who possesses the life of God must pass under the law of eternal life, although the author of the Fourth Gospel never states the expectation in the same way; it is not 'your mortal bodies,' but 'I will raise *him* up.' The incident of the grave clothes also shows that the writer's conception of the Resurrection was purely spiritual: the Lord had become a Spirit, although capable of revealing His continued personal existence to His disciples. So for the Fourth Gospel the ultimate thing also is the gain of the individual: 'no man is able to pluck them out of my Father's hand.'

4. The Apostolic Fathers.—Here we have much less of vital importance. The creative impulse has died away, and we can trace the process, already mentioned, of the gradual abandonment of much that was most characteristic of the teaching of St. Paul. Ignatius offers the closest affinities with the point of view of the Fourth Gospel, as is well enough known. The following are the principal relevant passages:

(1) *1 Clement.*—The principal passage in this Epistle is in chs. xxiv.-xxvi. The future resurrection is based on the Resurrection of Christ, and the simile of the seed is used. Ch. xxvi. seems to limit the resurrection to the faithful, 'those who served Him in holiness, in the confidence of a good faith.' Those who have died as martyrs or in the faith are spoken of as having obtained the inheritance of glory and honour (cf. v. 3, 7, xlv. 7). In l. 3 'those who were perfected in love by the grace of God have a place among the pious who shall be made manifest at the visitation of the Kingdom of Christ.'

(2) *2 Clement* has several interesting passages: v. 5, 'our sojourning in this world in the flesh is a little thing and lasts a short time, but the promise of Christ is great and wonderful, and brings us rest, in the kingdom which is to come, and in everlasting life.' In vi. 7 rest is contrasted with eternal punishment (*αἰωνίου κολάσεως*). The future existence depends on the keeping of the baptism undefiled; the first occurrence of this conception is in vi. 9, vii. 6, viii. 6. In ch. ix. there is the assertion of the resurrection of the flesh to judgment, based on the Incarnation and not on the Resurrection of Christ. Ch. xii. contains the curious Agraphon possibly from the Gospel of the Egyptians, 'When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female, neither male nor female.' It is interpreted by the author as referring to the moral perfection and asceticism suited to the kingdom.

In xiv. 5 we have an important passage. After a somewhat strained analogy of the flesh as the Church, referring to the Church as pre-existent and possessing the Spirit, the author says: 'So great a gift of life and immortality (*ἀθανασίαν*) has this flesh the power to receive if the Holy Spirit be joined to it.' In xix. 3, 4 we have a statement of immortality in fairly quantitative terms, and the expression 'the immortal fruit of the resurrection' (*τὸν ἀθάνατον τῆς ἀναστάσεως καρπόν*). In xx. 5 Christ is the Saviour and Leader of immortality (*ἀρχηγὸν τῆς ἀφθαρσίας*).

(3) *Ignatius.*—We owe to Ignatius the famous phrase 'the medicine of immortality,' *φάρμακον ἀθανασίας* (*Eph.* xx. 2), which is so often repeated by later patristic writers. Ignatius frequently uses the word 'immortality,' but as frequently shows that his conception is ethical—qualitative, not quantitative. What he seeks is not mere duration of bliss, but true life (*τὸ ἀληθινὸν ζῆν*, xi. 1). Faith and love constitute this true life, the life of God (xiv. 1). Christ has breathed immortality on the Church (*ἀφθαρσίαν*, xvii. 1). At the Incarnation 'God was manifest as Man, for the newness of eternal life' (*εἰς καινότητα ἀΐδιον ζωῆς*), a reminiscence of Ro 6^4, but *ἀΐδιον* is never used of life in the NT. In xx. 2 it is the Sacrament, the bread, which is the medicine of immortality.

Other passages are *Magn.* i. 2, ix. 2: a reference to the *Descensus*; *Trall.* ii. 1, ix. 2; *Rom.* vi. 2; *Phil.* ix. 2: the gospel is 'the perfecting of immortality' (*ἀπάρτισμα ἀφθαρσίας*); *Smyrn.* xii. 2, 'resurrection both fleshly and spiritual'; *ad Polyc.* ii. 3, 'the prize is immortality and eternal life.'

The remaining literature of our period adds nothing of importance.

III. *CONCLUSION.*—The principal trend of the teaching of the NT lies mainly along the lines laid down by our Lord, and expanded by the original thinking of St. Paul and St. John, if we may assume a name for the author of the Fourth Gospel for convenience' sake. The expansion followed lines which were principally determined by the acceptance of the Resurrection of Christ as a historical fact. The emphasis thus lies on the value of complete personality brought into the sphere of the operation of the Kingdom of God. Those operations take on the form of eschatological expectations, but express fundamental and eternal realities of religion. The pale and thin conception of mere duration of existence is of no interest to the apostolic writers. It was of fundamental importance to possess true life, the life of God; and as the meaning of the Incarnation was explored, the conception of eternal life grew in depth and breadth and height.

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S. H. HOOKE.

IMPUTATION.—See JUSTIFICATION.

INCARNATION.—See CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY.

INCENSE (*θυμίαμα*, generally plural).—The burning of aromatic substances on the altar of incense was part of the daily Temple-ritual, and the office for each occasion was assigned by lot to a priest who had never before enjoyed the honour. The moment for the beginning of the rite was carefully fixed, and served to mark the time of day. When the cloud of fragrant smoke ascended, the people outside the Temple bowed in prayer, in accordance with the ancient association of prayers and incense (Ps 141^2). In the primitive Semitic cultus the perfume which rose into the upper air was supposed to give a sensuous pleasure to the Deity; but when more spiritual thoughts of the Divine nature and character prevailed, the incense, if it was to be retained, had to be regarded as a symbol of the prayers breathed from earth to heaven. In Rev $5^{8f.}$ (which may, however, be a gloss) the golden bowls full of incense are expressly identified with the prayers of the saints. In Rev 8^4 the smoke of incense goes up before God out of the angel's hand

for [so RVm, more accurate than *with*, RV] the prayers of the saints. Some interpreters think that the incense added by the angel is here supposed to give some kind of efficacy to the prayers; but, while interceding angels and archangels appear in the *Book of Enoch* (ix. 3–11, xv. 2, xl. 7, xlvii. 2, civ. 1), the thought in Rev. is probably no more than that the prayers of earth are ratified in heaven. The prophet's symbolism indicates that the saints are praying for things agreeable to God's will, so that their petitions cannot fail to be granted. JAMES STRAHAN.

INCORRUPTION.—See UNCORRUPTNESS.

INSPIRATION AND REVELATION.—Definition of terms.—Revelation is the 'discovery' or 'disclosure' (ἀποκάλυψις) of God (*i.e.* of the being and character of God) to man. Inspiration is the mode, or one of the modes, by which this discovery or disclosure is made; it is the process by which certain select persons were enabled, through the medium of speech or of writing, to convey special information about God to their fellows.

It will be obvious that the two terms must be closely related. To a large extent they are strictly correlative. Revelation is in large part the direct product of inspiration. The select persons of whom we have spoken imparted revelation about God because they were inspired to impart it. So far as revelation has been conveyed by speech or writing we call the process inspiration; we say that holy men of old spoke and wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost (2 P 1^{21}). What is meant by this we shall explain later.

A. *REVELATION.*—Revelation is the wider term. There is such a thing as revelation by facts, as well as by words. And revelation by facts is again of two kinds: there is the broad revelation of God in Nature; and there is also a special revelation of God in history.

1. Revelation by facts.—(*a*) *Revelation of God in Nature.*—The Jew under the OT rose up from the contemplation of Nature with an intense belief in Divine Providence. For him the heavens declared the glory of God, and the firmament showed His handiwork. The sight of the heavens brought home to him the contrast between the majesty of God and the littleness of man. The phenomena of storm and tempest heightened his sense of Divine power and of the goodness which intervened for his own protection. The beneficent ordering of Nature turned his thoughts to thankfulness and praise (Ps 65 104). The tendency of the Hebrew mind was towards optimism. His religious faith was so strong that the darker side of Nature did not trouble him; its destructive energies only filled him with awe, or else he regarded them as directed against his own enemies and God's. The questions that perplexed him most arose not so much from Nature as from the observation of human life.

The most pressing problem of all was the sufferings of the righteous and the prosperity of the wicked. To this problem are devoted several Psalms and the whole Book of Job. But, however urgent the problem might be and however imperfect the solution, it never shook the deep-rooted faith that was Israel's greatest heritage. The same may be said even of the complicated questions which exercise the author of Ecclesiastes—a late and comparatively isolated phenomenon.

(*b*) *Revelation of God in history.*—The truth which Israel grasped with the greatest tenacity was the intimacy of its own relation to God as the Chosen People. Not all the shocks which it endured in its political career, tossed to and fro as a shuttlecock between its more powerful neighbours, could weaken its hold on this. It idealized its history—emphasized its deliverances, dwelt on its few moments of comparative greatness and prosperity, and explained its own decline as due to its faithlessness and disobedience. It saw the hand of God throughout, even through suffering and failure, guiding it in unexpected ways towards the better fulfilment of its mission. The nation became a Church; and even in exile and dispersion Israel still bore witness to its God. Then, on the top of all this, comes Christianity. Another apparently insignificant series of facts—the Life and Death of One who lived as a peasant in an obscure corner of the Roman Empire—is followed by enormous consequences. A wave of religious enthusiasm passed over an exhausted world, and its veins were filled with new life which has lasted down to the present day.

2. Revelation in word.—Ideally speaking, it might be supposed that the historical panorama roughly sketched above would impress itself on the mind of all observers; that, so far as it contained a revelation of God, that revelation would be intuitively apprehended. But to expect this would have been to expect too much, especially when we think of the poor and low beginnings from which the human race has gradually risen. It has always needed leaders and teachers. Large and penetrating views, such as those involved in the process we have been describing, have always belonged to the few rather than to the many, and have been mediated to the many through the few. In this way it will be seen that revelation by facts has had to be supplemented by revelation conveyed in words. The facts have been there all the time; but, apart from Divine stimulus and guidance, working upon minds sensitive to them, the great mass of mankind would have allowed them to pass unheeded. The pressure of mere physical needs is so great that ordinary humanity would be apt to be absorbed in them, if it were not for the influence of a select few more highly endowed than the rest. But these select few have never been wanting—not in Israel alone but in every race of men, and conspicuously in those races that we call the 'higher.' The Divine education of mankind has always worked in this way—by an infinite number of graduated steps, leading men onwards from one truth to another, from truths that are simple and partial and rude in expression to other truths that are more complex and more comprehensive, more nicely adjusted to the facts which they embrace.

There is thus a natural transition from revelation by fact to revelation by word. The fact comes first; it is there, so that all who run may read. But it is not read, because it is not understood; it is a bare fact; it needs an interpreter. And the interpretation is supplied by the inspired man who speaks and writes, who seizes on the secret and then publishes it to the world.

3. Apostolic treatment of these matters.—This, then, is substantially what we find in the OT, and in the Jewish writings which follow upon the OT. The prophets and psalmists and wise men lead the way in expressing the feelings aroused by the contemplation of God in Nature and in history. Such Scriptures as Ps 19^{1-6} 65 104, Is 40^{12-17} are spontaneous outbursts excited by the external world; such passages as Job 38 39 (cf. 2 Mac 9^{8}) enforce the lesson of Ps $8^{3f.}$; Ps 77^{11-20} 105 106, Hab 3 are typical retrospects of the hand of God in Israel's history; Pr 8^{22-31}, Job 28, Sir 24, Wis 7 8 are equally typical examples of the praise of Divine Wisdom as expressed in creation and in the ordering of human life.

All this the apostolic writers inherited, and they go a step further in philosophizing upon it. They not only give expression to the feelings which the contemplation of the works of God excites in them,

but they distinctly recognize the different forms of external revelation as parts of the method of Divine Providence in dealing with men. The most instructive passages from this point of view are to be found in the speeches of Acts, both in those addressed to heathen (as in Ac 14^{15-17} 17^{22-31}) and in those addressed to Jews (as in Ac 7 13^{16-41}). We need not enter into the question how far these speeches represent what was actually spoken on the occasions referred to, and how far they embody what the historian thought appropriate to those occasions. A comparison of the speeches attributed to St. Paul with the contents of the Pauline Epistles would suggest that, however much the shaping of the discourse may be due to the historian, he probably had before him some authentic notes or traditions of the discourses actually delivered (cf. *JThSt* xi. [1910] 171–173). In any case, the views expressed seem to have been practically common to all the leaders of Christian thought. We may, therefore, proceed to set them forth without discriminating between different circles. At the same time the major part of the extant evidence is derived (mediately or immediately) from St. Paul.

(*a*) *Of the revelation of God in Nature.*—It is to be noted that, although St. Paul shared to the full his countrymen's horror of idolatry—both as inherently wrong in itself and because of its corrupting influences—he nevertheless clearly recognized the elements of good in heathen religions, and regarded them as having a place in the wider order of Divine Providence. The heathen, too—with God's revelation of Himself in Nature before them—had ample opportunities of knowing God, and it was only by their own deliberate fault that they suppressed and ignored this knowledge (Ro 1^{18-21}).

And yet all was not lost. God had implanted in the human breast the desire for Himself; men were seeking Him, if haply they might feel after Him and find Him; even pagan poets had realized that mankind was His offspring (Ac 17^{27-28}). He took care that they should not be left without witness to His goodness, in that He gave them from heaven rains and fruitful seasons, filling their hearts with food and gladness (14^{17}).

We observe how the Apostle singles out at once the best and the most prominent side of pagan religion, making abstraction of its worst features. The most urgent of human needs was that the earth should bring forth fruits in their seasons. Men were conscious of this, and they were really thankful for the bounty of Nature. At the bottom of most of the pagan cults that prevailed over the East—as, for instance, in the wide-spread worship under the names of Osiris, Adonis, Attis—was the celebration of seed-time and harvest. What there was of evil mixed up with such worship was a product of the root of evil in the human heart, and was capable of being eliminated without loss to the fundamental idea.

The revelation of God in Nature was thus not altogether in vain. And there was another form of revelation which came really under this head. There was a certain reflexion of God in the heart of man: His will was made known through the conscience. And here, too, there was many a pagan who, though without the privileges which the Jew enjoyed through the possession of a written law, faithfully observed such inner law as he had. St. Paul fully recognized this, and used it as an *a fortiori* argument addressed to his own Jewish converts, and to those whom he desired to make his converts.

Another point that may be worth noting is that, when St. Paul appeals to the revelation of God in Nature, he singles out in particular those attributes of God as revealed which the impression derived from Nature is best calculated to convey: 'the invisible things of him since the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived through the things that are made, even his everlasting power and divinity' (Ro 1^{20}; cf. Wis 13^{1}). The truths that Nature can tell us about God are not the whole truth; it can tell us of His power and majesty and Divine sovereignty, but it cannot of itself make known the infinite tenderness of His love. Nature has its destructive aspect as well as its aspect of beneficence; and even Nature, as we see it, appears to be infected with the taint which is seen most conspicuously in man. To judge from external Nature taken by itself, it might well seem that a malign as well as a gracious Power was at work behind it. Caliban on Setebos is not wholly without reason. For a complete revelation of God we must supplement the data derived from this source by those which are derived from history, and especially from the culminating series of events in all history—the events bound up in the origin and spread of Christianity. It is these pre-eminently, and indeed these alone, which bring home to us the full conviction that God in the deepest depths of His being is essentially and unchangeably Love. (For strong indictments of Nature as it actually exists, see J. S. Mill, *Three Essays on Religion*, London, 1874, pp. 28–31; and the hypothesis of a Cacodæmon in R. A. Knox, *Some Loose Stones*, do., 1913, p. 25 f.)

(*b*) *Of the revelation of God in history.*—When the apostles or Christians of the first generation preach to Jews, their preaching, so far as we have record of it, is always an appeal to history, sometimes on a larger scale, sometimes on a smaller. When the preaching is fullest and most systematic, it starts from a survey, more or less complete, of the history of Israel as a *Heilsgeschichte* or scheme of Redemption, pre-determined in the counsels of God and worked out in the history of the Chosen People. This begins of right with the choice of Abraham and the patriarchs (Ac 7^{2-16} 13^{17}; cf. 3^{13}). Then come Moses and the deliverance from Egypt (7^{20-36}) and the royal line culminating in David ($7^{45f.}$ 13^{22} 15^{16}). Both Moses and David prophesied of One who was to come in the aftertime—Moses, of a prophet like himself ($3^{22f.}$ 7^{37}); David, of a descendant of his own who should not see corruption (2^{29-31} 13^{34-37}). This leads on to a bold affirmation of the fulfilment of these and of other prophecies in the Life, Death, and Resurrection of Christ (2^{22-24} $3^{13-15.\ 24}$ 10^{39-43} 13^{23-37} $26^{22.\ 23}$). In the Epistles especial stress is laid upon the two salient facts of the Crucifixion and the Resurrection (1 Co $15^{3f.}$, Ro $4^{24f.}$, and in many other places). These two great acts have a significance beyond themselves, as the basis and guarantee of the Christian's hope of salvation. The historic scheme is completed by the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, itself also a fulfilment of prophecy (Ac $2^{16-21.\ 33}$).

The long series of historical facts is given, and, taken together, they constitute a broad, definite, objective revelation. But if that revelation had remained alone without comment and interpretation, it would have passed unregarded, or at least imperfectly realized and understood.

(*c*) It is at this point that the other form of revelation comes in—*revelation by word.* And at the same point we may also cross over to the consideration of that other great factor in our subject—the inspiration by which the revelation is conveyed. There is what may be called a classical passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, in which the two conceptions meet in a way that throws clear light upon both.

B. *INSPIRATION.*—**1. The fundamental passage—1 Co 2^{7-16}.**—We cannot do better than begin our discussion of inspiration with this passage, which

must be given in full: 'We speak God's wisdom in a mystery, even the wisdom that hath been hidden, which God foreordained before the worlds unto our glory: which none of the rulers of this world knoweth: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory: but as it is written, Things which eye saw not, and ear heard not, And which entered not into the heart of man, Whatsoever things God prepared for them that love him. But unto us God revealed them through the Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man, which is in him? Even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God. But we received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely given to us by God. Which things also we speak, not in words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Spirit teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. Now the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; and he cannot know them, because they are spiritually judged. But he that is spiritual judgeth all things, and he himself is judged of no man. For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he should instruct him? But we have the mind of Christ.'

2. The two modes of inspiration. — We have seen that there are two distinct modes of revelation, which may be called primary and secondary, or objective and subjective: the one a series of facts, the other embodying the interpretation of those facts. Inspiration corresponds to the second of these modes; it has to do with interpretation; it is the process by which God has made known His nature, His will, and His purpose in regard to man. But there is some difference in the way in which inspiration works, according as it is (*a*) intermediate between the series of facts and the interpretation, dependent upon the facts and co-extensive with them, or (*b*) as it were, a new beginning in itself—what might be called a direct communication from God. Speaking broadly, it may be said that the prophetic inspiration of the OT was mainly of this latter type, while the Christian or apostolic inspiration of the NT was mainly of the former. Such distinctions are indeed only relative. The prophets also frequently presuppose those objective revelations through Nature and history of which we have spoken. And yet the great difference between the prophets and the apostles is just this, that the outstanding Christian facts—the Incarnation or Life, the Death, and the Resurrection of Christ—have intervened between them. In the one case a preparation had to be made, the first advances had to be taken and the foundation laid; in the other case the foundation was already laid, and the chief task which remained for the Christian teacher was one of interpretation. We shall return to this distinction presently, when we try to map out the course which the Christian revelation as a whole has taken. But in the meantime we must go back to our fundamental passage, and seek with its help to acquire a better understanding of the nature of inspiration.

3. The psychology of inspiration. — We begin by observing that the passage is descriptive specially of the Christian or apostolic inspiration. It is, indeed, possible to generalize from it and to treat it as applying to the inspiration of the OT as well as of the NT. Yet the passage implies throughout what we have called the Christian facts—the whole historical series of revelations culminating in Jesus Christ. The preaching which the Apostle has in his mind has for its object that those to whom it is addressed might know—*i.e.* intelligently know, grasp, and understand—the things that were freely given to them by God, the whole bountiful purpose of God in Christ, the Incarnation with all that led up to it and that followed from it — its consequences nearer and more remote.

And now we must try to analyze the passage and see what it contains. There are two trains of thought.

(*a*) The knowledge which inspiration imparts is wholly exceptional and *sui generis*. It is not possessed by the worldly-wise or by the most powerful of secular rulers. It was their ignorance of it which led to the terrible mistake of not recognizing but crucifying the Messiah when He came. It is a knowledge—chiefly of values, of values in the spiritual sphere, of the spiritual forces at work in the world. The knowledge of these values is hidden from the mass of mankind. Any criticism of those who possess it by those who do not possess it is futile. It is as if the critics were devoid of a natural sense—like the varied hues of Nature to the colour-blind, or the world of musical sound to those who have no ear. The expert in this new knowledge stands apart by himself: he can judge, but he cannot be judged; he is superior to the world around him.

(*b*) If it is asked how he came by this knowledge, the answer is that it was imparted to him by the Holy Spirit acting upon his own spirit. It is a well-known peculiarity of the psychology of St. Paul that he often mentions the Divine Spirit and the human spirit together in such a way that they seem to run into each other. It is often hard to tell whether 'spirit' should be spelt with a capital or not; the thought passes backwards and forwards with the finest shades of transition. A good example may be seen in several passages of Ro 8: *e.g.* v.[9f.]: 'But ye are not in the flesh, but in the spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his. And if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the spirit is life because of righteousness'; and again, v.[14ff.]: 'For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, these are sons of God. For ye received not the spirit of bondage again unto fear; but ye received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.' In the former passage, the domination of the spiritual part or higher self of man is brought about by the operation of the Spirit of God (or of Christ) which is described as 'dwelling in him,' and the result is that the human spirit is instinct with life and immortality, and triumphs over death. In the latter passage, a like operation of the Divine Spirit results in an attitude of the human spirit; without any line of demarcation between to indicate where the one ends and the other begins. The reason for these subtle transitions would seem to be that, while the subject of them is conscious of Divine influence within him, that influence is felt in a part of his being which is beyond the reach of conscious analysis; it is one of those sub-conscious and unconscious motions which are known only by their effects and do not come within the cognizance of the reflective reason. There is something more than an affinity between the human spirit and the Divine; when the one is in contact with the other, it is beyond our power to distinguish the point of junction or to say with dogmatic precision, 'Thus far and no further.'

When it is said that the Spirit searches the deep things of God and then bestows a knowledge of these deep things on men, it is not meant that there is a mechanical transference of information. The process is dynamic, and not mechanical. What is meant is that the same Holy Spirit which mirrors, as it were, the consciousness of Deity, so

acts upon the human faculties, so stimulates and directs them, as to produce in them a consciousness of God which is after its own pattern. The self-consciousness of God must needs be in itself altogether transcendent and incommunicable; the reflexion of it in the heart of man is not absolute, but relative; it is expressed in human measures; it is still a reaching forth of the human soul towards God, feeling after Him if haply it may find Him. But it is such a reaching forth as is *κατὰ θεόν* (Ro 8[27]), what God would have it to be, a human product stamped with Divine sanction and approval.

4. Prophetic inspiration.—The above is an explanation—so far as explanation can be given—of the process of inspiration. It really covers all the varied forms that inspiration can take. But it is natural to ask in what relation it stands to the prophecy of the OT.

The prophetic inspiration is really the outstanding phenomenon of the OT. It is the fundamental attribute which gives to the OT its character as a sacred book; it marks the point at which God meets man; it is Israel's most characteristic possession.

Comparing what we know of OT prophecy with the account just given of inspiration by St. Paul, there is nothing that clashes or is essentially different. It is only the difference of a simpler and a more advanced dispensation. OT prophecy is best known by its effects. The main note of it is that certain men spoke with an authority conferred upon them directly by God; they were empowered to say, 'Thus saith the Lord.' In the earlier documents stress is frequently laid on the giving of 'signs' as proofs that a prophet's mission is from God (Ex 4[1ff. 30f.], 1 S 2[34], 1 K 13[3], 2 K 19[29] 20[8ff.], Is 7[10ff.]), and a test is laid down for distinguishing true from false prophecy in Dt 18[21f.]. But in the days when prophecy was most active the confidence (*πληροφορία*) with which the prophet spoke would seem to have been taken as credentials enough. Even when the prophet was unpopular and his message was resisted by king or people (as in the case of Micaiah and Jeremiah), it was with an uneasy conscience and with a sense of revolt against the Divine will.

It should be remembered that the existence of a prophetic order is characteristic of the NT as well as of the OT. We read in Ac 13[1] of 'prophets and teachers' as collected at Antioch. Individual prophets are repeatedly mentioned, as Agabus in Ac 11[28] 21[10ff.], Judas and Silas in 15[32], the daughters of Philip in 21[9]. A passage like 13[2f.] supplies the key to others such as 16[6f.] 20[23]; when it is said that 'the Holy Ghost' or 'the Spirit of Jesus' forbade such and such an act, or that the Holy Ghost 'testified' to such and such an effect, what is meant is the Holy Ghost speaking by the mouth of inspired prophets. In the Epistles 'prophets' are frequently mentioned along with, but after, 'apostles' as a standing office in the Church (1 Co 12[28f.], Eph 2[20] 3[5] 4[11]). The difference between OT and NT prophets lies, not in the nature of the gift or of the functions in which it was exercised, but only in the comparative degree of their importance. The NT prophets were overshadowed by the apostles, who possessed the special qualification of having been in the immediate company of the Lord Jesus (Ac 1[21f.]). Those who are mentioned expressly as 'prophets' occupy as a rule a secondary, rather than a primary, place in the history of the Church. At the same time it was quite possible for an apostle, and even a leading apostle like St. Paul, to be endowed with the gift of prophecy along with other gifts (cf. 1 Co 14[18f.]).

5. Apostolic inspiration.—We may really couple together 'apostles' and 'prophets' as representing the characteristic forms of inspiration in apostolic times. But this inspiration must not be thought of as something isolated. It was not a peculiar and exceptional phenomenon standing by itself; it was rather the culminating point, or one of the culminating points, in a wide movement. This movement dates in its outward manifestation from Pentecost; it was what we should call in modern phrase a 'wave' of religious enthusiasm, the greatest of all such waves that history records, and the one that had most clearly what we call a supernatural origin. Language of this kind is always relative; it is not as if the supernatural was present in human life at certain periods, and absent at others. The supernatural is always present and always active, but in infinitely varied degrees; and the Incarnate Life of our Lord Jesus Christ, with its consequences, is an epoch in the world's history like no other that has ever been before or since; in it the Spirit moved on the face of the waters of humanity as it had done before over the physical waters of the Creation. This particular movement was, in a higher sense than any before it, spiritually creative.

The double character of the movement—a supernatural impulse and energy working upon and through natural human faculties—is well brought out in 1 Th 2[13]: 'For this cause we also thank God without ceasing, that, when ye received from us the word of the message, even the word of God, ye accepted it not as the word of men, but, as it is in truth, the word of God, which also worketh in you that believe.' With this should be taken the context immediately preceding, which shows how the Apostle concentrated all the gifts of sympathy and interest with which he was so richly endowed upon the service of his converts. He moved among them as a man among men; and yet they were conscious that there were Divine forces behind him. They were conscious that he was an instrument in the hand of God, the medium or vehicle of a Divine message—a message that was in its ultimate source none the less Divine because it was shaped by a human mind acting in accordance with its own proper laws.

Another very vivid picture of the apostolic ministry is given in 1 Co 2[1-4]: 'And I, brethren, when I came unto you, came not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, proclaiming to you the mystery of God. For I determined not to know anything among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. And my speech and my preaching were not in persuasive words of wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and of power: that your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.' The Apostle here discriminates, and the distinction is constantly present to his mind, between the resources which he brings to his work as man and the effect which he is enabled to produce by the help of the Spirit of God. He is nothing of an orator; he has none of the arts of rhetoric; when he first preached at Corinth, he was in a state of utter physical prostration. But all this only threw into stronger relief the success which he owed to a Power beyond himself; the wisdom and the force with which he spoke were not his but God's.

Besides these Pauline passages there is another classical passage outside the writings of St. Paul. This is contained in the opening verse and a half of the Epistle to the Hebrews: 'God, having of old time in many portions and in many modes spoken unto the fathers in the prophets, hath at the end of these days spoken unto us in his Son.' Here we have a historical retrospect of the whole course of revelation and inspiration. The history is mapped out in two great periods. There is the period of revelation by inspired men; and over against this there is the great concentrated and

crowning revelation by Him who is not a prophet of God but His Son.

It is to be observed that in each case the preposition used is not (as in AV) 'by,' *i.e.* 'by means of,' 'through the agency of,' but 'in'—*in* the prophets and *in* the Son. In each case it is the same internal process of which we have been speaking above. The prophets spoke through the operation of the Holy Spirit working upon their own human faculties. The Son spoke through His own essential Deity acting through the like human faculties which He assumed at His Incarnation. When we think of this internal process we are reminded of the words of our Lord to the Samaritan woman: 'Every one that drinketh of this water shall thirst again: but whosoever drinketh of this water that I shall give him shall never thirst; but the water that I shall give him shall become in him a well of water springing up into eternal life' (*πηγὴ ὕδατος ἁλλομένου εἰς ζωὴν αἰώνιον*, Jn $4^{13.14}$). There are few natural objects to which the process of inspiration can so well be compared as to a spring of what the Jews called 'living,' *i.e.* running, water. The cool fresh waters come bubbling and sparkling up from unknown depths; they gather and spread and speed upon their way in a fertilizing stream. Even so is the way of the Spirit.

We observe that the prophetic revelation is described as taking effect 'in many portions and in many modes.' This brings out a new point. It is not in accordance with God's methods to reveal the full truth all at once. He has revealed Himself piecemeal, in portions, a bit here and a bit there, 'line upon line and precept upon precept.' There has been a gradual development, a development *in steps*, each step marking an advance upon what had preceded.

For comprehensive illustration we only need to turn to the Sermon on the Mount (Mt 5^{21-48}). This, it will be remembered, is based upon an authority no less venerable and commanding than the Decalogue. 'Ye have heard that it was said to them of old time, Thou shalt not kill . . . Thou shalt not commit adultery . . . Thou shalt not forswear thyself . . . ye have heard that it was said, An eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth . . . ye have heard that it was said, Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.' And then, in each case, a corrected version of the commandment is given; a new commandment is placed by the side of the old: 'Ye have heard that it was said . . . but I say unto you . . .' The last of these commandments brings home to us in a very vivid way at once the greatness and the limitations of the older inspiration. The old version was, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour, and hate thine enemy.' The new version is, 'Love your enemies and pray for them that persecute you.' Again, there is the well-known incident of the Samaritan village which in accordance with the TR used to run: 'And when his disciples James and John saw this, they said, Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven, and consume them, even as Elias did? But he turned, and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them. And they went to another village' (Lk 9^{54-56}). The reading may not be original, but the sense is rightly given; the longer version does but expand the meaning of the shorter. Such instances may show how far our Lord Himself went in correcting or modifying portions of the older Scriptures, which in their original context had been truly inspired, but on a lower level.

It is difficult to exhaust the significance of this great passage from the Epistle to the Hebrews; but a word must just be said about that other phrase, 'In many modes.' It might be taken as including the different classes of *persons* through whom God spoke; not only prophets, but also psalmists and wise men. These classes too shared in a genuine inspiration, though they did not exactly use the special formula 'Thus saith the Lord.' The whole nation, as the Chosen People, was really a medium of Divine communication, though as a rule such communication was conveyed through individuals who were specially inspired.

Then there is the further question of the *manner* of the communication. There is a large body of evidence which goes to show that, under the New Dispensation as well as under the Old, the Holy Spirit made use of vision and trance and dream. Some of the examples—as, for instance, those from the 'we-passages' of the Acts—are very well attested indeed. Another strong example would be the vision of the Apocalypse, though that is probably the case of a book based upon a vision, rather than co-extensive with the actual vision. The book itself would seem to have been constructed upon literary methods. That would be another instance of the 'many modes.' The Gospels are really a new and special form of literature. The Epistles are of more than one kind. Some are what we should call genuine letters, others are rather treatises in the form of letters. When once the epistolary type was fixed it would be natural to employ it in different ways.

Before we leave the passage from Hebrews, we must go back to the main point: the distinction between revelation 'by' or 'in' the prophets, and revelation 'by' or 'in' the Son. The distinction is sufficiently explained by the words that are used. The prophets were 'spokesmen' of God; the Son was the Son—none other and none less. His inspiration came to Him as the Son. It was the product of His direct and constant filial communion with the Father. The nature of this inspiration is explained in that other famous verse: 'All things have been delivered unto me of my Father; and no one knoweth the Son, save the Father; neither doth any know the Father, save the Son, and he to whomsoever the Son willeth to reveal him' (Mt 11^{27}, Lk 10^{22}).

For a further exposition we may turn to the prologue of St. John's Gospel, where the correct reading perhaps is: 'No man hath seen God at any time; God only begotten, who is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him' (Jn 1^{18}). The phrase 'who is in the bosom of the Father' denotes exactly that close and uninterrupted communion between the Son and the Father of which we have been speaking. The Son is admitted to the innermost counsels of the Father; and therefore it is that He is able to communicate them to men.

6. The historical setting.—When we were quoting above from the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we were really extracting a page or two from the autobiography of St. Paul; but the Apostle gives us plainly to understand that his experience was shared by many other Christians. That group of phenomena which we call inspiration was part of the movement described in general as the outpouring of the Holy Spirit; and St. Paul, with his natural bent for analysis, classifies and labels the different forms of manifestation which the gift of the Spirit assumed (1 Co 12^{4-11}). Some of these concern us, and some do not; but the 'word of wisdom,' the 'word of knowledge,' 'prophecy and the discerning of spirits' are all directly in point. In these various ways the men of that day might have been seen to be carried out of and beyond their natural selves; and we possess a permanent written expression of the movement in the books of the NT. The gift of 'speaking with tongues' was a by-product of the same movement.

Like all other spiritual forces, these too needed to be regulated; they needed the controlling hand

to fit them in orderly fashion into their place in the organized life of the society. Left to themselves, the exuberant outgrowths of spiritual exaltation were apt to run riot and cross and interfere with one another. It is such a state of things that St. Paul deals with in 1 Co 14. From a chapter like that we may form a good idea as to what the primitive assemblies for worship were like in a community that was, perhaps rather more than the average, subject to religious excitement. The Apostle lays down rules which, if observed, would keep this excitement within due bounds.

Great movements such as this which we have seen to be characteristic of the Apostolic Age do not come to an abrupt end, but shade off gradually into the more placid conditions of ordinary times. Hence, though it was natural and justifiable to regard the sphere of this special inspiration as coextensive with the literature which claims to be apostolic, the extension of the inspiration to the whole of that literature and the denial of its presence in any writing that falls outside those limits, must not be assumed as an exact and scientific fact. The Epistles, *e.g.*, of Ignatius of Antioch are not inferior to those which pass under the names of 2 Peter and Jude. There are two places in the Epistles of Clement of Rome to the Corinthians (lix. 1 and lxiii. 2) which appear to make what we should call a definite claim to inspiration; and Ignatius reminds the Philadelphians (vii. 1) how, when he was present in their assembly he had suddenly exclaimed, under an impulse which he could not master, 'with a loud voice, with the voice of God: "Give heed to the bishop, to the presbytery, and to the deacons."' He clearly regarded this utterance as prompted by the Holy Spirit. He certainly did so in complete good faith; and there is no reason for disputing his claim, any more than there would be in our own day in the case of one who spoke under strong conviction, with deep emotion, and with a profound sense of direct responsibility to God. It would not follow, even so, that the claim, standing alone, was infallible—it would, like all such claims, be subject to 'the discerning of spirits'—but it would at least have a *prima facie* right to a hearing.

7. False claims to inspiration.—As in the case of the OT, so also in the case of the NT, we have to reckon with false claims to inspiration. There were prophets who were not deserving of the name. In both Testaments the prophets are regarded as forming a sort of professional class, which contained unworthy members. There is more than one allusion to false prophets of the elder dispensation (Lk 6^{26}, 2 P 2^{1}). The Jew Bar-Jesus (or Elymas) is described as a magician or false prophet (Ac 13^{6}). But there are special warnings against false prophets (Mt 7^{15}), more particularly in connexion with the troubled times which precede the destruction of Jerusalem (Mk 13^{22}=Mt 24^{24}; cf. v.^{11}). False prophets are a fixed feature in the eschatological scheme. As a matter of fact, they must have been numerous towards the end of the Apostolic Age (1 Jn 4^{1}, 2 P 2^{1}); and hence it is that in the Book of Revelation the class is summed up in the personification of the False Prophet (Rev $13^{11ff.}$ $16^{13f.}$ 19^{20} 20^{10}). The dangers from this source were met by a special gift of discernment between false inspiration and true (1 Co 12^{10}).

8. Temporary element in the apostolic conception of inspiration.—The apostolic conception of inspiration did not differ in kind from that which prevailed in Jewish circles at the time. It was the product of reflexion upon the earlier period of the history when prophecy had been in full bloom. Under the influence of the scribes from Ezra onward, the idea of prophecy and of Scripture generally had hardened into a definite *theologoumenon*. It was not to be expected that the doctrine thus formed should be checked by strict induction from the facts. The prophets spoke with authority, which they claimed to be Divine. They did not enter into any precise psychological analysis in accordance with which they distinguished between the human element in the process and the Divine. They knew that the impulse—the overpowering impulse and influence—came from outside themselves. It was only natural that they should set down the whole process to this. Thus there grew up the belief that the inspired word was in all respects Divine and endowed with all the properties of that which is Divine. The word of God, whether spoken or written, must be as certain in its operation as the laws of Nature. 'As the rain cometh down and the snow from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it bring forth and bud, and giveth seed to the sower and bread to the eater; so shall my word be that goeth forth out of my mouth: it shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it' (Is $55^{10f.}$). It was perfectly true that the broad Divine purpose as such was infallible. But it was a further step—and a mistaken step—to suppose that every detail in the human expression of that purpose shared in its infallibility. Yet the step was taken, and gradually hardened into a dogma (for the Jewish doctrine see W. Bousset, *Die Religion des Judentums*^{2}, Berlin, 1906, p. 172). The apostles in this respect did not differ from their countrymen. The infallibility of the Scriptures—and indeed the verbal infallibility—is expressly laid down in Jn 10^{35} (where the Evangelist is speaking rather than his Master). Yet the assertion of the doctrine in this instance is associated with an argument which, to modern and Western logic, is far from infallible. And the same must be said of St. Paul (Gal 3^{16}), where he argues after the manner of the Rabbis from the use of the singular 'seed' instead of the plural 'seeds.' There is more to be said about the minute fulfilments which are so often pointed out by St. Matthew and St. John (*Mt* 1^{22} etc., Jn 2^{22} etc.); on these see esp. Cheyne, *Com. on Isaiah*, London, 1881, ii. 170–189.

Broadly speaking, it would be true to say that the application of the OT by the apostles shows a deepened grasp of its innermost meaning (*e.g.* St. Paul's treatment of 'faith,' of the election of Israel, the call of the Gentiles, the nearness of the gospel [Ro $10^{8ff.}$] and the like). But these are instances of their deepened insight generally, and are not different in kind from the Rabbinical theology, which, though often at fault, from time to time shows flashes of great penetration.

Summary.—In regard to the conception of revelation and inspiration as a whole, the same sort of gradual shading off is to be observed. The idea itself is fundamental; it must hold a permanent and leading place in the mind's outlook upon the world and on human history. There is a certain amount of detachable dross connected with it, but the essence of it is pure gold. And this essence is not to be too closely circumscribed. There were adumbrations of the idea outside Israel. In Israel itself, in the prophetic order, the idea received its full provisional expression; but the coping-stone was placed upon it by Christianity; God, who in time past had spoken to the Chosen Race by the prophets, at the end of the ages spoke, not only to them but to all mankind, by His Son (He 1^{1}).

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W. SANDAY.

INTERCESSION.—The word ἔντευξις, translated 'intercession' (1 Ti 2¹ 4⁵), means literally 'drawing close to God in free and familiar intercourse.' But the modern use of the word, which limits the meaning to prayer for others, need not obliterate the original meaning. It is in proportion as the person praying for others is able to enlarge his own intercourse with God that he can be, like Moses, Samuel, Elijah, able to uphold others.

In the NT human capacity for this work is seen to be immeasurably increased through the example and teaching of the Lord Jesus, and by the co-operation of the Holy Spirit, who intercedes 'with groanings which cannot be uttered' and 'according to the will of God' (Ro 8²⁶· ²⁷). We may expect, therefore, to find that the work of intercession will grow as the Church grows, with great widening of experience and influence. The enlarged teaching of St. Paul in his later letters corresponds with the facts narrated in the Acts, where intercessory services are quoted at all great crises. The apostles and brethren pray for guidance in the appointment of a successor to Judas (Ac 1²⁴), as when they appoint the Seven (6⁶; cf. 13³), or pray for the deliverance of St. Peter from prison (12⁵). The farewell prayers with the elders of Ephesus (20³⁶), and the whole congregation of Tyre (21⁵· ⁶), are typical in all probability of many similar services.

The teaching and the practice of the mother Church in Jerusalem are reflected in the Epistle of James (5¹⁴), where the prayers of the elders of the Church on behalf of the sick are definitely enjoined; nor is sickness of the soul forgotten in prayer for forgiveness (5¹⁶).

1. The Epistles of St. Paul help our imagination to go further in reproducing the method of intercession in the Apostolic Church. Intercession is continually linked with thanksgiving. Making mention of the Thessalonians in his prayers, he refers to their faith, hope, and love (1 Th 1²· ³), and their acceptance of his message as the Word of God (2¹³), 'praying exceedingly that he may see their face and may perfect that which is lacking in their faith' (3¹⁰). So in 2 Th 1¹¹ he prays that God may count them worthy of His calling and the name of the Lord Jesus Christ be glorified in them. In response he asks for their intercession that 'the word of the Lord may run and be glorified,' and he himself may be delivered from unreasonable and evil men (3¹ᶠ). There is a striking phrase in 2 Co 1¹¹, when he has received the good news from Corinth, and pictures their prayers for his deliverance from peril: 'Ye also helping together on our behalf by your supplication; that, for the gift bestowed upon us by means of many, thanks may be given by many persons on our behalf.' J. A. Beet (*ad loc.*) translates 'from many faces,' a graphic word-picture of the upturned faces of the whole congregation.

To the Roman Christians, whom he has not yet seen, St. Paul writes that he makes mention of them unceasingly (Ro 1⁹⁻¹²), praising God for their faith, and praying that he may be enabled to come and impart to them some spiritual gift of grace. They can help him by mutual encouragement.

In Eph 1¹⁵ᶠᶠ., rejoicing, as always, in what is fairest in the character of his friends, he prays that they may have 'a spirit of wisdom and revelation,' growth in that knowledge of God which alike proves our efficiency and increases it in our use of His revelation, when our eyes are opened to see the wealth of the glory of His inheritance in the saints, and the greatness of His power. He speaks from his own experience of knowledge issuing in power.

In his next prayer (Eph 3¹· ¹⁴⁻¹⁹) St. Paul puts the need of Divine power first as 'a condition of ability to apprehend "the whole range of the sphere in which the Divine wisdom and love find exercise"' (Chadwick, p. 290). His social teaching here is noteworthy. Every family is enabled to live its common life in proportion as the individuals live up to their personal ideal. So he prays that Christ may dwell in each heart, for the strength of Christ is conveyed only to those who are fully strong enough to know the love of Christ.

Again, writing to the Colossians (1⁹ᶠᶠ.), he prays that they may be 'endowed with all wisdom to apprehend [God's] verities and all intelligence to follow His processes, living in the mind of the Spirit—to the end that knowledge may manifest itself in practice' (J. B. Lightfoot, *ad loc.*). Having this sure grasp of principle, he can dare to pray for them as patient and long-suffering, and always thankful despite discouragement.

In Ph 1⁹⁻¹¹ he prays that love and knowledge and discernment may inspire them to approve things that are excellent with a pure conscience that offends none, and a life filled with the fruits of righteousness.

Thus the method of St. Paul is exactly parallel to the method of our Lord's High-Priestly prayer (Jn 17⁹), in which intercession is concentrated first on the needs of those given to Him out of the world. The hope of the future depends on the strengthening of Christian centres before anything is said about those 'who shall believe through their word.' The beauty of the Christian life is the irrefragable proof of the truth of Christian teaching; so it is to uphold the ideal of Christian character that St. Paul prays most earnestly. But this does not mean that the corporate intercessions should not take also a wider range. In 1 Ti 2¹ᶠ. he exhorts that 'supplications, prayers, intercessions, thanksgivings, be made for all men, for kings and all that are in high place,' a direction which, as we shall see presently in the letter of Clement, was fervently followed in the Church in Rome, from which city he wrote this last Epistle.

It is a strange commentary on this teaching of St. Paul that Josephus should actually ascribe the origin of the war which ended with the destruction of Jerusalem to the refusal of the Jews, at the instigation of Eleazar, to offer prayer for Gentile rulers (*BJ* II. xvii. 2).

2. In the Epistle to the Hebrews (7²⁵) there is an important passage on the intercession of the Lord Jesus as our High Priest. 'In the glorified humanity of the Son of man every true human wish finds perfect and prevailing expression' (B. F. Westcott, *ad loc.*). In reliance upon Christ's advocacy as both social and personal, the writer naturally asks for the prayers of his readers (13¹⁸ᶠ.), and especially that he may be restored to them the sooner.

3. In 1 John (5¹⁴) intercession is regarded as the expression of perfect boldness in prayer which consciousness of a Divine life brings to believers: 'The energy of Christian life is from the first social' (Westcott, *ad loc.*). Its prevailing power is assured on behalf of all who sin a sin not unto

death, sins which flow from human imperfection. In regard to sin which wholly separates from Christ, the Apostle does not forbid, though he cannot enjoin (v.[16]).

4. The teaching of the Apostolic Fathers follows the lines already laid down by the NT writers.

(*a*) *Clement* goes to the root of the troubles at Corinth when he asks that intercession should be made 'for them that are in any transgression, that forbearance and humility may be given them' (*Ep. ad Cor.* lvi.). And he shows what a prominent place in the eucharistic prayers of the Church was given to intercessions (lix.): 'Save those among us who are in tribulation; have mercy on the lowly; lift up the fallen; show Thyself unto the needy; heal the ungodly; convert the wanderers of Thy people; feed the hungry; release our prisoners; raise up the meek; comfort the faint-hearted. Let all the Gentiles know that Thou art God alone, and Jesus Christ is Thy Son, and we are Thy people and the sheep of Thy pasture.'

The prayer for rulers and governors may also be quoted (lxi.): 'Grant unto them therefore, O Lord, health, peace, concord, stability, that they may administer the government which Thou hast given them without failure. . . . Do Thou, Lord, direct their counsel according to that which is good and well-pleasing in Thy sight, that, administering in peace and gentleness with godliness the power which Thou hast given them, they may obtain Thy favour.'

(*b*) The joy of intercession finds striking expression in *Hermas* (*Mand.* x. 3), who teaches our need of cheerfulness and maintains that the intercession of a sad man hath never at any time power to ascend to the altar of God. He paints also in the Parable of the elm and the vine (*Sim.* ii.) the difficulties of the rich man, who in the things of the Lord is poor, and his confession and intercession with the Lord are very scanty, because he is distracted about his riches. As the vine seeks the support of the elm, let him help the poor man, who is rich in intercession, and gain the support of his prayers.

(*c*) Turning from the Church in Rome to the Church in Antioch, we find *Ignatius* on his way to martyrdom asking for intercession in the Eucharist that he may succeed in fighting with wild beasts (*Eph.* i.), and 'for the rest of mankind (for there is in them a hope of repentance), that they may find God' (*ib.* 10). He requests prayer for the Church in Syria in all his letters. 'For, if the prayer of one and another hath so great force, how much more that of the bishop and of the whole Church' (*ib.* 5). To the Romans he writes: 'Only pray that I may have power within and without' (*ib.* 3).

These quotations may suffice to show how thoroughly the practice of intercession was carried out by the primitive Church.

(*d*) *Aristides* in his *Apology* says: 'I have no doubt that the world stands by reason of the intercession of Christians' (ch. 16).

(*e*) In the *Martyrdom of Polycarp* (A.D. 155), viii., it is recorded how the aged Martyr remembered 'all who at any time had come in his way, small and great, high and low, and all the Universal Church throughout the world.'

(*f*) A little later *Tertullian* wrote these beautiful words (*de Orat.* 29): '[Christian prayer] has no delegated grace to avert any sense of suffering; but it supplies the suffering, and the feeling, and the grieving, with endurance: it amplifies grace by virtue, that faith may know what she obtains from the Lord, understanding what—for God's name's sake—she suffers. . . . Likewise it washes away faults, repels temptations, extinguishes persecutions, consoles the faint-spirited, cheers the high-spirited, escorts travellers, appeases waves, makes robbers stand aghast, nourishes the poor, governs the rich, upraises the fallen, arrests the falling, confirms the standing.'

LITERATURE.—A. J. Worlledge, *Prayer*, 1902; W. H. Frere and A. L. Illingworth, *Sursum Corda*, 1905; W. E. Chadwick, *The Pastoral Teaching of St. Paul*, 1907; see also under PRAYER.

A. E. BURN.

INTERMEDIATE STATE.—See ESCHATOLOGY.

INTERPRETATION.—This word is used in different senses by Christians in the Apostolic Age. (1) St. Paul applies it to that spiritual 'gift' which enabled one to expound the unintelligible utterance known as 'tongues' (ἑρμηνεία [1 Co 12[10] 14[26]], διερμηνεύω [1 Co 12[30] 14[5. 13. 27]], διερμηνευτής [1 Co 14[28]]). (2) Later writers 'interpret' a foreign word by giving its Greek equivalent (ἑρμηνεύω [Jn 1[42] 9[7], He 7[2]], διερμηνεύω [Ac 9[36]], μεθερμηνεύω [Mt 1[23] Mk 5[41] 15[22. 34], Jn 1[38. 41], Ac 4[36] 13[8]]). When Papias calls St. Mark St. Peter's interpreter (ἑρμηνευτής [Euseb. *HE* iii. 39]), he may be supposing that St. Peter preached in Aramaic (or Hebrew) and that St. Mark translated the sermon to the Greek audience. This is historically improbable, however, and possibly Papias means only that St. Mark, since he composed his Gospel on the basis of St. Peter's sermons, is thereby St. Peter's 'expounder.' (3) In the sense of Scriptural exposition, the word 'interpretation' is rarely used in the NT. The meaning of 'private interpretation' in 2 P 1[20] (ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως) is doubtful, though, in view of what follows, it seems to signify the prophet's complete subordination to God's will. In Lk 24[27] (διερμηνεύω) direct reference is made to Christian interpretation of the OT books—a practice which was very general and very important in the apostolic period.

The OT occupied a unique place in the life and thought of the first Christians. St. Paul presupposed his readers' acquaintance with its writings, which he assumed to be the final court of appeal in all argumentation. Apollos, whom certain Corinthians set up as St. Paul's rival, was also 'mighty in the scriptures' (Ac 18[24]). OT language and thought are frequently appropriated by the NT writers. According to H. B. Swete (*Introduction to the OT in Greek*, Cambridge, 1900, p. 381 f.), there are 78 formal quotations in St. Paul, 46 in the Synoptists, 28 in Hebrews, 23 in Acts, 12 in John, and about a dozen in the remaining books. Even where formal quotations are lacking, OT phraseology is sometimes frequent (*e.g.* Rev.). The early Christians, like the Jews, believed in the Divine origin and authority of Scripture. In spite of his breach with Judaism, St. Paul still held the Law and the Commandments to be holy, righteous, and good (Ro 7[12]), and he repeatedly affirmed that these things were written 'for our sake' (Ro 4[23f.] 15[4], 1 Co 9[9f.] 10[6. 11]). Here he found a clear revelation of God's purposes and an infallible guide for Christians in matters of conduct and doctrine (cf. Ro 1[2] 3[4. 10ff.] 4[3ff.] 8[36] 9[6ff.] 10[6ff.] 11[2f. 26] 13[11] 15[9ff. 21], 1 Co 6[16] 9[8. 13] 10[18] 11[8f.] 14[21. 34] 15[3. 45. 54], 2 Co 1[20] 3[13ff.] 6[16ff.] 8[15] 9[9], Gal 3[8. 16. 22]). The Evangelists saw in the OT foreshadowings of Jesus' career and proof of His Messiahship (*e.g.* Mt 1[22] 2[5. 15. 23] 4[14] 8[17] 11[7ff.] 12[17] 13[35] 21[5], Mk 1[2f.] 4[11f.] 11[9f.] 12[10f. 36] 14[27], Lk 4[21] 7[27] 24[44], Jn 12[38] 15[25] 17[12] 19[24. 28. 36]). For Matthew OT prophecy is virtually a 'source' of information about Jesus' career, as when Mk 11[1-7] is made to conform to the first evangelist's interpretation of Zec 9[9] (Mt 21[1-7]; see also Mt 1[22f.] 2[5f.] 15[17f.] etc.).

OT language serves other important purposes in the Gospels. God speaks in this language at Jesus' Baptism, and again at His Transfiguration; it is used in the conversation between Jesus and Satan; and it furnishes phraseology for some of Jesus'

most forceful and solemn pronouncements, where sometimes the sound of Holy Writ seems to be prized above perspicuity (*e.g.* Mt $10^{35ff.}$, Mk 4^{12} 12^{36} 15^{34}). The history of the early community is also Scripturally authenticated (Ac 1^{20} $2^{16ff.}$ $4^{25ff.}$). Thus the NT writers derived not only incidental and descriptive details, but on occasion more important features of their narratives from the OT. This was only natural, since these sacred books were believed to be inspired of God, profitable for teaching, reproof, correction, and instruction, and able to make men 'wise unto salvation' (2 Ti $3^{15f.}$; cf. 2 P $1^{19ff.}$). Christians gave to the OT all the prestige it had in Judaism, believing that they, through their faith in Christ, had come into possession of the only key to all true interpretation.

The exact content and text of the first Christians' 'Bible' are not known. They were doubtless familiar with the three-fold division of the Jewish canon—the 'Law,' the 'Prophets,' and the 'Writings' (Lk 24^{44} [?]), but they probably did not discuss questions of canonicity. Their feeling of spiritual elevation left no room for such academic discussions. And in the portions of Scripture used individual choice seems to have had free play. The evangelists favour the Prophets and the Psalms, while St. Paul and the author of Hebrews cite mainly from the Pentateuch. But there is scarcely a book of the OT with which some NT writer does not show acquaintance. Obad., Ezr., Neh., and Est. are the only exceptions (according to Toy, *Quotations in the NT*, p. vi, n. 1). Apocryphal books and popular legends are also used (cf. 1 Co 10^4, Gal 3^{19}, Ac 7^{53}, 2 Ti 3^8, He 2^2 11^{37}, Jude $^{6.\ 9.\ 14}$). Textual problems seem to have been ignored. Quotations are mostly from the LXX, though use of the Hebrew text has sometimes been supposed. This is very difficult, if not impossible, to prove, since we do not know the exact form of Greek text which a NT writer may have used. A part of the early community ordinarily spoke Aramaic (Ac 6^1), but Greek writers naturally followed the LXX rendering, even when the original tradition was in Aramaic or Hebrew. In fact, there seems to have been little thought about slavish adherence to any text. Christians possessed a superior understanding, which allowed them to alter phraseology, to paraphrase freely, or even to cite loosely from memory.

Thus their methods were more spontaneous than those of scribism, yet the general character of their interpretation was predominantly Jewish. Its free handling of the text, its disregard for the original setting, its logical vagaries, its slight tendency to become artificial, were all Jewish traits. To illustrate from the NT, Mk $1^{2f.}$ changes the wording of prophecy and disregards its natural meaning in order to make the Christian application possible. A logical *non sequitur* is illustrated in Mk $12^{26f.}$, where an original statement about the historic earthly career of Abraham is made the basis for an inference about his future heavenly career. St. Paul's argument from 'seed' and 'seeds' (Gal 3^{16}), his comparison between Hagar and Sarah (Gal $4^{22ff.}$), and his interpretation of the OT injunction against muzzling the ox (1 Co $9^{9f.}$), all tend to become artificial. Christians appropriated and imitated Jewish *Midrashim* seemingly without hesitation, as when St. Paul made Christ the spiritual rock (1 Co 10^4; cf. 'Rabbah' on Nu 1^1). They argued from word-derivation (Mt $1^{21ff.}$), and from the numerical value of letters (Rev 13^{18}; cf. art. 'Gematria' in *JE*); and they freely employed figures, types, analogies, allegories (*q.v.*). They also copied the more sober type of Haggādic *Midrashim*. Their emphasis upon the example of their Master, their preservation of His teaching, their harking back to the ancient worthies, are all in line with Jewish custom. The work of the NT interpreter is not so very unlike that of the ideal scribe of Sir $39^{1ff.}$. Yet early Christian interpretation did not run to the same extreme of barren artificiality as that of the scribes, nor was it pursued merely for its own sake. As the handmaid of the new faith, it was subordinated to the consciousness of a new spiritual authority in personal experience, a fact which may explain why Christians were partial to OT passages dealing with personal religious life.

LITERATURE.—C. H. Toy, *Quotations in the NT*, New York, 1884, where earlier literature is cited; F. Johnson, *The Quotations of the New Testament from the Old*, London, 1896; A. Clemen, *Der Gebrauch des AT in den neutest. Schriften*, Gütersloh, 1895; E. Hühn, *Die alttest. Citate und Reminiscenzen im NT*, Tübingen, 1900; W. Dittmar, *Vetus Testamentum in Novo*, Göttingen, 1903; E. Grafe, *Das Urchristentum und das AT*, Tübingen, 1907; P. Glaue, *Die Vorlesung heiliger Schriften im Gottesdienste*, i., Berlin, 1907; S. J. Case, 'The NT Writers' Interpretation of the OT,' in *BW* xxxviii. [1911] 92 ff. The more general treatises on Hermeneutics usually have a section on the apostolic period.

S. J. CASE.

IRON (σίδηρος; adj. σιδήρεος).—Iron, the commonest, cheapest, and most useful of heavy metals, is mentioned (Rev 18^{12}) among the merchandise of 'Babylon' (=Rome). The Iron Age of civilization succeeded the Ages of Copper and Bronze. 'In Egypt, Chaldæa, Assyria, China, it reaches far back, to perhaps 4000 years before the Christian era. Homer represents Greece as beginning her Iron Age twelve hundred years before our era' (*EBr*^{11} xiv. [1910] 800). Rome was supplied with iron from India, the shores of the Black Sea, Spain, Elba, and the province of Noricum. The apocalyptic Messiah is to rule the nations with a rod of iron (Rev 2^{27} 12^5 19^{15}), a symbol of inflexible justice (cf. Ps 29). The iron gate leading from the Fortress of Antonia into the city of Jerusalem opened to St. Peter and the angel of its own accord (αὐτομάτη, Ac 12^{10}); cf. Homer's αὐτόμαται δὲ πύλαι μύκον οὐρανοῦ, ἃς ἔχον Ὧραι (*Il.* v. 749), and Virgil, *Æn.* vi. 81 f.

JAMES STRAHAN.

ISAAC (Ἰσαάκ).—Isaac, the son of Abraham and Sarah, was superior in a variety of ways to his half-brother Ishmael. He was 'the son of the freewoman' (ὁ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐλευθέρας, Gal 4^{23}; τοῦ υἱοῦ τῆς ἐλευθέρας, v.^{30}); he was 'born through a promise' (δι' ἐπαγγελίας, v.^{23}) given to his parents in their old age; he was 'born after the Spirit' (κατὰ πνεῦμα, v.^{29}), who gave the promise and perhaps the strength εἰς καταβολὴν σπέρματος (He 11^{11}); and, as the true son—even called the only-begotten (τὸν μονογενῆ, v.^{17})—he inherited the covenant promises given by God to Abraham. His brother, on the other hand, was 'the son of the handmaid' (ὁ μὲν ἐκ τῆς παιδίσκης, Gal 4^{22}; ὁ υἱὸς τῆς παιδίσκης, v.^{30}); he was 'born after the flesh' (ὁ κατὰ σάρκα γεννηθείς, v.^{29}); and he could 'not inherit with the son of the freewoman' (v.^{30}).

St. Paul uses the relations of the two brothers to their father and to one another to help him to make good his distinction between 'the children of the promise,' who are 'reckoned for a seed,' and 'the children of the flesh,' who are not 'children of God' (Ro 9^8). Grappling with the problem of the incidence in his own day of the promises first given to Abraham, he contends that while mere Jewish birth and upbringing do not constitute a claim of right to spiritual privileges, no barrier except unbelief can prevent the Gentiles from inheriting them. Compressing his teaching into a single suggestive sentence, he says: 'We [the Christian Church], like Isaac (κατὰ Ἰσαάκ), are children of promise' (ἐπαγγελίας τέκνα, Gal 4^{28}; cf. τὰ τέκνα τῆς ἐπαγγελίας, Ro 9^8). Born in the fullness of time, made free by the gift of the Spirit, and destined for a great heritage, the Christians of every land are prefigured in Isaac. 'If ye are Christ's, then are

ye Abraham's seed, heirs according to promise' (Gal 3[29]). The carnal Ishmael, who in this daring allegory represents orthodox Judaism, may 'persecute' the Spirit-born Isaac (according to the Rabbinic interpretation of the originally innocent word 'playing' in Gn 21[8]); but, while the child of the freewoman (the Church) is established for ever in the Father's house by a covenant of grace, the son of the bondwoman (the Jewish people) is cast out. If—as Luther says on Gal 4[24]—'allegory is not argument,' it may at least be extremely effective illustration. The Apostle's strong imagination makes the simple old folk-tale suddenly flash with new meanings, which serve to illuminate a complex and difficult modern situation.

Two other incidents in Isaac's life are referred to in He 11[17ff.]. (1) He was virtually offered up as a sacrifice to God (cf. Ja 2[21]); in a figure (*ἐν παραβολῇ*) he came back from the dead, passing through the likeness of death and resurrection (see ABRAHAM). (2) By blessing his son, he gave evidence of his faith concerning things to come (*περὶ μελλόντων*). His trust in God made future possibilities as real as present certainties. His faith corresponded to the definition in He 11[1]: it was the substantiating of things hoped for (*ἐλπιζομένων ὑπόστασις*).

JAMES STRAHAN.

ISAIAH ('Ησαΐας or 'Ησαΐας, Vulg. *Isaias*, in the Fathers also *Esaias*).—Isaiah, the grandest figure among the prophets of Israel, is named 3 times in Acts (8[28. 30] 28[25]) and 5 times in Romans (9[27. 29] 10[16. 20] 15[12]). Nothing is said in the NT of his personal history, except that *ἐπρίσθησαν* in He 11[37] probably alludes to the tradition—found in the *Ascension of Isaiah* (i. 9, v. 1), and repeated in Justin's *Trypho* (ch. 120, *πρίονι ξυλίνῳ ἐπρίσατε*)—that he was sawn asunder, a tradition which, though not incredible, is without historical value. Every NT reference to the prophet's name is accompanied by a quotation from his writings, which were for the Apostolic Age the words that 'the Holy Ghost spake by Isaiah' (Ac 28[25]). Yet certain spontaneous notes of appreciation from the lips and pen of St. Paul are precious as indications, slight but real, of the impression made upon one master-spirit by the writings of another. 'Isaiah crieth' (*κράζει*, Ro 9[27]) is an appraisement of the emphasis of his utterance; 'well (or finely) spake the Holy Spirit through Isaiah' (*καλῶς ἐλάλησε*, Ac 28[25]) expresses hearty sympathy with the prophet's teaching and admiration of the language in which it is conveyed; and 'Isaiah is very bold' ('Ησαΐας *δὲ ἀποτολμᾷ*, Ro 10[20]) is one spiritual protagonist's tribute to another's personal courage. It needed heroism for Isaiah to proclaim, in the face of Israel's haughty exclusiveness, a gracious Divine purpose which embraced all the Gentiles; and St. Paul, whose life-work it was to fulfil that purpose in spite of fanatical Jewish opposition, was the man to appreciate a splendid boldness inspired by great faith.

The NT, of course, makes no distinction between a First, Second, and Third Isaiah. The prophet's name impartially covers a variety of writings which criticism now pronounces to be productions of widely different periods. He is equally the seer of the Root of Jesse (Is 11[10] || Ro 15[12]) and of the suffering servant of the Lord (Is 53[7] || Ac 8[32]). It was a passage in 'Isaiah the prophet' (ch. 53) that the Ethiopian was reading in his chariot when he was joined by St. Philip, whose interpretation of that mysterious utterance—the profoundest in the OT—in the light of Christ's Passion led the eunuch to faith and baptism.

Two NT writers had minds steeped in the prophecies of Isaiah—St. Paul and the writer of the Apocalypse. (1) The speeches attributed to St. Paul in Acts furnish evidence of his indebtedness to those writings. When he announces to the Jews of Pisidian Antioch his epoch-making decision to 'turn to the Gentiles,' it is in an utterance of Isaiah (49[6]) that he seeks the Divine sanction of his action: 'I have set thee for a light of the Gentiles' (Ac 13[47]). When he reasons with the Athenians as to the error of making the Godhead 'like unto gold or silver or stone, graven by art and man's device' (Ac 17[29]), he seems to echo the words, if not the ironical tones, of the prophet of the Exile (Is 40[18]). His experience among the Jews of Rome reminded him of what befell Isaiah in Jerusalem many centuries earlier. Both the prophet and the apostle seemed to be sent to hearers impervious to Divine truth, who *could* not be converted and healed. The Epistle to the Romans supplies the strongest proof of St. Paul's absorption in the prophecies of Isaiah. It is significant that most of his quotations occur in the chapters which contain his philosophy of the fall and rising again of Israel (9–11), and that many of them are taken from Deutero-Isaiah. His doctrine of election inevitably suggests the clay and the potter (Ro 9[21] || Is 45[9]). He is helped to face the Jewish rejection of the Messiah by the conception of the Remnant (*τὸ κατάλειμμα*, Ro 9[27] || Is 10[22])—a conception which seemed to the prophet so important that he gave one of his own children the symbolic name of 'Remnant-shall-return' (Is 7[3]). The thought of Christ as a stumbling-stone to the Jews is parallel to that of Jahweh as a stumbling-stone to the houses of Israel (Ro 9[33] || Is 8[14]). While the universal proclamation of the gospel suggests the 'beautiful feet' of those who preached deliverance from Babylon (Ro 10[15] || Is 52[7]), the sadness of speaking to deaf ears prompts the question, 'Who hath believed our report?' (Ro 10[16] || Is 53[1]). The prevenient grace of God excites the wonder of both the prophet and the apostle (Ro 10[20] || Is 61[1]), and Israel's present insensibility seems to them both a spirit of stupor (Ro 11[8] || Is 29[10]). The assurance of the ultimate salvation of all Israel is based on the advent of a Deliverer (Ro 11[26] || Is 59[20]); but both writers confess a reverent agnosticism in presence of the mysteries of Divine providence (Ro 11[34] || Is 40[13]). The Epistles to the Corinthians also prove the affinity of these great minds. Both writers know the unprofitableness of mere earthly wisdom (1 Co 1[19] || Is 29[14], 1 Co 1[20] || Is 38[18]); both believe in a spiritual creation which will make all things new (2 Co 5[17] || Is 43[18f.]); and both of them, with all their breadth of outlook, recognize the imperativeness of separation from heathendom (2 Co 6[17] || Is 52[11]). Isaiah's hope of immortality, the strongest that is found (apart from Daniel) in the prophetic writings, is used to clinch St. Paul's great argument for the resurrection of the dead—'death is swallowed up in victory' (1 Co 15[54] || Is 25[8]; *εἰς νῖκος*, which takes the place of the prophet's 'for ever,' is due to the Aram. sense of the Heb. word).

(2) The other NT writer who especially felt Isaiah's spell was the author of the Apocalypse. His Christ, as the First and the Last, is clothed with the attributes of Isaiah's God (Rev 1[17] || Is 41[4] 44[6]). The trisagion of his living creatures was uttered by the seraphim in the heavenly Temple (Rev 4[8] || Is 6[3]). His vision of the rolling up of heaven as a scroll was Isaianic (Rev 6[14] || Is 34[4]), and his exquisite description of the final state of the blessed—'they shall hunger no more . . . wipe away every tear from their eyes'—is a cento of prophetic phrases, which are now used to picture the consummation of the redemptive work of the Lamb (Rev 7[16f.] || Is 49[10] 25[8]). 'Fallen is Babylon'—a voice of *sæva indignatio* reminiscent of Rome's own 'Carthago est delenda'—was the doom of the real Babylon before it was pronounced upon the mystical one (Rev 14[8] || Is 21[9]). The description of

the militant Messiah as clothed in a garment sprinkled with blood is suggested by the attributes of the Hero who came from the conquest of Edom (Rev 19[13] || Is 63[1ff.]). The desire for a new heaven and a new earth was not itself new (Rev 21[1] || Is 65[17]), and the ideal city is depicted in Isaianic colours (Rev 21[19. 24ff.] || Is 60[19. 3. 11]). The free invitation with which the Revelation properly ends (22[18-21] being a harsh editorial postscript) only echoes the words of welcome uttered by the evangelical prophet (Rev 22[17] || Is 55[1]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

ISRAEL.—Israel was the nation to which God's promises had been given. Generally the idea of privilege is associated with the use of the word, just as 'Israel' was originally the name of special privilege given by God to Jacob, the great ancestor of the race (Gn 32[28] 35[10]). It differs from both 'Hebrew' and 'Jew,' the former standing, at least in NT times, for Jews of purely national sympathies who spoke the Hebrew or Aramaic dialect (Ac 6[1]); the latter, a term originally applied to all who belonged to the province of Judah, and, after the Babylonian captivity, to all of the ancient race wherever located. 'Israel,' on the other hand, is preeminently the people of privilege, the people who had been chosen by God and received His covenant. Thus frequently a Jewish orator addressed the people as 'men of Israel' (Ac 2[22] 3[12] 4[8. 10] 5[35] 13[16] etc.).

In the Acts of the Apostles we find the word used *historically* with reference to the ancestors of the Jews of apostolic times and also applied to these Jews themselves. The past history of Israel as God's chosen people is referred to in the speeches contained in the Book of Acts, *e.g.* by St. Stephen (7[23. 37. 42]), and by St. Paul (13[17] 28[20]). It is usually assumed or suggested in the Acts that the Jews of the time, to whom the gospel was being preached, are the Israel of the day, the people for whom God had a special favour and who might expect special blessings (5[31] 13[23]).

But the refusal of the message of the apostles by many of those who by birth were Jews led to a change in the use of the term, which gives us what we may call the *metaphorical* or *spiritual* significance of the word. The Apostle Paul's contention with the legalistic Jews of his day led him to draw a distinction between the actual historical Israel and the true Israel of God. He speaks on the one hand of 'Israel after the flesh' (1 Co 10[18]), or of those who belong to the 'stock of Israel' (Ph 3[5]), and on the other hand of a 'commonwealth of Israel' (Eph 2[12]), from which many, even Jews by birth, are aliens, and into which the Ephesians have been admitted (v.[13]), and also of the 'Israel of God' (Gal 6[16]). By this 'commonwealth of Israel' or 'Israel of God' the Apostle means a true spiritual Israel, practically equivalent to 'all the faithful.' It might be defined as 'the whole number of the elect who have been, are, or shall be gathered into one under Christ,' or, in other words, the Holy Catholic Church.

This true Israel does not by any means coincide with the nation or the stock of Abraham. 'They are not all Israel which are of Israel' (Ro 9[6]), *i.e.* by racial descent. Branches may be broken off from the olive tree of God's privileged people and wild olive branches may be grafted into the tree (Ro 11[17-21]). Sometimes it is difficult to determine the exact application of the term in different passages in the Pauline Epistles. Thus the sentence, 'All Israel shall be saved' (Ro 11[26]), refers not to the true or spiritual Israel in the sense of an elect people, as has been held by various commentators, *e.g.* Augustine, Theodoret, Luther, Calvin, and others, nor to an elect remnant, as is held by Bengel and Olshausen. The Apostle is speaking of the actual nation of Israel as a whole, and contrasting it with the fullness of the Gentiles. It is his belief that, when the fullness of the Gentiles is come in, Israel as a nation will also turn to God by confessing Christ. The phrase 'all Israel' does not necessarily apply to every member of the race, nor does the passage teach anything as to the fate of the individuals who at the Apostle's day or since then have composed the nation (cf. Meyer, *Kommentar*, p. 520; Denney in *EGT*, 'Rom.,' p. 683; H. Olshausen, *Rom.*, p. 373; Calvin, *Rom.*, p. 330).

Just as the ancient historical Israel was the recipient of *special privileges* and stood in a particular relation to God, so the spiritual Israel of apostolic times is the bearer of special privileges and stands to God in a unique relationship. Ancient Israel had 'the oracles of God' (Ro 3[2]). They had the sign of circumcision. To them, St. Paul declares, pertained 'the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the Law, and the service of God, and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh Christ came' (Ro 9[4. 5]). The great essential features of these privileges are transferred to the spiritual Israel, the believing Church which has been grafted into the true olive tree. They have the adoption, they are sons of God (Ro 8[15-17]). They have the glory both present and future (Ro 8[18]). They are partakers of the new covenant which has been ratified by the death of Jesus Christ (1 Co 11[25]).

The analogy between the first and the second covenant is fully worked out by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, who dwells upon the ritual and ceremonial aspect of ancient Israel's relationship to God, and shows the higher fulfilment of that relationship under the new covenant, where there is direct personal access to God. Here the human priesthood of the sons of Aaron and the sacrifices of bulls and goats are superseded by a Divine Mediator who offered Himself a sacrifice once for all (7[27] 10[10]). The Mediator of the new covenant has entered not into an earthly temple but into heaven itself, there to make continual intercession for His people (7[25]). The writer further emphasizes the superiority of the new covenant relationship of the spiritual Israel as being a fulfilment of the prophecy of Jer 31[31-34], which presupposes that the old covenant had proved ineffective (He 8[7]). The Law is no longer to be written on tables of stone, but in the mind and the heart (v.[10]).

In the Book of Revelation ancient Israel is referred to historically in connexion with Balaam, 'who taught Balak to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel' (2[14]). On the other hand, the symbolic or metaphorical use of the term applied to the spiritual Israel is found in connexion with the sealing of the servants of God which takes place according to the tribes of the children of Israel (7[4]), and also in the description of the New Jerusalem, where the names of the twelve tribes are engraven on the twelve gates (21[12]). The author of the Apocalypse, following the usage of St. Paul and the example of St. Peter (1[1]) and St. James (1[1]), applies the passage 7[1-8], regarding the sealing of the tribes taken from a Jewish source, to the true spiritual Israel, who are to be kept secure in the day of the world's overthrow. It is the same class which is referred to in 7[9-17] who appear in heaven clothed in white robes and with palms in their hands (cf. J. Moffatt in *EGT*, 'Revelation,' 1910, p. 395 f.).

For the history and religion of Israel in apostolic times see artt. PHARISEES, HEROD.

LITERATURE.—**Josephus**, *Ant.*, *BJ*; H. Ewald, *Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, Göttingen, 1864–66; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4], Leipzig, 1901–11; **C. von Weizsäcker**, *Apostolic Age*, Eng. tr., 1894–95. The following Commentaries on the relevant passages may

be cited: on *Romans*: Calvin (1844), Olshausen (1866), Meyer (1872), Denney (*EGT*, 1900), Sanday-Headlam (*ICC*, 1902); on *Hebrews*: A. B. Davidson (1882), Westcott (1889). See also the artt. 'Israel, History of,' in *HDB*, 'Israel, Israelite' in *DCG*, 'Israel' in *EBi*, and 'Hebrew Religion' in *EBr*.

W. F. BOYD.

ISRAELITE.—An Israelite was one who belonged to the nation of Israel, regarded, more especially from the point of view of the nation, as the recipient of Divine favour and special privilege. An Israelite is a member of a chosen people and as such is the sharer of the blessings belonging to that people. It is a name of honour, and is to be distinguished from both 'Hebrew' and 'Jew,' the former being, at least in NT times, a Jew with purely national sympathies, who spoke the native Hebrew or Aramaic dialect of Palestine; while the Jew was one who belonged to the ancient race wherever he might be settled and whatever his views. Every Jew, however, regarded himself as a true Israelite, and prided himself on the privileges which he, as a member of the favoured nation, had received when other nations had been passed by. The Apostle Paul refers to these privileges when he describes his 'kinsmen according to the flesh' as Israelites 'whose is the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises' (Ro 9^4). He knows the way in which the Jew boasts of them, and claims that he can share in that boasting as well as any of his detractors. 'Are they Israelites?—so am I. Are they the seed of Abraham?—so am I' (2 Co 11^{22}). This feeling of exclusive national privilege led in many cases to the rejection of the gospel by the Jews, who did not wish their privileges to be extended to the heathen world. This rejection of his message by those who were Israelites by birth caused the Apostle to conceive of a true or spiritual Israelite as equivalent to a believer in Jesus Christ—one after the type of Nathanael of Jn 1^{47}, an Israelite indeed in whom is no guile (cf. art. ISRAEL). The Apostle applies the term in its natural sense to himself in Ro 11^1, 'I also am an Israelite,' in order to show that all the members of the race have not been rejected by God, but that there is a remnant according to the election of grace—Israelites who are Israelites indeed, not merely by outward physical connexion, but also by moral and spiritual characteristics.

W. F. BOYD.

ISSACHAR.—See TRIBES.

ITALIAN BAND.—According to Ac 10^1, the centurion Cornelius, of the σπείρα Ἰταλική, was in Cæsarea about A.D. 40. The adjective indicates that the 'cohort' (RVm) consisted of native Italians. Now, as a province of the second order, Judæa, of which Cæsarea was the administrative centre, was not garrisoned by legionaries, who were Roman citizens, but by auxiliaries, who were provincials. How, then, could an auxiliary cohort be called Italian? Josephus states that there were five cohorts, composed of citizens of Cæsarea and Sebaste, stationed in the former city at the time of the death of Herod Agrippa (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 2, XX. viii. 7), and Blass suggests (*in loco*) that one of the five may have been called the *cohors Italica*, as being composed of Roman citizens who had made their home in one or other of the two cities. Schürer has no doubt that one of the five is the Augustan cohort mentioned in Ac 27^1, but he refuses to identify another (or the same one) with 'the Italian.' Indeed, while he produces monumental evidence that 'at some time or other a *cohors Italica* was in Syria,' he thinks that the story of Cornelius lies under suspicion, 'the circumstances of a later period having been transferred back to an earlier period' (*HJP* I. ii. [1890] 53 f.). Ramsay regards this suspicion as groundless, and makes effective use (*Was Christ born at Bethlehem?*, 1898, p. 260 f.) of an inscription recently discovered at Carnuntum on the Upper Danube—the epitaph of the young soldier, Proculus, a subordinate officer (*optio*) in the second Italian Cohort, who died there while engaged on detached service from the Syrian army. Syrian troops, under Mucianus, were certainly engaged on the Lower Danube, and probably on the Upper, in 69 B.C. (Tacitus, *Hist.* iii. 46). When their campaign was ended, they were doubtless sent back to Syria; and the same legions frequently remained a very long period, sometimes for centuries, in one province.

'The whole burden of proof, therefore, rests with those who maintain that a Cohort which was in Syria before [A.D.] 69 was not there in 40. There is a strong probability that Luke is right when he alludes to that Cohort as part of the Syrian garrison about A.D. 40.' Besides, 'the entire subject of detachment-service is most obscure; and we are very far from being able to say with certainty that the presence of an auxiliary centurion in Cæsarea is impossible, unless the Cohort in which he was an officer was stationed there' (Ramsay, *op. cit.* 265, 268).

JAMES STRAHAN.

ITALY (Ἰταλία).—The name was originally confined to the extreme southern point of the Italian peninsula. For the Greeks of the 5th cent. B.C. it denoted the tract along the shore of the Tarentine Gulf, as far as Metapontum, and thence across to the Gulf of Posidonia. By the time of Polybius the name had been extended to the whole peninsula, for he speaks of Hannibal crossing the Alps into Italy, and of the plains of the Padus as part of Italy (*Hist.* ii. 14, iii. 39, 54). At a later time, it is true, Gallia Cisalpina was officially regarded as part of Cæsar's province, and therefore not strictly in Italy, which he did not enter till he crossed the Rubicon; but from the Augustan Age onward the word had its present-day meaning. Scarcely any country has more clearly-marked and obvious boundaries.

The Latin language was inscribed upon the Cross of Christ, but none of the books of the NT were written in it. The founders of Christianity were not so greatly influenced by Italian as by Hebraic and Hellenic ideals. Nor did Italy herself dream that she had any kind of evangel for the East which she conquered. Her plain task was to give and maintain law and order everywhere, and her Imperial ideal certainly found its counterpart in the apostolic conception of a world-wide Church. But her own spiritual mission, so far as she was conscious of having one, was merely to be the apostle of Hellenism, of which she had for some centuries been the disciple.

'The desire to become at least internally Hellenised, to become partakers of the manners and the culture, of the art and the science of Hellas, to be—in the footsteps of the great Macedonian—shield and sword of the Greeks of the East, and to be allowed further to civilise this East not after an Italian but after a Hellenic fashion—this desire pervades the later centuries of the Roman republic and the better times of the empire with a power and an ideality which are almost no less tragic than that political toil of the Hellenes failing to attain its goal' (T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*², Eng. tr., 1909, i. 253).

Some of the cities of Italy—certainly Rome and Puteoli, and probably others, though there is no definite information on the point—had felt the presence of Judaism before they were offered Christianity. Josephus mentions the Jewish colony of Puteoli in his story of the Jewish impostor who claimed to be Alexander the son of Herod (*c.* 4 B.C.). 'He was also so fortunate, upon landing, as to bring the Jews that were there under the same delusion' (*Ant.* XVII. xii. 1), and 'he got very large presents' from them (*BJ* II. vii. 1); but Augustus himself was not so easily deceived (*Ant.* XVII. xii. 2). Over half a century later, the first Puteolan Christians, whose fellowship St. Paul

enjoyed for a week on his way to Rome (Ac 28[14]), were evidently drawn from that same Jewish community and its proselytes. The presence of a great Jewish colony in Rome, dating from the time when Pompey brought his prisoners of war from Jerusalem, is abundantly attested by Latin historians and poets. It is equally certain that they made many proselytes. The swindling of Fulvia, 'a woman of great dignity, and one that had embraced the Jewish religion' (*Ant.* XVIII. iii. 5), by another Jew of the baser type was the signal for an outburst against the whole colony in the time of Tiberius (Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85; Suet. *Tiber.* 36). According to Ac 18[2] Claudius went the length of expelling all the Jews from Rome (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 25). Even if his decree only amounted to the interdicting of their assemblies (Dio Cassius, lx. 6), this milder measure would doubtless cause a great exodus from the city. Some of the exiles merely emigrated to the neighbourhood, perhaps to Aricia (for the evidence see E. Schürer, *HJP* II. ii. [1885] 238), but others went abroad. This was the occasion of the journey of Aquila and Priscilla 'from Italy' to Corinth (Ac 18[2]).

Italy was the destination of the prisoner Paul when he made his appeal to Cæsar (Ac 27[1]). The narrative of his journey from point to point—Cæsarea, Myra, Melita, Puteoli, and then overland by the oldest and most famous of Roman roads, the *Via Appia*—illustrates the fact that 'most of the realms of the ancient Roman Empire had better connections than ever afterwards or even now.' Dangers could not be wholly avoided, but 'travelling . . . was easy, swift, and secure to a degree unknown until the beginning of the nineteenth century' (L. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, 1908, i. 268).

In He 13[24] 'they of Italy' (*οἱ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας*) join the writer in sending salutations. *οἱ ἀπό* denotes persons who have come from the place indicated (cf. Mt 15[1], Ac 6[9] 10[23]). It is a mistake to imagine that the writer was himself in Italy, and that he was thinking of the Italian Christians around him there. On the contrary, the phrase implies that the author was absent from and writing to Italy, while there were in his company natives of Italy who had embraced Christianity, and who desired to be remembered to their believing compatriots in some part of the home-land. It is not an equally safe, but still a plausible, conjecture that Italy—probably Rome—was the writer's own home (see art. HEBREWS, EPISTLE TO THE).

JAMES STRAHAN.

IVORY (adj. *ἐλεφάντινος*, noun *τὸ ἐλεφάντινον*, fr. *ἐλέφας*; Skr. *ebhas*, Lat. *ebur*, Fr. *ivoire*).—Ivory was prized by all the civilized nations of antiquity. The OT contains a dozen references to its beauty and value. 'Every article of ivory' (Rev 18[12]) was found in the market of the apocalyptic Babylon (Rome). It was used for the adornment of palaces, for sculpture, for the inlaying of furniture and chariots, for numberless domestic and decorative objects. 'Ebur Indicum' (Hor. *Car.* I. xxxi. 6; cf. Verg. *Georg.* i. 57) was known to everyone. Statues (*Georg.* i. 480), sceptres (Ov. *Met.* i. 178), lyres (Hor. *Car.* II. xi. 22), scabbards (Ov. *Met.* iv. 148), sword-hilts (Verg. *Æn.* xi. 11), seals (Cic. *Verr.* II. iv. 1), couches (Hor. *Sat.* II. vi. 103), doors (Verg. *Æn.* vi. 148), curule chairs (Hor. *Ep.* I. vi. 54) are samples of Roman workmanship in ivory. As the substance is so hard and durable, many ivory works of art have come down from the ancient world.

JAMES STRAHAN.

J

JACINTH (*ὑάκινθος*, Ital. *giacinto*).—Jacinth, or **hyacinth,** is the colour of the eleventh foundation-stone of the New Jerusalem (Rev 21[20]). The cuirasses of apocalyptic horsemen are partly hyacinthine (9[17]). The *ὑάκινθος* of the ancients was probably our sapphire (21[20] [RVm]). The modern hyacinth, a variety of zircon, of yellowish red colour, may have been the stone known in Gr. as *λογγύριον* and in Heb. as *leshem* (the RV of Ex 28[19] 39[12] has 'jacinth' where the AV has 'ligure'); but Flinders Petrie (*HDB* iv. 620) suggests that the latter was yellow quartz or agate. Many Greek and Roman 'hyacinths,' used for intaglios and cameos, were probably only garnets.

JAMES STRAHAN.

JACOB ('Ιακώβ). — Jacob, the younger son of Isaac, was the father of the twelve patriarchs who were the heads of the tribes of Israel.

The story of the ante-natal struggle of Esau and Jacob (to which allusion is made in Hos 12[3]), and of the oracle spoken to their mother (Ro 9[11] || Gn 25[23]), is a folk-tale which vividly reflects the rivalries of Israel and Edom. The Hebrews boasted of their superiority to the powerful kindred race which dwelt on their southern border. To be more than a match for those hereditary foes, gaining the advantage over them either by force of arms or by nimbleness of wit, was a point of national honour. By hook or by crook the Israelites rarely failed to come off victorious over the Edomites. And the popular mind liked to think that the characteristics and fortunes of the two rival nations were mysteriously foreshadowed before the birth of their far-off ancestors. From the beginning God chose the younger son for Himself, and decreed that the elder should be servant to the younger. In the words of a prophet who on this matter expresses the general belief, God loved Jacob, but hated Esau (Mal 1[2. 3]). St. Paul uses this Divine preference to illustrate that principle of election which he sees operating all through the history of Israel, and of which he finds startling contemporary evidence in the nation's apostasy from the Messiah, and God's choice of the Gentiles. That the elder brother (and nation) should serve the younger, that the natural heir should be foredoomed to lose the birthright and the blessing, that (apart from good or evil) the one should appear to be accepted and the other rejected—all this was evidence of an inscrutable selectiveness, by which God works out His universal purpose (*ἡ κατ' ἐκλογὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόθεσις* [see ESAU]). The election of grace (*ἐκλογὴ χάριτος*) is the central idea in St. Paul's philosophy of history. It is an attempt to give a rationale of the fact that 'Universal History, the history of what man has accomplished in this world, is at bottom the History of the Great Men who have worked here' (Carlyle, *On Heroes and Hero-Worship*, Lect. i.).

In a speech before the Sanhedrin, Stephen made allusion to the story of Jacob's sending his sons down to Egypt, of Joseph's sending for his father, and of Jacob's descent into Egypt and death there (Ac 7[8. 12. 14]). As an evidence of Jacob's faith, the

writer of Hebrews selects a death-bed scene (11[21]). 'He blessed the two sons of Joseph,' giving them one of the finest benedictions ever uttered by human lips, invoking the God of history, providence, and grace to be their Shepherd-God (Gn 48[15. 16]). Then 'he worshipped leaning upon the top of his staff.' In the original (Gn 47[31]) this act precedes the blessing, and while the LXX reads 'upon the top of his staff,' other versions, including the English, have 'on the bed.' The difference of reading is due to Heb. punctuation (מַטֶּה 'the staff,' מִטָּה 'the bed'), and does not greatly alter the sense. Jacob, who is here the ideal Israelite, gives conscious or unconscious proof of his faith by taking leave of life with a high dignity and solemnity. Meekly submitting himself to the will of God, he teaches all his posterity to worship the 'God of Jacob' with their latest breath.

Stephen refers (Ac 7[46]) to David's desire 'to find a habitation for the God of Jacob.' Here, too, Jacob is not an individual but a nation. The usage was common in every epoch of Hebrew literature: in the earliest period—'Come, curse me Jacob' . . . 'Who can count the dust of Jacob?' (Nu 23[7. 10]); in the Exile—'Fear not, thou worm Jacob' (Is 41[14]); and in the Maccabæan age, when Judas 'made Jacob glad with his acts' (1 Mac 3[7]); after which it was naturally taken over into the NT. Jacob's other name 'Israel' had the same two senses, personal and national, a circumstance which gives piquancy to the Pauline dictum (Ro 9[6]): 'Not all who are of Israel (*i.e.* born of the patriarch) are Israel' (*i.e.* the chosen people of God). Many of them are only ὁ Ἰσραὴλ κατὰ σάρκα, Israelites by birth, whereas in a higher sense all Christians are ὁ Ἰσραὴλ τοῦ θεοῦ (Gal 6[16]). Naturally the name 'Jacob' never acquired this new meaning: Israel was the ideal people of God, whether Jewish or Gentile, Jacob the actual Jewish nation composed of very imperfect human beings. The two words are appropriately combined in St. Paul's prevision of a far-off Divine event which must be the goal of history: 'All Israel shall be saved, for . . . a Deliverer . . . shall turn away iniquity from Jacob' (Ro 11[26]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

JAILOR.—The AV translates δεσμοφύλαξ in Ac 16[23] 'jailor,' and in vv.[27. 36] 'keeper of the prison.' The RV adheres to the term 'jailor' in all three verses. The person so designated occupied the position of supreme authority as governor of the prison (cf. ἀρχιδεσμοφύλαξ, Gn 39[22] LXX), and must be distinguished from persons holding the subordinate position of guard or warder (φύλαξ, Ac 5[23] 12[6]; AV 'keeper'). It was to the custody of this official that the *duumviri* at Philippi committed St. Paul and Silas, with the strict injunction to 'keep them safely.' The fact that Philippi was a Roman colony lends a certain amount of probability to R. B. Rackham's suggestion that he was a Roman officer, occupying the rank of centurion (*Com. on Acts*, 1901). Chrysostom's attempt to identify him with Stephanas (1 Co 16[15]) overlooks the fact that Stephanas was among the 'firstfruits of Achaia,' not Macedonia; while a later suggestion that he was Epaphroditus, though it is more probable, lacks adequate data to support it.

Modern criticism seriously questions the credibility of the portion of the narrative (Ac 16[25-34]) containing the account of the jailor's conversion, on the ground of inherent improbabilities (B. Weiss, Weizsäcker, Holtzmann, Harnack, Bacon, Cone). Most of the objections have been adequately dealt with by W. M. Ramsay in *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, pp. 221-223; and a summary of them, with their refutation, is given in an article by Giessekke (described in the *ExpT* ix. [1898] 274 f.). The legendary character of the narrative has been maintained for the further reason that it is not guaranteed by the 'we' section, which ends, it is alleged, with v.[24]. 'Yet these verses betray such unimpeachable tokens of the style of St. Luke as to prevent us from even thinking of them as interpolated' (A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, Eng. tr., 1907, p. 113). Nor does it follow that the 'we' section ends with v.[24], because the first person is no longer used. After his separation from St. Paul and Silas, owing to their arrest and imprisonment, the narrator would, of necessity, proceed to describe the subsequent events, when he was no longer in their company, in the third person. The presence of the miraculous element, if the earthquake is to be so regarded, in no way militates against this assumption, for the 'we-sections are full of the supernatural' (Harnack, *Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., 1909, p. 144).

Leaving aside the alleged improbabilities, it must be admitted that the description of the night-scene in the prison is most vivid and life-like. Assume the possibility of the earthquake, which in itself is a natural occurrence, treated in this case as a special instance of providential interference, and there is nothing absolutely inexplicable in the course of events which follows. The difficulties are largely due to the brevity of the narrative, which does not allow of entering into minute detail. The author (whether St. Luke or another) is not describing an 'escape' from prison, miraculous or otherwise, for the release of the captives takes place next morning. The interest of the narrative centres in the conversion of the jailor and his household, and it is as leading up to this most interesting and happy *dénouement* that the earlier incidents of the eventful night are depicted. When the main object of the story is borne in mind, the difficulties which it presents will not be regarded as sufficient to justify its wholesale rejection.

W. S. MONTGOMERY.

JAMES AND JOHN, THE SONS OF ZEBEDEE.—1. In Synoptic Gospels.—The sons of Zebedee are mentioned in the following passages in the Synoptic Gospels. The call of the two brothers is related in Mk 1[16-20] (=Mt 4[18-22], Lk 5[1ff.]). After the call of Andrew and Simon and their immediate response, Jesus goes on further and sees the two brothers James and John in their boat, mending their nets. Their response to His call is equally prompt; they leave their father and the hired servants in the boat and go away after Him. The Matthæan account is practically identical with the Marcan, save for the omission of any reference to the hired servants, a characteristic cutting out of unnecessary detail. In these two accounts the call of the four disciples is the first event recorded after the beginning of the ministry; it is followed by the account of the entry into Capernaum and the teaching in the Synagogue. St. Luke in his Gospel places the incident later, after his record of events at Nazareth and Capernaum. It is not easy to determine whether his reason for the change is *historical*, to account for the promptness with which the call of an unknown stranger is obeyed, or whether he is following a different tradition. The relation of the Lucan account to the Johannine Appendix (ch. 21) is also difficult to determine. Competent scholars are found to maintain both the view that the Johannine narrative is based on an account (similar to the Lucan) of the call of Peter, and the view that St. Luke, in his record of the call to discipleship, has borrowed details from an account of a post-Resurrection appearance to Peter in Galilee. But the question has no direct bearing on the call of the sons of Zebedee, the Lucan additional matter having to do with Peter alone. The only detail which he

adds with reference to John and James is that they were partners with Peter, which might have been deduced from the Marcan account. And the more obvious explanation of their prompt obedience is that suggested by the 1st chapter of St. John—previous acquaintance at an earlier stage, probably in connexion with the Baptist's preaching (cf. below, § 5).

In St. Mark's Gospel the four are represented as going with Jesus to Capernaum, and the same Evangelist also notices the presence of the sons of Zebedee in the house of Simon, on the occasion of the healing of his wife's mother. This detail finds no place in the other Gospels. Their names appear next in the calling of the Twelve where they are found in all three lists among the first four, the only difference being that St. Mark places them before, the other Synoptists after, Andrew; and St. Mark also adds the giving of the name *Boanerges.*

No thoroughly satisfactory explanation of either part of this word has been found. *βοανε* is hardly a possible transliteration of בְּנֵי; it can only be accounted for on the supposition that it is due to conflation, either the ο or the α being a correction of the other. The second half of the word has been connected with Aram. רְגַשׁ (=Heb. רָגַשׁ, *tumultuatus est*; cf. Ps 2[1], Ac 4[25], and for רְגָשָׁא, Jl 3[14], *strepitus*, see Payne Smith, *Thes. Syr.* 1879-1901). But the root never has the meaning of 'thunder.' רְגַז has also been suggested; cf. Job 37[2] קֹלוֹ רִגְזוֹ, of thunder, and 39[24] בְּרַעַשׁ וְרֹגֶז. But the meaning of the word is 'raging,' not 'thunder.' Burkitt has suggested that the Syriac translator connected the word with Aram. רְגוּשָׁא (1 K 18[41] =הָמוֹן 'crowd') of which he took רְגֵשׁ for the *status absolutus.* Jerome conjectured that the name was originally בְּנֵי רְעֵם (on Dn 18, 'emendatius legitur bene-reem'), in which case the explanatory gloss, *ὅ ἐστιν υἱοὶ βροντῆς*, is older than the corrupt transliteration; but it would be difficult to account for the corruption of a correct transliteration of בְּנֵי רְעֵם into *βοανεργές*. Wellhausen suggests that possibly the name *Ragasbal* may point to *Reges*='thunder,' a meaning of which he says no other trace is found (*Ev. Marci*[2], 1909, p. 23).

We have no evidence as to the occasion of the giving of the name. The incident recorded in Lk 9[54] may have suggested it, or the character of the brothers. The later explanations which refer it to the power of their preaching do not give us any further information.*

The next mention of the brothers is in the story of the raising of Jairus' daughter (Mk 5[37], Lk 8[51]), where St. Mark and St. Luke record the admission of the three intimate disciples alone to the house of Jairus, a detail which does not appear in St. Matthew's account. All three Synoptists record the presence of the same three on the Mount of Transfiguration (Mk 9[2], Mt 17[1], Lk 9[28]). The next recorded incident is that of the ambitious request (Mk 10[35ff.], Mt 20[20ff.]), attributed by St. Mark to the brothers themselves, by St. Matthew to their mother on their behalf. The later character of the Matthæan account is clearly seen in some details (use of *προσκυνοῦσα*; *εἰπέ* for St. Mark's *δὸς ἡμῖν*; the omission of reference to the 'baptism' [?]), but the approved critical explanation of the change in the speaker is hardly convincing. To do honour to the sons of Zebedee by making them shield themselves behind their mother is a strange kind of reverence! The bearing of this incident on the question of the martyrdom of John must be discussed later. The indignation of the other disciples against the brothers is retained in both accounts. St. Luke omits the incident altogether. In Mk 13[3] (cf. Mt 24[3], Lk 21[7]) the question which leads to the eschatological discourse is attributed to the four disciples, for which St. Matthew has *οἱ μαθηταί*, St. Luke *τινες*. In connexion with Gethsemane, the three are mentioned by name in Mk 14[33] and Mt 26[37]. St. Luke only mentions the disciples generally (22[39]; cf. v.[39]).

* Cf. Cramer, *Catena*, 1844, i. p. 297, *διὰ τὸ μέγα καὶ διαπρύσιον, ἠχῆσαι τῇ οἰκουμένῃ τῆς θεολογίας τὰ δογματα*, and see Suicer, *s.v. βροντή*.

To these references, where the Synoptists seem to be almost wholly dependent on the Marcan account, we must add Lk 9[54], the desire of James and John to call down fire from heaven on the inhospitable Samaritans, a story which may be connected with at least the interpretation of the name 'Boanerges.' On two occasions only is John mentioned without his brother. St. Mark (9[38]) and St. Luke (9[49]) record his confession that the disciples had 'forbidden' one who cast out devils in Jesus' name because he followed not with them. And St. Luke (22[8]) adds the detail that the disciples who were sent forward to prepare for the Passover were Peter and John.

In the Synoptic narrative, then, the sons of Zebedee are represented as forming with Peter, and occasionally Andrew, the most intimate group of the Lord's disciples. No special prominence is given to John; he almost always appears with his brother; thrice in St. Mark and once in St. Matthew he is characteristically described as 'the brother of James.' His position is very clearly that of the younger brother, who takes no independent lead. There is no reason to suppose that 'Q' contained any additional information about the brothers. The special sources on which St. Luke drew added a few details. It is noticeable that in the Lucan list of apostles the name of John precedes that of James. This corresponds with the history of the Acts, which must next be considered.

2. In Acts.—The sons of Zebedee are placed next to Peter in the list of apostles (Ac 1[13]), the name of John being placed before that of James, as in the Lucan Gospel. This is in accordance with the author's view, who assigns to John a place of importance second only to Peter in the history of the growth of the Church in Palestine. He is still the companion of Peter, as in the Gospel he was the 'brother of James,' but in Peter's company he is present at the healing of the lame man in the Temple (3[1ff.]; see esp. v.[4]: *ἀτενίσας δὲ Πέτρος εἰς αὐτὸν σὺν τῷ Ἰωάνῃ*, and v.[11]), and during the speech of Peter which follows. Apparently he is arrested with Peter (4[1-3]); at their examination the Rulers are said to notice the *παρρησία* of Peter and John (4[13]), and he shares Peter's refusal to keep silence (4[19f.]). In 8[14] Peter and John are sent to Samaria in consequence of the spread of the faith there. After the imposition of hands, and the episode of Simon, their return to Jerusalem is recorded. There is no further mention of John in the Acts, except that in the account of his martyrdom James is described as the brother of John (12[2]). But the position assigned to John is fully borne out by the single reference to him in Gal 2[9], as one of the 'pillars' who gave the right hand of fellowship to Paul and Barnabas, a passage which alone is adequate refutation* of the strange theory of E. Schwartz (*Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedæi*), who finds in the prediction assigned to Jesus in Mk 10[39] proof that both sons of Zebedee must have been killed by Herod on the same day! The account in Acts (12[1ff.]) of the martyrdom of James at the Passover of the year 44 has been supposed to show traces of modification by cutting out any mention of the death of his brother (E. Preuschen, *Apostelgeschichte*, in Leitzmann's *Handbuch zum NT*, 1912, p. 75). The construction of v.[1], if harsh, is however not impossible, and the 'Western' addition in v.[3], *ἡ ἐπιχείρησις αὐτοῦ ἐπὶ τοὺς πιστούς* (D Lat. [vt^{p*} vg^{cod}] Syr. [hl^{mg}]), even if original is adequately explained by the language of v.[1] (*κακῶσαί τινας*).

3. Evidence of martyrdom of John.—The other evidence, however, for the martyrdom of John deserves serious consideration.

* Except on the hypothesis of a very early date for the Epistle to the Galatians.

(1) *Papias.*—So long as we had only the statement of Georgius Hamartolus (*c.* A.D. 850), or perhaps of some corrector of his text, whose additions are found in the Paris MS, Coislin. 305: [Ἰωάννης] μαρτυρίου καταξίωται. Παπίας γὰρ ὁ Ἱεραπόλεως ἐπίσκοπος, αὐτόπτης τούτου γενόμενος, ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ τῶν κυριακῶν λογίων φάσκει, ὅτι ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη, it was possible, in the light of his reference to Origen, to explain the statement as due to homoioteleuton omission in his source of the Papias quotation, Ἰωάννης [μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ῥωμαίων βασιλέως κατεδικάσθη μαρτυρῶν εἰς Πάτμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ] ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθη. De Boor's discovery of the excerpts, probably going back to Philip of Side, in Cod. Baroccianus 142 (Oxford), among which is found the sentence, Παπίας ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ λόγῳ λέγει, ὅτι Ἰωάννης ὁ θεολόγος καὶ Ἰάκωβος ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ ὑπὸ Ἰουδαίων ἀνῃρέθησαν places the matter in a wholly different position. There must have been some such statement about the death of John, the son of Zebedee, at the hands of the Jews, in Papias' work. As C. Clemen, whose discussion of the whole evidence should be consulted (*Die Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*), says, this does not prove the historical accuracy of the statement, but it is important evidence of a different tradition from that which represents the son of Zebedee as living on in Ephesus to an advanced old age, and dying a peaceful death. Zahn's suggestion (*Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., iii. 206), that the statement referred to John the Baptist, is hardly satisfactory in spite of the clear evidence of confusion between the two afforded by the Martyrologies. In the light of the common tradition, why should anyone have made the mistake? The silence of Eusebius is an important factor in the case, but it is not conclusive, as Harnack (*Chronologie*, Leipzig, 1897, p. 666) suggests, against the presence of such a sentence in Papias. Eusebius might well suppress as μυθικώτερον a statement so completely in contradiction to the received tradition on the subject. The real difficulty is to account for the growth of a different tradition at Ephesus, if the tradition of John's martyrdom was known at Hierapolis in Papias' time.

(2) The evidence of *Heracleon* (see Clem. Alex. *Strom.* IV. ix. 71) should never have been brought forward. Heracleon is distinguishing between those who confessed 'in life' and 'by voice' before the magistrates. No one could have included John among those who had not made the confession διὰ φωνῆς, in view either of Patmos or of the legend of the cauldron of oil. His absence from Heracleon's list therefore proves nothing.

(3) The evidence of the tract *de Rebaptismate* (Vienna Corpus, iii. p. 86), which shows that the saying of Mk 10[38] was interpreted of the baptism of blood, and the testimony of Aphraates (*Homily* 21), who speaks of James and John following in the footsteps of their Master, if they point to the tradition of martyrdom, also suggest the natural explanation of its origin, if it is not historical, viz. the attempt to find a literal fulfilment of the words of the Lord.

(4) The evidence of the *Martyrologies* also points to the same tradition, even if they are capable of another explanation. The Syriac Calendar which Erbes (*ZKG* xxv. [1904]) dates 411, and 341 for the part concerned, gives for Dec. 27: 'John and James, the Apostles, in Jerusalem.' Bernard's explanation that such a celebration does not necessarily imply martyrdom (see *Irish Church Quarterly*, i. [1908] 60 ff.) is not altogether convincing. The Latin Calendar of Carthage also gives for Dec. 27: 'Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, et Jacobi Apostoli, quem Herodes occidit,' which may possibly point the same way, as June 24 is the day of commemoration of the Baptist. And according to Clemen (*op. cit.* p. 444) the Gothic Missal, 'which represents the Gallican Liturgy of the 6th or 7th century,' represents James and John as martyrs.

The evidence is certainly not negligible. Whether the tradition owes its existence to attempts to interpret the Synoptic saying, or is a reminiscence of actual fact, is in the light of our present knowledge difficult to determine. From the available evidence we must regard the martyrdom of John the son of Zebedee as probable. But as to time and place our ignorance is complete. Erbes' suggestion that the son of Zebedee met his death in Samaria in the troubles of the year 66 (*ZKG* xxxiii. [1912]) cannot be discussed fully here. It cannot be said to have risen above the class of ingenious conjectures, out of which it is unsafe to attempt to reconstruct history. The Synoptic saying about the cup and baptism (Mk 10[38]) is certainly insufficient proof of actual martyrdom. St. Mark, and even the other Synoptists, have much matter which later reflexion found it necessary to modify or did not care to emphasize. But everything was not cut out which caused difficulty. And we may perhaps venture to say that there are traces of modification and omission in regard to this very saying which suggest that it *did* cause difficulty. St. Matthew drops the mention of the baptism, retaining only the drinking of the cup, and St. Luke omits the incident altogether. The position assigned to John, as compared with James, in the Acts would be difficult to explain if he met with an *early* death.

4. John's residence in Ephesus.—Even if the story of John's death at the hand of the Jews is historical, it does not exclude the possibility of his residence at Ephesus, though it certainly overthrows the traditional account of his long residence there till the reign of Trajan and his wonderful activity in extreme old age as the last surviving apostle and 'over-bishop' of Asia.

In the question of the Apostle's residence in Ephesus we are confronted with another problem of which our present knowledge offers no certain solution. The absence of any reference to such a residence in the later books of the NT affords no conclusive evidence against the possibility that John visited Asia and resided there. The silence of the Ignatian letters is more significant. Why are the Romans reminded (*Ep. ad Rom.* iv. 3) of what Peter and Paul did for them, and the Ephesians addressed as Παύλου συμμύσται (*Ep. ad Eph.* xii. 2), while there is no mention of John in the Ephesian Epistle? The immediate occasion of the reference to Paul—the passing through Ephesus of martyrs 'on their way to God'—precluded the mention of John. But the reference in the preceding chapter to the presence of apostles at Ephesus (xi. 2: οἳ καὶ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις πάντοτε συνῆσαν) —even if συνῆσαν and not συνήνεσαν be the true text —is not much to set against the absence of any direct reference.

The fact that Polycarp never mentions him in his *Epistle to the Philippians* has very little bearing on the question. The natural interpretation of Papias' *Prologue* is that at the time when he was collecting his information (*c.* A.D. 100) John the son of Zebedee was dead. His name occurs in the list, introduced by the past tense τί εἶπεν; as contrasted with the ἅτε λέγουσιν which follows. But this does not preclude an earlier residence at Ephesus.

It is probable that Polycrates of Ephesus, in his list of the μεγάλα στοιχεῖα of Asia which he gives in his letter to Victor of Rome (A.D. 190), regards as the son of Zebedee the John whom he places—no doubt in the chronological order of their deaths —after Philip 'the Apostle.' But his account of the ἐπιστήθιος is clearly legendary, and sufficient time had elapsed since the death of the John of

Ephesus (? 110), to whom he refers, for the growth of confusion, whether 'deliberate' or unconscious.

The evidence against the Asiatic residence of the Apostle which Corssen (*ZNTW* v. [1901], p. 2 ff.) finds in the *Vita Polycarpi* has been carefully discussed by Clemen (p. 421). It is not conclusive.

It is impossible to repeat in detail the well-known evidence of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, for the accepted tradition of their time. It is too wide-spread to be derived from any one single source, and is difficult to reconcile with the view that the son of Zebedee had no connexion at all with Asia and Ephesus. However we interpret the relation of Irenæus to Polycarp, and the former's account of the latter in *his Letter to Florinus*, we cannot be sure that the John of whom Polycarp used to speak was really the Apostle and not the 'Elder,' or the author of the Apocalypse (if these two are not to be identified). Justin's attribution of the Apocalypse to the Apostle proves that the tradition connecting his name with Asia is at least as old as the middle of the 2nd century. And if Irenæus derived from Papias not only the words of the Elders but also the description which he gives of them, the words 'non solum Joannem, sed et alios apostolos' (Iren. II. xxii. 5) would show that Papias also knew of the tradition.

On the whole, the least unsatisfactory explanation of the evidence, with all its difficulties and complexities, is the hypothesis that the Apostle did spend some years of his later life in Ephesus, where he became the hero of many traditions which belonged of right to another or to others.

5. The Fourth Gospel.—The use which may be made of the Fourth Gospel as a source of information about the sons of Zebedee depends on questions of authorship which cannot be discussed in this article. They are never mentioned by name in the Gospel, and only once in the Appendix (21^2). Probably the author of this Appendix identified the 'disciple whom Jesus loved' with the younger son of Zebedee, and not with one of the ἄλλοι δύο, unless indeed he intends to introduce a new-comer in v.[20]. He certainly identifies the loved disciple with the author of the Gospel (v.[24], if this verse comes from his pen). The natural interpretation of 19^{35} distinguishes between the author and that disciple, if the 'witness' of that verse is to be identified with the loved disciple. The only other definite references to the disciple whom Jesus loved are 19^{26} ('Behold thy son') and 13^{23} (the unmasking of the Traitor). The customary identification of him with the ἄλλος μαθητής of $18^{15f.}$ (known to the high priest who gained admission for Peter into the αὐλή) and of $20^{3f.}$ (who went with Peter to the Tomb), is probable but not necessary. He is usually found in the other disciple of the Baptist, who at his suggestion followed Jesus (1^{37}). The phrase τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν ἴδιον Σίμωνα cannot be pressed to indicate this. In the Greek of the period ἴδιος is hardly more than synonymous with the possessive pronoun. And the natural interpretation of the passage is that Andrew *first* finds his (own) brother Simon, and next day, when wishing to return home to Galilee, Philip, to whom Jesus says, 'Follow me.' At the same time the whole story of Jesus' first meeting with the disciples who came over to Him from John contains much which is difficult to explain (see, however, M. Dibelius, *Die urchristl. Überlieferung von Johannes d. Taüfer* in *Forschungen zur Religion und Litteratur des alten und neuen Testaments*, Göttingen, 1911, p. 106 ff.) as apologetic invention. It suggests the recollection of early and treasured experiences, and gives a wholly probable account of the relations between Jesus and John, and the undoubted connexion between the two, to which the Synoptists bear witness, though other and later elements in the story are abundantly clear.

On the whole, though the pre-eminence of John in the Synoptic account is hardly such that he must have appeared in the Fourth Gospel, if he were not the author, yet the facts of the Gospel and the traditions of later times about it are most easily explained by the view that 'behind the Gospel stands the Son of Zebedee' (see Harnack, *Chronologie*).

LITERATURE.—In addition to the ordinary Commentaries on the Synoptic and Fourth Gospels, the following books and articles may be mentioned: T. Zahn, *Introduction to the NT*, Eng. tr., London, 1909; C. Clemen, *Die Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*, Halle, 1912; J. B. Mayor, art. 'James' in *HDB* (where the usual references will be found for the legendary history of St. James in Spain); P. W. Schmiedel, art. 'John, Son of Zebedee,' in *EBi*; B. W. Bacon, *The Fourth Gospel in Research and Debate*, London, 1910; J. Réville, *Le Quatrième Évangile*, Paris, 1901; E. Schwartz, *Ueber den Tod der Söhne Zebedäi* (*AGG*, new ser. vii. 5), Berlin, 1904, also art. 'Johannes und Kerinthos,' in *ZNTW*, xv. *[1914]*; W. Heitmüller, 'Zur Johannes-Tradition,' *ib.*

A. E. BROOKE.

JAMES, THE LORD'S BROTHER.—In Mk 6^3 (‖ Mt 13^{55}) James is mentioned first, presumably as the eldest, among the brethren of Jesus. In Mk $3^{21.\ 31ff.}$ (‖ Mt $12^{46ff.}$, Lk $8^{19f.}$) we hear of an attempt on the part of Jesus' mother and His brethren to restrain Him as being 'beside himself.' In Jn 7^5 we are told that 'his brethren did not believe on him.' In 1 Co 15^7, however, St. Paul mentions an appearance of the risen Jesus to James.

According to the curious story which Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* ii.) quotes from the Gospel of the Hebrews, James (represented as present at the Last Supper) had vowed not to eat until he should see Jesus risen from the dead. Jesus accordingly appeared to him first and took bread and blessed and brake, saying, 'My brother, eat thy bread, for the Son of Man is risen from them that sleep.'

In Gal 1^{19} we find James closely associated with the apostles at Jerusalem, and in Gal 2^9 we hear how those who were 'accounted pillars'—James and Cephas and John—wished God-speed to Paul and Barnabas in their mission to the Gentiles. There is perhaps a hint of irritation in St. Paul's reference, a few verses earlier, to those 'who were accounted somewhat' (2^6), as though the accord had not been reached without some difficulty, and in v.[12] we find that St. Peter's vacillation in the matter of intercourse with the Gentiles is attributed to the fear of certain who came 'from James,' though it does not follow that they represented his attitude. In Acts, James always appears as a leader. St. Peter sends the news of his escape 'to James and the brethren' (12^{17}). At the Apostolic Conference he sums up the discussion, proposes a policy, and apparently drafts the decree (15^{13-21}). In $21^{18ff.}$ he receives St. Paul at the close of his Third Missionary journey, and, it is implied, approves the fateful proposal designed to conciliate the legalist Christians.

He is understood to be meant by the modest self-designation 'James the servant of the Lord' (Ja 1^1), and the author of the Ep. of Jude is content to describe himself as the 'brother of James.' In view of the fact that he seems to have remained constantly at Jerusalem, it is at least uncertain whether he is included among the brethren of the Lord who 'led about' a wife (1 Co 9^5).

That the 'brethren of the Lord' were the sons of Mary and Joseph is the natural, though not inevitable, inference from the language of Scripture (Mt 1^{25}, Lk 2^7, Mk 6^3, etc.). Those who prefer to believe otherwise, hold either (1) that they were the sons of Joseph by a former marriage, or (2) the sons of Mary's sister. These three views are sometimes called, respectively, from their early defenders, the Helvidian, Epiphanian, and Hieronymian. (For discussion see J. B. Mayor, *The*

Ep. of St. James[3], pp. vi-xxxvi; J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*[5], 1876, pp. 252-291; and art. 'Brethren of the Lord' in *HDB*, *DCG*, and *SDB*.)

Turning to the extra-canonical references, we find in Josephus (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1) an account of the circumstances of the death of James. The high priest Ananus (a son of the Annas of the Gospels), a man of violent temper, seized the opportunity of the interval between the death of Festus (*c.* A.D. 62) and the arrival of his successor Albinus to bring to trial 'James the brother of Jesus who was called Christ and some others' as law-breakers, and delivered them to be stoned. This account is inherently probable. It is sometimes rejected as an interpolation, on the ground that Josephus makes no other mention of Jesus or of Christianity; but it may be noted that F. C. Burkitt has lately defended the genuineness of the famous reference to Jesus in Josephus, *Ant.* XVIII. iii. 3 (*ThT* xliii. [1913] pp. 135-144). Harnack has signified agreement (*Internationale Monatsschrift*, vii. [1913] pp. 1037-1068). If this be accepted, the present passage presents little difficulty. Hegesippus (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* ii. 23) gives a much more highly coloured account of James's martyrdom, representing him as hurled from the pinnacle of the Temple because he refused to make a pronouncement against Jesus (which the Scribes and Pharisees had confidently expected of him!). Among other personal traits Hegesippus mentions that James was a Nazirite and strict ascetic, and that, so constant was he in prayer, his knees had become hard as a camel's. There is a variant of the martyrdom story in *Clem. Recog.* I., lxix., lxx., where, after James has shown 'by most abundant proofs that Jesus is the Christ,' a tumult is raised by an enemy, and he is hurled from the Temple steps and left for dead, but recovers.

The tendency to exalt the position of James in later times is seen in the statement of Clem. Alex. (*ap.* Euseb. *HE* ii. 1) that Peter and James and John chose him to be bishop of Jerusalem; while in the letter of Clement prefixed to the *Clem. Hom.* he is addressed as 'lord,' and 'bishop of bishops.'

LITERATURE.—To J. B. Mayor, *The Epistle of St. James*[3], 1910, Introduction, ch. i.: 'The Author,' and the other literature mentioned above, add T. Zahn, 'Brüder und Vettern Jesu,' in *Forschungen zur Geschichte des neutestamentlichen Kanons*, vi., Leipzig, 1900, pp. 225-363; A. E. F. Sieffert, in *PRE*[3], viii. 574 ff.; F. W. Farrar, *Early Days of Christianity*, 1882, vol. i. chs. xix., xx. W. MONTGOMERY.

JAMES, EPISTLE OF.—1. Literary characteristics.—The Epistle strikes us at once as the expression of a vigorous personality. The author plunges into his subject with a bold paradox, and his short, decisive sentences fall like hammer-strokes. He constantly employs the imperative, and makes much use of the rhetorical question. His rebukes contain some of the sharpest invective in the NT (4[1-4] 5[1-6]), and he knows when irony will serve him best (2[19]). He piles up metaphor upon metaphor until the impression becomes irresistible (3[3-12]), and multiplies attributes with the same effect of emphasis (*e.g.* 'earthly, sensual, devilish' [3[15]; cf. 1[4. 8. 19]]). Like most vigorous writers, he delights in antithesis (cf. 1[9f.] 1[22. 25] 3[5] 4[7]). In his illustrations he uses direct speech with dramatic effect ('sit thou here in a good place,' etc. [2[3]; cf. 2[16] 4[13]]). Every here and there are struck out, like sparks from the flint of this rather hard-edged style, phrases of arresting beauty and significance: 'the crown of life which the Lord promised to them that love him' (1[12]); 'the grace of the fashion of it perisheth' (1[11]); 'mercy glorieth against judgement' (2[13]); 'What is your life? For ye are a vapour, that appeareth for a little time, and then vanisheth away' (4[14]); 'Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, being patient over it, until it receive the early and latter rain' (5[7]); 'the supplication of a righteous man, when it puts forth its strength, availeth much' (5[16]).

The form is, in the main, the terse, gnomic form of the Wisdom literature, but the spirit that inspires it has deeper roots. It goes back to OT prophecy. It is an Amos that we seem to hear in the vigorous denunciation of 5[1-6]; Isaiah is the direct inspirer of the stately passage in 1[10f.], and the writer has distilled the quintessence of the prophets into that fine saying which sums up his teaching and comes home with special force to the modern world: 'Pure religion and undefiled before our God and Father is this, to succour (cf. Lk 1[68]) the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world' (1[27]).

It is in part, at least, owing to this gnomic style and prophetic temper that the Epistle does not form a logically constructed whole, according to Western theories of composition. This is not to say that it has no cohesion. A considerable part of it is grouped round three or four main ideas—temptation, the bridling of the tongue, the danger of lip-religion, the relation of rich and poor. Within and between these groups the movement is determined, to an extent which seems curious to our ways of thought, by verbal associations. The emphatic word of one sentence becomes a catch-word linking it to the next.

It may be worth while to analyze a paragraph with a view to bringing this out. The salutation, 'James . . . to the twelve tribes . . . giveth *joy*' (1[1]), supplies the key-word for the apparently abrupt opening: 'And *joy* unmixed count it, brethren, when . . .' (v.[2]). Again, 'that ye may be *perfect*, *lacking nothing* (v.4). And if any *lack* wisdom (for the apparently abrupt introduction of wisdom, see below), let him *ask* . . . (v.[5]), but let him *ask* in faith' (v.[6]). This idea is then developed up to the end of v.[8]. The transition to v.[9], 'Now let the lowly brother,' etc., is apparently again abrupt (see below). Verse 12 returns, as though vv.[4-11] might be considered as a digression, to the idea of temptation, and, passing from the sense of 'trial' to that of 'inducement to evil,' deals with some difficulties connected therewith. It is interesting to note that two abrupt transitions in the above can be explained, with considerable probability, as due to literary reminiscence. In v.[5] we want a connexion between 'wisdom,' which appears unexpectedly, and the ideas of 'perfect' and 'lacking'; and this certainly seems to be supplied by Wis 9[6]: 'For even if a man be *perfect* among the sons of men, yet if the *wisdom* that cometh from thee *be not with him*, he shall be held in no account.' Again in v.[9], where the transition appears quite abrupt, a connexion with the central idea of wisdom is supplied by Sir 11[1]: 'The wisdom of the lowly shall lift up his head,' and with the next verse Sir 3[18] may be compared: 'The greater thou art, humble thyself the more, and thou shalt find favour before the Lord' (cf. also, for the double antithesis, Sir 20[11]).

2. Religious attitude and teaching.—The main purpose of the Epistle is to protest against prevailing worldliness (4[4]), which finds expression in avarice (4[3] 5[4]), pleasure-seeking (1[14] 4[1]), the vaunt of a barren orthodoxy (2[14f.]), social arrogance and sycophancy (2[1f.]), bitter contentions (4[1f.]), sins of the tongue (1[26] 3[5-10]). Against these the author holds up the ideal of a life inspired by the 'wisdom which is from above' (3[17]), which here plays the part assigned to the Spirit (as gift) in St. Paul and the NT generally. (With 3[17] cf. Gal 5[22], and with 1[5] cf. Lk 11[13] and Jn 3[34].) This heavenly wisdom is above all things 'pure' (ἁγνή), primarily no doubt in the sense of unstained loyalty to God (cf. the reference in 4[4] to the worldly-minded as μοιχαλίδες, and see 2 Co 11[2]), and expresses itself in humility (1[10]), meekness (1[19f.] 3[13]), reasonableness (3[17]), peaceableness (3[17f.]), mercifulness (2[13] 3[17]), whole-hearted earnestness (3[17] 5[6. 8]), active beneficence (1[27] 3[17]), dependence on the Divine will (4[7. 10. 15]), obedience inspired by faith (2[21-25]). It has often been remarked that purely theological conceptions occupy little space in the Epistle. And this is literally true; but there is a good deal of compressed

theology in expressions like 'of his own will he brought us to birth by the word of truth, that we should be a kind of firstfruits of his creatures' (1^{18}; cf. Jn 1^{13} 6^{63}, Ro 10^{17} $8^{19f.}$), 'the implanted word, which is able to save your souls' (1^{21}; cf. Ro 1^{16}), 'the perfect law of liberty' (1^{25}; cf. Mt 5^{17-20}, Ro 8^{2}), 'heirs of the kingdom which he promised to them that love him' (2^{5}), 'the *parousia* of the Lord is at hand' (5^{8}); not to mention 2^{1}, if with some very good scholars we take *τῆς δόξης* as in apposition to *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*, and understand 'our Lord Jesus Christ, the glory' (in conformity with 2 Co 4^{6}, He 1^{3}, Jn 1^{14}), as a reference to the Incarnation. It is remarkable, however, that the Epistle contains no reference to the Death and Resurrection of Jesus, or, in connexion with such a passage as $5^{10c.}$, to His earthly life.

The writer is apparently little interested in questions of organization (cf. the *Didache*, Clement, Ignatius). It is only incidentally that we hear of the 'elders of the Church' (5^{14})—the only officials mentioned; and we infer, rather than are told, that the teaching office was not strictly regulated (3^{1}). Incidental, too, is the mention of the meeting for worship (2^{2}), and we hear nothing as to its conduct. (For *συναγωγή* in the sense of a Christian assembly cf. Herm. *Mand.* xi. 9; Ignat. *ad Polyc.* iv. 2.)

3. Reception in the Church.—Re-ascending the stream of tradition from the point at which our present NT canon may be considered as definitely established in the Western Church (Third Council of Carthage, A.D. 397), we find that the acceptance of the Ep. of James long remained dubious. Jerome, *de Vir. Illustr.* ii. (A.D. 392) says that, while some asserted it to have been issued by another under the name of James ('ab alio quodam sub nomine eius edita'), it had gradually, as time went on, established its authority. Eusebius, *HE* iii. 25 (*c.* A.D. 314) mentions it along with Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, among the books which, although widely known, were 'disputed' (*ἀντιλεγόμενα*). Again, in ii. 23, after mentioning the martyrdom of James, he proceeds: 'whose epistle that is said to be which is first among the Epistles styled Catholic,' adding that it was not free from suspicion (lit. 'is held spurious' [*sc.* by some]), because many ancient writers make no mention of it, as was also the case with Jude, though all the Catholic Epistles were publicly read in most churches. Origen (*c.* 240) suggests the same uncertainty when he refers to it as the Epistle 'which goes under the name of James' (*ἡ φερομένη Ἰακώβου ἐπιστολή* [*in Ioann.* xix. 6]), though according to the Latin version of the *Homilies* he elsewhere quotes it as Scripture (*Com. in Ep. ad Rom.* iv. 1), and as by 'James the Lord's brother' (*ib.* iv. 8). It is noteworthy that in his *Com. in Matt.* (x. 17) he mentions the Ep. of Jude but not that of James. The Muratorian Canon omits it, along with Hebrews and 1 and 2 Peter (on the other hand, the Peshiṭta includes it, while omitting Jude, 2 Peter, 2 and 3 John, and the Apocalypse). Clement of Alexandria is said to have included a commentary on 'Jude and the rest of the Catholic Epistles' in his *Hypotyposeis* (Euseb. *HE* vi. 14); but, while his notes on 1 Peter, 1 and 2 John, and Jude are extant in a Latin translation, James is wanting. As regards the indirect evidence of quotations, the earliest work for which a dependence on James can be established with any high degree of probability is the *Shepherd* of Hermas, which is variously dated between A.D. 100 and 150. (For Hermas' use of James see the art. by C. Taylor in *JPh* xviii. [1890] 297 ff. on the priority of the *Didache* to Hermas.) Some critics are inclined to see in Clement of Rome evidences of the use of James. But none of the passages are decisive, and in an extended reference to the faith of Abraham (*ad Cor.* x. 1 ff.) Clement quotes Gn 15^{6} in its proper context, following St. Paul; and, though he refers to the sacrifice of Isaac, he speaks of it as offered *δι' ὑπακοῆς* and not *διὰ πίστεως*.

4. Date and authorship.—As might perhaps have been expected from the character of the external evidence, the internal evidence is enigmatic. This will appear from a statement of some of the various theories, with the difficulties which each involves.

A. Take first the theory which, accepting the traditional authorship,* makes the Ep. prior to the main Epp. of St. Paul and unrelated to his teaching. Against this the following objections are alleged.

(*a*) There is strong evidence, it is held, that the passage in $2^{14ff.}$ has in view St. Paul's teaching in Ro 3 and 4, and is therefore subsequent to that Epistle. The arguments advanced in favour of this position are as follows. (1) In denying that a man is saved by faith without works, James is attacking a paradox; but no one is at pains to attack a paradox unless someone else has previously maintained it. Now there is no evidence that this paradox had been maintained previous to St. Paul. Faith had been praised and works had been praised, and, if we may accept 2 Esdras (whatever its actual date) as a witness to pre-Christian Jewish beliefs, the combination of faith and works had been praised (13^{2}; cf. 9^{7}), but the antithetic opposition of faith and works, to the apparent disparagement of the latter, originated, so far as our evidence goes, with St. Paul. (2) The Scripture example to which both writers appeal is much more favourable to St. Paul's argument than to James's. In Gn 15^{6} 'Abraham believed God,' etc., refers specifically to belief in God's promise; James by an exegetical *tour de force* gives it a prospective reference to Abraham's 'works' in the sacrifice of Isaac. This is the procedure, not of a writer who is choosing his illustrations freely, but of one who must at all hazards wrest from an adversary a formidable weapon. (3) The passage is written in a technical phraseology: *δικαιοῦσθαι ἐκ πίστεως, δικαιοῦσθαι ἐξ ἔργων, πίστις χωρὶς τῶν ἔργων, νεκρός* (applied to faith, where St. Paul applies it to works). It is less probable, it is urged, that this terminology was invented by James, who only employs it in this controversial passage, than by St. Paul, for whom it is the necessary expression of some of his fundamental doctrines.

(*b*) In a number of other passages there are points of contact, and in some of them the suggestion of literary priority is distinctly on the side of St. Paul. For example, if we compare St. Paul's statement in Ro 8^{2}, 'the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free (*ἠλευθέρωσέ με* [*v.l. σε*]) from the law of sin and death,' with James's references to the law of liberty (*νόμος τῆς ἐλευθερίας* [1^{25} 2^{12}]), the latter succinct, technical-looking expression has the air of an already coined and current phrase, while St. Paul seems to be stating a fact of experience.†

(*c*) With the exception of the language of Hebrews, the Greek is the most accomplished in the NT. There is a certain amount of rhetorical elaboration; there is an unusual proportion of non-LXX classical words; there are many allusions to the Hellenistic Wisdom literature, and apparently some to Greek classical literature. This is not exactly the style we should have ex-

* The term 'genuineness' is strictly inapplicable, since the Ep. makes no explicit claim to be by James the Lord's brother. It has occasionally been attributed to James the son of Zebedee. Pfleiderer (*Primitive Christianity*, Eng. tr., London, 1906-11, iv. 311) thinks of some unknown James.

† Other parallels which have been noted are Ja $1^{3f.}$ ‖ Ro $5^{3f.}$; Ja 1^{22-25} ‖ Ro 2^{13}; Ja 4^{1} ‖ 1 Co 3^{3} 14^{33}, Ro 7^{23}; Ja 4^{4} ‖ Ro 8^{7}; Ja $4^{11f.}$ ‖ Ro 14^{4}; Ja 3^{17} ‖ Gal 5^{22}.

pected from the James of tradition, who was of intensely Jewish sympathies and presided over the Aramaic-speaking church of Jerusalem. On the other hand, the possibility of its being a translation is denied by the great majority of those competent to speak on the point (whatever their opinion as regards the authorship).

(*d*) The constitution of the membership of the Church, including a considerable proportion of rich people, does not point to an early date.

(*e*) While it would be rash to affirm that a declension of Christian life such as the Epistle implies could not have taken place within two or three decades, the vices of avarice and worldliness which are most prominent suggest a more settled and prosperous community than we should have expected.

(*f*) In the rebuke of the rich merchants for the irreligious temper in which they laid their plans, we should have expected, in these early decades, a reference to the imminence of the Parousia, rather than merely to the uncertainty of the individual life.

(*g*) We should also have expected some reference to the Death and Resurrection of Christ, and to Messianic doctrine, which, as all the evidence seems to show, formed the staple of early Christian preaching.

(*h*) The address itself constitutes a difficulty. If, as seems natural in a Christian writing, it means Jewish Christians in the literal Diaspora, where were these to be found prior to the Pauline missions? Moreover, there is no hint that the churches addressed contained Gentile Christians. But were there ever any purely Jewish-Christian churches except in Palestine? And how could they be described as in the Diaspora?

To these objections the following answers are given:

(*a*) (1) While we have no evidence on the point, it is not improbable, in view of the stress laid upon faith in the teaching of Jesus, that the faith-and-works paradox may have come up in early Christianity prior to St. Paul. (2) Abraham was, in the Jewish schools, a stock example of faith (see Lightfoot, *Gal.*[5], London, 1876, p. 159 f.), so that James and St. Paul might have introduced him quite independently of one another; and the following passage shows that James's rather loose employment of Gn 15[6] is not peculiar to himself: 1 Mac 2[52], 'Was not Abraham found faithful in temptation, and it was reckoned unto him for righteousness?' Mayor reverses the point of the argument by remarking that it is inconceivable, if James wrote after St. Paul, that he did not make an attempt to guard his position against so formidable an attack (*Ep. of St. James*[3], p. xcviii). (3) The technical language may have been already in existence (see under (1)). Moreover, some of the terms used occur in a more clearly defined form in St. Paul (cf. Ro 3[20. 22. 26. 28]: ἔργα νόμου, πίστις Χριστοῦ or Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ)—which points to a later date and a deliberate guarding against misunderstanding.

(*b*) Arguments of this kind depend so much upon subjective impression that no great stress can be placed on them.

(*c*) There is a good deal of evidence that Galilæans were generally bilingual; and, as there was certainly a large Greek-speaking element in the church at Jerusalem, the leader of that church would need to acquire some facility in using Greek. Moreover, it is quite possible to exaggerate the excellence of the author's Greek. He avoids periods of any length; and, though more 'correct,' does not give the impression of writing with the same ease as St. Paul.

(*d*) (*e*) We have no sufficient evidence to enable us to pronounce definitely on these points, and individual estimates of probability are not an adequate ground on which to base arguments. Mayor refers those who are impressed with the declension of Christian morals 'to a study of the life of Fox or Wesley, or of any honest missionary journal' (*op. cit.* p. cliii).

(*f*) The author may be here using an *argumentum ad hominem*. Individual mortality was an undeniable fact; a reference to the imminence of the Parousia would depend for its impressiveness on the liveliness of the faith of those addressed. A little further on, when encouraging the faithful oppressed to patience, the author does refer to the Parousia.

(*g*) These facts were the staple of *missionary* preaching; here the author can assume them as known.

(*h*) Zahn (*Introd.* i. 76 *f.*, 91 f.) takes the address as referring metaphorically to Christians generally, the existing Christians being, as a matter of fact, those of the Palestinian churches. Mayor (p. cxxxvii) refers it to the Christians of the Eastern Diaspora (cf. Ac 2[9] and St. Paul's raid on the Christians of Damascus [Ac 9[2f.]]).

Further positive arguments in favour of the 'genuineness' and early date of the Ep. are: (*a*) the unassuming character of the writer's self-designation, which makes against forgery, while his authoritative tone implies a position of influence; (*β*) the number of apparent echoes from sayings of Jesus, which yet never take the form of quotations from the Gospels; (*γ*) the number of linguistic coincidences with the speech of James at the Apostolic Conference, and the Decree, which was apparently drafted by him (salutation χαίρειν [1[1] ‖ Ac 15[23]]; name called 'upon' persons [LXX] [2[7] ‖ Ac 15[17]]; 'hearken, brethren' [2[5] ‖ Ac 15[13]]; ἐπισκέπτεσθαι [1[27] ‖ Ac 15[14]]; ἐπιστρέφειν [5[19c] ‖ Ac 15[19]]; τηρεῖν, διατηρεῖν ἑαυτοὺς ἀπό [1[27] ‖ Ac 15[29]]; repetition of brethren (brother) [4[11] ‖ Ac 15[22]]). (In favour of the historicity of the Decree see Lake, *Earlier Epp. of St. Paul*, 1911, pp. 30 ff., 48 ff.) (*δ*) In favour of an early date we have the unorganized character of the teaching office (3[1]), the mention of elders only (5[14]), the anointing of the sick with a view to healing (5[14]), the confession of sins one to another (5[16]).

B. Those who, while holding the traditional view as to the authorship, feel obliged to recognize in Ja 2[14f.] a reference to Pauline teaching, have recourse to the hypothesis that the Ep. was written either after the appearance of Romans or at least after James had received reports as to the Pauline teaching. Against this, the objection lies that, once the controversies raised by St. Paul's preaching had begun, it is inconceivable that an Ep. written to Jewish Christians of the Diaspora should contain no reference to the burning questions about the relation of Gentile converts to circumcision and the Law (cf. Mayor, pp. cx, cxlv f., and Zahn, *Introd.* i. 136 f.). The present writer is not aware that any satisfactory answer has been given to this objection.*

C. The hypothesis that the Ep. is an originally Jewish work adapted by a Christian writer has been maintained by Spitta and Massebieau (see Literature below) on the ground of (1) the scantiness of specifically Christian doctrine—an unmistakably Christian reference is admitted only in 1[1] and 2[1]; (2) close affinities with Jewish literature; (3) the suggestion of interpolation in the curious position of τῆς δόξης in 2[1], where a simplification would be introduced by omitting ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ.

To this it is replied (1) that there is more specifically Christian doctrine than these writers admit: *e.g.* in 1[18] the combination of the ideas of 'begetting,' 'word of truth,' and 'firstfruits' is much more naturally referred to Christian doctrine than to the original creation (as Spitta); and phrases like 'the coming (Parousia) of the Lord' (5[7-8]), 'the

* Feine, who feels its force (*Jakobusbrief*, p. 58), tries to evade it by the hypothesis that the Ep. was originally a homily addressed to the church at Jerusalem, which was only later, as a kind of afterthought, circulated in the Diaspora (p. 95). For criticism of Feine, see E. R. Kühl, *SK* lxvii. [1894], esp. p. 813 ff.

perfect law of liberty' (1^{25}), 'the elders of the church' (5^{14}), 'the goodly name by which ye are called' (2^{7}), 'my beloved brethren' ($1^{16.\ 19}$ 2^{5}), certainly suggest a Christian atmosphere. No evidence is produced that a faith-and-works controversy such as that implied in $2^{14ff.}$ had arisen in pre-Christian Judaism. (2) That the work should show close affinities with the OT and with Jewish Hellenistic literature is in no way surprising if the author was a Jewish Christian. (3) That a Christian interpolator should have been content to interpolate only in 1^{1} and 2^{1} is hardly conceivable. Accepting the text of 2^{1} as it stands, there is nothing very violent in taking *τῆς δόξης* as an appellation of Christ, in apposition with *τοῦ κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*; cf. Lk 2^{32} and perhaps 1 P 4^{14} (so Mayor and Hort, following Bengel; see Mayor[3], p. 80 ff.).

Two further considerations against this view have to be added: (*a*) that, if there is little that is distinctively Christian, there is nothing distinctively Jewish. Harnack writes: 'Spitta has forgotten to consider what the Epistle does not contain.' Christianity was a reformation of Judaism which discarded a mass of religious and ritual material. Now of this Jewish material which Christianity discarded the Ep. contains no trace (*Chronol.* 489 n.). (*b*) Again, the apparent echoes from the teaching of Jesus are hardly satisfactorily accounted for by the hypothesis of a common source.

D. A theory which shares with the last the hypothesis that the name of Jesus in 1^{1} and 2^{1} is not original is that of J. H. Moulton, who holds that the Ep. was written by James the Lord's brother, but for non-Christian Jews, and that therefore distinctively Christian phraseology was deliberately omitted. The mention of the name of Jesus came in by way of a gloss (*Expositor*, 7th ser. iv. 45–55). This theory has the advantage of accounting for the textual difficulty in 2^{1}, for the Judaistic tone combined with the presence of (unemphasized) Christian thoughts, and for the ultimate though late and disputed reception of the book.

Against this it is urged that (1) the curious subtlety of mind involved in the writing of the supposed veiled tract harmonizes ill with the sternness and vigour of the writer. (2) It is not clear what the writer could have hoped to accomplish by it. (3) Moreover, some of the more definitely Christian phrases quoted above are not easy to dispose of, and the difficulty about $2^{14ff.}$ remains, for those who cannot find its presuppositions entirely in Judaism.

E. There is the type of theory according to which the Ep. was written, not by James the Lord's brother and not in the Apostolic Age, but by an unknown author, late in the 1st or early in the 2nd century. The attractions of this type of theory are that it gets rid of the difficulty arising from the knowledge of the Pauline Epistles combined with absence of reference to the controversies about the Law, as also of that arising from the knowledge of Jesus' teaching combined with absence of reference to His life. It accounts for the moralism, the absence of Messianic doctrine, the slightness of the reference to the Parousia. It accounts, better than the early date, for the condition of the Church, with its worldliness and lip-religion.

Of the theories of this type the most definite is that of Harnack. He finds a positive indication of date in the references to persecution in $2^{5f.}$ He understands this of the apostasy of worldly Christians and their betrayal of their fellow-Christians. To this he finds an exact parallel in Hermas, *Sim.* ix. 19, where the 'mountain black as soot' (ix. 1) represents those who have revolted from the faith and spoken wicked things against the Lord, and betrayed the servants of God (cf. also chs. 21, 26, 28). Such delations, as frequent occurrences, cannot be placed earlier than about A.D. 120. On the other hand, there is nothing in the Ep. which would require us to bring it down beyond the first third of the 2nd century. He therefore dates it between 120 and 130. But it is not to be thought of as a forgery, for (1) anyone composing an ostensible letter would have taken more pains to cast it into epistolary form; (2) a forger would have made it clearer who he professed to be; and (3) he would not have contradicted the generality of the address by the particularity of some of the references. The most probable hypothesis is, therefore, that it was a compilation from the writings of one of those prophetic teachers who, far down into the Post-Apostolic Age, still spoke with a sense of inspiration and an admitted authority. Shortly after his death this was issued by a redactor, anonymously. In its anonymous form it had a limited circulation among Palestinian Christians. About the end of the 2nd cent. it found its way into 'the early Catholic world,' and, in view of the conceptions then prevailing as to the primitive apostolic type of doctrine, it is not surprising that it should have been attributed to James. (In addition to *Chronol.* ii. 1. p. 485 f., see the excursus on the Cath. Epp. in *TU* ii. 1. p. 106 f., where the general presuppositions of the hypothesis are more fully and lucidly set forth.)

Against this theory the following objections are offered. (1) The hypothesis is unduly complicated. (2) The religious spirit of the Ep. gives the impression of being very much earlier than that of Hermas. (3) The ultimate association of the Ep. with James of Jerusalem and its consequent reception are not fully accounted for. The passage relied on to prove the date ($2^{6f.}$) is susceptible of a different interpretation. The rich man and the poor man of 2^{2} apparently both come into the Christian assembly as strangers, and there is nothing to show that the rich of v.[6] are Christians rather than outsiders. In fact, the latter relation is suggested by the fact that they are said to blaspheme the name by which 'you' (not 'they') have been called.

As is sufficiently apparent from the number and variety of the theories (of which this survey is by no means exhaustive), the problem of date and authorship admits of no easy and convincing solution. In a work of the present character it seems best simply to be content to say so.

LITERATURE (grouped according to the critical theories noticed above. Where other theories are advocated, some indication is given).—*A.* J. B. Mayor, *Ep. of St. James*, London, 1892 (³1910); R. J. Knowling, *Ep. of St. James*, in Westminster Comm., do. 1904; T. Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr. of 3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1909, i. 73–151.

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C. F. Spitta, *Zur Gesch. u. Litt. des Urchristentums*, ii., Göttingen, 1896, pp. 1–155; L. Massebieau, 'L'Epître de Jacques, est-elle l'œuvre d'un Chrétien?' in *RHR* xxxii. [1895] 249–283.

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Other views: G. Currie Martin, 'The Ep. of James as a Storehouse of the Sayings of Jesus,' in *Expositor*, 7th ser. iii. [1907] 174–184 (Ep. works up collection of Sayings made by James); W. Brückner, *Die chronol. Reihenfolge, in welcher die Briefe des NT verfasst sind*, Haarlem, 1890, pp. 287–295 (addressed to a conventicle of Jewish Christians of Essene

sympathies at Rome in the reign of Hadrian); O. Pfleiderer, *Primitive Christianity*, iv. (Eng. tr., London, 1911) 293–311 (2nd half of 2nd cent.). W. MONTGOMERY.

JANNES AND JAMBRES.—These two men are referred to in 2 Ti 3[8] as having withstood Moses; they are traditionally identified with two leading men among the magicians (Ex 7[11, 22]; cf. Gn 41[8, 24]). They are mentioned in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (ch. 5) in the warning given to Pilate by Nicodemus that he should not act towards Jesus as Jannes and Jambres did to Moses. Origen (*c. Cels.* iv. 51) says that Numenius (2nd cent. A.D.; probably following Artapanos, an Alexandrian Hellenist of the 2nd cent. B.C.), related the story also; and in his commentary on Mt 27[9] he says that the reference in 2 Tim. was derived from a 'secret book' (perhaps the 'Liber qui appellatur *Pœnitentia Jamnæ et Mambræ*,' an apocryphon referred to in the *Decretum Gelasianum*), as he suggests was the case with 1 Co 2[9] and Mt 27[9] itself (*Patr. Græca*, xiii. 1769). Eusebius also quotes Numenius in his *Præp. Ev.* ix. 8 as relating the story to Jannes and Jambres, two 'Egyptian scribes' (cf. חַרְטֻמִּים 'magicians' above, where the primary meaning is 'scribes,' and the secondary 'magicians'). The *Acts of Peter and Paul* (*Ante-Nicene Christian Library*, xvi. [1873] 268) makes the two apostles warn Nero against Simon Magus by the example of Pharaoh, who was drowned in the Red Sea through listening to Jannes and Jambres. The *Apost. Const.* (viii. 1) compares the action of Jannes and Jambres to that of Annas and Caiaphas. It is possible that the two magicians were identified by hostile Jews with John and Jesus (cf. Levy, *Chald. Wörterbuch*, p. 337), but the story seems older.

The licentious play of fancy which meets us everywhere in the superstitions about magicians throughout the two centuries before and the two centuries after Christ, is responsible for the variegated and contradictory legends about Jannes and Jambres. They were sons of Balaam, and accompanied him on his journey to Balak; they perished in the Red Sea; they were among the 'mixed multitude'; they were killed in the matter of the golden calf; they flew up into the air to escape the sword of Phinehas, but were brought down by the power of the Ineffable Name and slain. All these legends are in the style of the Midrash, pious but groundless, and serve only to illustrate the mind of the period in which they rose and took form. Whether the author of 2 Tim. is quoting from oral legend or from an apocryphal work is uncertain. Origen suggests the latter, Theodoret the former. Nor is there any final certainty about the origin and meaning of the names. The first has been identified with Johannes or John, and may have contained an allusive reference to Heb. יָנָה, 'to oppress' (cf., further, artt. BALAAM, NICOLAITANS). Jambres occurs in the form *Mambres* also (the *b* in both is probably euphonic only), and may have been treated as if from Aram. מְמָרָא, 'rebellious' (cf. the opprobrious מִין, 'heretic'). But the polemic use of the two terms as='oppressor' and 'rebellious' does not explain their origin. H. Ewald (*Gesch. des Volkes Israel*, 1864–66, I. ii. 128), F. J. Lauth (*Moses der Ebräer*, 1869, p. 77), and J. Freudenthal (*Alexander Polyhistor*, 1875, p. 173) regard the names as Græco-Egyptian. In 1 Mac 9[36] the 'children of Jambri' are mentioned, an Arab tribe, and perhaps not Amorites, but there is no good ground for tracing *Jambres* to this.

We can only conclude, therefore, that all that is certain about Jannes and Jambres is that they were the names of two men who were believed in the Apostolic Age to have been the leaders of the magicians who withstood Moses, and that they have been made the centre of pious legends and the cause of much critical ingenuity.

W. F. COBB.

JASON ('Ιάσων).—Jason is a Greek name, often adopted by Jews of the Dispersion, sometimes as not unlike the names Joseph or Joshua.

1. In Ac 17[5ff.], the host of St. Paul and Silas at Thessalonica, who was seized with other converts and dragged before the politarchs. These authorities bound over Jason and his friends in security that there should be no further disturbance and perhaps that St. Paul should leave the city and not return (see Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 230 f.).

2. In Ro 16[21], a person whose greetings St. Paul sends to his readers with greetings from Timothy, Lucius, and Sosipater, all of whom he describes as his 'kinsmen,' *i.e.* fellow-Jews or perhaps members of the same tribe. It is quite probable that **1** and **2** are the same man. T. B. ALLWORTHY.

JASPER (ἴασπις, from Assyr. *aspû*).—The king on the heavenly throne is like a jasper stone (Rev 4[3]); the luminary of the New Jerusalem is like a stone most precious, as it were a jasper stone, clear as crystal (21[11]); and the first foundation stone of the wall is a jasper. The jasper of mineralogy is an opaque, compact variety of quartz, variously coloured—red, brown, yellow, or green. As this stone does not answer the description 'clear as crystal,' some think that the diamond is meant (Smith's *DB s.v.*), while others suggest the opal (*EBi s.v.*). The ἴασπις of the LXX (Ex 28[20]) may have been the dark green jasper, which was known to the Egyptians and the early Greeks.

JAMES STRAHAN.

JEALOUSY.—Jealousy, as the translation of ζῆλος (vb. ζηλόω), denotes the state of mind which arises from the knowledge or fear or suspicion of rivalry. (1) It is often begotten of self-love. Those who have come out of heathen darkness into Christian light should no longer walk in strife and jealousy (Ro 13[13]), which are characteristics of the carnal or selfish mind (1 Co 3[3]). Bitter jealousy (ζῆλον πικρόν) and faction, in which rivals are 'each jealous of the other, as the stung are of the adder' (*King Lear*, v. i. 56 f.), and exult over (κατακαυχᾶσθε) every petty triumph achieved, are an antithesis of Christianity, a lying against the truth (Ja 3[14]). Where jealousy and faction are, there is anarchy (ἀκαταστασία) and every vile deed (3[16]). The Jewish opponents of the gospel were filled with jealousy, *e.g.* in Jerusalem (Ac 5[17]) and Pisidian Antioch (13[45]). 'Jealousies' (ζῆλοι, 2 Co 12[20], Gal 5[20]) are the inward movements or outward manifestations of this un-Christian feeling.

(2) But the heat of jealousy (cf. קִנְאָה) is not always false fire. To the Corinthians St. Paul says, 'I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy' (ζηλῶ γὰρ ὑμᾶς θεοῦ ζήλῳ, 2 Co 11[2]), *i.e.* with a jealousy like that of God. In the OT Jahweh is the husband of Israel, loving her and claiming all her love; in which sense He is a jealous God. A somewhat similar jealousy is once ascribed to Christ (in Jn 2[17], ζῆλος, 'zeal'); and St. Paul, who has betrothed the Corinthian Church to the Lord, and hopes to present her as a pure bride to Him, is jealous over her on His behalf, feeling the bare thought that she may after all give herself to another to be intolerable. Some take θεοῦ ζήλῳ to mean 'with a zeal for God,' but the context demands a stricter sense of the word.

JAMES STRAHAN.

JEPHTHAH ('Ιεφθάε).—Jephthah, the Gileadite warrior who became the conqueror of the Ammonites, and whose vow compelled him to sacrifice his own daughter (Jg 11–12), is named among the men

of the OT who achieved great things by faith (He 11^{32}). He is mentioned after Samson, though he was historically earlier, the author probably trusting his memory, or not being over-studious of minute accuracy. JAMES STRAHAN.

JERICHO ('Ιεριχώ, WH 'Ιερειχώ).—The fall of the walls of Jericho is mentioned as an illustration of the miracle-working power of Israel's faith (He 11^{30}). Enervated by the heat and fertility of the deep valley in which the city stood, the inhabitants of Jericho were always un-warlike, and the story in Jos 6 gives an idea of the astonishing ease with which their stronghold was captured. The site of Jericho shifted several times. The Canaanite city has been identified with a *tell* or mound, 1200 ft. long and about 50 ft. high, beside Elisha's Fountain. This has now been carefully explored under the direction of E. Sellin of Vienna, and the mud walls of the old town laid bare. See 'The German Excavations at Jericho,' in *PEFSt*, 1910, pp. 54–68. JAMES STRAHAN.

JERUSALEM.—1. The name.—Two forms occur in the NT: (*a*) Ἱερουσαλήμ, the 'genuinely national form,' 'hieratic and Hebraising,' used 'where a certain sacred significance is intended, or in solemn appeals'; it occurs forty times in Acts, and is also found in the letters of St. Paul, in Hebrews, and in the Apocalypse; it is indeclinable, and without the article except when accompanied by an adjective; (*b*) Ἱεροσόλυμα, the hellenized form, favoured by Josephus, and occurring over twenty times in Acts, and in the narrative section of Galatians. As a rule it is a neuter plural, with or without the article. In each case the aspirate is doubtful. For a discussion of the forms see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 259 ff.; W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician*, London, 1908, p. 51 ff.; and T. Zahn, *Introduction to the NT*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1909, ii. 592 ff.

2. Topography.—The chief authority for Jerusalem in the 1st cent. A.D.—its topography no less than its history—is the Jewish writer Josephus. His historical works cover the period with which we have here to deal, and it is to the details there furnished that we owe most of our knowledge of the fortunes and aspect of the city in the Apostolic Age. Any account of the topography of Jerusalem at this time must necessarily follow the descriptions of Josephus, as interpreted by the majority of modern scholars. It has always to be kept in mind, however, that there is considerable difference of opinion on many points, and that the views of the minority, or even of an individual, although we may not be able to accept them, are to be regarded with respect.

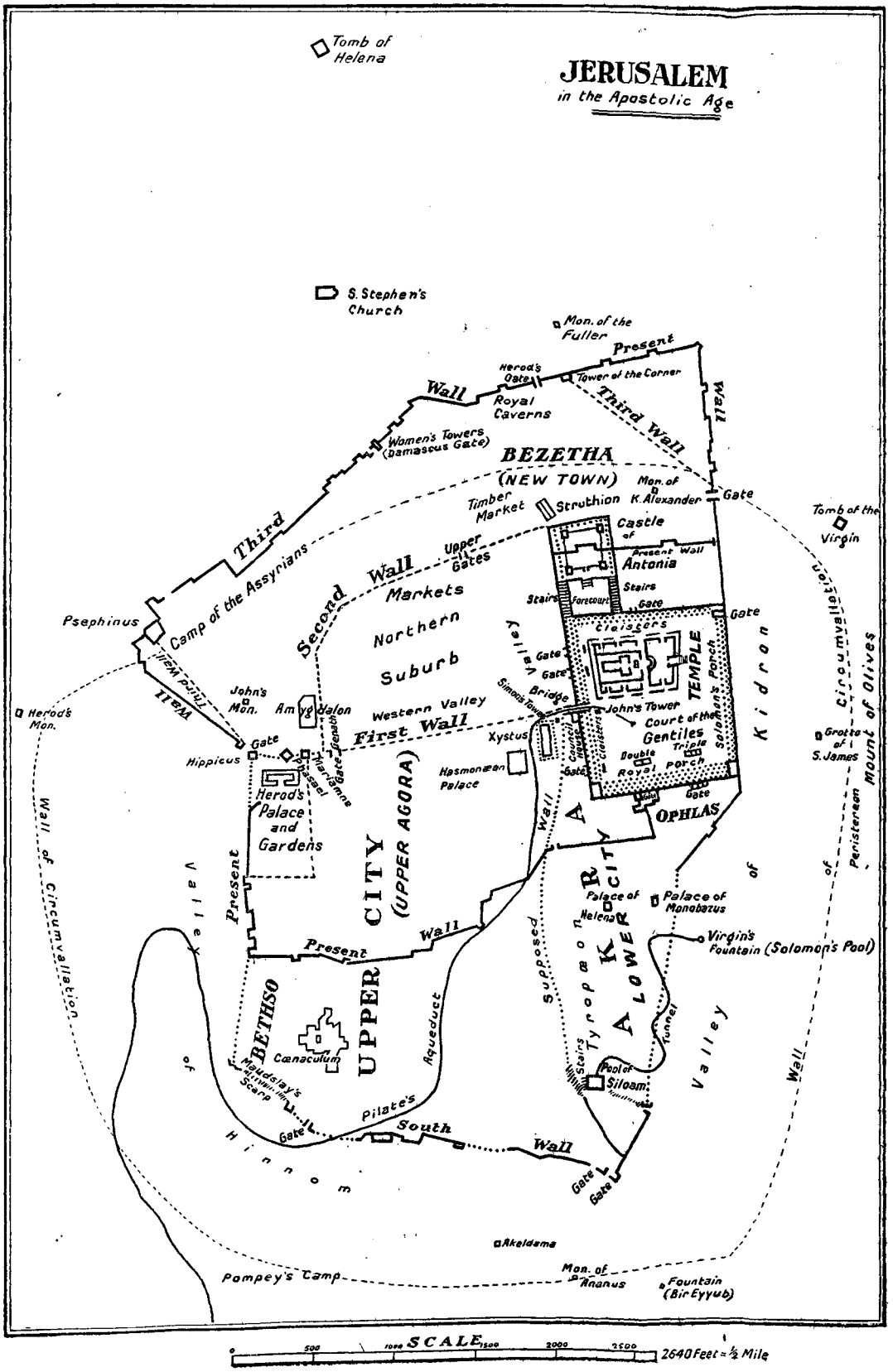
i. THE CITY WALLS, as they existed at the time of the siege in A.D. 70, first claim attention.

(*a*) *First Wall.*—In historical order, but not according to the standpoint of the besiegers, for whom the first wall was the third, the walls of Jerusalem on the north side proceed from the interior to the exterior of the city. At all times the south side of the city had only one encompassing wall, but during most of our period there were three walls—the third only in part—upon the north side. The first of these northern walls commenced on the W. of Jerusalem near the modern Jaffa Gate, and ran in an easterly direction along the northern face of the so-called S.W. Hill, crossing the Tyropœon Valley, which then markedly divided the city from N. to S., and joining the W. wall of the Temple enclosure. At its W. extremity it was marked by the three towers of Herod the Great—Hippicus, Phasaël, and Mariamne (or Mariamme); and at the Temple end it ran near to the bridge which gave access from the S.W. Hill to the outer court of the Temple. This point is now marked by the modern *Bab es-Silsileh*, and Wilson's Arch found here stands over the remains of an older bridge which is doubtless the viaduct of Josephus's time. From the Tower of Hippicus the wall ran southwards and followed approximately the line of the modern W. wall, but it extended further south, turning S.E. along Maudslay's Scarp and proceeding in a straight course to the Pool of Siloam, at the mouth of the Tyropœon Valley. At this time the pool possibly lay outside the wall (F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–1897*, pp. 304, 325), although G. A. Smith places it inside (*Jerusalem*, i. 224). After crossing the Tyropœon, at some point or other, the wall was continued in a N.E. direction, running along the slope of Ophel to join the Temple enclosure at its S.E. angle. A considerable part of this wall upon the S. side of the city has been excavated by Warren, Guthe, Bliss, and Dickie. The last two explorers found remains of two walls with a layer of débris between. Bliss is of opinion that the under wall is the one destroyed by Titus, and he says further: 'There is no evidence, nor is it probable, that the south line was altered between the time of Nehemiah and that of Titus' (*Excav. at Jerus.*, p. 319).

We are here concerned with the subsequent history of the wall upon the S. side only in so far as after the destruction by Titus it appears to have been rebuilt on a new line to form the S. side of the Roman camp upon the S.W. Hill, this being the line of the modern city wall on the S. The part upon the W., together with Herod's three towers, was spared by Titus and utilized by him for the 'Camp.' So also, we may infer, was the wall skirting the W. side of the Tyropœon, running N. and S. from the neighbourhood of the bridge to the region of the Pool of Siloam to form the E. boundary of the S.W. Hill. This wall is not mentioned by Josephus, but its presence may be concluded from the fact that Titus had to commence siege operations anew against that division of the city which stood on the S.W. Hill ('The Upper City'). According to C. W. Wilson, the ground enclosed by the walls of the Upper City extended to 74½ acres. The new wall drawn on the S. side over the summit of the hill reduced the area to about 48½ acres, only a little short of the normal dimensions of a 'Camp' (*Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 143 f.).

(*b*) *Second Wall.*—According to Josephus, this commenced at the Gate Genath (or Gennath) in the First Wall, and circled round the N. quarter of the city, running up to Antonia, the castle situated at the N.W. corner of the Temple area. It had fourteen* towers, compared with sixty on the First Wall and ninety on the Third. Its extent was therefore limited in comparison with the others. There is much discussion as to its actual line in view of the importance of this for the determination of the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. This is a question that falls to be treated under the Gospel Age, although we have an interest in the projection of the wall towards the N., since upon this depends the view taken of the line of the Third Wall. With the majority of modern investigators we decide for a limited compass, no part being further N. than the extremity which went up from the Tyropœon to Antonia. The Gate Genath has not been located, but it must have been in the neighbourhood of the three great towers, and perhaps lay inside of all three. C. M. Watson concludes from a study of the records and from personal investigation of the site that the Second Wall was most probably built by Antipater, father of Herod the Great. He interprets Josephus

* τέσσαρας καὶ δέκα (Niese); Whiston reads 'forty' (*BJ* v. iv. 3).


JERUSALEM
in the Apostolic Age
Tomb of Helena
S. Stephen's Church
Mon. of the Fuller
Present
Herod's Gate
Tower of the Corner
Wall
Royal Caverns
Third Wall
Women's Towers (Damascus Gate)
BEZETHA
(NEW TOWN)
Mon. of K. Alexander
Gate
Timber Market
Struthion
Castle of Antonia
Tomb of the Virgin
Third
Camp of the Assyrians
Upper Gates
Second Wall
Markets
Northern Suburb
Present Wall
Stairs
Forecourt
Gate
Cloisters
Psephinus
Third Wall
Wall
Valley
Gate
Gate
Bridge
Simon's Tower
TEMPLE
Solomon's Porch
Kidron
Circumvallation
Mount of Olives
Herod's Mon.
John's Mon.
Amygdalon
Western Valley
First Wall
John's Tower
Court of the Gentiles
Triple Porch
Double Royal
Gate
Grotto of S. James
Hippicus
Gate
Phasael
Mariamne
Gate Genath
Xystus
Hasmonæan Palace
Herod's Palace and Gardens
Wall of Circumvallation
Valley of Hinnom
Present
CITY
(UPPER AGORA)
Wall
OPHLAS
Palace of Helena
Palace of Monobazus
Virgin's Fountain (Solomon's Pool)
Present
Wall
BETHSO
UPPER
Cœnaculum
Aqueduct
Supposed
Tyropœon
AKRA
LOWER CITY
Tunnel
Stairs
Pool of Siloam
Valley of Wall
Maudslay's Scarp
Gate
Pilate's
South
Wall
Gate
Gate
Akeldama
Pompey's Camp
Mon. of Ananus
Fountain (Bir Eyyub)
SCALE
0
500
1000
1500
2000
2500
2640 Feet = ½ Mile

as speaking of 'a new construction necessitated by the growth of the new suburb on the north-western hill' (*The Story of Jerusalem*, p. 85). The Second Wall is usually identified with the North Wall of Nehemiah (Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 204). In the opinion of Smith 'we do not know how the Second Wall ran from the First to the Tyropœon; we do not know whether it ran inside or outside the site of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre' (*ib.* p. 249). Wilson also leaves the question open (*Golgotha*, p. 137).

(*c*) *Third Wall.*—As already noted, the line of the Third Wall is bound up with the question of the line of the Second Wall. Following Robinson, both Merrill (*Ancient Jerusalem*, ch. xxiv.) and Paton (*Jerusalem in Bible Times*, pp. 111–115) place it a considerable distance N. of the modern city wall. Most other students of the subject are content to accept the present North Wall as marking the site of the Third or Agrippa's Wall. Conder (*The City of Jerusalem*, pp. 162–166) occupies an intermediate position, giving a northerly extension beyond the present limits only on the side W. of the Damascus Gate. The wall was commenced about A.D. 41 on a colossal plan; but, suspicion having been aroused, operations had to be suspended by order of Claudius. The wall was hurriedly completed before the days of the siege. The main purpose of the Third Wall was to enclose within the fortified area of the city the new suburb of Bezetha, which had grown up since Herod the Great's time on the ridge N. of the Temple and Antonia. The most conspicuous feature on the wall was the Tower of Psephinus at the N.W. corner, which is named in conjunction with the three great towers of Herod, and may have existed at an earlier time (Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 487), being also the work of Herod (*EBi* ii. 2428). The W. extremity of the wall was at Hippicus; the N.W. point at Psephinus; the N.E. point, according to Josephus, at the Tower of the Corner, opposite the 'Monument of the Fuller'; and the E. extremity at the old wall in the Kidron Valley, *i.e.* the N.E. point of the Temple enclosure. Merrill's view (*Anc. Jerus.*, pp. 44, 51) is that the line of this wall in its southerly trend would cut the line of the present wall a little E. of Herod's Gate; in other words, the present N.E. corner of the city was not within the walls of Jerusalem before its destruction by Titus. This view has much to commend it, although it is not admitted by those who advocate that the Third Wall followed the line of the present wall in its entire course (Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 245 ff.).

ii. TEMPLE WALLS.—The remainder of the perimeter of the outer wall of Jerusalem was made up by the E. wall of the Temple, which in Herod's time coincided with the city wall (Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 234 f.). The enclosure of the sanctuary did not, however, extend so far N. as it does to-day. Warren's Scarp, as it is called, marks the N. limit of the outer court of Herod's temple (*ExpT* xx. [1908–09] 66). This would cut the E. wall only slightly N. of the present Golden Gate. An extension to the N. was perhaps made by Agrippa I. (Smith, *Jerusalem*, i. 237 f.), but even then the N. boundary must have fallen considerably short of the present wall. The fore-court of Antonia must therefore have projected some distance into the present Ḥaram area, and the rock on which the castle stood, while scarped on the other three sides, must on the S. have formed part of the same ridge as that on which the Temple lay. The N. Temple area wall presumably joined this rock, while the W. Temple area wall started from the S.W. point of the fore-court of Antonia and ran S. to meet the S. wall lower down the Tyropœon Valley. Examination of the rock levels has proved that the S.W. corner of the Temple area is upon the far side of the valley, *i.e.* upon the S.W. Hill.

A proper understanding of this complex of walls is essential to an appreciation of Josephus's narrative of the siege of A.D. 70, which in turn gives the key to the whole situation within Jerusalem in the time of the apostles. The city was fortified in virtue of its complete circuit of walls. When the most northerly wall was breached it still was fortified by the second N. wall and all that remained. When the second wall was taken, access was given to the commercial suburb (*προάστειον*) in the Upper Tyropœon Valley. Antonia formed a fortress by itself, likewise the Temple both in its outer court and in the inner sanctuary. After the Temple was taken the way was open to the 'Lower City' and the Akra, which is almost synonymous with the 'Lower City,' *i.e.* the Lower Tyropœon Valley from the First Wall to the Pool of Siloam together with the S.E. Hill, of which Ophlas formed a part. Lastly, the S.W. Hill, on which stood the 'Upper City' with the 'Upper Agora,' was completely fortified, and doubtless the Palace of Herod at the N.W. corner of the 'Upper City' also was a strong place within four walls, with the three great towers upon the N. side.

iii. CHANGES IN THE CITY DURING THE APOSTOLIC AGE.—While there was nothing to equal the great building achievements of Herod the Great, activity was by no means stayed during the interval between the Death of Christ and the Destruction of Jerusalem (*c.* A.D. 30–70). This we judge from the fact that it was not until *c.* A.D. 64 that operations in the courts of the Temple were at an end. Even then the cessation of work involved about 18,000 men. To prevent disaffection and privation, they were transferred with the sanction of Agrippa II. to the work of paving the streets of the city (Jos. *Ant.* XX. ix. 7). Reference has already been made to the building of the Third Wall during the reign of Agrippa I., and this was necessitated by the growth of the suburb Bezetha, or New Town, lying north of Antonia and the Temple on the N.E. ridge. The Lower Aqueduct, which brought water to the Temple enclosure from a distance of 200 stadia, is ascribed to Pontius Pilate during the years preceding his recall and was in a way responsible for his demission of office (A.D. 36). Several palaces were built at this time—all overlooking the Tyropœon: that of Bernice, near the Palace of the Hasmonæans (see below); of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, who was resident in Jerusalem during the great famine (Ac 11[28]); of Monobazus, her son; and of Grapte, a near relative. Agrippa II. enlarged the Hasmonæan Palace, which was situated on the S.W. Hill near the bridge over the Tyropœon, and when finished overlooked the sanctuary. This was a cause of friction, and led to the building of a screen within the sacred area (*Ant.* XX. viii. 11). Most of these notable buildings were destroyed or plundered during the faction fights on the eve of the siege (*BJ* II. xvii. 6, IV. ix. 11) and during its course (VI. vii. 1).

While stone was freely used in construction, it ought to be realized that timber also played a large part—much more so than at the present day (Merrill, *Anc. Jerus.*, pp. 136, 150, 152). The Timber Market was in Bezetha, the new suburb. For ordinary building purposes wood was brought from a distance, but during the siege the Romans availed themselves of the trees growing in the environs, totally altering the external aspect of the city. Still more fatal to its beauty was the havoc wrought by fire within the Temple area, and in the various quarters of the city after the victory of the Romans, and most of all in the execution of Titus's order to raze the city to the ground. In spite of Josephus's testimony, all writers are not

of one mind regarding the extent of the ruin. Thus Wilson says of the 'Upper City' at least: 'Many houses must have remained intact. The military requirements of the Roman garrison necessitated some demolition; but there is no evidence that a plough was passed over the ruins, or that Titus ever intended that the city should never be rebuilt' (*Golgotha*, p. 52; cf. Merrill, *Anc. Jerus.*, p. 179).

iv. SACRED SITES PERTAINING TO THE APOSTOLIC AGE.—For this department of our subject we must call in the aid of tradition, in so far as this appears to be in any measure worthy of credence. The sites to be dealt with are mostly suggested by the narrative of the Book of Acts.

(*a*) *The Cœnaculum.*—Outside the present S. city wall on the S.W. Hill lies a complex of buildings, which since the 16th cent. have been in Moslem possession and are termed *en-Nebi Dâ'ûd*. Underground is supposed to be the Tomb of David, but this part is not open to the inspection of Christians. Immediately above this is a vaulted room (showing 14th cent. architecture), which is now identified with the 'large upper room' in which the Last Supper was held, where Christ appeared to His disciples, in which the early Christians assembled, and where the Holy Ghost was given. It is supposed to be the house of Mary, the mother of John Mark. According to a later tradition—which probably arose from a confusion of this Mary with the Mother of Jesus—this is also the scene of the death of the Virgin. Here also Stephen was thought to be martyred (still later). The earliest tradition with which we are here concerned dates from the 4th cent. A.D., being preserved by Epiphanius (*de Mens. et Pond.* xiv. [Migne, *Patr. Græca*, xliii. col. 259 ff.]; cf. Wilson, *Golgotha*, p. 173):

'He [Hadrian] found the whole city razed to the ground, and the Temple of the Lord trodden under foot, there being only a few houses standing, and the Church of God, a small building, on the place where the disciples on their return from the Mount of Olives, after the Saviour's Ascension, assembled in the upper chamber. This was built in the part of Sion which had escaped destruction, together with some buildings round about Sion, and seven synagogues that stood alone in Sion like cottages.'

Since then there have been many changes in the buildings themselves and in their owners, but the tradition has been constant. What it is worth still awaits the test, but, as Stanley says: 'there is one circumstance which, if proved, would greatly endanger the claims of the "Cœnaculum." It stands above the vault of the traditional Tomb of David, and we can hardly suppose that any residence, at the time of the Christian era, could have stood within the precincts of the Royal Sepulchre' (*Sinai and Palestine*, new ed., London, 1877, p. 456). It may be noted that the Tomb of David is now sought, although it has not been found, on the S.E. Hill, where, in the opinion of most, the 'City of David,' or Zion, lay (Paton, *Jerusalem*, p. 74 f.). From the language of Ac 2^{29} the tomb was evidently in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem (cf. *Ant.* XIII. viii. 4, XVI. vii. 1, *BJ* I. ii. 5). Sanday is prepared to give the tradition about the Cœnaculum 'an unqualified adhesion' (*Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, p. 78), and proceeds to argue the matter at length (pp. 78–88). His argument is contested by G. A. Smith (*Jerusalem*, ii. 567 ff.), whose opinion is that 'while the facts alleged (by Dr. Sanday) are within the bounds of possibility, they are not very probable' (p. 568). Wilson is more favourable, and thinks that here 'amidst soldiers and civilians drawn from all parts of the known world, the Christians may have settled down on their return from Pella, making many converts and worshipping in a small building [see Epiphanius, as above] which in happier times was to become the "Mother Church of Sion," the "mother of all the churches"' (*Golgotha*, p. 54; cf. T. Zahn, *Introduction to the NT*, ii. 447 f.).

(*b*) *The Temple and its precincts.*—Although tradition has fixed on one spot as being the special meeting-place of the first Christians, there can be no doubt they still continued to frequent the Temple. While they had indeed become Christians they did not cease to be Jews, at least not that section which remained in Jerusalem during the years preceding the Fall of the city. Accordingly we find in the Book of Acts a considerable body of evidence regarding the presence of Christians in and about the Temple. A detailed notice of all these references properly belongs to another article (TEMPLE), but a brief mention of those concerning the environs may here be made.

(*a*) 'Peter and John were going up into the temple at the hour of prayer' (Ac 3^{1}). This is topographically exact, whether we take the outer court or the sanctuary proper, which only Jews could enter (Ac $21^{28ff.}$). There were ramps and stairs and steps at many points. An exception would have to be made if we accepted Conder's identification of the Beautiful Door or Gate (Ac $3^{2.\ 10}$) as being the main entrance on the W., 'probably at the end of the bridge leading to the Royal Cloister' (*The City of Jerusalem*, p. 129). But for several reasons this cannot be entertained. A. R. S. Kennedy has shown (*ExpT* xx. 270 ff.; cf. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [1885] 280) that the Beautiful Door is to be sought in the inner courts, and preferably on the E. side of the Court of the Women. Little value can be attached to the tradition that the Golden Gate above the Kidron Valley is the gate referred to in Ac 3^{2}.

(*β*) The porch or portico along the E. side of the Temple area is the Solomon's Porch of Ac 3^{11} 5^{12}. Its appearance may be realized from the frontispiece (by P. Waterhouse) of *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, where a full view is given of the so-called Royal Porch on the S. side. This is generally supposed to have had an exit on the W. by a bridge crossing the Tyropœon (see Conder, above) at Robinson's Arch, but Kennedy has shown that nearly all moderns are in error about this (*ExpT* xx. 67; cf. Jos. *Ant.* XV. xi. 5). On the W. and N. sides there were also porches or cloisters which met at the entrance to Antonia.

(*c*) *Antonia.*—This fortress is about the most certainly defined spot within the walls of Jerusalem. To-day it is occupied in part by the Turkish barracks, on the N.W. of the Haram area. In Herod the Great's time the castle was re-built on a grand scale and strongly fortified. Later it was occupied as a barracks (*παρεμβολή*, Ac $21^{34.\ 37}$, etc.) by the Romans, who here maintained a legion (*τάγμα* [*BJ* V. v. 8], understood by Schürer [*HJP* I. ii. (1890) 55] as='cohort'; this is not accepted by Merrill [*Anc. Jerus.* 216 f.]). As shown above, it is probable that some slight re-adjustment of the forecourt of Antonia and of the N. side of the Temple area had taken place in the interval following Herod the Great's reign. From the vivid narrative of Ac $21^{27ff.}$ it is evident that the Temple area was at a lower level than the Castle, for stairs led down to the court. According to Josephus (*BJ* V. v. 8), on the corner where Antonia joined the N. and W. cloisters of the Temple it had gangways down to them both for the passage of the guard at the Jewish festivals. While the exact plan of the ground can hardly be determined, there seems to be no justification for 'a valley' and 'a double bridge,' as supposed by Sanday and Waterhouse (*Sacred Sites*, p. 108 and plan [p. 116]; cf. Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 499 n.). By cutting down the cloisters a barricade could be erected to prevent entrance to the Temple courts from the Castle, as was done by the Jews in the time of Florus (A.D. 66

[*BJ* II. xv. 6; cf. VI. ii. 9, iii. 1]). Opinion is divided as to whether the Roman procurator made his headquarters in Antonia or in Herod's Palace on the S.W. Hill, but the evidence seems to be in favour of the latter. This appears most clearly from the proceedings in the time of Florus (*BJ* II. xiv. 8, 9; see Wilson, *Golgotha*, p. 41 f.; Smith, *Jerusalem*, ii. 573 ff.). Antonia was certainly used as a place of detention, as is plain from Ac 22^{30}. This leads us to remark on the position of—

(*d*) *The Council House.*—The meeting-place of the Sanhedrin in apostolic times is of some importance in view of the experience of St. Peter, St. John, and St. Paul. From data provided by Josephus we judge that it lay between the Xystus and the W. porch of the Temple, *i.e.* near the point where the bridge crossed the Tyropœon. From Josephus (*BJ* VI. vi. 3) we also infer that it was in the 'Lower City,' for it perished together with Akra and the place called Ophlas. It is reasonable to seek in proximity to the Council House the prison of Ac 4^3 5^{18}; that of Ac 12^4 was probably in connexion with the Palace of Herod, where presumably Agrippa I. lived and maintained his own guard (see *Ant.* XIX. vii. 3). The traditional spot was shown in the 12th cent. E. of where this palace stood, in the heart of the 'Upper City,' while the present Zion Gate upon the S. was taken to be the iron gate of Ac 12^{10} (Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*, p. 16).

(*e*) *Sites associated with the proto-martyrs.*—(1) St. Stephen.—The association of St. Stephen with the Cœnaculum dates from the 8th cent., and with the modern *Bâb Sitti Maryam* (St. Stephen's Gate) from the 15th century. These traditions may be ignored, and attention fixed on the site N. of the city, where Eudocia's Church was built as early as the 5th century. Its site was recovered in 1881. It must be recalled that when St. Stephen perished (between A.D. 33 and 37) the Third Wall was not in existence, and the total irregularity of the proceedings at his stoning leads us to think that he was killed at the readiest point outside the city. If on the N. side, as the tradition bound up with Eudocia's Church seems to imply, it would probably be outside the gate of the Second Wall.

(2) James the Great, the brother of John, is supposed to have been beheaded in a prison now marked by the W. aisle of the Church of St. James in the Armenian Quarter—a tradition of no value. It is worthy of note, however, that, as in the case of St. Peter, the spot is not remote from the Palace of Herod.

(3) James the Just, 'the brother of Jesus, who was called the Christ' (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1), according to Hegesippus (preserved in Eusebius, *HE* II. xxiii. 4 ff.) also suffered a violent death (*c.* A.D. 62) after a mode which is very improbable (see *HDB*, art. 'James,' § 3), the stoning excepted, to which Josephus testifies. The Grotto of St. James near the S.E. corner of the Temple area, on the E. side of Kidron, is supposed to be his tomb (15th cent. tradition), or preferably his hiding-place (6th cent. tradition). While the tomb is as old as the days of the Apostle, or even older, the inscription above its entrance bears reference to the *Bᵉnê Ḥezir* (S. R. Driver, *Notes on Heb. Text of Books of Samuel*², 1913, p. xxi).

(*f*) *The tree (with the bridge) where Judas hanged himself*, and *Akeldama*, the field of blood (Ac 1^{19}), are shown, but there are rival sites for the latter, and the former has often changed (Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*, p. 18 f.).

(*g*) *Sites associated with the Virgin.*—Besides the tradition of the *Dormitio Sanctæ Mariæ*, the scene of the Virgin's death, in proximity to the Cœnaculum, the Tomb of the Virgin is marked by a church, originating in the 5th cent., in the valley of the Kidron, outside St. Stephen's Gate (Sanday, *Sacred Sites*, p. 85).

(*h*) *The scene of the Ascension.*—Discarding Lk 24^{50}, Christian tradition early laid hold upon the summit of the Mount of Olives (cf. Ac 1^{12}) as the scene of the Ascension. The motive for this will be understood from what has been written by Eusebius (*Demons. Evang.* vi. 18 [Migne, *Patr. Græca*, xxii. col. 457 f.]; cf. Wilson, *Golgotha*, p. 172):

'All believers in Christ flock together from all quarters of the earth, not as of old to behold the beauty of Jerusalem, or that they may worship in the former Temple which stood in Jerusalem, but that they may abide there, and both hear the story of Jerusalem, and also worship in the Mount of Olives over against Jerusalem, whither the glory of the Lord removed itself, leaving the earlier city. There, also, according to the published record, the feet of our Lord and Saviour, who was Himself the Word, and, through it, took upon Himself human form, stood upon the Mount of Olives near the cave which is now pointed out there.'

Constantine erected a basilica on the summit, where the Chapel of the Ascension now stands. His mother, the Empress Helena, built a church at the same point, and another, called the Eleona, to mark the cave where Christ taught His disciples (Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 124). The latter has recently been discovered and excavated (*RB*, 1911, pp. 219–265).

3. History.—i. JERUSALEM UNDER ROMAN PROCURATORS; AGRIPPA I. AND AGRIPPA II. (A.D. 30–70).—The writings of Josephus afford evidence that it is possible to narrate the history of events in Jerusalem during the Apostolic Age without reference to the Christians. From our point of view we must sit loose to the fortunes of the Jews as such, in whom Josephus was interested; but for a due appreciation of the history of the Christian Church in Jerusalem a sketch of contemporary events must first be given, special note being made of points of contact with the narrative of Acts.

Pontius Pilate continued in office for some years after the Death of Christ. At the beginning of his term (A.D. 26) he had shown marked disregard for the feelings of the Jews by introducing ensigns bearing images of Cæsar into Jerusalem. Later, he gave further offence by appropriating the Corban in order to carry out his scheme for the improvement of the water-supply of the city and of the Temple. Even though the work proceeded, Pilate's cruelty in this instance was not forgotten and helped to swell the account against him, which resulted in his recall for trial (A.D. 36). *Vitellius*, governor of Syria, paid a visit to Jerusalem at the Passover of the same year, and adopted a more conciliatory policy, remitting the market-toll and restoring the high-priestly vestments to the custody of the Jews. The procurators of Caligula's reign (A.D. 37–41) may be left out of account.

The government now passed into the hands of King *Agrippa I.*, who ruled in Jerusalem during the last years that the apostles as a body continued there (A.D. 41–44). Agrippa had already rendered service to the nation of the Jews by preventing Caligula from setting up his statue in the Temple. He was promoted by Claudius to be King of Judæa, as his grandfather Herod had been. He journeyed to Jerusalem, and as a thank-offering dedicated and deposited in the Temple a chain of gold, the gift of Caligula, in remembrance of the term he had passed in prison before good fortune attended him.

While keeping the favour of the Emperor, he also took measures further to ingratiate himself with the Jews. According to Josephus, so good a Jew was he that he omitted nothing that the Law required, and he loved to live continually at Jerusalem (*Ant.* XIX. vii. 3). His Jewish, or rather his Pharisaical, policy seems to have been at the root of his scheme for building the Third Wall,

and also explains his persecution of the Christians (Ac 12^3). His coins circulating in Jerusalem bore no image, as an accommodation to Jewish scruples. Outside the Holy City, however, he was as much under the influence of the Græco-Roman culture of the age as his grandfather had been. After his death, in the manner described in Ac 12^{23} (cf. *Ant.* XIX. viii. 2; see art. JOSEPHUS), Palestine reverted to the rule of procurators, so far as civil administration was concerned. In religious matters control was entrusted to Agrippa's brother, Herod the King of Chalcis, whom the younger Agrippa succeeded. Hence the intervention of the latter at the trial of St. Paul (Ac $25^{13ff.}$–26). With one or two exceptions the procurators who followed were distasteful to the Jews, whose discontent worked to a head in A.D. 66, when the open breach with Rome occurred.

Under *Cuspius Fadus* (A.D. 44–46) the custody of the high-priestly vestments was resumed by the Roman authorities, and once more they were guarded in Antonia, but this was countermanded upon a direct application of the Jews to Claudius. During the rule of Fadus and his successor *Tiberius Alexander* (A.D. 46–48) the people of Jerusalem, like their brethren throughout Judæa, were oppressed by the great famine (Ac $11^{28ff.}$), which Queen Helena of Adiabene, now resident in Jerusalem (see above), did much to relieve (*Ant.* XX. ii. 5, v. 2; cf. art. FAMINE). In the time of *Ventidius Cumanus* (A.D. 48–52) the impious act of a Roman soldier at the Passover season led to serious collision with the Roman power and to great loss of life (*Ant.* XX. v. 3, *BJ* II. xii. 1). This was the first of a series of troubles that led to Cumanus being recalled. *Antonius Felix* (A.D. 52–60) was sent in his stead, and under him matters proceeded from bad to worse. Owing to the violent methods of the *Sicarii*, life in Jerusalem became unsafe, and even the high priest Jonathan fell a victim to their daggers. Not only against Rome was there revolt, but also on the part of the priests against the high priests (*Ant.* XX. viii. 8). The events recorded in Ac 23 and 24 fall within the last two years of Felix's rule. *Porcius Festus* (60–62) succeeded Felix, and died in office. In the confusion following his death, which was fomented by Ananus the high priest, Agrippa II. intervened, and Ananus was displaced, but not before James, the brother of Christ, had suffered martyrdom at his hands (*Ant.* XX. ix. 1). The date (A.D. 62) is regarded as doubtful by Schürer (*HJP* I. ii. 187). *Albinus* (A.D. 62–64) devoted his energies to making himself rich, and under him anarchy prevailed, which became even worse under *Gessius Florus* (A.D. 64–66). His appropriation of the Temple treasures precipitated the great revolt from Rome, which ended with the Destruction of Jerusalem (Sept., A.D. 70).

Agrippa II. enters into the history of Jerusalem during the procuratorship of Festus, whose services he enlisted against the priests in their building of a wall within the Temple area counter to his heightened Palace (see above). Along with his sister Bernice he sought in other ways, outwardly at least, to conciliate the Jews. While Bernice performed a vow according to prescribed ritual (*BJ* II. xv. 1), Agrippa showed some zeal, but little discretion, in matters affecting the Temple. His efforts at mediation upon the outbreak of hostilities were in vain; he was forced to take sides with Rome, and appears in attendance upon Titus after he assumed the command.

The harrowing details of the last four years preceding the Fall of Jerusalem, the factions, privations, bloodshed, and ruin, lie apart from the history of the Apostolic Church, and are here omitted. At an early stage of the war the Christians escaped to Pella beyond Jordan (Euseb. *HE* III. v. 3), where they remained till peace was concluded and a return made possible. This is usually dated fully half a century later, after the founding of the Roman city Ælia Capitolina in the reign of Hadrian (A.D. 136), but nothing is known for certain beyond the fact of the return (Epiphanius, *de Mens. et Pond.* xv. [Migne, *Patr. Græca*, xliii. col. 261 f.]). Some would date the return as early as A.D. 73 (see Wilson, *Golgotha*, p. 54 f.).

ii. THE CHRISTIANS IN JERUSALEM. — Apart from the Book of Acts there is little information regarding the Christians during the years that they tarried in Jerusalem. A not unlikely tradition gives twelve years as the period that the Twelve remained at the first centre of the Church. After that arose persecution and consequent dispersion. This may be dated in the short reign of Agrippa I. (A.D. 41–44). Subsequent to this the Church in Jerusalem, which from the first had been Jewish-Christian, became pronouncedly Judaistic, perhaps an essential to its own preservation. Up to the time of the revolt (A.D. 66), while there were indeed conflicts with the Jewish authorities, more or less coincident with interregna in the procuratorship, there was no open breach. The sect was tolerated, as others were, by the Jewish leaders, so long as there was outward conformity to the ritual of the Temple. The progressive movement in Christianity was external to Jerusalem and even to Palestine; the Church in the metropolis of the faith became increasingly conservative, and in the end ceased to have any standing within the Church Catholic. But this did not take place until the post-Apostolic Age. Attention must be fixed chiefly on the first few decades following the Death of Christ, years in which originated much that became permanent within the Church as well as features that were destined to pass away.

(*a*) *The disciples and the Lord.*—Throughout the Book of Acts emphasis is laid upon the fact that Christ had risen from the dead. So far as can be discovered, the first Christians had no concern for the scene of the Crucifixion nor yet for the empty tomb. It was not until the 4th cent. A.D. that these spots, so venerated in after ages, came to be marked by a Christian edifice. The thoughts of the early Christians were upon the living and not the dead. They cherished the hope of the speedy return of Christ to earth in all the glory of His Second Coming, and reckoned that they lived in the time of the end, when the fullness of Messiah's Kingdom was about to be ushered in. This being the case, they made no provision for posterity in the way of erecting memorials to the Christ who had sojourned among them in the flesh, and, as the extracts from Patristic writers (see small type above) reveal, after 'sacred sites' began to be marked, they were those associated with the post-resurrection life of the Lord.

(*b*) *Relation of the Christians to other dwellers in the city.*—The desire to make converts to the faith must have brought the Christians into contact with their fellow-citizens and with those of the Dispersion who chanced to be present in the city. Their assembling in the Temple, for instance, was not simply to fulfil the Law (Ac 3^1), nor yet for the sake of meeting with each other (5^{12}), but to work upon the mass of the people through the words and wonders of the apostles. Only by public activity could the numbers have grown with the rapidity and to the extent they did. Of necessity this propaganda was attended by a measure of opposition from those who were the traditional enemies of the Lord. But, so long as Roman rule was exercised, persecution could not make headway. While thus mixing to some extent with other elements in the city, the Christians also lived a life apart for purposes of instruction and fellow-

ship, and for the performance of the simple ritual of the faith (Ac 2^{42} 12^{12}, etc.). There is no evidence that they possessed any special building like a synagogue. A private house, such as that of Mary, the mother of John Mark, would have served their purpose, and according to tradition (see above) this was the recognized centre. Even at the time of the so-called Council (Ac 15^{6}) no indication is given that the assembly was convened in an official building.

(*c*) *Organization.*—Those who had companied with Jesus in the days of His public ministry were from the outset regarded as leaders in the Church, and were in possession of special gifts and powers. To the Twelve, who were Hebrews, there were shortly added the Seven, perhaps as an accommodation to the Hellenists (Ac 6^{1}). This step probably marks the first cleavage in the ranks of the Christians, as they began to be called, and paved the way for the wider breach which in a few years severed those at the ancient centre of Jewish faith and practice from the numerically stronger division of Gentile believers in other places. Harnack regards it as possible that the Seven were 'Hellenistic rivals of the Twelve' (*The Constitution and Law of the Church*, 30), the chief being St. Stephen, whose adherents were persecuted after his death, the apostles themselves being let alone (*The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*[2], i. 50 f.; cf. Ac 8^{1}).

The appointment of the Seven reveals the fact that in one respect the initial practice of the Christians had been tentative and could not be sustained. The community of goods, which theoretically was an ideal system, ultimately proved unworkable, and was not imitated in other Christian communities. The poverty of the mother Church, which continued after Gentile churches had been planted at many points, has been regarded as the outcome of this experiment, but it is likely that the causes of this poverty in Jerusalem lay deeper than that. G. A. Smith (*Jerusalem*, ii. 563) has shown that Jerusalem is naturally a poor city, and he attributes her chronic poverty to the inadequacy of her own resources and the many non-productive members her population contained. These conditions were not altered in apostolic times. In view of the circumstance that at a comparatively late stage the further commission was given to St. Paul and Barnabas to remember the poor (Gal 2^{10}), *i.e.* at Jerusalem, this may conceivably be grounded not upon special need but upon the analogy of the tribute paid by those of the Diaspora to headquarters. 'The church at Jerusalem, together with the primitive apostles, considered themselves the central body of Christendom, and also the representatives of the true Israel' (Harnack, *Mission and Expansion*[2], i. 330 f.).

(*d*) *The position of James, the Lord's brother.*—More than any of the Twelve, who at first were so prominent, is James, the Lord's brother, associated with the Church in Jerusalem. He appears suddenly in Acts as possessed of authority equal to that of the greatest of the apostles, and at the Council he occupies the position of president. When St. Paul visited the city for the last time he reported himself to James and the elders. From extracts of Hegesippus preserved by Eusebius, and from Eusebius himself, we learn that James owed his outstanding position to his personal worth, as also to his relationship to Jesus, and it seems evident that he was the leading representative of Judaistic Christianity, of that section which by its adherence to the Law and the Temple was able to maintain itself in Jerusalem after others, even the chief apostles, had been compelled to leave the city. But James also suffered martyrdom (see above, 2, iv. (*e*)). He was followed by his cousin Symeon, whom Hegesippus (Euseb.) styles 'second bishop.' There is great diversity of opinion as to when this appointment was made (Wilson, *Golgotha*, p. 55 n.). The date of his death is placed *c.* A.D. 107. As Eusebius learned that until the siege of Hadrian (A.D. 135) there were fifteen bishops, all said to be of Hebrew descent (*HE* IV. v. 2), the tradition is hard to believe. Harnack thinks that relatives of Jesus or presbyters may be included in the number (*Mission and Expansion*[2], ii. 97).

(*e*) *Effect of the Fall of Jerusalem upon the Church there.*—The final destruction of the city in A.D. 70 is generally regarded as crucial not only for the Jews but also for the Christians, not because the latter were present at the time, but because there had perforce to be a severance from the former ways now that the Temple had ceased to be. But the importance of this event has been over-rated (A. C. McGiffert, *The Apostolic Age*, p. 546). As regards the Church Catholic, the centre, or centres, had already been moved, while the local church, which escaped the terrors of the siege, was small, tending indeed to extinction. The Church in Ælia Capitolina was Gentile-Christian, with Mark as first bishop. It fashioned for itself a new Zion, on the S.W. Hill; and when in the 3rd cent. Jerusalem became a resort of pilgrims, the 'sacred sites' did not include the Temple area, the Jewish Zion, which indeed was regarded by the Christians 'with an aversion which is really remarkable, and which increased as years passed by' (Watson, *Jerusalem*, p. 119).

LITERATURE.—(*a*) *Contemporary authorities and Patristic works* are frequently cited in the article, and need not be repeated.—(*b*) *Dictionary articles* are numerous: *HDB*, *SDB*, *DCG*, *EBi*, *JE*, etc.—(*c*) Of *topographical works* those found of most service are: C. W. Wilson, *Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre*, London, 1906; G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, do. 1907–08; L. B. Paton, *Jerusalem in Bible Times*, Chicago and London, 1908; C. R. Conder, *The City of Jerusalem*, London, 1909; S. Merrill, *Ancient Jerusalem*, London and New York, 1908; C. M. Watson, *The Story of Jerusalem*, do. 1912; F. J. Bliss and A. C. Dickie, *Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894–97*, London, 1898; W. Sanday and P. Waterhouse, *Sacred Sites of the Gospels*, Oxford, 1903. Other works not already cited: K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria*, Leipzig, 1912, pp. 19–90; F. Buhl, *Geog. des alten Palästina*, Freiburg and Leipzig, 1896, pp. 144–154; H. Vincent, *Jérusalem antique*, Paris, 1913 ff.—(*d*) *Historical works*: E. Schürer, *HJP*, Edinburgh, 1885–91; A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, do. 1897, pp. 36–93, 549–568; C. von Weizsäcker, *The Apostolic Age of the Christian Church*[2], Eng. tr., London, 1897–98, bk. i. chs. i.–iv., bk. ii. ch. iii., bk. iv. ch. i., bk. v. ch. ii.; A. Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*[2], Eng. tr., do. 1908, i. 44–64, 182–184, ii. 97–99, *The Constitution and Law of the Church in the First Two Centuries*, Eng. tr., do. 1910, pp. 1–39.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

JESSE ('Ιεσσαί).—Jesse is mentioned in Ac 13^{22} and Ro 15^{12} as the father of David.

JESTING (εὐτραπελία, Eph 5^{4}).—That the Greek word is used in an unfavourable sense is shown by its association with 'filthiness' and 'foolish talking,' as well as by its characterization as 'not befitting.' But in itself (being derived from εὖ, 'well,' and τρέπω, 'I turn') it was morally neutral, and originally it had a good sense. 'On the subject of pleasantness in sport,' says Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* II. vii. 13), 'he who is in the mean is a man of graceful wit, and the disposition graceful wit (εὐτραπελία); the excess ribaldry, and the person ribald; he who is in defect a clown, and the habit clownishness.' And again (IV. viii. 3), 'Those who neither say anything laughable themselves, nor approve of it in others, appear to be clownish and harsh, but those who are sportive with good taste are called εὐτράπελοι, as possessing versatility,' etc. This was a characteristic of the Athenians, whom Pericles praised as 'qualified to act in the most varied ways and with the most graceful versatility' (εὐτραπέλως [Thuc. ii. 41]). Aristotle admits that even 'buffoons are called men of graceful wit' (εὐτράπελοι), but questions their right to the term (IV.

viii. 3). The nearest Latin equivalent was *urbanitas*. But gradually the coinage was debased, and εὐτραπελία came to mean no more than badinage, persiflage, wit without the salt of grace; in Chrysostom's striking phrase, it was 'graceless grace' (χάρις ἄχαρις). See R. Trench, *NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 119 f. JAMES STRAHAN.

JESUS.—This is the Greek form of the Hebrew name *Joshua* ('salvation of Jahweh'), as we find it in the LXX and NT writings. It is thus applied to—

1. Jesus Christ; see art. CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY.

2. Joshua the son of Nun, who led Israel into Canaan; referred to by Stephen in his speech before the council (Ac 7[45]) and by the writer to the Hebrews (He 4[8]). See JOSHUA.

3. Jesus surnamed Justus (Col 4[11]), a Christian convert of Jewish descent who was with the Apostle Paul in Rome at the date of his writing the Epistle to the Colossians. He is described, along with Mark and Aristarchus, as a fellow-worker unto the Kingdom of God and as having been a comfort unto the Apostle. This reference singles out the three mentioned as the only members of the 'circumcision' who had been helpful to the Apostle in Rome, and reminds us of the constant hatred which the narrower Jewish Christians exhibited towards St. Paul, and also of the failure of many of the Roman Christians to assist and stand by the Apostle during his imprisonment (cf. Ph 2[20. 21], 2 Ti 4[10]). It has been pointed out that the mention of Jesus in this passage by the Apostle creates difficulties for those who impugn the authenticity of the Epistle and suggest that it is based on Philemon. If Philemon is genuine, why add an unknown name which might arouse suspicion? It is extremely unlikely that an imitator would add a name which so soon became sacred among Christians (cf. A. S. Peake, in *EGT*, 'Colossians,' 1903, p. 546). W. F. BOYD.

JESUS CHRIST.—See CHRIST, CHRISTOLOGY.

JEW, JEWESS.—The term 'Jew' (Heb. יְהוּדִי, Gr. Ἰουδαῖος) originally signified an inhabitant of the province of Judæa, or, more strictly, a member of the tribe of Judah in contrast with the people of the Northern Kingdom of the ten tribes. After the Babylonian captivity, however, the term was applied to any member of the ancient race of Israel, wherever settled and to whatever tribe he may have belonged. Josephus, referring to Nehemiah's use of the term in addressing the returned exiles, says: 'That is the name they are called by from the day that they came up from Babylon, which [name] is taken from the tribe of Judah, which came first to these places; and thence both they and the country gained that appellation' (*Ant.* XI. v. 7).

The name is almost always regarded as a purely racial designation, marking off all who belonged to the ancient nation; but as the nation was distinguished from the heathen world by its religious views, the term came to signify one who was separated not only by race but by religion from the rest of mankind. The Jew himself preferred to be called an 'Israelite,' as the latter was the name of national honour and privilege (cf. art. ISRAEL), and we find 'Jew' to be the designation usually applied by foreigners to members of the Chosen People.

In the NT the term is found applied to those who belonged to the ancient race in contrast with various other groups or classes of men. The Jews themselves divided the whole world into Jews and Gentiles; and we find the Apostle Paul using this contrast in speaking of God's judgment on sin: 'tribulation and anguish, upon every soul of man that doeth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile' (Ro 2[9]). Again the term is used in contrasting Jews and Samaritans (Jn 4[9]), the latter being descended from the mixed race of ancient Israelites and the settlers introduced by the Assyrian conquerors (cf. 2 K 17[24-41]).

The Jew is also contrasted with the proselyte who was a Jew by his adopted religious beliefs, but not by birth (Ac 2[10]). In the Fourth Gospel we find the term 'Jews' applied to those who opposed the teaching of Jesus, as contrasted with believers in Christ, whatever their nationality might be; but generally the Jewish rulers seem to be indicated by the name in this Gospel. Thus 'the Jews' censure the man for carrying his bed on the Sabbath (5[10]), and contend with the man born blind (9[22]). Perhaps this usage of the Fourth Gospel arose from the influence of later times, when the Jews, and especially the Jewish authorities, were bitterly opposed to the teaching of Jesus. In the other parts of the NT the term is never used in contrast with believers in Christ. Thus in Gal 2[13] 'the Jews' are the Christians of Jewish race. In the Epistle to the Romans (2[28. 29]) we find a distinction made between a Jew who is such outwardly and a Jew who is such inwardly. Here, as also in Ro 3[1], the Apostle uses the term 'Jew,' where we should naturally expect to find 'Israelite,' to designate a member of the Chosen People as a recipient of special Divine favour. Some who belong to the Jewish race are not spiritually partakers of the blessings which attach to it. In the passage where the writer of the Apocalypse (2[9] 3[9]) speaks of those 'who say they are Jews, and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan,' he may be referring to men who made a false claim to belong to the Jewish nation, or to Jews by race who were far from belonging to the true Israel of God.

One of the most remarkable features in connexion with the Jews in the apostolic times was their world-wide dispersion. From Spain in the West to the Persian Gulf in the East Jews had settled in every large city. Their exclusive religion and their contempt of the heathen kept them together as a community within the larger population where they found a home, and their capacity for commerce often enabled them to become extremely wealthy. Their exclusiveness and the commercial dishonesty of many of them led to their being hated by the common people, while their wealth made them exceedingly useful to rulers and princes, who thus were induced to protect them. The Dispersion was one of the most important factors in the spread of the Christian faith in apostolic and sub-apostolic times. Wherever the apostolic missionaries went, they found a Jewish synagogue, where they had access not merely to the Jewish population, but to the more earnest among the heathen who had been attracted by the monotheism and the moral characteristics of Judaism, and who often formed the nucleus of a Christian Church. The Jewish religion was tolerated in the Roman Empire, being regarded as a *religio licita*; and, so long as Christianity grew up and flourished in the shelter of the synagogue, it too might be regarded as enjoying the same toleration. This fact no doubt enabled the new faith to secure a footing in these early days. In the Acts of the Apostles we see how the Roman proconsul Gallio (18[12-17]) simply regards Christianity as an insignificant variation of Judaism, and the same view is taken by King Agrippa (26[32]), as well as by the town-clerk of Ephesus (19[37]). The author of the Acts is careful to state these favourable opinions of officials. Probably, however, the popular hatred of the Jews, which was always smouldering and ready to burst forth at any

moment among the excitable populace, was one of the first causes of Christian persecution, as it took some considerable time before Christianity was fully recognized as an independent religion. The Jews themselves became the most persistent and implacable persecutors of the Christians. They were ever ready to stir up the disaffected people and divert attention from themselves by turning it on the adherents of the new faith. Probably the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by Claudius (Ac 18[2]) was the result of dissensions regarding the new religion, which had sprung from Judaism and threatened to overwhelm it. The reference of Suetonius (*Claudius*, 25) to *Chrestus*, which is probably a mistake for *Christus*, seems to favour this idea, although various views have been taken of the passage (cf. R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' p. 384 f.).

In Rome, as well as in many other cities of the Empire, Jews obtained considerable influence, in spite of the popular aversion to them. Their wealth opened many doors which otherwise would have remained shut against them. Jews, and especially Jewesses, were to be found in many prominent Roman families, and intermarriage between Jewish women and Gentiles was by no means uncommon. Thus Eunice, the mother of Timothy (Ac 16[1]), was a Jewess who had married a Greek, while Drusilla, the wife of Felix the governor of Syria (Ac 24[24]), is also described as a Jewess. In both references the word simply implies that the women belonged to the ancient race of Israel, without any thought of the particular tribe from which they may have claimed descent.

LITERATURE.—H. H. Milman, *History of the Jews*[3], 1863; J. J. I. Döllinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*, 1857; O. Holtzmann, *NTZG*, 1895; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4], 1901–11; A. Harnack, *Mission und Ausbreitung*[2], 1906; A. Berliner, *Geschichte der Juden in Rom*, 1893; W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, M. Dods, *EGT*, 'The Gospel of St. John,' 1897; Sanday-Headlam, *Romans*[5] (*ICC*, 1902); artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*.

W. F. BOYD.

JEZEBEL.—Jezebel is referred to in the NT in Rev 2[20]: 'I have somewhat against thee, because thou dost tolerate the woman Jezebel who calleth herself a prophetess, and teacheth my servants to commit fornication and to eat of things offered to idols and leadeth them astray.' [Some MSS, ℵCP and about 10 minuscules, insert σου after γυναῖκα, so as to give the sense 'thy wife,' but the σου is placed in the margin by WH and rejected by Nestle. It probably reflects some copyist's view that the 'angel' of the Church was its bishop.] The passage goes on to say that her misdoing was of some standing, that the woman gave no sign of amending her ways, and that therefore she and her companions in sin would be cast into a bed, or *triclinium*, defined as great affliction, while her children would be smitten with death. One result of this punishment would be that all the Churches would recognize Jesus as the Searcher of the thoughts and wills. Further, this Jezebel taught what she and her followers called 'the deep things,' to which the author sardonically adds 'of Satan.'

It is fairly clear from these hints what 'Jezebel' stands for. In the first place, the opprobrious term may mark an actual prophetess. For Thyatira possessed a temple of Artemis and a temple of a local hero Tyrimnus taken over by Apollo, while outside the city was the cell of an Eastern Sibyl known as Sambethe (*CIG* 3509: Fabius Zosimus set up a burial-place for himself and his sweetest wife Aurelia Pontiana in a vacant place in front of the city in the neighbourhood or quarter where was a fane of the Chaldæan Sambethe [vol. ii. p. 840]. The date is probably about A.D. 120). Though it is not at all probable that by Jezebel this Sibyl could be aimed at, seeing that the obnoxious teacher was within the Thyatiran Church, yet it is not improbable that a Chaldæan prophetess outside might stimulate a Christian prophetess inside the Church. It is of course always possible that Jezebel is not a personal name at all, but a scornful designation of a Gnostic group inside the Christian community at Thyatira, whose action and doctrine the author regarded as being like those of the OT Jezebel-religion, in that it tended to seduce its followers from the 'form of sound words.'

One characteristic of the civic life of Thyatira was to be found in the gilds into which the bakers, potters, weavers, and artificers in general were grouped. As one inscription (*CIG* 349) speaks of 'the priest of the Divine Father Tyrimnus,' and as all heathen religions celebrated periodically religious banquets, there is little doubt that from time to time Christian members of these gilds were faced by the question whether it was lawful for them to partake of these banquets as coming under the head of things offered to idols. Rigorists would hold that to eat at such banquets was to communicate with idols and so to commit spiritual fornication. Jezebel, whether a prophetess or a group, taught apparently that Christians might lawfully partake of these religious banquets, and this the writer of the Apocalypse regarded as equivalent to Jezebel's idolatry in the OT.

It is also plain that the followers of 'Jezebel' were Gnostics, for the latter were explicitly inquirers into the 'deep things,' the esoteric truths which the ordinary person was incompetent to understand. In 1 Co 2[10] St. Paul claims for his disciples that the Spirit who searches all things (same verb as is used in Rev 2[13]), yea, the deep things of God, had revealed these hidden things to them. The apocalyptic writer, however, is more concerned here with the opposite depths—those of Satan. Thus in 2[9] he speaks of the false Jews in Smyrna who formed a synagogue of Satan. In 2[13] he says that Satan had his throne at Pergamum. In 3[9] Philadelphia is charged with harbouring a synagogue of Satan. These passages, taken in connexion with the references to the teaching of Balaam in 2[14] and of the Nicolaitans in 2[15], favour the interpretation of Jezebel which sees in the name a term of opprobrium applied dyslogistically to a heretical sect or form of doctrine. That the depths of Satan are Gnostic doctrines is clear from Iren. (II. xxii. 1), who says that the Ptolemæans said that they had found the mysteries of Bythus, a phrase repeated in II. xxii. 3 (cf. Hippol. *Hær.* v. vi., and Tertullian, *adv. Valent.* i., *de Res. Carnis*, xix.). The name Jezebel does not occur anywhere in the Apostolic Fathers.

W. F. COBB.

JOB (Ἰώβ).—Job is named by Ezekiel (14[14. 20])—in the 6th cent. B.C., probably about two centuries before the writing of the Book of Job—along with Noah and Daniel as a proverbially righteous man. After the publication of the great drama, it was natural that he should be regarded rather as a model of patience in affliction (*ὑπόδειγμα τῆς κακοπαθείας καὶ μακροθυμίας*, Ja 5[10. 11]). While the profound speculations of the book regarding the problems of pain and destiny, as well as the theological doctrine which the poet intended to teach, might be beyond the grasp of the ordinary reader, the moral appeal of the simple opening story came home to all suffering humanity. 'Ye have heard of the patience (*τὴν ὑπομονήν*) of Job' (5[11]). Similarly the conclusion of the tale, which revealed God's final purpose in regard to His servant (*τὸ τέλος κυρίου*), proving Him to be full of pity and merciful (*πολύ-*

σπλαγχνος καὶ οἰκτίρμων), presented a situation which all readers might be asked to observe. The imperative ἴδετε, which is as well supported as εἴδετε, calls their attention to a surprising fact, which they might well mark, learn, and inwardly digest. The Qur'ān repeats the admonition and the lesson. 'And remember Job; when he cried unto the Lord, saying, Verily evil hath afflicted me: but thou art the most merciful of all those who show mercy. Wherefore we [God] heard him and relieved him from the evil which was upon him, and we restored unto him his family,' etc. (*sūra* 21). 'Verily we found him a patient person: how excellent a servant was he' (*sūra* 38).

JAMES STRAHAN.

JOEL ('Ιωήλ).—Joel is proved by internal evidence to have been one of the latest of the Hebrew prophets. The prominence in his writings of priests and ritual at home, and of a diaspora abroad, his reference to the distant sons of Greece, his use of Aramaic words, and the lurid apocalyptic colouring of his prophecies, clearly point to the Persian period. But Joel has not the wide outlook of some of the other prophets. He is not fascinated either by Isaiah's visions of Israel as the light of the Gentiles, or Malachi's of the heathen waiting upon Jahweh. He has not the humanitarian feeling of the author of Jonah, who may have been his contemporary. He is a rigid and exclusive Israelite. In his view the heathen, as being apparently beyond redemption, are to be destroyed, not to be won to the knowledge of God. But if he is narrow, he is intense; and while he cherishes the priestly ideals, his hope for Israel lies rather in such a diffusion of the prophetic spirit as shall create an inspired nation. Nothing less will satisfy him than the fulfilment of Moses' wish: 'Would to God that all Jahweh's people were prophets.' For him the goal of Hebrew history, the Divine event to which all things move, is that God shall, by the mighty working of His Spirit, so enlighten and control His people, so adapt them to share His confidence and receive His revelations, that the thrilling experiences which have hitherto been confined to the prophets shall then be shared by all Israel. 'Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, and your old men shall dream dreams, and your young men shall see visions: and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my spirit' ($2^{28.\ 29}$).

This particular prophecy wins for Joel a prominent place in the NT. St. Peter at once recognized its fulfilment in that outpouring of the Spirit, that baptism of fire, that Divine intoxication, which was experienced on the day of Pentecost. He quoted the prophet's words, and the question naturally arises how he interpreted 'upon all flesh.' Was he, like the prophet himself, still a particularist, extending the promised blessing to all the Jews of the Diaspora, but limiting it to them, and so making the old distinction of Israel from the heathen more marked than ever? Or did he there and then change his standpoint so as to include the nations in his purview? Did he in that hour of inspiration read into Joel's words the later universalism of St. Paul? Probably the issue did not become clear to his mind so soon. It was not a day for correct definitions but for overwhelming impressions. Enough that to the effusion of the Spirit there was meantime no limit of sex ('your sons and your daughters'), of age ('your young men, your old men'), or of condition ('my bondmen and my bondwomen'). Time would also show that there was to be no limit of race (Jew or Gentile); for however men (even prophets) may limit 'all flesh,' to Christ and His Church it means 'all humanity.'

JAMES STRAHAN.

JOHN.—See JAMES AND JOHN, SONS OF ZEBEDEE.

JOHN, EPISTLES OF.—I. *THE FIRST EPISTLE.*

1. Contents.—It is not easy to summarize the contents of the First Epistle. The 'aphoristic meditations' of this mystic writer are strung together in such fashion that they almost defy analysis. The most successful attempt is that of T. Häring ('Gedankengang und Grundgedanke des 1ten Johannesbriefs,' in *Theol. Abhandlungen C. von Weizsäcker gewidmet*, Freiburg i. B., 1892). If we cut off the first four verses, which are clearly an introduction, and also 5^{13-21}, which form a final summary, the main body of the Epistle gives us a triple presentation of two leading ideas. The *ethical* thesis, 'Without walking in light, more specially defined as love of the brethren, there can be no fellowship with God,' is developed in the sections 1^{5}–2^{17}, $2^{28(?)}$–3^{24}, 4^{7-21}. The *christological* thesis, 'Beware of those who deny that Jesus is the Christ,' is similarly developed in 2^{18-27}, 4^{1-6}, $5^{1(?\ 5)-12}$. In the first presentation (1^{5}–2^{27}) the two theses are stated without any indication of their mutual connexion; in the second (2^{28}–4^{6}) they are again presented in the same order, but the verses ($3^{23.\ 24}$) which form the transition from the one to the other are so worded as to bring out clearly the intimate connexion which the author finds between them ('his command is that we should believe, and love as he commanded'); in the third (4^{7}–5^{12}) they are inseparably intertwined. A rough analysis may be attempted.

1^{1-4}.—The introduction states the writer's purpose—to rekindle the true joy of fellowship in his readers, by recalling the old message of Life, which has been from the beginning, and of late has been manifested in Jesus, the Son of God (1^{1-4}).

1^{5}–2^{27}.—(*a*) The burden of that message is that God is Light. As the light must shine, so it is of His essence to reveal Himself to those whom He has made to share His fellowship. In spite of what some Gnostics may say, there is nothing in His nature that hides Him from all but a few select souls. But 'light' describes, so to speak, His character as well. Fellowship with Light is only possible for those who 'walk in light.' To claim fellowship, and go on committing deeds of darkness, is to tell a lie. But for those who try, He has prescribed a way of dealing with their partial failures (v.^{7}). Two similar false pleas are then set aside: the denial that sin is a real power, active for evil, in those who have sinned, and the denial that actual sin has been committed. They are shown to be contrary to experience, and to what we know of God's dealing with men (vv.$^{8-10}$). In 2^{1} the writer sets aside a false inference which might be drawn from what he has said. The universality of sin might seem to be an excuse for acquiescence. The writer states that he writes to prevent, not to condone, sin. And this is possible, for in the Christian society the means are ready to hand for dealing with the sins which occur. The Paraclete is pleading their cause in heaven, and He is the propitiation He ministers. And men can know how they stand. Obedience is the sign of knowledge of God. Men are in union with God when they try to follow the steps of the Christ (vv.$^{2-6}$). In vv.$^{7-17}$ thesis and warning are put forward on the grounds of the readers' circumstances and experiences. Obedience to command suggests a general statement of the command to love. 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour' is an old command. It received new force and meaning in the light of Christ's life, and the new life which Christians have learned to live. This is more clearly realized as in the new society the darkness passes away. A man cannot be in the light and

hate his brother Christian. Love lights the path, so that he can walk without stumbling.

The writer then turns to immediate circumstances (vv.[12-17]). The sin which keeps them far from God has been removed; the experience of the old and the strength of the young have secured victory (vv.[12. 13a]). This explains how he could write as he has written. Their knowledge and strength made it possible for him to use the words he has penned (vv.[13b. 14]). But there is need of hard striving. Love of the world may soon destroy all that they have gained. The world is passing; only that which is done according to God's will abides (vv.[15-17]).

(*b*) So he passes to the first statement of the christological thesis (vv.[18-27]). Faith in Jesus as the Christ is the test of fellowship with God. The passing of the transitory suggests the signs of the times. The last hour has struck. The saying 'Antichrist cometh' is being fulfilled in the many false teachers who have appeared. The Faith had gained a decisive victory, in the unmasking of the traitors, who had to go. The crisis had shown that all such false teachers, however they differed among themselves, were aliens, and no true members of the Body. This the readers knew, if they would use their knowledge. Their anointing had given to all of them knowledge to detect falsehood. Falsehood culminates in the denial that Jesus is the Messiah. This denial includes denial of the Father, in spite of Gnostic claims to superior knowledge. All true knowledge of the Father comes through the Son. It is gained in living and abiding union, the eternal life which He has promised (vv.[18-26]). This much he must write about the deceivers. If his readers had used their knowledge, he need not have written it (vv.[27. 28]). Let them abide, and confidence will be theirs when 'He' appears (v.[28]). Who can have this confidence? Those who know that God is just, and who therefore learn in the experience of Christian life that the doing of righteousness is the true test of the birth from God (v.[29]).

2^{28}–4^{6}.—(*a*) We pass to the second statement of the ethical thesis ($2^{28(?)}$–3^{24}): the doing of righteousness, *i.e.* love of the brethren, shown in active service, is the sign by which we may know that we are 'loving God.' In 3^{1-6} thesis and warning are considered in the light of the duty of self-purification, laid upon us by the gift of sonship and the hope of its consummation. Everyone who has this hope must of necessity purify himself here and now. Lawlessness does not consist only in disobeying the injunctions of a definite code. There is a higher Law which is broken by every act of ἁμαρτία, of failure to realize in life the ideal set before men in the human life of Jesus Christ. This is further explained in vv.[7-18], introduced by an earnest warning against deceivers. The doer of righteousness alone has attained to Christ-like righteousness. The doer of sin still belongs to the Devil, who has been working for sin throughout human history. So, if we realize that for us righteousness finds its clearest expression in love of the brethren, we gain a clear contrast: God's children, always striving to realize the ideal of sinless love, and the children of the Devil, striving after, or drifting towards, their own ideal of sinful hate and selfish greed. Sinlessness, *i.e.* righteousness, is not the monopoly of a chosen race, or section of men. It is the natural outcome of the new life which every man may have, if he will take it and use it, to follow Christ, not Cain, whose evil life found its natural expression in the final issue of hatred—murder with violence (v.[12]). Verses 13–18 contain variations on the same theme. The world's hatred should not surprise them; it is the natural attitude of those who cannot stand the sight of good. They really ought to know that love and death, murder and eternal life, have nothing in common. And Christ's example has shown what love is. At least they can show their love in helping their brethren. He who has not even got so far as that need not talk of God's love. With an exhortation to sincerity in loving service (v.[18]) the meditation passes over once more to the tests of truth. How can we know that we are on the side of truth, and still the accusations of our consciences?—By throwing ourselves on God's omniscience. When a man feels confidence towards God and finds that his prayers are answered—that he wishes for and does the things that God wills—his conscience ceases to accuse (vv.[19-22]). God's will is shown in His command—which is more than a series of precepts: He bids men have faith in Christ and love like His. These lead to fellowship with Him. Men know that they have it by their possession of the Spirit which He has given (vv.[23. 24]).

(*b*) Thus the interlacing of Faith and Love leads on to the second presentation of the christological thesis (4^{1-6}), in such a way as to show its vital connexion with the ethical. The mention of the Spirit suggests the form of the new statement. All spiritual phenomena could not be regarded as the work of God's Spirit. The spirits must be tested by their attitude to the Christ. The reality of the Incarnation as a permanent union between God and man is the vital truth. The statement ($4^{2. 3}$) is followed by a short meditation (vv.[4-6]) on the attitude of the Church and the world to the two confessions and those who make them. The spirits of truth and error are clearly discerned by the kinds of people who listen to them.

4^{7}–5^{12}.—In these verses, the last and most intricate section of the Epistle, we have the third presentation of the two theses. The remainder of ch. 4 is predominantly ethical, the opening verses of ch. 5 christological, or at least doctrinal. But the two theses are interwoven, and can hardly be separated. Love is the proof of fellowship with God, for God is Love. The true nature of love has been made clear, in terms intelligible to men, in the sending of His Son, as faith conceives it.

In the first explanation of the two combined ideas (4^{7-21}), it is shown that love based on faith in the revelation of love given in Christ's life and work is the proof of 'knowing God' and of being 'loved of God.' In the second explanation ($5^{1ff.}$) faith is first. Victory over the world—the forces opposed to God—is gained by faith in Jesus as the Messiah, the Son of God. This faith rests historically on a three-fold witness—of the water (the Baptism in which He was set apart for His Messianic work), of the suffering (which culminated on the Cross, and which has dealt with sin), and of the Spirit (who interprets these facts to men). And the work of the Spirit continues in those who follow Christ as thus conceived. They realize the truth in their own experience.

5^{13-21}.—So the last christological statement passes out into yet another answer to the question, 'How can we know?' (vv.[13-17]). True confidence is established when men know that prayer is heard because what is asked is in accordance with God's will. The true answer to prayer is the immediate consciousness that what is taken to God has reached His ear, and may be safely left in His care. Where intercession is possible it will succeed. Then (vv.[18-21]), with a triple οἴδαμεν, the writer sums up the things he has to say which matter most. Sin *can* be conquered; we belong to God, whom we have learned to know in the revelation of Him which His Son has brought down to men. The Epistle closes with the terse warning that His 'children' must reject all meaner conceptions of God.

2. The false teachers.—If the analysis given of the teaching of the First Epistle is correct, it follows that edification and exhortation rather than controversy are the writer's primary objects. He reiterates the leading ideas of his teaching, already familiar to his readers, to kindle once more the enthusiasm of their faith and first love, which is growing cold, to guard them from the dangers which threaten, and to give them tests by which they may 'know' the security of their Christian position.

At the same time it is clear that in all he writes he has in view definite forms of false teaching which have proved dangerous, errors both doctrinal and ethical, the fascination of which is a serious menace to their Christian life.

A careful study of the language of the Epistle makes it probable that the author is combating more than one kind of false teaching. His opponents are not all to be found in the same camp. The opinions which he refutes might all have been held by the same opponents; but they do not form a complete system: still less can they be separated into a series of complete homogeneous systems. Probably he offers a few leading truths which in his opinion are the antidote to the manifold errors by which his readers are threatened, while there is one particular party, to whose opinions recent circumstances have given a predominant importance.

The expressions used suggest variety. Many antichrists have come (2^{18}); all of them, whatever their differences may be, are aliens to the truth (v.[19]). The repeated use of *πᾶς* (vv.[21. 23]) suggests manifold and varied opposition. 'Those who lead astray' are spoken of in the plural (v.[26]). The one *χρίσμα*, which all have, should have taught them *all* things. The same variety is suggested by ch. 4. Many false prophets are gone out into the world. Every spirit which does not confess (dissolves?) Jesus is 'not of God'; Antichrist is working in many subordinates (vv.[2. 3]). It is only in ch. 5 that the writer seems to narrow the issues down to one particular form of error: the denial that the sufferings and death of Jesus were an essential part of His Messianic work. Even here his method is the same. He emphasizes a few fundamental truths which should safeguard his readers from all the varied dangers which threaten. A special incident is the occasion of his writing. He has in view several forms of error.

(1) *Judaism.*—Jews who have never accepted Christianity are not the only enemy. The words *ἐξ ἡμῶν ἐξῆλθον* (2^{19}) must refer to a definite secession of those who were generally recognized as Christians. But Jewish opposition is clearly a serious danger. This is shown by the writer's insistence on the confession that Jesus is the Messiah (2^{22}; cf. 4^2 5^6). The Jewish controversy is prominent throughout. The Jewish War and the Destruction of Jerusalem must have profoundly affected the relation of Judaism to Christianity. Jewish Christians were placed in a desperate position. Hitherto they had no doubt hoped against hope for the recognition of Jesus as Messiah by the majority of their countrymen. But the final catastrophe had come, and the Lord had not returned to save His people. Christians had not been slow to draw the obvious conclusion from the fate of Jerusalem. And Jewish Christians could expect nothing but the bitterest hostility from their fellow-countrymen. Apostasy was now the only possible condition of reunion. If some openly accepted the condition, many Jewish Christians must have been sorely tempted to think that their estimate of Jesus as Messiah had been mistaken, and to regard Him as a Prophet indeed, but not as Messiah, still less as the unique Son of God. This danger, which threatened Jewish Christians primarily, must have affected the whole body. The prominence of the Jewish controversy in the Fourth Gospel is now generally recognized. It is less prominent in the Epistle, but there is no essential difference of situation.

At the same time it is only *one* element in the situation. A. Wurm (*Die Irrlehrer im 1. Johannesbrief*, 1903) is not justified in deducing from the words of 2^{23} the exclusively Jewish character of the false teaching combated. The author certainly deduces the fact that the opponents 'have not the Father' from their false Christology. It does not follow, however, that he and his opponents were at one in their doctrine of the Father. He could not have written as he has unless they claimed to 'have the Father'; but they may have claimed it in a different sense from that of orthodox Christians. The passage is more easily explained if we suppose that the writer has in view a claim to a superior knowledge of the Father imparted to a few 'spiritual' natures, unattainable by the ordinary Christian. All true knowledge of the Father comes through Jesus, the Christ, the Son of God. By rejecting the truth about Jesus they forfeited all claim to knowledge of the Father.

(2) *Gnosticism.*—There is no clear evidence in the Epistles of the fully developed Gnostic systems of the 2nd century. There are, for instance, many simpler explanations of the use of *σπέρμα αὐτοῦ* in 3^9 than Pfleiderer's hypothesis that it refers to the system of Basilides. But undoubtedly Gnostic ideas are an important element in the mental circumstances of the writer and his age. The burden of his message is that God is Light (1^5), and the reiteration of this in negative form is probably aimed at the view that the Father of all is unknowable or that knowledge of Him is the monopoly of a 'pneumatic' minority. The Gnostic claim, real or supposed, that the *πνευματικοί* are superior to the obligations of the Moral Law is roughly handled. And the insistence with which intellectual claims are met by the challenge to fulfil the Christian duty of love and its obligations is significant. The confession demanded of 'Jesus Christ come in flesh' is a protest against the Gnostic doctrine of the impossibility of real union between the spiritual seed and flesh. And at the same time the writer's sympathy with Gnostic ideas is obvious. Here as elsewhere, he is always reminding his 'children' that they are old enough to refuse the evil and to choose the good.

Gnostic ideas afford no criterion for dating the Epistles of John. It is, of course, a perversion of history to assume that Gnostic ideas first came into contact with Christianity when Christians began to think in terms of Greek philosophy, towards the middle of the 2nd century. The movement is Oriental rather than Greek, and far older in date. But its reflexion in these Epistles is a patent fact.

(3) *Docetism.*—It is customary to speak of the Johannine Epistles, and also of the Gospel, as anti-Docetic (cf. Schmiedel [*EBi s.v.* 'John, Son of Zebedee,' § 57], Moffatt [*LNT*, 1911, p. 586]). If the term is used popularly of all teaching which denied or subverted the reality of the Incarnation, this is true. 'The Word was made Flesh,' 'Jesus Christ came in flesh,' are the watchwords of Gospel and Epistles. But there is no real trace in these writings of Docetism in the stricter sense of the term, *i.e.* the teaching denounced by Ignatius (*Smyrn.* 2 ff.; cf. *Trall.* 10 f.), which assigned a purely phantasmal body to the Lord. And it is probable that in the development of christological thought theories of pure Docetism are a later stage than the assumption of a temporary connexion between a Heavenly Power and the real manhood

of Jesus of Nazareth (cf., however, Lightfoot and Pfleiderer).

(4) *Cerinthianism.*—We have seen that the writer has to deal with dangers which threaten from several quarters. As the Epistle proceeds, his attack becomes more direct, and the christological passage in ch. 5 contains clearer reference to *one* definite form of error—the denial that Jesus, the Son of God, came by 'blood' as well as by 'water,' *i.e.* that the Sufferings and Death of Jesus were as essential a note of His Messianic work as the Baptism by John. This suits the teaching of Cerinthus as described by Irenæus (*c. Hær.* I. xxvi. 1): 'post baptismum descendisse in eum ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia Christum figura columbæ et tunc annunciasse incognitum patrem, et uirtutes perfecisse, in fine autem reuolasse iterum Christum de Iesu, et Iesum passum esse et resurrexisse, Christum autem impassibilem perseuerasse, existentem spiritalem.' The traditional view that ch. 5 contains a reference to Cerinthianism has been held by the majority of scholars of all schools who have dealt with the Epistle. This view has been seriously challenged especially by Wurm (*op. cit.*) and Clemen (*ZNTW* vi. [1905] 271 ff.) on the ground that 2^{23} excludes Cerinthianism, as it implies that the writer and his opponents are conscious of no difference of view in their doctrine of the Father. If the suggestion made above (§ 2 (1)) that that passage gains in point if the opponents claimed a superior 'having the Father' to that of ordinary Christians, the objection falls to the ground. The limits of this article preclude a general discussion of our knowledge of Cerinthianism. The present writer has discussed it at length in his *Johannine Epistles* (*ICC*, 1912), p. xlv ff.). There are good reasons for thinking that Hippolytus in his *Syntagma* ascribed to Cerinthus the view that the Spirit (not the Christ) descended on Jesus at the Baptism. If so, this gives additional force to the description in $5^{6f.}$ of the proper function of the Spirit. It would seem that Cerinthus continued these Judaizing and Gnostic tendencies which the author of these Epistles regarded as most dangerous. But 'many Antichrists had come to be' even if Cerinthus is most prominently in his thoughts.

(5) *Ethical error.*—In his denunciations of ethical error there is no reason to suppose that the writer has a different class of opponents in view. He could not have connected his ethical and christological theses as he has, if the two sources of danger had been separate. At the same time, in his practical warnings as well as in his christological teaching his words have a wider reference than one particular body of opponents. There is no reason to suppose that any of the opponents had been guilty of the grosser sins of the flesh. The phrase *ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκός* (2^{17}) does not imply this. And the Epistle is not directed against Antinomianism, as has been sometimes wrongly inferred from 3^{4}. It would seem that they claimed 'a superior knowledge of God to which ordinary Christians could not attain, while disregarding some at least of the requirements of the Christian code, especially the love which shows itself in active service for the brethren. They hardly recognized the obligation of the new command of Jn 13^{34}. While condemning lawlessness (cf. 3^{4})—and many of them no doubt recognized the obligations of the Mosaic Law—they failed to see that all falling short of the ideal revealed as possible in the human life of Jesus is disobedience to God's highest Law. The indifference of conduct, as compared with other supposed qualifications, as *e.g.* descent from Abraham, or possession of the 'pneumatic' seed, is clearly part of their ethical creed. In this sphere also a mixture of Judaizing and Gnostic tendencies such as may reasonably be attributed to Cerinthianism will explain the language of the Apostle in which the ethical shortcomings of the opponents are denounced.

3. Relation to the Gospel.—The authorship of the Epistles is closely connected with the question of the authorship of the Gospel. It is impossible to attempt here even a summary of the controversy. The relation, however, of the longer Epistle to the Gospel and to the shorter Epistles must be considered. The similarity of style and content is so marked that the obvious explanation of common authorship might seem to need no further discussion. But the views of an increasing number of competent critics cannot be neglected. Holtzmann's articles (*JPTh* vii. [1881], viii. [1882]) are still the fullest and fairest statement of the views of those who reject the idea of common authorship. A rough estimate makes the vocabulary of the Epistle 295 words, of which 69 only are not found in the Gospel. The general impression formed by reading verses or chapters of the documents is probably a safer guide. There can be no doubt as to the prevalence of characteristic and distinctive words and phrases common to both. The similarity extends to common types of phrases variously filled up. Attention has often been called to the following points of similarity in style: the carrying on of the thought by the use of *οὐ . . . ἀλλά*, by disconnected sentences, by the positive and negative expression of the same thought; the use of the demonstrative, *ἐν τούτῳ*, etc., followed by an explanatory clause to emphasize a thought; the repetition of emphatic words. Such phenomena leave us with the choice between an author, varying his own phrases and forms of expression, and a slavish imitator.

The similarity extends to content as well. The leading ideas—the reality of the Incarnation, the life which springs from Christ and is identified with Him, abiding in Christ and in God, the sending of the Son as the proof of God's love, the birth from God, the importance of witness, many well-known pairs of opposites—are equally prominent in both writings. They find that kind of similar but varied expression which suggests an author doing what he would with his own, rather than the work of a copyist. And the differences, though real, are not greater than are naturally explained by differences of time, circumstances, and object. The question of priority has also been the subject of long controversy. The priority of the Epistle has been maintained on the following grounds:

(1) The introductory verses are said to present an earlier stage of the Logos doctrine than the Prologue of the Gospel. The personal Logos is a stage not yet reached. Even if this is true, the facts might equally well be explained by the theory that in the Epistle we have a further accommodation to the growing Monarchianism of a later period. And if we take the whole Epistle into account, it is clear that the 'personal differentiation' of Father and Son is stated in the Epistle as definitely as in the Logos doctrine of the Gospel. And it is far easier to explain the opening expressions of the Epistle as a summary of that Prologue than *vice versa*.

(2) The *ἄλλος παράκλητος* of Jn 14^{16} has been explained by the doctrine of the Epistle which presents Christ as *παράκλητος*. But the two ideas are different, and not mutually exclusive. The *ἄλλος* of the Gospel finds its natural explanation in the approaching withdrawal of the bodily presence of the speaker.

(3) The Epistle shows an immediate expectation of the Parousia which the author of the Gospel is said to have abandoned, substituting the Presence of the Spirit for the hope of the Coming. Again,

the point, if true, is not decisive. It could as plausibly be explained as a modification of more original and less popular views. But serious divergence can only be maintained by the excision of $5^{26\text{-}29}$ $6^{39f.}$ and other inconvenient passages from the Gospel. The differences are definite, but not fundamental. The treatment of the Antichrist legend in the Epistle is as complete a process of 'spiritualization' as that of popular eschatology in the Gospel.

(4) It has also been maintained that on the subject of Propitiation the Epistle is nearer to the Pauline standpoint than the Gospel, which conceives of Christ's work merely as the glorifying of the Father by the Son's revelation of Him to men. Again there is a difference of relative prominence, but there is no reason to neglect what is involved in Jn 1^{36} $9^{51f.}$.

(5) In the record of the piercing of the side a misunderstanding of 1 Jn 5^{6} has been found by some writers. It is, however, more natural to see in the Epistle a reference to a well-known story, though the incident itself does not afford a complete explanation of the meaning of the verse.

(6) External evidence is equally indecisive. The probable 'quotation' of the Epistle by Polycarp proves nothing, especially if Schwartz and Lightfoot are right in their view that Papias knew and valued the Gospel.

On the other hand, there are many passages in the Epistle which seem unintelligible without a knowledge of corresponding passages in the Gospel to explain them. If there is no clear proof of borrowing in the Epistle, it is almost indisputable that 'the Gospel is original, the Epistle is not.' And it is hard to escape the general impression left by the study of the two documents, that in the Epistle the writer summarizes the important parts in the teaching of the Gospel, which his readers had failed to make their own. They were therefore in danger of falling victims to errors which their 'knowledge' ought to have enabled them to detect and avoid.

4. Relation to Mystery religions.—The time has hardly come for a satisfactory treatment of the question of the relation of the Johannine writings to the Mystery religions. The valuable work of Dieterich, Reitzenstein, and others is well known. But until the actual dates of documents can be determined with greater certainty than is at present possible, the influence of the Mysteries on early Christian thought and literature must remain a matter for conjecture. Reference may be made to the valuable treatise of C. Clemen (*Der Einfluss der Mysterienreligionen auf das älteste Christentum*, 1913) and to the admirable summary in Feine's *Theologie des Neuen Testaments*[2], 1911, p. 556 ff. with reference to the Johannine books.

II. *THE SHORTER EPISTLES.*—**1. Authorship.**—It is unnecessary to waste time in discussing the common authorship of the two shorter Epistles. The close parallelism of their general structure, and the similarity of their style, vocabulary, and ideas (see Harnack, *TU* xv. 3 [1897]) leave us with as high a degree of certainty as such evidence can ever give, though the reference which many scholars find in the Third Epistle to the Second is improbable. Their relation to the First Epistle is less certain. External and internal evidence raises the possibility of different authorship. The problem, however, is clearly similar to that of the relation of the First Epistle to the Gospel. A study of the facts leads to a similar answer. It is a case of common authorship or conscious imitation. The freedom of handling of the same tools points to the former alternative. The shorter Epistles are the most obviously 'genuine' of the five books generally attributed to St. John. Common sense and sound criticism alike shrink from the hypothesis that either the Gospel or the First Epistle is modelled on them.

2. Contents of Second Epistle.—The object of the second letter is to give advice to the church or family addressed in it about hospitality to Christians from other churches. The question of the reception of the higher order of ministers who moved from place to place ('apostles, prophets, teachers, evangelists'), and who claimed authority over the resident officers, was a burning one in early days, and the situation presupposed in this Epistle is parallel with that found in the *Didache*. The stages of development are similar, though it does not follow that they had been reached at the same date in both centres. The answer given to the question is the application of the two tests, practical and doctrinal, of the First Epistle. Those who 'walk in love' and who confess 'Jesus Christ coming in flesh' are to be welcomed. (A possible interpretation of *ἐρχόμενον* as opposed to *ἐληλυθότα* (1 Jn 4^{2}) suggests that doubts as to the Parousia had come into greater prominence, but this is far from certain.)

3. Destination of Second Epistle.—The controversy whether the letter is addressed to a church or an individual is still acute. The latter hypothesis has been ably maintained by Rendel Harris (*Expositor*, 6th ser. iii. [1901] 194 ff.) and others. The attempts to find a proper name either in Kyria or Eclecta are not convincing. If a lady is addressed, it is best to suppose that her name is not given. The language in which the writer's affection is expressed, and the subjects with which the letter deals, point to a church rather than to an individual. And the interchange of singular and plural in the use of the second person is almost decisive in favour of the former view.

4. Contents of Third Epistle.—The Third Epistle also deals with the question of hospitality to travelling missionaries and teachers, emphasizing in a particular instance the duty of Christians in this respect, as the Second deals with its necessary limitations. The objects of the letter are to claim a suitable welcome for some travelling missionaries about to visit the Church of Caius to whom the letter is addressed, and to re-instate Demetrius in the good opinion of the members of that church. The connexion of Demetrius with the missionary band is a matter of uncertainty. But it is clear that he had fallen under suspicion, and that Diotrephes, a prominent member of Caius's church, had succeeded in working on the resentment felt at the 'Elder's' support of a 'suspect,' to raise the question of the Elder's right to interfere in the affairs of the church, and to persuade his fellow-Christians to ignore a letter which the Elder had written to the church on the subject. On the whole, it is improbable that this letter (mentioned in v.[9]) is to be identified with the Second Epistle, which does not deal with the questions which must have been discussed in such a letter. But it is evident that the majority of the church are inclined to take the side of Diotrephes against the Elder, whose right of supervision is in serious danger of being set aside, though he is still confident that he can maintain it by personal intervention.

5. Historical background of the shorter Epistles.—Several interesting attempts have been made to reconstruct the historical background of the two shorter Epistles, among which mention should be made of the ingenious suggestions of J. Chapman (*JThSt* v. [1903–04] 357, 517), who finds the Demetrius of the Third Epistle in Demas (2 Ti 4^{10}), and identifies the church addressed as Thessalonica, while in the Second Epistle (cf. v.[4] with Jn $10^{17f.}$) he finds a warning addressed by the Presbyter, who may or may not be the son of

Zebedee, to the Church of Rome (cf. 1 P 5[13]), against the False Teachers, who are trying to get a hearing in the metropolis now that the First Epistle has closed the Asiatic churches to them. Vernon Bartlet's sound criticism (*JThSt* vi. [1904–05] 204) of the difficulties of these hypotheses should also be mentioned, and Rendel Harris's vigorous support of the view that the Second Letter is addressed to an individual lady and not to a church. Harnack's contribution (*TU* xv. 3) to the interpretation of the Epistles is of far more permanent value. He has shown the importance of their evidence as throwing light on an obscure period in the development of ecclesiastical organization in Asia, when the old missionary organization is breaking down, and the monarchical episcopate is beginning to emerge. He is, however, on less sure ground in arguing that the 'Presbyter' is fighting a losing battle against the new movement. It is at least as probable that he sees in it the best way of dealing with the dangers caused by the private ambitions of prominent members of the local churches, such as Diotrephes and other *προάγοντες*. But Harnack is probably right in his view that the differences found in the Ignatian Epistles point to a stage of development later by some fifteen or twenty years.

6. Date.—The questions of authorship and date cannot be discussed satisfactorily apart from the wider question of the authorship of the Fourth Gospel. If the view maintained above is correct, that the author of the Gospel wrote the Epistles at a somewhat later date, to emphasize those points in its teaching which seemed needed to meet the special dangers of somewhat changed circumstances, the date of the Epistles cannot be very long before or after the close of the 1st century. The only natural interpretation of the language of the first verse of the First Epistle is that the author claims to have been an eye-witness of the Ministry, unless indeed we are driven by other considerations to regard this as impossible. The tradition which assigned the two shorter Epistles to the 'Elder' offers the least difficult solution of a difficult problem. In the present state of our knowledge we must rest content with the suggestion that the same author is responsible for the First Epistle and the Gospel in something very like the form in which they have come down to us. It is probable that he has used the ideas and the recollections of another who was better qualified than himself to tell of the 'sacred words and no less sacred deeds' of the Lord, and to interpret them in the light of Christian experience.

The external evidence, which cannot be discussed in detail here, if naturally interpreted, points to similar conclusions. There is very little ground for doubting that Papias and Polycarp knew and valued the Epistles, or at least the first two Epistles. Probably the name of Ignatius should be added to the list. The traces of Johannine thought in his Epistles are clear. Reference may be made to the articles by H. J. Bardsley in *JThSt* xiv. [1912–13] 207, 489, though he has hardly succeeded in proving the *literary* use of apostolic documents. But the absence of direct references to the Apostle John, where we might reasonably expect them, are undoubtedly significant. The practically unanimous evidence of writers at the close of the 2nd cent. as to the Apostle's residence at Ephesus till the days of Trajan must be interpreted in the light of the probability of confusion between Elder and Apostle, and the strong probability that the work of Papias contained a statement of the martyrdom of John, the son of Zebedee. There are no serious grounds for setting aside the tradition which connects all the Johannine books with Asia Minor, and especially with Ephesus.

LITERATURE.—The only ancient Commentaries extant are those of Clement of Alexandria (on 1 and 2 John: extant only in Cassiodorus' Latin Summary [Clement, ed. Stählin, iii., 1909]), Œcumenius, Theophylact, Augustine, and Bede. Among modern Commentaries may be mentioned those of F. Lücke[3] (1820–56), J. E. Huther[4] (in Meyer's *Kommentar*, 1855–80), H. Ewald (1862), E. Haupt (Eng. tr., 1879), R. Rothe (1878), B. F. Westcott (1883), B. Weiss (in Meyer's *Kommentar*, 1899), H. J. Holtzmann[3] (in *Handkommentar zum NT*, 1908), and H. Windisch (in *Handbuch zum NT*, 1911).

Among the more important monographs and articles, besides those mentioned in the article, are W. A. Karl, *Johanneische Studien*, 1898; G. B. Stevens, *The Johannine Theology*, 1894; Wilamowitz, in *Hermes*, xxxiii. [1898], p. 531 ff.; Wohlenberg, in *NKZ* xxvi. [1902]; S. D. F. Salmond, in *HDB* ii. [1899] 728 ff.; R. Law, *Tests of Life*, 1909. A. E. BROOKE.

JOPPA ('Ιόππη; Josephus, 'Ιόπη; Arab. *Yâfâ*; modern name *Jaffa*).—Joppa is a maritime town of Palestine, 33 miles S.W. of Jerusalem. Built on an eminence visible far out at sea—whence its name, 'the conspicuous'—it owes its existence to a ridge of low and partly sunken rocks running out in a N.W. direction from the S. side of the town, and forming a harbour which, though small and insecure, is yet the best on the whole coast of Palestine.

Down to the time of the Maccabees, Joppa was a heathen town, which the Jews sometimes used but never possessed. Jonah's ship of Joppa was manned by a heathen crew (Jon 1[5]). One of the strongest proofs of the political sagacity of the three famous Maccabæan brothers lay in their resolve to make Judæa a maritime power. Each of them attempted to capture Joppa, and Simon succeeded. On the family memorial at Modin, meant for the eyes of 'all that sail on the sea,' he caused carved ships to be represented (1 Mac 13[29]). The historian, in eulogizing his career, says: 'And amid all his glory he took Joppa for a haven, and made it an entrance for the isles of the sea' (14[5]). From that time, with but few interruptions, Joppa remained in the possession of the Jews for more than two centuries. When Pompey (66 B.C.) included Judæa in the province of Syria, Joppa was one of the cities which 'he left in a state of freedom' (Jos. *Ant.* XIV. iv. 4); and Julius Cæsar decreed 'that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them as it formerly did' (x. 6).

No city was more completely judaized than this late possession. Joppa became as zealous for the Law, as patriotic, as impatient of Gentile control and culture, as Jerusalem herself. Herod the Great, who did much to hellenize Palestine, left the Pharisaic purity of Joppa untainted. Yet this stronghold of Jewish legalism was the city in which St. Peter received the vision which taught him that Jew and Gentile, as spiritually equal before God, must be impartially welcomed into the Church of Christ (Ac 10[9-16]). Nowhere was the contrast between the clean and the unclean—the devoutly scrupulous observers of the Law and the jostling crowd of foreigners—more marked. St. Peter probably never realized so intensely the need of ceremonial purification before his midday meal as when he brought into the tanner's house the defilement of contact with so many lawless and profane people. To his Jewish instincts such contamination was intolerable. But he experienced a swift and mysterious reaction, which was probably the result of much past brooding as well as of present prayer. While he lingered upon the housetop, waiting the call to eat, he became unconscious of the sights and sounds of the harbour beneath, and fell into a trance, in which he learned how different are God's thoughts of religious purity from man's. He became convinced that all manner of meats—and, inferentially, all manner of men—that were commonly counted unclean, were clean in

God's sight. It is as the birthplace of this revolutionary principle, which virtually gave the deathblow to Judaism, that the old town of Joppa has a place in the history of human thought. St. Peter, always impulsive and uncalculating, went straight to pagan Cæsarea, and delivered a speech which opened the gates of Christ's Church to 'every nation' (Ac 10^{35}). Joppa has also a place in the history of Christian beneficence. It is remembered as the home of a gentlewoman who was believed to have been raised from death to life, and whose example has in all ages been an incentive to 'good works and almsdeeds' (Ac 9^{36-42}).

To the ancient Greeks Joppa was known as the place where 'Andromeda was exposed to the sea-monster' (Strabo xvi. ii. 28). By primitive fancy the fury of the sea was ascribed to serpents and dragons. Modern writers rationalize the phenomenon. 'More boats are upset, and more lives are lost in the breakers at the north end of the ledge of rocks that defend the inner harbour, than anywhere else on this coast.' One cannot 'look without a shudder at this treacherous port, with its noisy surf tumbling over the rocks, as if on purpose to swallow up unfortunate boats. This is the *true monster* which has devoured many an Andromeda, for whose deliverance no gallant Perseus was at hand' (W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1864, p. 516).

Jaffa is now famous for its orange gardens and orchards, each of which has an unlimited supply of water. 'The entire plain seems to cover a river of vast breadth, percolating through the sand *en route* to the sea' (W. M. Thomson, *loc. cit.*).

LITERATURE.—E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [1885] 79-83; G. A. Smith, *HGHL*, 1897, p. 136 f.; H. B. Tristram, *Bible Places*, 1897, p. 70 f.; V. Guérin, *Description géographique . . . de la Palestine*: 'Judée,' 1869, i. 1 f. JAMES STRAHAN.

JOSEPH ('Ιωσήφ).—**1. The elder of Jacob's two sons** by Rachel, the eleventh Patriarch, the ancestor of the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. In St. Stephen's address before the Sanhedrin reference is made to Joseph's being sold by his brothers, God's presence with him in Egypt, his promotion to be governor of the land, his manifestation of himself to his brethren, his invitation to his father and all his kindred to migrate to Egypt (Ac 7^{9-14}), and finally, at a much later date, the rise of a Pharaoh who 'knew not Joseph' (7^{18}).

The question of the historicity of the narrative in Genesis was never raised by the Apostolic Church, nor by the modern Church till the dawn of the age of criticism. The critical verdict is that the story is based upon facts which have been idealized in the spirit of the earlier Hebrew prophets. That the tradition of a Hebrew minister in Egypt, who saved the country in time of famine, 'should be true in essentials is by no means improbable' (*J.* Skinner, *Genesis* [*ICC*, 1910] 441). Driver thinks it credible that an actual person, named Joseph, 'underwent *substantially* the experiences recounted of him in Gn.' (*HDB* ii. 771b). See H. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 1910, p. 356 f.

In He 11^{21} allusion is made to the blessing received by Joseph's two sons from his dying father. In 11^{22} Joseph is placed on the roll of the 'elders'—saints of the OT—who by their words and deeds gave evidence of their faith. The particular facts selected as proving his grasp of things unseen—which is the essence of faith (11^{1})—are his deathbed prediction of the exodus of the children of Israel and his commandment regarding the disposal of his bones (Gn $50^{24.\ 25}$; cf. Jos 24^{32}). Though he was an Egyptian governor, speaking the Egyptian language, and married to an Egyptian wife, he was at heart an unchanged Hebrew, and his dying eyes beheld the land from which he had been exiled as a boy, the homeland of every true Israelite.

2. Joseph Barsabbas, surnamed **Justus,** was one of those who accompanied Jesus during His whole public ministry and witnessed His Resurrection. He was therefore nominated, along with Matthias, for the office made vacant by the treachery and death of Judas Iscariot (Ac 1^{21-23}). After prayer 'the lot fell upon Matthias' (1^{26}). It is admitted even by radical critics that Jesus deliberately chose twelve disciples (corresponding to the twelve tribes of Israel), and it was natural that these should seek to keep their sacred number unimpaired. The name 'Barsabbas' (or 'Barsabas,' C, Vulg., Syrr.) has been variously explained as 'child of the Sabbath,' 'son of Sheba,' 'warrior,' or 'old man's son.' The Roman surname *Justus* was adopted in accordance with a Jewish custom which prevailed at the time—cf. 'John whose surname was Marcus' (Ac $12^{12.\ 25}$), and 'Saul, who is also Paulus' (13^{9}). It is a natural conjecture—no more—that this Joseph was the brother of Judas Barsabbas (15^{22}). Eusebius (*HE* i. 12) regards him as one of 'the Seventy' (Lk 10^{1}), and records (iii. 39) that a 'wonderful event happened respecting Justus, surnamed Barsabbas, who, though he drank a deadly poison, experienced nothing injurious (*μηδὲν ἀηδές*), by the grace of God.'

3. Joseph, surnamed **Barnabas** (Ac 4^{36}). See BARNABAS. JAMES STRAHAN.

JOSEPHUS.—For a proper understanding of the Apostolic Age there are, apart from the Epistles of Paul and the Acts of the Apostles, no documents of such value as the writings of Josephus.

1. Life and character.—We have an account of the life of Josephus from his own pen. He was born in Jerusalem in A.D. 37, his father being Matthias, a priest of noble lineage, and belonging to the first course of the priesthood, *i.e.* Jojarib, while on his mother's side he was connected with the royal Hasmonæan house. He was a child of excellent parts, and received a superior education. He studied the principles of the three main sects of Judaism under professional teachers of each, and lived for three years in the society of an ascetic hermit named Banus—a discipline then regarded as a desideratum of good breeding (we find something of the same kind in the early life of Seneca). At the age of nineteen he attached himself to the Pharisaic party. In A.D. 64 he visited Rome, where, through the influence of a Jewish actor named Alityrus, he succeeded in gaining the ear of the Empress Poppæa—first the mistress, and from A.D. 62 the wife, of Nero—and so securing the liberation of some Jewish priests who had been put in bonds by Felix. Josephus had scarcely returned to Jerusalem when, in A.D. 66, he was drawn into the movement which, springing from the long-accumulating hatred of Rome among the Jews, and fanned by the agitation of certain fanatics, soon burst forth in the lurid flames of revolt and war. It is true that the more eminent priestly ranks to which Josephus belonged, as also the leaders of the Pharisaic party, were altogether averse to an insurrection against the overwhelming power of the Roman Empire. Presently, however, the movement resolved itself so decisively into a national cause, a war of the Lord, that Josephus was quite unable to stand aloof. He undertook the command of Galilee, where, in spite of the personal hostility of the zealot John of Gischala, he organized the Jewish defence during the winter of 66-67. For six weeks he withstood with great skill and daring the Roman assault upon Jotapata, a fortress commanding the line of approach from Ptolemais, and then played his part with such address that, falling into the hands of the Romans as the last survivor of the siege, he caught the personal notice of Vespasian by means of a prophecy. His life was spared, and when his prediction was at length fulfilled by the proclamation of Vespasian as Emperor (3 July, A.D. 69), he regained his freedom. From that time he called himself Flavius Josephus, and for the remainder of the war—during the siege of Jerusalem—the erstwhile leader in the rebellion acted as adviser

and interpreter in the headquarters of Titus. Thereafter he accompanied the victorious Titus to Rome, and settled down as a *littérateur*, enjoying the esteem and the bounty of the Flavian Emperors, and devoting himself to the task of doing battle with spiritual weapons for the now politically shattered cause of his nation. As Josephus mentions the death of Agrippa II. (A.D. 100: Photius, *Cod.* 33), he must have survived till the reign of Trajan. He was four times married, and had five sons. According to Eus. *HE* III. ix. 2, a statue was raised in his honour, and his works were placed in the public library.

In personal character, as even the above brief outline of his career suffices to show, Josephus was not free from decidedly sinister traits. A thorough Jew, he was always able to make the most of his opportunities, and was not over-scrupulous as to the means he employed. Even his vanity serves to bring him into clearer light. As a man he was far from great. It is not, however, the man that concerns us here, but the historian; and if, even in that capacity, his talent was of a distinctly mediocre order, yet, in virtue of our interest in his subject, he is for us one of the most important historical authors we have.

2. Works.—(*a*) *The Jewish War.*—Josephus devoted his powers first of all to a work of the most vital moment for us, viz. a history of the Jewish war against Rome (*Bellum Judaicum* [referred to as *BJ*]). Although he had doubtless learned Greek in his youth, he felt that he could not yet write as a Greek author. He therefore composed his first work in his native language, *i.e.* Aramaic, and afterwards, with the help of literary collaborators, reproduced it in a Greek form, which, however, was not a mere translation, but rather a recast of the original. This Greek edition was published in the closing years of Vespasian's reign, between A.D. 75 and 79. As against the many unreliable and merely hearsay reports of the war, and the mischievous distortions of fact emanating from anti-Jewish feeling, Josephus proposed, as an eye-witness, to give an unbiased and veracious chronicle, which, by means of a just estimate of the Jewish people, of their good qualities and their military achievements, should not only exhibit in a clearer light the tragic element in the catastrophe they had brought upon themselves, but should also make manifest the real greatness of the Roman triumph. Accordingly, in the seven books of this work, after a survey of Jewish history from the Maccabæan revolt to the death of Herod the Great (bk. I.), he shows how events moved swiftly towards the rebellion: the mismanagement of affairs under the sons of Herod, the growing maladministration of the Roman procurators, and more particularly—after a short interlude of national Pharisaic ascendancy in the reign of Agrippa I.—of the incompetent Albinus and Gessius Florus (bk. II.). The history proper begins with the expedition of Vespasian to Judæa at a time when the whole land was already in arms: bk. III. describes the conquest of Galilee, with its two culminating points, the capture of Jotapata and that of Taricheæ; bk. IV. narrates the somewhat dilatory prosecution of the war to the time of Vespasian's being proclaimed Emperor, and his withdrawal to Egypt, and tells also of the anarchical state of Jerusalem; bks. V. and VI., starting from the return of Titus from Alexandria, describe the siege of the capital, and the internecine strife of the besieged, and close with the burning of the Temple (10th of the month Ab=July–August A.D. 70); and bk. VII. serves as an epilogue to the whole, recording the triumph of Titus and the long-protracted subjugation of the southern part of the country till the Fall of Masada (April 73). In bk. III. (ch. iii.) Josephus gives a description of Galilee, and in bk. V. (chs. iv. and v.) an account of Jerusalem, and of the Temple and its services. At the end of ch. v. he indicates his intention of dealing with the city more exhaustively in a later work.

(*b*) *The Antiquities.*—He fulfilled this design in his *Antiquities of the Jews*, which he completed in A.D. 93–94. The work was probably composed on the plan of the *Roman Archæology* of Dionysius of Halicarnassus, published almost exactly a century before (8 B.C.). In the *Antiquities* Josephus recounts in twenty books the history of his people from the creation of the world. His principal source was the OT, with which, however, he deals very freely, and he does not scruple to introduce Haggādic elements. In bk. I. he carries the narrative to the death of Isaac, and in II. to the exodus from Egypt; III. describes the giving of the Law; IV. the wanderings in the desert, and Moses' directions for the organization of the future commonwealth; V. the conquest of Canaan under Joshua and the Judges; VI. and VII. the reigns of Saul and David respectively; VIII.–X. the reign of Solomon, and the period of the kings until the Exile; XI. the restoration of the nation under Cyrus, and its history till Alexander the Great; XII. Judæa under the Seleucids; XIII. the Maccabæan revolt, and the Hasmonæan rule till Alexandra's death (67 B.C.); XIV. the intervention of the Romans under Pompey, consequent upon the wars between the brothers Hyrcanus and Aristobulus; XV. Herod's winning the crown, and his reign till the building of the Temple; XVI. the tragedy of Herod's family till the execution of Alexander and Aristobulus, the sons of Mariamne; XVII. the period from the execution of Antipater and the death of Herod till the deposition of Archelaus (A.D. 6); XVIII. the Roman administration; XIX. the period of the Emperors Gaius and Claudius—otherwise the reign of Agrippa I. († A.D. 44); XX. the last Roman procurators till the outbreak of the rebellion (A.D. 66). Thus bks. XIII.–XX. of the *Antiquities* run parallel with bks I. and II. of the *BJ*.

(*c*) *Minor works*; *projected works*; *pseudonymous works.*—Josephus hoped to supplement his *Antiquities* by a narrative bringing down the history to the reign of Domitian—*i.e.* by an abridgment and continuation of the *BJ* (*Ant.* XX. xi. 3 [267]),* and he also projected an account of the Jewish faith and the Jewish Law in four books (*ib.* [268]). Neither of these works, if ever written, has come down to us. The *Antiquities*, however, is followed by an autobiography (*Vita*), written after A.D. 100, and here Josephus endeavours to meet the charges with which Justus of Tiberias assailed his conduct during the war in Galilee in A.D. 66–67. The apology for Judaism in two books, in which Josephus replies to the attacks of Apion, an Alexandrian *littérateur* (*contra Apionem*), may be regarded as in some degree a compensation for the second of the projected works, and was composed subsequently to the *Antiquities*. The two works entitled *Of self-governing Reason* (περὶ αὐτοκράτορος λογισμοῦ—the so-called *Fourth Book of Maccabees*) and *Of the All* (περὶ τοῦ παντός), ascribed to Josephus by Eusebius and Photius respectively, are certainly not his. The former was probably written by an Alexandrian Jew; the latter, which survives only in a small fragment, is in all likelihood the work of Hippolytus.

3. Literary methods.—The manner in which Josephus seeks to present Judaism to the Greek mind ranks him among the Alexandrian apologists of that faith, though he claims to write merely as a historian; and, as a matter of fact, he owes more to the tradition of Palestinian Rabbinism than

* The divisions follow Whiston's Eng. translation, with the numbering of Niese's Gr. text in square brackets.

to that of Alexandria. His hellenizing tendency manifests itself strikingly in his reproduction of biblical history; unlike Philo, he gives the biblical names in a Greek form, writing Adamos, Abelos, Abramos, Isakos, Iakobos, Esauos, Iosepos, etc.; and, what is more, he hellenizes even the ideas, especially in the speeches and prayers of the Patriarchs, which he introduces quite in the style of contemporary historical composition, as *e.g.* in *Ant.* I. xviii. 6 [272 f.]; other instances are Solomon's prayers at the dedication of the Temple (VIII. iv. 2 f. [107 ff.]), and his correspondence with Hiram of Tyre (VIII. ii. 6, 7 [51–54]). A genuinely apologetic idea lies in the statement that the Egyptians owed their far-famed proficiency in mathematics and astrology to Abraham (I. viii. 2 [167]). Josephus tells us, further, that Moses composed in hexameters (II. xvi. 4 [346]), and David in trimeters and pentameters (VII. xii. 3 [305]). He devotes considerable space to the traditions—taken from the Epistle of Aristeas—regarding the Greek version of the Mosaic Law executed at the court of Ptolemy II., by seventy-two wise men from Jerusalem (XII. ii. [11–118]). But perhaps the most characteristic instance of his hellenizing tendency is his description of the Jewish sects (XIII. v. 9 [171–173], *BJ* II. viii. 2–14 [119–166]), which he seeks to divest of all political significance, and to represent as the exact counterparts of the philosophic schools of Greece (Pharisees = Stoics; Sadducees = Epicureans; and Essenes = Pythagoreans): an affinity which he tries to establish by introducing quite irrelevant considerations, such as their attitude to the problems of free-will and fate—thus misleading even modern investigators—while, as a matter of fact, the unphilosophical and non-Hellenic character of the sects reveals itself at every point. Thus Josephus, in spite of his Hellenic guise, is in all things a genuine Jew, a Palestinian Rabbi: witness, for instance—as compared with the tractates of Philo—his version of the story of Moses, where he not only gives us the name of Pharaoh's daughter (Thermuthis), but also relates how Moses as a child was presented to Pharaoh, and how, when the king put his diadem on the child's head, the latter threw it upon the ground; and again, how, when Moses had grown to manhood, and was in command of an Egyptian army in a war against Ethiopia, he broke a way into that all but inaccessible country by making use of ibises to destroy the serpents which obstructed the march, and further, how he captured the impregnable city of Saba (or Meroë; Philæ, an island in the Nile?) by gaining the love of Tharbis, the daughter of the Ethiopian king (*Ant.* II. ix. 5, 7 [224–227, 232–237], x. 2 [243–253]). This is pure Rabbinical Haggādā. Of the same character are the fabulous embellishments of the story of Joseph (II. iv. [39–59]), as also the many references to superstitions which the Jews of the day had in common with the Greeks, as *e.g.* in the stories about Solomon (VIII. ii. 5 [42 ff.]): here Josephus states that he had personally witnessed an exorcism which a Jew named Eleazar performed before Vespasian and his officers by means of a ring, a root, and certain incantations, all associated with Solomon. How little the horizon of Josephus extended beyond Palestine is shown also by the brevity with which he treats of the persecutions of the Jews in Alexandria, and of the famous embassy of Philo to the court of Gaius Caligula (XVIII. viii. 1 [257 ff.]).

4. Sources.—Josephus is throughout very dependent on his sources. Where the biblical narrative fails him, a constraint falls upon his language. Of the period between Cyrus and Alexander the Great he has nothing to record, and he lures the reader across the gap by a long extract from the *Epistle of Aristeas*. For the history of the Maccabees he keeps close to 1 Mac. For the succeeding period he cites numerous documents, which, unlike the speeches, he did not invent but probably quoted verbatim (as found in a collection formed by Agrippa I. ?). For the facts of universal history he was indebted first to Polybius (till 143 B.C.) and then to Strabo. For the reign of Herod the Great he manifestly utilizes the voluminous work of Nicolaus of Damascus, who, as the counsellor of Herod, had exalted his patron to the skies. It is true that Josephus controverts Nicolaus, but, while he sets many matters of detail in a different light, he borrows from him the actual facts; hence, too, the profusion of material in bks. XV.–XVII. as contrasted with the meagre data of the following period. But even for the latter he is not entirely dependent upon his own personal recollections, but falls back upon documents; and, in fact, while preparing this part of his *Antiquities*, he seems to have re-examined, and here and there to have more fully utilized, the same authorities from which he had already quoted more briefly in *BJ* I. and II. He has thus to some extent furnished us with the means of controlling his work as a historian.

5. Credibility.—Our estimate of the historic reliability of Josephus, despite the personal attestation of Titus and the sixty-two commendatory letters of Agrippa II. (*c. Apion.* i. 9 [51 f.], *Vit.* 65 [363 f.]), will scarcely be a favourable one if we compare the *Vita* with the relative sections of the *BJ*, inasmuch as each differs greatly from the other in the impression it conveys of his conduct during the Galilæan campaign. We must remember, however, that the former is really a book of personal reminiscences, and, like most works of its kind, exhibits the writer's tendency to exculpate himself; and it would therefore be far from right to found our judgment of Josephus as a historian upon the *Vita*. As regards the *BJ*, we may certainly affirm that it is a carefully executed work, and that in the *Antiquities* the author has in general reproduced—though with a veneer of Hellenism—what his sources supplied. But he exaggerates in his numerical data, and he overpraises the generosity of the Romans. As another misleading tendency we need only mention his having done his best to suppress the Messianic expectations of his people, or at least to purge them of all political import. He set the seal on this attitude by assuring Vespasian—the oppressor of his nation—in God's name that the coming sovereignty of the whole world should one day be his (*BJ* III. viii. 9 [401 f.]).

Nevertheless, the manner in which he has woven his materials into the texture of his narrative frequently arouses misgiving. A number of his references to other passages of his writings (cf. *Ant.* XI. viii. 1 [305], XVIII. ii. 5 [54]) cannot be verified in his extant works, and must therefore have been inadvertently taken over from the source he happened to be using. In chronology especially he shows himself to be a very unsafe guide. He has no regular method of dating—neither consulates nor reigns—and it is only occasionally that we find such chronological references as 'the third year of the 177th Olympiad, when Quintus Hortensius and Quintus Metellus were consuls' (*Ant.* XIV. i. 2 [4]), *i.e.* 67 B.C. Moreover, events from different sources and of different dates are thrown promiscuously together. A characteristic instance is found in the history of Pilate. While in *BJ* (II. ix. 2–4 [169–177]) Josephus refers to Pilate only in connexion with the two tumults which he caused by introducing into Jerusalem standards bearing the figure of the Emperor and by using the Temple funds for the construction of an aqueduct, he

apparently gives a much fuller record in *Ant.* (XVIII. ii. 2-iv. 2 [35-89]). Here, after referring to Valerius Gratus as the first procurator of Judæa under Tiberius (14-37)—the four successive changes in the high-priesthood being all that he thinks worthy of mention in the eleven years of that procuratorship—Josephus records (in XVIII. ii. 2 [35]) Pilate's accession to the office, an event that cannot be dated earlier than A.D. 26. But before dealing (in XVIII. iii. 1-2 [55-62]) with the tumults which he had already described in *BJ*, he describes from another source the founding of Tiberias by Herod Antipas (XVIII. ii. 3 [36-38]), the embroilments among the Parthians consequent upon the death of Phraates (A.D. 16; Tac. *Ann.* ii. 1 f.), the extinction of the royal house of Commagene in the death of Antiochus (A.D. 17; Tac. ii. 42), and the murder of Germanicus (10 Oct. A.D. 19; Tac. ii. 69 ff.). Next, after recounting the two Jewish tumults referred to, he relates two events which evidently had already been conjoined in the Roman tradition (Cluvius Rufus?), for only the second belongs to his subject (as giving an example of the ill-fortune that beset the Jews): the first deals with the outrage in the Temple of Isis in Rome, where the priests lent themselves to a trick by which a Roman lady of repute was beguiled *sub prætextu religionis* to yield herself to a lover (XVIII. iii. 4 [65-80]); the second with the fraud practised by four Jews upon another Roman matron—an incident which led to the expulsion of the Jews from Rome by the decree of Tiberius, and to the drafting of 4,000 recruits from amongst them to Sardinia (A.D. 19) (XVIII. iii. 5 [81-84]; cf. Tac. *Ann.* ii. 85). Then at length the narrative returns to Pilate, for the purpose of showing that he was deposed by Vitellius in consequence of a revolt of the Samaritans (XVIII. iv. 1 [85 ff.]), and that, after his ten years of office, he was sent to Rome to defend his actions before Tiberius, arriving there, however, only after the Emperor's death (16 March, A.D. 37). This outline will serve to show how little the narrative takes account of strict chronological sequence, as also—to take but one instance—how unwarranted it is of Schürer, on the supposed evidence of Josephus, to assign the foundation of Tiberias to a date after A.D. 25, while numismatists, with a considerable show of reason, had fixed it in A.D. 17. Similarly, from the statement of Josephus that the defeat of Herod Antipas in the war against his father-in-law Aretas of Arabia (an event which should probably be assigned to A.D. 36) was regarded as a punishment for his murder of John the Baptist, we have no right to draw conclusions as to the date of that event or to that of the entrance of Jesus upon His public ministry, as has been done by Keim and others, who have on the same grounds fixed upon A.D. 35 as the date of the Crucifixion.

6. Attitude to Christianity.—A question of the utmost importance is that of the attitude of Josephus to Christianity. As he describes the period in such minute detail, we naturally ask whether he ever alludes to that powerful movement amongst his fellow-countrymen; and his mention of the slaying of John the Baptist prompts the question whether he records the Crucifixion of Jesus and the martyrdom of His disciples. It is certainly true that in the *Antiquities*, between the two sections dealing, as noted above, with Pilate, we find the following passage (XVIII. iii. 3 [63-64]):

'Now about this time appeared Jesus, a wise man, if indeed one may call Him a man; for He was a doer of marvellous works, a teacher of such men as receive the truth with gladness, and He drew to Himself many of the Jews, as also many of the Greeks. He was the Christ; and when, on the indictment of the leading men amongst us, Pilate had sentenced Him to the Cross, those who loved Him at the first did not cease to do so; for on the third day He again appeared to them alive, as the divine prophets had affirmed these and innumerable other things concerning Him. And the race of Christians, which takes its name from Him, is not yet extinct.'

On the strength of this *testimonium de Christo*, which is quoted by Eusebius (*HE* I. xi. 7, 8; cf. *Demonstr. Evang.* III. iii. 105; *Theoph.* v. 44), Josephus was reckoned among Christian writers by Jerome (*de Vir. Illustr.* 13), and honoured as such throughout the Middle Ages. But modern criticism has thrown serious doubts upon the authenticity of the passage, and not without good reason. For not only does Origen seem to be unacquainted with it—otherwise he would certainly have referred to it in *in Matth.* tom. x. 17 and *c. Celsum*, i. 47—but, as regards its contents, it simply could not have come from a man like Josephus, more especially in view of the fact that, as we have seen, he anxiously avoids all reference to the Messianic expectations of his people. (The view, proposed by Burkitt and strengthened by Harnack, that Josephus used the failure of the Messianic movement in the case of Jesus for the purpose of demonstrating that no Messianic aspirations were left after this in the Jewish people, is not supported by the text as it stands.) Thus the only question that remains is whether an authentic statement of Josephus has been worked over by a Christian hand (so, recently, among others, the Roman Catholic scholar, J. Felten [*NTZG*, Regensburg, 1910, i. 618]), or whether the whole is an interpolation of Christian origin (so Niese, Naber, Schürer, and others). Even on the first alternative it is hardly possible to make out what Josephus himself could have written. The parallel cited by Zahn (*Forschungen zur Gesch. des neutest. Kanons*, vi. [Leipzig, 1900], p. 302) from the *Acta Pilati* belongs to the late Byzantine recension of that work, and is in reality an echo of the very passage under consideration.

A second passage of similar character is *Ant.* XX. ix. 1 [200 f.], where the judicial murder of James 'the brother of Jesus who was called Christ' (Messiah?) and of some others, by Ananus, the high priest, is referred to as having been disapproved of by the strict observers of the Law (Pharisees?). But here too the work of another hand is unmistakable: Origen (*locc. citt.*, and also *c. Celsum*, ii. 13) had read a similar interpolation in Josephus, though in some other part of his works.

The whole question has become somewhat more complicated by A. Berendts' discovery of a Slavonic recension of the *BJ*. Just as, side by side with the accurate Lat. version of the *Ant.* executed at the instance of Cassiodorus, a very free translation of the *BJ*, the *de Excidio Hierusalem* of Hegesippus (the so-called Iosippus), bearing a thoroughly Christian character, was current—often under the name of Ambrose—in the West, so there was found among the Slavonic MSS a very peculiar form of the *BJ*, giving a detailed account of the trial of Jesus. Berendts propounded the theory that this really represented the original form of the *BJ*, and had therefore preserved authentic utterances of Josephus regarding Christ (the *Slavonic Enoch*, which in part goes back to a Judæo-Aramaic original, would furnish a parallel case). Berendts was able to show that in this Slavonic *BJ* we have a record largely divergent from the Greek text, and exhibiting a markedly anti-Roman bias—a record, too, which, as *e.g.* in the chapter dealing with the Essenes, appears to have been used by Hippolytus, so that, in spite of the legendary air of many of its features, it is hardly reasonable, with Schürer and others, to assign it to a late date. Moreover, its references to Jesus are not of a character that suggests interpolation from the Christian side. Hence, if we reject the hypothesis of Berendts, the only theory that we have to fall back upon is that of an early Jewish redaction, as proposed by R. Seeberg and Frey. A final verdict will be possible only when the complete text is in our hands.

7. Relation of St. Luke to Josephus.—Finally, a question of special importance for our knowledge of the Apostolic Age is that of the relation of St. Luke to Josephus. Many scholars believe that the numerous resemblances between them—intelligible enough surely where both writers are dealing with the same period—can be explained only on the theory that St. Luke made use of Josephus.

Were this really the case, it would certainly be a fact of great importance, not only for our estimate of the Evangelist's credibility, but also for fixing the date of his works, which, on this theory, could not have been written till after the publication of the *Antiquities* (A.D. 93–94), *i.e.* the beginning of the 2nd century. The most thorough-going adherent of the theory is Krenkel (*Josephus und Lucas*), who finds, for instance, in St. Luke's narrative of the Infancy, a free reproduction from the *Vita*; but the majority restrict the theory to certain Lucan passages which they hold to be dependent on Josephus (*e.g.* Lk 3^{1}, Lysanias of Abilene, and Ac 25^{13}, Agrippa and Berenice with Festus, etc.). The crucial passage, however, is Ac $5^{36f.}$, with its inaccurate historical sequence, Theudas—Judas of Galilee; and the error is supposed to be explained by *Ant.* XX. v. 1, 2 [97 f., 102], where the slaying of the *sons* of Judas by Tiberius Alexander is recorded after the crushing of Theudas's insurrection by Cuspius Fadus. The theory would impute to St. Luke an almost incredible misunderstanding, which would indeed presuppose his having used Josephus in a manner so superficial as to lead one to say that, if he had ever read the work of Josephus at all, he must have forgotten it entirely. The two authors, in point of fact, are obviously quite independent of each other. Thus St. Luke ($13^{1f.}$) mentions a Galilæan revolt of which Josephus takes no cognizance, while the three revolts recorded by Josephus as having occurred under Pilate find no mention in Luke.

It is particularly instructive to compare their respective accounts of the death of Agrippa I. (*Ant.* XIX. viii. 2 [343–352]; Ac 12^{20-23}). Here Josephus writes as follows:

'Now when [Agrippa] had reigned three years over all Judæa he came to the city of Cæsarea, which was formerly called Strato's Tower, and there he provided games in honour of Cæsar, thus instituting a festival for the emperor's health. To this festival a great number of the officials and eminent people of the province had come together. On the second day of the games he put on a robe made wholly of silver and of a wonderful texture, and came into the theatre at the dawn of day. The silver, illuminated by the first beams of the sun, shone forth in a strangely awe-inspiring manner and gleamed fearfully in the eyes of those who looked on. Presently his flatterers, one here, another there, called out words which were not to turn out to his good, addressing him as a god, and adding: "Be thou propitious; if till now we feared thee as a man, henceforth we confess that thou art exalted above mortal nature." This the king did not rebuke, nor did he reject the impious flattery. But when after a while he looked upwards, he saw the owl [in XVIII. vi. 7 [195–200] it is related that the owl had appeared to Agrippa at Rome] sitting on a rope over his head, and he perceived at once that it was a messenger of misfortune, as it had formerly been a messenger of good fortune, and he experienced an anguish that struck through his heart. He was seized with severe intestinal pain, which set in with great force. Springing up, he said to his friends: "A god in your eyes, I must nevertheless even now resign my life: fate thus immediately punishes the lies you falsely spoke, and I, whom you named immortal, am carried away by death; but a man must accept his destiny, as it pleases God; yet we have lived by no means ill, but in a splendour worthy of praise." Having spoken these words, he was seized with increasing agony. He was accordingly carried hurriedly into the palace, and the news of his imminent death soon spread to all. Then the multitude, with wives and children, all lying in sackcloth, according to their native custom, besought God for the king, and everything was full of sighing and lamentation. And when the king, lying upon the high roof, looked down and saw them thus prostrated in prayer, he could not himself refrain from tears. After he had been sorely tormented with intestinal pains for five days, he resigned his life, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, and in the seventh of his reign.'

When we compare this diffuse narrative, with its sentimentality and superstition, with the short, vigorous, and sincerely pious record of St. Luke, we see at once the vast difference between the two writers: on the one side, Josephus, the hellenizing Jew; and, on the other, St. Luke, a Christian of heathen origin, reading history in the light of the Bible. For further comparison we might take, *e.g.*, the account of St. Paul's shipwreck (Ac 27. 28) and that of a similar experience of Josephus (*Vit.* 3 [14 ff.]). Josephus is of importance for us, therefore, not as a source of St. Luke's writings, but as a means of supplementing and checking them; and, indeed, it would be impossible without his help to write a history of New Testament times.

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E. VON DOBSCHÜTZ.

JOSES.—See BARNABAS.

JOSHUA (יְהוֹשֻׁעַ, later יֵשׁוּעַ, 'Jahweh is deliverance *or* salvation').—Joshua, the successor of Moses in the leadership of Israel, was named Ἰησοῦς in the LXX and NT, and therefore '**Jesus**' in the English AV; but the Revisers, in accordance with their rule of reproducing OT names in the Hebrew rather than the Greek form, have changed this into 'Joshua.' St. Stephen in his apologia speaks of the fathers entering with Joshua into the possession of the nations (Ac 7^{45}); and the writer of Hebrews, imbued with Alexandrian—*i.e.* Platonic and Philonic—teaching as to the distinction between visible things and their heavenly ideas, says that the rest which Joshua gave the Israelites, when he led them into the promised land, was after all not

the Rest of God, but only the material symbol suggesting the spiritual reality—the Sabbath-rest which remains in the unseen world for the people of God (He $4^{8.9}$). JAMES STRAHAN.

JOY.—1. Context.—Various words correspond in the original to the word 'joy' of the English Bible, its derivatives and synonyms. The terms *χαρά* and *χαίρειν* (etymologically allied to *χάρις*, 'charm,' 'grace') denote pleasurable feeling experienced in the mental sphere. On the other hand, *ἡδονή*, *ἥδεσθαι* (the verb not found in the NT) largely denote joy in the sphere of the senses. Alongside of this distinction runs the other difference that *χαρά* stands for the wholesome, unreflecting joy which occupies itself with the object of its source, whereas *ἡδονή* designates the joy which subjectively dwells on its own sensation. In the NT the latter term is used only *sensu malo* (Lk 8^{14}, Tit 3^{3}, Ja 4^{1}, 2 P 2^{13}). The terms *εὐφραίνειν* and *εὐφροσύνη* describe a genial, pleasurable state of feeling such as is engendered by good fare or some other happy festive condition (usually rendered by 'to be merry,' 'to make merry' [Lk 12^{19} $15^{23.24.29.32}$ 16^{19}, Ac 2^{26} 7^{41} 14^{17}, Ro 15^{10}, 2 Co 2^{2}, Gal 4^{27}, Rev 11^{10} 12^{12}]). The terms *εὔθυμος*, *εὐθύμως*, *εὐθυμεῖν* are used of hopeful good cheer with reference to the outcome of some situation or undertaking (Ac 24^{10} $27^{22.25.36}$, Ja 5^{13}). *ἀγαλλίασις*, *ἀγαλλιᾶν* stand for the deep joy of exultation, hence are joined by way of climax to *χαίρειν* (Mt 5^{12}, Lk $1^{14.44.47}$ 10^{21}, Jn 5^{35} 8^{56}, Ac $2^{26.46}$ 16^{34}, He 1^{9}, 1 P $1^{6.8}$ 4^{13}, Jude ^{24}, Rev 19^{7}). In still another conception, that of *καυχᾶσθαι*, the element of joy is an inevitable ingredient, but the word as such denotes a specific state of mind, viz. 'glorying,' the exalted feeling in which the consciousness of the spiritual worth of the religious subject in its association with and subserviency to the glory of God expresses itself (for this conception cf. A. Ritschl, *Die christliche Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*², ii. [1882] 365–371; A. Titius, *Die neutest. Lehre von der Seligkeit*, ii. [1900] 91–96).

2. Joy as a general characteristic of the Christian life.—Joy appears in the NT writings as an outstanding characteristic of the Christian life in the Apostolic Age. In the Pauline Epistles especially it figures prominently. It is one of the three great ingredients of the Kingdom of God (Ro 14^{17}); it receives the second place in the enumeration of the fruits of the Spirit (Gal 5^{22}; cf. 1 Th 1^{6}); the descriptions of the Christian life frequently refer to it (Ac 2^{46} 8^{39} 13^{52} 16^{34}, Ro 12^{12}, 2 Co 1^{24} 6^{10} 8^{2}, Ph 1^{25}, 1 P 1^{8}). That this joy is not a mere by-product of the Christian state without inherent religious significance appears from the further fact that the constant cultivation of it is enjoined upon believers (2 Co 13^{11}, Ph 3^{1} 4^{4} ['rejoice always'], 1 Th 5^{16}, Ja 1^{2}, 1 P 4^{13}). The Apostle even makes it an object of prayer (Ro 15^{13}), and represents its attainment as the goal of his apostolic activity for the churches (2 Co 1^{24}, Ph 1^{25}). The prevalence of a joyful state of mind in the early Church may also be inferred from the numerous references to thanksgiving as a regular Christian occupation (Ro 1^{21}, 2 Co 8^{2}, Eph $5^{4.20}$, Ph 4^{6}, Col 1^{12} 2^{7} 3^{17} 4^{2}, 1 Th 3^{9} 5^{18}). In view of all this, it may be surmised that the conventional formula of salutation by means of *χαίρειν* has perhaps, when used among believers, acquired a deeper meaning (cf. Mt 28^{9}, Lk 1^{28}, Ac 15^{23}, 2 Co 13^{11}, Ja 1^{1}, 2 Jn $^{10.11}$).

When we come to inquire into the causes of the facts just reviewed, the first place must be given to (*a*) the vivid consciousness of salvation which is present in the Apostolic Age. Through the restored fellowship with God and the forgiveness of sin a joy streams into the heart which is coloured by the contrast of the opposite experience belonging to the state of estrangement from God. The Christian joy is specifically a joy in God (Ro 5^{11}, Ph 3^{3} 4^{10}). Joy appears associated with faith, as well as with hope (Ac 8^{39} 16^{34}, Ro 15^{13}, 2 Co 1^{24}, Ph 1^{25}, 1 P 1^{8}). It likewise accompanies the ethical renewal of the mind as a new-born delight in all that is good (1 Co 13^{6}).

A second cause may be found in (*b*) the highly pneumatic character of the religious experience in the Apostolic Age. The Spirit as the gift of the Ascended and Glorified Christ to His followers, manifested His presence and power in these early days after a most uplifting fashion, and among other things produced in believers an exalted state of feeling in which the note of joyousness predominated. The conjunction of joy and the Spirit, however, does not merely mean that the Spirit produces this joy: it is due to the inherent character of the Spirit, so that to be in the Spirit and to be filled with joy become synonymous (Ac 2^{46} 13^{52}, Ro 14^{17}). The Spirit possesses this inherent character as a Spirit of joy because He is essentially the element of the life to come. This leads to the observation that in the third place (*c*) the joyfulness of the early Christian consciousness must be explained in the light of the fact that the Christian state is felt to be semi-eschatological, *i.e.* in many important respects an anticipation of the consummated life of the Kingdom of God. Through the entrance of the Messiah into glory, through His pneumatic presence and activity in the Church, and through the prospect of His speedy return, believers have been brought into real contact with the world to come. The specific character of the world to come is that of blessedness and joy, and to the same degree as this world projects itself through experience or hope into the present life, the latter also comes to partake of this joyful complexion. Especially in St. Paul and the Epistle to the Hebrews can we trace this connexion, though it is not absent from any of the NT writings (Ro 12^{12} 14^{17} 15^{13}, He 10^{34} 12^{11}, 1 P $1^{6.8}$ 4^{13}, Jude ^{24}, Rev 19^{7}). Jesus Himself had already represented the spiritual coming of the Kingdom, the time of His presence with the disciples as a period of joy, resembling a wedding-feast (Mk 2^{19}), and had pointed forward to the dispensation of the Spirit as a period of joy (Jn 14^{28} 15^{11} $16^{20.22.24}$ 17^{13}). On this principle is to be explained the paradoxical character which the Christian joy assumes through entering into contrast with the tribulation and affliction of this present life. It even makes out of the latter a cause for rejoicing, inasmuch as the believer, from the power of faith which sustains him, receives the assurance of his 'approvedness' (*δοκιμή*) with God, and thus the strongest conceivable hope in the eschatological salvation. Ro $5^{3ff.}$ is the classical passage for this, but the same train of thought meets us in a number of other Pauline passages, and occasionally elsewhere, sometimes in pointedly paradoxical formulation (Ac 5^{41}, Col 1^{11}, 1 Th 1^{6}, He 10^{34}, Ja 1^{2}, 1 P 4^{13}). Most frequently this specific kind of joy is expressed in connexion with the idea of *καυχᾶσθαι*, 'to glory' (cf. above; Ro $5^{2.3}$, 2 Co 11^{30} 12^{9}, Ja 1^{9}).

3. The joy of St. Paul.—To be distinguished from this general joy as a common ingredient of all Christian experience is the specific joy which belongs to the servant of God engaged in the work of his calling. Of this joy of ministering, the delight and satisfaction that accompany the successful discharge of the apostolic task, the NT makes frequent mention. The Pauline Epistles are full of it. The Apostle runs his course with joy (Ac 20^{24} [some textual authorities here omit 'with joy']); rejoices exceedingly over the obedience of believers (Ro 16^{19}); though sorrowful, yet is always rejoicing in his work (2 Co 6^{10}); over-

flows with joy on account of his converts (2 Co 7^4); makes his supplication with joy on their behalf (Ph 1^4); their progress in love and harmony makes full his joy (Ph 2^2); he rejoices in the prospect of being offered upon the sacrifice and service of their faith (Ph 2^{17}); rejoices in his sufferings for their sake (Col 1^{24}); feels that no thanksgiving can adequately express his joy before God on their account (1 Th 3^9). Specific developments in his ministry furnish occasion for special joy (1 Co 16^{17}, 2 Co 2^3 $7^{13.\ 16}$, Ph 1^{18} 2^{28}; cf. Ac 11^{23}, He 13^{17}, 2 Jn ^{4}, 3 Jn $^{3.\ 4}$). This joy in ministering coalesces with the prospective eschatological joy, inasmuch as in the day of the Lord the results of one's ministry will be made manifest and become for the servant of Christ a special 'joy' or 'crown of glorying' (2 Co 1^{14}, Ph 4^1, 1 Th 2^{19}).

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GEERHARDUS VOS.

JUDÆA ('Ιουδαία, used by the LXX in later books of the OT [Ezr., Neh., Dan.] instead of 'Ιούδα, as the translation of יְהוּדָה or יְהוּד).—Judæa, the Græcized form of 'Judah,' was the most southern of the three districts into which Palestine was divided in the Greek and Roman periods, the other two being Samaria and Galilee. The territory occupied by the Jews who returned from Babylon was at first smaller than the ancestral kingdom of Judah, but it was gradually enlarged, *e.g.* by the Maccabæan capture of Hebron from the Edomites (1 Mac 5^{65}), and the cession by Demetrius, king of Syria, of the Samaritan toparchies of Aphærema, Lydda, and Ramathaim (11^{34}). According to Josephus (*BJ* III. iii. 5), Judæa extended from Anuath-Borkæos in the north (identified with *'Aina-Berkit* in *PEFSt*, 1881, p. 48) to the village of Jordas (perhaps *Tell 'Arâd*) on the confines of Arabia in the south, and from Jordan in the east to Joppa in the west. The sea-coast as far as Ptolemais, with the coast towns, also belonged to Judæa.

Josephus (*loc. cit.*) states that the country was divided into eleven toparchies (τοπαρχίαι or κληρουχίαι), all west of Jordan: Jerusalem, *Gophna*, *Akrabatta*, *Thamna*, *Lydda*, *Emmaus*, Pella, Idumea, Engaddi, *Herodium*, and *Jericho*. Pliny (*HN* V. xiv. 70) gives a list which contains the seven names given here in italics, along with Jopica, Betholeptephene, and Orine. Schürer (*HJP* II. i. [1885] 157) thinks 'we may obtain a correct list if we adopt that of Josephus and substitute Bethleptepha for Pella.' The division was no doubt made for administrative purposes, and especially for the collection of revenue.

Judæa proper was a small country, its whole area not being more than 2,000 sq. miles. Apart from the Shephēlah and the Maritime Plain, it was a plateau of only 1,350 sq. miles. But the term was often loosely employed in a more comprehensive sense. Tacitus says that 'eastward the country is bounded by Arabia; to the south lies Egypt; and on the west are Phœnicia and the Mediterranean; northward it commands an extensive prospect over Syria' (*Hist.* V. vi.). Strabo very vaguely describes Judæa as being 'situated above Phœnicia, in the interior between Gaza and Antilibanus, and extending to the Arabians' (XVI. ii. 21). Herod the Great, who was called the king of Judæa, certainly had a territory much wider than Judæa proper. Ptolemy states that there were districts of Judæa beyond Jordan (V. xvi. 9), and it is difficult to obtain any other meaning from 'the borders of Judæa beyond Jordan' in Mt 19^1, though A. B. Bruce thinks 'it is not likely that the writer would describe Southern Peræa as a part of Judæa' (*EGT*, 'The Synoptic Gospels,' 1897, p. 244). There can be no doubt that St. Luke often extends the term Judæa to the whole of Palestine west of the Jordan (Lk 4^{44} [?] 23^5, Ac 2^9 10^{37} 26^{20}).

After the death of Herod, his son Archelaus became ethnarch of Judæa. He was never really its king, though royalty is implicitly ascribed to him in the βασιλεύει of Mt 2^{22}, and explicitly in Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. iv. 3). He was soon deposed, and from A.D. 6 till the overthrow of the State in 70 Judæa was under procurators, except during the brief reign of Agrippa I. (41–44). The procurators resided in Cæsarea (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5; XVIII. i. 1, ii. 1).

'The statement of Josephus that Judæa was attached to the province of Syria and placed under its governor (*Ant.* XVII. xiii. 5; XVIII. i. 1, iv. 6) appears to be incorrect; on the contrary, Judæa probably formed thenceforth a procuratorial province of itself' (T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*², Eng. tr., 1909, ii. 185 n.; cf. Schürer, I. ii. 42 f.). The governor was a man of equestrian rank, so that Judæa belonged to the third class of imperial provinces mentioned by Strabo (XVII. iii. 25). The usual designation for such a governor—ἐπίτροπος—occurs frequently in Josephus, though he occasionally uses ἔπαρχος or ἡγεμών. The last term, which is equivalent to *præses*, is the one most often employed in the NT.

It was usual to speak of Jerusalem *and* Judæa, instead of 'and the rest of Judæa' (Mt 4^{25}, Mk 1^5, Ac 1^8, etc.). The Talmud explains this practice by saying that the holy city formed a division by itself (A. Neubauer, *La Géogr. du Talmud*, 1868, p. 56). The occurrence of Judæa between Mesopotamia and Cappadocia in Ac 2^9 is very peculiar. Jerome reads Syria instead; Tertullian suggests Armenia (*c. Jud.* vii.); and Bithynia, Idumea, and India have also been proposed (*EGT in loco*). When Palestine was divided into First, Second, and Third (*Code of Theodosius*, A.D. 409), *Palestina Prima* comprehended the old districts of Judæa and Samaria; and this division is still observed in the ecclesiastical documents of the Eastern Church.

JAMES STRAHAN.

JUDAH.—See TRIBES.

JUDAIZING.—It is obvious that the transition from Judaism to Christianity could hardly be made without difficulty. To the Jew it must have seemed almost incredible that he should divest himself of the observance of Mosaic Law, and equally incredible that the Gentile should be admitted into the Kingdom of God without accepting the same Law. It was inevitable that the question should soon arise in the early days of the Church, whether the Church of the future should be Catholic or Jewish. It was only to be expected that this controversy should give rise to a party in the Church who were in favour of the latter alternative, consisting of those who, being Christians, yet retained their affection for the Mosaic Law and wished to impose it upon every member of the Christian Church. On the other hand, the keen intellect of a Stephen or a Paul saw at once that any attempt to enforce the Mosaic Law or even the initiatory rite of circumcision upon the Gentiles, meant stagnation and death to the Church.

No inconsiderable part of the Acts and the Epistles is taken up with the description of the attempts of the Judaizers to gain their end, and of the resolute resistance to them of St. Paul and those who thought with him.

1. In the Acts.—In the Acts the three most important crises of this question are (*a*) the speech of St. Stephen, (*b*) the conversion of Cornelius, and (*c*) the Council at Jerusalem.

(*a*) The importance of St. Stephen's speech consists in the principles which underlie the historical summary which is its main feature. He had been accused of blaspheming the Temple and the Law. No doubt, the charges were exaggerated and his

language distorted by false witnesses. But there was that half truth in them which made them colourable. The principles which come out in the speech are those which we can also trace in Christ's attitude towards Judaism, viz. that Christianity would fulfil and also succeed the older dispensation.

(*b*) The importance of the incident of Cornelius is emphasized by the two-fold account of it in the Acts and by the two special manifestations of the Divine will made to St. Peter to teach him what he should do. The vision of the sheet, with the clean and unclean animals, showed that the Apostle's act was a new departure, requiring special and Divine sanction; and the outpouring of the Holy Spirit, prior to baptism, was needed to teach him that he might initiate his converts into the Christian Church by that sacrament.

(*c*) Now, as the first of these incidents had dealt with the general principles regulating the relation of Christianity to Judaism, and the second had shown that Gentiles were to be admitted into the Christian body, so the third determined what requirements, if any, should be made of Gentile converts. The four precepts required are not to be regarded simply as concessions to Jewish prejudices. Three out of the four deal with great mysteries of human life and induce corresponding forms of reverence. Nor were these precepts intended to be applied either universally or permanently, but rather to meet a local and temporary difficulty.

In addition to these three important incidents, there are many references in the Acts to this question, showing the prominent place it took in the Church thought and life of the day. We cannot go into all these references, but, as an example, we may quote the narrative in Ac $21^{20ff.}$ in which St. Paul is advised to take some step that may disarm the prejudices of the Judaizers against him.

2. In St. Paul's Epistles.—When we turn to the Epistles, we have to notice that St. Paul was attacked on personal as well as on doctrinal grounds, and that his authority as an apostle was called in question. This was especially the case at Corinth, as we learn from the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. In the First Epistle he had dealt with the divisions in that Church (see DIVISIONS). But in the Second Epistle he defends his own apostolic authority. He could produce no commendatory letter from the Church in Jerusalem as his opponents were able to do, nor would he do so; he did not derive his authority from any apostle, but direct from the Lord Jesus Himself.

When we turn to the Epistle to the Galatians, we find the controversy accentuated. The Galatians had been 'bewitched' by the Jewish emissaries. They had relapsed from the simplicity of the gospel into the ceremonialism of Judaism. The authority of the Apostle had been disparaged and denied. St. Paul was evidently deeply stirred, as well as fully conscious of the danger to Christianity which was caused by the action of the Judaizers. The result was an Epistle which, in burning words, pleads for the liberty of the gospel and warns against the retrograde step of again submitting to the bondage of the Law.

The Church in Colossæ was affected by the Judaism of the Dispersion, which differed in some respects from the Judaism of Jerusalem. The view of the Colossian heresy which was held formerly, as expounded by J. B. Lightfoot in his Commentary (^{3}1879, p. 74 f.), was that this heresy was a form of Gnosticism, but F. J. A. Hort in his *Judaistic Christianity* (1894, p. 116 ff.) contends that St. Paul had in mind a form of Judaism rather than of Gnosticism. It is not the Judaism of Jerusalem which laid stress upon the importance of circumcision and the Law, but the Judaism of the Dispersion, which concerned itself with such questions as difference of food, difference of days, etc. (Col $2^{16. 20. 21}$). According to this view, the *φιλοσοφία* of Col 2^{8} refers to the detailed passage in Col 2^{16-23}, and the meats, drinks, feasts, new moons, and Sabbaths, are Judaic.

Hort also takes the same view with regard to the Pastoral Epistles, and concludes his argument as follows:

> 'On the whole then in the Pastoral Epistles, no less than in Colossians, it seems impossible to find clear evidence of speculative or Gnosticising tendencies. We do find however a dangerous fondness for Jewish trifling, both of the legendary and of the legal or casuistical kind. We find also indications, but much less prominent, of some such abstinences in the matter of foods (probably chiefly animal food and wine) as at Colossæ and Rome, with a probability that marriage would before long come likewise under a religious ban. But of circumcision and the perpetual validity of the Law we have nothing' (p. 146).

3. In the Epistle to the Hebrews.—With all the mystery which surrounds the identity of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the community to which it was addressed, it is clear that the whole argument is directed against the Judaizers. The people addressed are evidently in danger of apostasy. They do not see what the gospel can offer them in exchange for the loss they have sustained in being expelled from the synagogue.

It is not necessary here to detail the argument of the Epistle, which may be studied in the art. on HEBREWS, EP. TO THE, or in the article in *HDB*; but the superiority of Christ over Judaism is its main burden, and the Epistle is pregnant with the difficulties of Christianity confronted with Judaizing teachers. It deals with those who, as Hort says, 'without abjuring the name of Jesus, . . . treat their relation to him as trivial and secondary compared with their relation to the customs of their forefathers and their living countrymen' (p. 157).

In conclusion, we may say that Judaistic Christianity was a natural product of the circumstances of the Apostolic Age, a product which was destined to be a source of internal trouble to the primitive Church. It lived on for some time, with occasional outbursts of revival, and at length died naturally away.

Judaism decreased as Christianity increased. Jews who became Christians were not forbidden to observe the laws and customs to which they were attached, but were enjoined to seek beneath the letter of the ordinance for the truth of which it was the exponent. No attempt was to be made to enforce upon Gentile Christians the bondage of the Law or to take away the liberty with which Christ had made them free.

LITERATURE.—In addition to the works already mentioned, see R. J. Knowling, 'Acts,' in *EGT*, 1900; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895; F. W. Farrar, *Life and Work of St. Paul*, 1897; K. Lake, *The Earlier Epistles of St. Paul*, 1911, p. 14; A. de Boysson, *La Loi et la Foi*, 1912.

MORLEY STEVENSON.

JUDAS BARSABBAS.—After the Council of the apostles and elders held at Jerusalem to settle the matter in dispute between the Jewish and Gentile Christians at Antioch, it was resolved to send to Antioch along with St. Paul and Barnabas two deputies entrusted with the letter containing the decrees of the brethren of Jerusalem. These deputies were Judas Barsabbas and Silas (Ac 15^{22}). The fact that they were selected as deputies of the Jerusalem Church on this important mission proves that they were men of considerable influence in the Church. They are called chief men among the brethren (*ἡγουμένους*), and were probably elders. The narrative tells us that both were endowed with the prophetic gift (v.^{32}) and that they con-

tinued a considerable time in Antioch teaching and exhorting the believers there. After their work, the restoring of peace among the contending factions, was accomplished, they were free to depart. Judas returned to Jerusalem, while Silas remained and became the companion of St. Paul on his second missionary journey. The contention of some critics that Silas returned to Jerusalem with Judas and that v.[34] is spurious, is met by the view of Ramsay (*St. Paul*, p. 174 f.), who holds that v.[33] simply means that freedom was given to the two deputies to depart, and that v.[34] was omitted by a copyist who misunderstood v.[33] (cf. Zahn, *Einleitung*, i. 148).

Beyond these facts nothing certain is known of Barsabbas. It has been suggested that he was a brother of Joseph Barsabbas who was nominated to succeed Iscariot in the early days of the Jerusalem Church (Ac 1[23]), as Barsabbas is a patronymic son of Sabbas. If this be so, Judas had in all probability, like Joseph, been personally acquainted with Jesus, and a disciple. This would account, to some extent at least, for the influential position he seems to hold at the Council of Jerusalem. Attempts have been made to identify him with others bearing the name Judas, but all such attempts must be relinquished. The Apostle Judas 'not Iscariot' was the son of James (Lk 6[16] RV), and in the narrative in the Acts Barsabbas is clearly distinguished from the apostles. Some have suggested that he may be the writer of the Epistle that bears his name, but the writer describes himself as the brother of James (Jude[1]), and this James must either have been the son of Joseph the husband of the Virgin or the son of Alphæus (see art. JUDE)—in any case, not the son of Sabbas.

LITERATURE.—R. J. Knowling, 'Acts,' in *EGT*, 1900, p. 326; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen*, 1895, p. 174 f.; T. Zahn, *Einleitung in das NT*[3], 1906–07, i. 148; artt. in *HDB* and *EBi*. W. F. BOYD.

JUDAS (of Damascus).—In Ac 9[11] the disciple Ananias is told by the Lord in a vision to go to the street called 'Straight' and inquire in the house of Judas for one named Saul, a man of Tarsus. Nothing further is known of this Judas.

JUDAS THE GALILÆAN.—Judas the Galilæan, a Zealot leader at the time of the census under Quirinius, was probably the son of Hezekiah (Josephus, *Ant.* XVII. x. 5, *BJ* II. iv. 1), a leader of a band of robbers (*i.e.* revolutionists) in Galilee. Herod, while representing his father, had captured and summarily executed Hezekiah with a number of his followers without having recourse to the Sanhedrin or Hyrcanus (*BJ* I. x. 5, *Ant.* XIV. ix. 2, 3, XVII. x. 5). If this identification be correct (so Graetz, Schürer, Goethe; *contra* Krenkel, Schmiedel), it enables us to trace the development of the Zealot movement from its origin as the Messianic party favouring 'direct action.' The death of Hezekiah apparently left Judas at the head of a movement against Roman rule similar to that of Mattathias and his body of revolutionaries against the Syrians.

Josephus declares in *Ant.* XVIII. i. 1 that Judas was born in Gamala in Gaulonitis, but in *BJ* II. viii. 1 and elsewhere he calls him a Galilæan (so too Ac 5[37]). This discrepancy may be due to a confusion of a Galilæan Gamala with the better-known town of the same name east of Jordan; or to the fact that the activities of Judas were largely confined to Galilee; or to the loose use of the word 'Galilæan' to describe a Jew born near Galilee.

During the administration of Quintilius Varus (6–4 B.C.) Judas took advantage of the disorders following the death of Herod I., seized and plundered Sepphoris, and armed his followers with weapons taken from the city's arsenal. He is charged by Josephus (*Ant.* XVII. x. 5, *BJ* II. iv. 1) with seeking to make himself king. This accusation, however, like the description of his followers ('of profligate character') by Josephus, is probably to be charged to the bias of the historian. For, when Quirinius undertook to make a census of Judæa (see *DCG* i. 275[a]), Judas allied himself with a Pharisee named Zadok and raised the signal for a theocratic or Messianic revolt, calling upon the Jews to refuse to pay tribute to the Romans and to recognize God alone as their ruler (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, XX. v. 2, *BJ* II. viii. 1). Whether he succeeded in actually organizing a revolt is not altogether clear (*Ant.* XX. v. 2 is not so reliable as XVIII. i. 1), but in *BJ* VII. viii. 1 he is said 'to have persuaded not a few of the Jews not to submit to the census.' That he was the centre of actual disturbance is by no means improbable in the light of succeeding events; for from this combination of revolutionary spirit and Pharisaism emerged the fourth party of the Jews, the Zealots. From this time until their last stand at Masada, the Zealots were the representatives of a politico-revolutionary Messianism, as distinguished from the eschatological hopes of the Pharisees and Essenes. Judas ('a cunning Sophist' [*BJ* II. xvii. 8]) was evidently bent on putting into practice a political programme, and may very likely have undertaken to organize a theocracy without a human ruler. If so, we know nothing as to the actual results of his endeavours except that Josephus (*Ant.* XVIII. i. 1, 6) attributes to him and his 'philosophy' the violence and miseries culminating in the destruction of the Temple. This philosophy he describes as a compound of Pharisaic beliefs and revolutionist love of liberty.

We have no precise knowledge as to the fate of Judas, but in Ac 5[37] he is said to have 'perished.' From the fact that he is here mentioned after Theudas (*q.v.*), it has been conjectured that Luke has confused his fate with that of his sons. Too much weight, however, should not be given to this conclusion, for it seems hardly probable that Josephus should have omitted any misfortune coming to a man he so cordially disliked.

Judas left three sons, all of whom were leaders in the Zealot movement. Of these, two—Jacob and Simon—were crucified by Tiberius Alexander the procurator (A.D. 46–48), for leading a revolt (*Ant.* XX. v. 2), and the third, Menahem (also a 'Sophist'—a word indicating a propagandist as well as a revolutionist), became a leader of the extreme radicals during the first period of the war with Rome. After having armed himself from the Herodian arsenal at Masada, he became for a short time the master of a part of Jerusalem, but was tortured and executed, together with his lieutenants, by Eleazar of the high-priestly party.

SHAILER MATHEWS.

JUDAS ISCARIOT.—The only biblical reference to Judas Iscariot by name outside the Gospels is Ac 1[16-20. 25], and there he is called neither 'Iscariot' nor 'the traitor' (προδότης, as in Lk 6[16]), nor is his action spoken of by the term παραδιδόναι. He is described in v.[17] as the one who 'became guide (ὁδηγός) to them that arrested Jesus,' and in v.[20] as having 'fallen away (παρέβη) from the ministry and apostleship to go to his own place' (see PLACE). It is interesting, however, to note the other allusions to our Lord's betrayal in the Acts and in the Epistles. (1) In Ac 3[13] St. Peter attributes it virtually to the Israelites themselves (ὃν ὑμεῖς παρεδώκατε κτλ.; cf. 2[23]), and so again (2) in 7[52] does St. Stephen (τοῦ δικαίου οὗ νῦν ὑμεῖς προδόται καὶ φονεῖς ἐγένεσθε). (3) In Ro 4[25] St. Paul, quoting Is 53[12] (LXX), says less definitely that Jesus our Lord

παρεδόθη διὰ τὰ παραπτώματα ἡμῶν; (4) but in 1 Co 11[23] the very act and time of betrayal are alluded to in connexion with the institution of the Last Supper (ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ ᾗ παρεδίδετο κτλ.). On the other hand, St. Paul three times describes the betrayal from the point of view of our Lord's own voluntary submission, viz. (5) Gal 2[20]: παραδόντος ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ; (6) Eph 5[2]: παρέδωκεν ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν; (7) v.[25]: ἑαυτὸν παρέδωκεν ὑπὲρ ἐκκλησίας (cf. 1 P 2[23]: παρεδίδου τῷ κρίνοντι δικαίως, and see Jn 10[17. 18] 17[19] etc.); and once (8) even of the Father Himself (ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν πάντων παρέδωκεν αὐτόν, Ro 8[32]).

As to Judas's grievous end itself, as recorded in the Acts, it is not necessary here to compare it in detail with the account given in Mt 27[3ff.]; it is sufficient to say that in the present state of our information the two accounts are well-nigh, if not quite, irreconcilable. But various points in the Lucan record remain to be reviewed.

(*a*) St. Peter in his opening address at the election of St. Matthias infers that the inclusion of the traitor in the number of the apostles and his obtaining a share in their ministry was a mysterious dispensation by which was fulfilled the prediction of Ps 41[9], so recently quoted by our Lord Himself (Jn 13[18]), together with its necessary consequences as foreshadowed in two other Psalms (69[25] and 109[8]): that is, if v.[20] be an original part of St. Peter's speech, and not, as is possible, a part of the Lucan (or later) elucidation of the passage contained in vv.[18-19]. In any case, all three quotations, but specially for our purpose now, the last two, are of interest as illustrating the free use made of the text of Scripture and its secondary application. In Ps 41[9] the actual wording bears little likeness to the LXX, being a more literal rendering of the Hebrew, while its original reference is to some treacherous friend (*e.g.* Ahithophel, the unfaithful counsellor of David). In Ps 69[25] the text is more exact, but the original figure employed (ἡ ἔπαυλις αὐτῶν, not αὐτοῦ) suggests a nomad encampment of tents rendered desolate because of the cruel persecutions which their occupants had practised, while Ps 109[8] has in view one particular official, like Doeg or Ahithophel, who has been false to his trust, and therefore it is, to our modern notions, more appropriately and with less strain transferred to the case of Judas.

(*b*) The passage vv.[18. 19], with or without v.[20] (see above), would seem to be an editorial comment inserted in the middle of St. Peter's address either by the author of the Acts himself or, as has been thought, by some later glossator or copyist. Of the latter view there is, we believe, no indication in the history of the text. If, as is more likely, therefore, it is due to St. Luke, he has here adopted an account of the traitor's grievous end which is independent of, and in some details apparently irreconcilable with, St. Matthew's (27[3ff.]), but to a less extent, we are inclined to think, than is sometimes held. For it is not out of keeping with eastern modes of treating facts for St. Luke to speak of the 'field of blood' being acquired by the traitor himself with the price of his iniquity (*qui facit per alium, facit per se*), which St. Matthew more accurately says was actually purchased by the chief priest, whilst the horribly graphic description of his suicide is little more than a conventional way of representing St. Matthew's simple ἀπελθὼν ἀπήγξατο.

(*c*) For the title *Akeldama* and its interpretation see separate article, *s.v.*

It remains to remark that St. Peter's expression, as recorded in his address, and the apostolic prayer of ordination, for which he was probably responsible and the mouthpiece, breathe much more of the spirit of primitive Christianity in their restrained and chastened style than the more outspoken and almost vindictive statements of vv.[18. 19], so that one would not be altogether surprised to find that the latter are, as has been suggested, a less genuine tradition of a later age.

C. L. FELTOE.

JUDE, THE LORD'S BROTHER.—The list of the Lord's brothers is given in Mk 6[3] as 'James, and Joses, and Judas [AV 'Juda'], and Simon,' in Mt 13[55] as 'James, and Joseph, and Simon, and Judas.' It would be precarious, even apart from the variation in order, to infer that Judas was one of the younger brothers of Jesus; still, this is not improbable, especially if, as the present writer believes, 'the brethren of the Lord' were sons of Joseph and Mary. We know practically nothing of his history. If the statement in Jn 7[5] can be trusted, that at that time the brethren of Jesus did not believe in Him, he cannot be identified with 'Judas, the son of James,' who is mentioned in Luke's list of the apostles (Lk 6[16], Ac 1[13]), and described in Jn 14[22] as 'Judas (not Iscariot).' We may assume from Ac 1[14] that in the interval between the incident recorded in Jn 7[3-10] and the Ascension, Jude and his brothers had recognized the Messiahship of Jesus. We gather from 1 Co 9[5] that 'the brethren of the Lord' were married to Christian wives, by whom they were accompanied on missionary journeys. Presumably these references included Jude. He seems to have taken no very prominent position in the Church, being overshadowed, like Joses and Simon, by James. The date of his death is uncertain, but the evidence of Hegesippus, quoted in Euseb. *HE* iii. xx., suggests that he died before Domitian came to the throne. Eusebius informs us that the grandchildren of Jude were brought before Domitian, as descendants of David, but released when the Emperor discovered that they were horny-handed husbandmen, who were expecting a heavenly kingdom at Christ's Second Coming. They survived till the reign of Trajan. The last statement suggests that a considerable interval elapsed between the interview with the Emperor and their death; and, inasmuch as the reign of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) was separated from that of Trajan (A.D. 98–117) only by Nerva's short reign of two years (A.D. 96–98), we should probably place the interview quite early in Domitian's reign. Since not Jude alone but presumably the father of these grandsons was apparently dead at the time, it is hardly likely that the death of Jude occurred at a later date than the decade A.D. 70–80, when he would be well advanced in years. This has an important though not decisive bearing on the question whether the Epistle of Jude is rightly assigned to him (see following article).

A. S. PEAKE.

JUDE, EPISTLE OF.—1. Relation to 2 Peter.—The striking coincidences between this Epistle and the Second Epistle of Peter, covering the greater part of the shorter writing, raise in an acute form the question of relative priority. It is best, however, to investigate each Epistle independently before approaching the problem of their mutual relations. Since, however, the present writer, in spite of the attempts made by Spitta, Zahn, and Bigg to prove the dependence of Jude on 2 Peter, is convinced, with the great majority of critics, that 2 Peter is based on Jude, the discussion of this question is not raised in this article but postponed to that on PETER, EPISTLES OF.

2. Contents.—The writer of the Epistle seems to have been diverted from the project of a more extensive composition by the urgent necessity of exhorting his readers 'to contend earnestly for the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints' (v.[3]). Whether he had made any progress with his work on 'our common salvation,' or, if so, whether he subsequently completed his interrupted

enterprise, we do not know. In any case, we possess no other work from his hand than this brief Epistle. The urgency of the crisis completely absorbs him. His letter is wholly occupied with the false teachers and their propaganda, which is imperilling the soundness of doctrine, the purity of morals, and the sanctities of religion. He does not refute them; he denounces and threatens them. Hot indignation at their corruption of the true doctrine and loathing for the vileness of their perverted morals inspire his fierce invective. The situation did not seem to him appropriate for academic discussion; the unsophisticated moral instinct was enough to guide all who possessed it to a right judgment of such abominations. History shows us their predecessors, and from the fate which overtook them the doom of these reprobates of the last time can be plainly foreseen (vv.[5-7. 11]). Indeed, it had been announced by Enoch, who in that far-off age had prophesied directly of the Divine judgment that would overtake them (v.[14f.]).

But, while nothing is wanting to the vehemence of attack, we can form only a very vague impression as to the tenets of the false teachers. The writer assumes that his readers are familiar with their doctrines, and his method does not require any exposition of their errors such as would have been involved in any attempt to refute them. It is, accordingly, not strange that very divergent views have been held as to their identity. Our earliest suggestion on this point comes from Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* iii. 2), who taught that Jude was describing prophetically the Gnostic sect known as the Carpocratians. Grotius (*Præp. in Ep. Judæ*) also thought that this sect was the object of the writer's denunciation; but, since he held that Jude was attacking contemporary heretics, he assigned the Epistle to Jude the last Bishop of Jerusalem, in the reign of Hadrian. This view has found little, if any, acceptance; but the identification of the false teachers with the Carpocratians has been widely accepted by modern scholars. There are certainly striking points of contact.

Carpocrates, who lived at Alexandria in the first half of the 2nd. cent. (perhaps about A.D. 130–150), taught that the world was made by angels who had revolted from God. The soul of Jesus through its superior vigour remembered what it had seen when with God. He was, however, an ordinary man, but endowed with powers which enabled Him to outwit the world-angels. Similarly, any soul which could despise them would triumph over them and thus become the equal of Jesus. Great stress was laid on magic as a means of salvation. The immorality of the sect rivalled that of the Cainites. It was defended by a curious doctrine of transmigration, according to which it was necessary for the soul to go through various human bodies till it completed the circle of human experience; but if all of this—including, of course, the full range of immoral conduct—could be crowded into one lifetime, the necessity for such transmigration was obviated.

The language of the Epistle would quite well suit the Carpocratians, especially in its reference to the combination of error in teaching with lasciviousness in conduct. The railing at dignitaries with which the writer charges the false teachers (v.[8]) would answer very well to the attitude of Carpocrates towards the angels. But we should probably reject any identification so definite. The characteristics mentioned by Jude were the monopoly of no sect. The indications point to teaching of a much less developed type. It is not even certain that it was Gnostic in character, though the signs point strongly in that direction. The Gnostics were wont to describe themselves as 'spiritual,' and the ordinary members of the Church as 'psychics.' If the false teachers were Gnostics, we understand why Jude should retort upon them the accusation that they were 'sensual' (lit. 'psychics'), 'not having the Spirit' (v.[19]). They blaspheme that of which they are ignorant. The charge that they deny the only Master (v.[4]) may be an allusion to the dualism of the Gnostics, which drew a distinction between the supreme God and the Creator. They are dreamers (v.[8]), *i.e.* false prophets, who speak swelling words (v.[16]). The statement that they have gone in the way of Cain (v.[11]) reminds us very forcibly of the Ophite sect known as the Cainites (*q.v.*). But, while all these indications point to some rudimentary form of Gnosticism, it cannot be said that they definitely demand such a reference. Not only are they very vague and general; they could be accounted for without recourse to Gnosticism at all. The problem in some respects hangs together with that presented by other descriptions of false teaching which we find in the NT, especially in the Epistle to the Colossians, the Pastoral Epistles, the Letters to the Seven Churches, and the Epistles of John (*q.v.*). In the judgment of the present writer, the identification with a Gnostic tendency seems on the whole to be probable, but by no means so secure as to determine without more ado the question of date.

3. Date and authorship.—The determination of the date is closely connected with the problem of authorship. There can be no reasonable doubt that the clause 'the brother of James' (v.[1]) is meant to identify the author as Jude the Lord's brother. If the conclusions reached in the preceding article are correct, this Jude was probably dead at the latest by A.D. 80. The question whether the Epistle can have been written so early is not easy to decide. The author not only distinguishes himself from the apostles, which the Lord's brother would naturally have done, but he looks back on their age as one which has already passed away (v.[17]), and is conscious that he is living in 'the last time,' when their prophecy of the coming of 'mockers' is being fulfilled (v.[18]). The language has a striking parallel in 1 Jn 2[18], and it would be easier to understand in the closing decade of the 1st cent. than twenty years earlier. Such phrases as 'the faith which was once for all delivered unto the saints' (v.[3]), or 'your most holy faith' (v.[20]), are also more easily intelligible when the fluid theology of the primitive age was hardening into a definite creed. The external evidence can be reconciled with either view. It is true that the earliest attestation of the Epistle is late. If the usual view is correct, Jude was employed by the author of 2 Peter; but, since that work itself belongs in all probability to a date well on in the 2nd cent., its evidence is of little value on this point. Jude is reckoned as canonical in the Muratorian Canon; it is quoted by Tertullian (*de Cultu Fem.* i. 3), Clement of Alexandria (*Pæd.* iii. 8. 44, *Strom.* iii. 2), and Origen (*in Matth.* x. 17, xv. 27, xvii. 30); not, however, by Irenæus. Eusebius (*HE* iii. 25. 31; cf. ii. 23. 25) regards it as one of the disputed books, and Jerome (*de Vir. illustr.* iv.) tells us that in his time it was rejected by many. But the lateness of any quotation of it and the suspicion entertained of it are of little moment. Its brevity would sufficiently account for the silence of earlier writers; the fact that it was not written by an apostle, or its reference (vv.[9. 14f.]) to Jewish Apocalypses (*The Assumption of Moses* and *The Book of Enoch*), would explain its rejection by those to whom Eusebius and Jerome refer. These objections simply rest on a theoretical assumption of what a canonical work ought to be; no historical evidence lies behind them.

The opening words of the Epistle, 'Judas, a

servant of Jesus Christ, and brother of James,' constitute a weighty argument in favour of the traditional view that it was written by Jude the Lord's brother. The attempt to treat this as embodying a false claim deliberately made by the author is open to grave objections. Apparently we have to reckon with the deliberate adoption of a pseudonym by the author of 2 Peter. But this case is probably solitary in the NT; and, unless we are driven to adopt such suggestions, it is desirable to avoid them as far as possible. Apart from this, however, it is not easy to see why the author should have hit upon a personality so obscure as Jude. If he did so because the relationship to James gave his name prestige, it might be asked why he should not have attributed it to James himself. The suggestion that it was sent to districts where Jude had laboured and was held in high regard is exposed to the difficulty that the recipients would naturally ask, How is it that we hear of this letter for the first time now that Jude has been some years dead? We are then reduced to the alternatives of admitting the authenticity, or of supposing that the identification with the Lord's brother was no original part of the Epistle. If the preceding discussion has pointed to the probability that the false teaching assailed was Gnostic in character, and that other phenomena in the Epistle make it unlikely that it was earlier than the closing decade of the 1st cent., the second alternative must be preferred. In that case the most probable explanation of the opening words is that the author's name was really Jude, and that the phrase 'and brother of James' was inserted by a scribe who wished to make it clear which Jude was intended. The precise date must of course remain very uncertain. Nothing compels us to go below the year A.D. 100. Moreover, the author has apparently a new situation to deal with. It ought, however, to be frankly recognized that the Epistle is quite conceivable as the work of Jude the Lord's brother in the decade A.D. 70–80.

4. Destination.—Nothing is known as to the destination of the Epistle, nor can anything be inferred with confidence. It is not clear whether the Epistle is catholic or is addressed to readers in a definite locality, though the former is perhaps the more likely view.

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A. S. PEAKE.

JUDGE, JUDGING (Ethical).—No account of judging in the Apostolic Church can be complete which is not based on our Lord's prohibition, 'Judge not, that ye be not judged' (Mt 7[1ff.]). This is not to be interpreted as a disparagement of the intellectual faculty of criticism *per se*, but as a limitation of it in harmony with the Christian standpoint. In the corresponding passage in Lk 6, the repression of the critical spirit is directly associated with the character of God, who makes no distinctions in His gifts, but is kind and merciful to all alike. The section in Matthew has rather a relation to the temper of the Pharisee, which was supercilious and narrowly strict in its judgments of others. The Pharisee 'despised others'; hence his incapacity to understand human nature, his judgments being rooted in contempt. The citizen of the Kingdom of Heaven, on the other hand, has to avoid the censorious temper and make the best of everyone and everything; he has to repress the tendency to be uncharitable; otherwise, when he is obliged to utter a moral verdict, it will be of small weight. But our Lord never countenances the easy-going tolerance which in effect abrogates the right of moral judgment. He does not absolve His followers from discriminating between right and wrong—even in the case of a 'brother' (Mt 18[15-18])—and indeed urges upon them the duty of 'binding and loosing,' condemning and acquitting, according to the recognized moral standard of the Kingdom.

The teaching of St. James has many echoes of the ethical injunctions of our Lord, and the passage 4[11f.] in his Epistle recalls the spirit, if not the actual language, of the Sermon on the Mount. We are not to indulge in the habit of fault-finding: 'Who art thou that judgest thy neighbour?' We are never to judge from any other motive than the moral improvement of the person judged: we are to remember our own defects, and to utter our verdict with a due sense of responsibility; otherwise we 'speak against the law and judge the law.' The Apostle means by this that there is to be a proper standard of right and wrong, and not a subjective criterion formed out of our own likes and dislikes. If we make our own standard, we set ourselves above the law-giver and the law.

In similar strain St. Paul writes (Ro 14[4]), 'Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? To his own master he standeth or falleth.' The words are suggested by the relationship between the 'strong' and the 'weak.' The 'strong,' conscious of their freedom in Christ, may despise the 'weak,' who still feel it their duty to continue an ascetic habit, even though they have accepted Christ; on the other hand, the 'weak,' condemning what seems to them the laxity of the 'strong,' may be led into the habit of censorious judgment (see an admirable discourse by A. Souter in *ExpT* xxiv. [1912–13] 5 ff.). The same Apostle, however, while thus discountenancing the habit of judging one another, expressly advocates the duty of acting according to a moral standard in dealing with moral offences. In 1 Co 5, *e.g.*, he condemns the Corinthians for allowing a case of immorality to go unchallenged and unjudged. At the same time the Christian Church is to limit its judgments to those that are within; those that are without are to be left to the judgment of God (1 Co 5[13]). It would appear, then, that the Apostle, while not absolving the Christian from the duty of judgment in offences against morality, advocates the widest tolerance in minor matters of everyday life, *e.g.* in Ro 14[4-10]—a passage which closes with the statement: 'we shall all stand before the judgement-seat of God.'

In the same way the apostolic writers press upon their readers the duty of discrimination according to certain standards of right and wrong. They are to 'test all things and hold fast that which is right' (1 Th 5[21]), and to 'test the spirits whether they be of God' (1 Jn 4[1], the word δοκιμάζειν being used, which more definitely suggests the approval which results from a test or touchstone than the simpler and more familiar κρίνειν). They are to pronounce *anathema* on the proclaimer of 'another' gospel (Gal 1[9]), and to refuse hospitality to a false teacher, on the ground that a welcome or salutation involves participation in his evil works (2 Jn [10f.]). Thus doctrine, like life and conduct, is to be brought to the test of a moral standard, and what is subversive of the person and teaching of the Lord is to be rejected. 'Happy,' says the Apostle Paul (Ro 14[22]), 'is he that judgeth not himself in that which he approveth' (δοκιμάζει). This passage appears to combine the two ideas which enter into the NT treatment of the subject: the Christian must avoid censorious judgment and

yet courageously exercise his judgment in the realm of ethics and doctrine; he is happy in the strength of his faith, which enables him so to act as to escape self-condemnation or misgiving. In another passage (Ro 14[13]) St. Paul plays on the double use of *κρίνω*, viz. as indicating a hasty and uncharitable judgment, and as implying the determining of a course of conduct for oneself. 'Let us not judge one another any more, but judge ye this rather, that no man put a stumblingblock in his brother's way'—the latter sense being paralleled by 2 Co 2[1], 'I formed this judgment or determination for myself,' and 1 Co 2[2] 5[5], Tit 3[12]. A similar usage occurs in the famous statement in 2 Co 5[14], 'because we thus *judge* that if one died for all,' etc.—the word signifying a conviction that has been formed out of spiritual experience (cf. also 1 Co 11[13], where there is an appeal to a judgment based on common sense).

For the judgments of others on the Christian there are two passages worth our notice, viz. Col 2[16], where the false teaching which infected the Colossian Church is made the subject of warning, eating and drinking being, according to the Apostle, mere shadows of the reality, and therefore not matters on which a judgment should be based—'let no man take you to task in eating and in drinking': scrupulous ritual and asceticism are a return to an order of life which the gospel has rendered obsolete. The other passage is Ja 2[12], 'So speak ye and so do as men that are to be judged by a law of liberty' (cf. 1[25]). This is St. James's variation on St. Paul's 'law of the spirit of life in Christ Jesus'—not a system of codified regulations enforced from without, but a law freely accepted and obeyed as the result of a new relationship to God. 'It will,' says J. B. Mayor (*The Epistle of St. James*[3], 1910, p. 94), 'be a deeper-going judgment than that of man, for it will not stop short at particular precepts or at the outward act, whatever it may be, but will penetrate to the temper and motive.' And it destroys all morbid anxiety and questioning 'as to the exact performance of each separate precept' if there has been true love to God and man. 'The same love which actuates the true Christian here actuates the Judge both here and hereafter.'

The reader is referred to a concordance for the numerous passages in which God or Christ is spoken of as Judge of humanity; we have here limited our survey to the non-forensic side of judgment. There is a passage, however, which calls for comment, viz. 1 Co 6[2], 'Do ye not know that the saints shall judge the world?' This is to be taken along with a previous warning in 4[5], 'Judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come,' etc. The meaning is that the saints will be associated with their Lord in the act of judging the world at the Last Day, and their judgment will be exercised not only on the world, but on 'angels' (6[3]), meaning the hierarchy of evil or fallen spirits. This doctrine of the future is stated in Rev 20[4] and became a rooted conviction of the post-Apostolic Church, as we see from Euseb. *HE* vi. 42, where the saints are called *μέτοχοι τῆς κρίσεως αὐτοῦ*, 'associates in His judgment.' The Divine Judgeship is a truth essential to human thought. Experience deepens the sense of the ignorance and fallibility attaching to man's judgments. The epigram *tout connaître c'est tout pardonner* is in effect an expression of human helplessness; and the aspiration of David, 'Let me fall now into the hand of the Lord . . . and let me not fall into the hand of man' (1 Ch 21[13]), is really the cry of humanity for ever conscious of the limitations of its own judgments.

See, further, artt. JUDGMENT and TRIAL-AT-LAW.

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R. MARTIN POPE.

JUDGMENT, DAMNATION.—The idea of judgment is involved in that of government: a ruler, if he is to assert his authority and maintain order, must call recalcitrants to account. Since the Deity has always been thought of as exercising some kind of sovereignty, the idea of judgment may be said to be co-extensive with that of religion.

1. The OT conception.—Long before the days of the great prophets, Israel worshipped Jahweh as a God of judgment. Jahweh avenged not only insults against His own honour, but also deeds of violence and wrong (Gn 4[11], Jg 9[56f.]). Justice was administered in His name, and as the supreme Judge He saw that right was done. It would, however, be too much to say that His actions were regarded as invariably regulated by a regard for justice. He had His favourites among individuals, and Israel was His favourite nation (1 S 1[11], 2 S 12[24]). In the exercise of His despotic power, He could act in a certain way simply because it so pleased Him. For His rejection of Saul and His surrender of Israel into the hand of the Philistines the older tradition knew no reason. Not till we come to the great prophets do judgment and justice appear as equivalent terms.

The prophetic conception of Divine judgment can be summed up in a few sentences. Jahweh is the World-ruler and Judge: not only Israel but all nations of the earth stand at His bar (Am 1. 2). His judgments rest on purely moral grounds and are absolutely just (Is 28[17] 45[21]). Even in the case of Israel, justice must take its course (Am 3[2]). Though individuals are occasionally spoken of as suffering for their private sins, in the main it is not with the individual but with the nation that Jahweh reckons. The individual is merged in the State and shares its fate. The theatre of judgment is this earth: of reward or punishment beyond death the prophets know nothing. Good and bad alike descend to Sheol and share the same bodyless, pithless existence in separation from Jahweh (Is 14[4-18], Ps 6[5]). Judgment, at least so far as Israel is concerned, never appears, except perhaps in Amos, as an end in itself and the ultimate law of Jahweh's working. Israel has a worth in Jahweh's eyes; He refuses to give her up; and, when His judgments have accomplished their disciplining work, salvation will surely follow (Is 40[1. 2]). That the correspondence between desert and lot in the existing order is but imperfect, and salvation an object of hope rather than of experience, are facts to which the prophets are keenly alive. But their faith finds refuge in the conception of a great day in the near future, 'the day of the Lord,' in which Jahweh will interpose in a decisive way in human affairs, to overthrow His enemies and inaugurate a new and happier era. For Israel this day will be one of sifting and purging, for her oppressors a day of terror and anguish (Is 2[17. 18], Jl 2[14-16]). To this conception, as we shall see, the subsequent development attached itself.

With the Book of Daniel a new chapter opens in the history of Hebrew eschatology. 'I beheld,' we read, 'till thrones were placed, and one that was ancient of days did sit. . . . Thousand thousands ministered unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him: the judgment was set and the books were opened. . . . And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life and some to shame and everlasting contempt' (Dn 7[9] 12[2]). Compared with the outlook of the great

prophets, this conception of a resurrection of the dead for judgment and sentence is something altogether new. Written in the crisis of the Maccabæan struggle (165 B.C.), the Book of Daniel forms the first of the long series of Jewish Apocalypses. For an understanding of NT eschatology these writings are of such cardinal importance that it is necessary to give some account of their leading ideas.

Apocalyptic had its roots in the hope held up before Israel by the prophets of a glorious day in the future, 'the day of the Lord,' when her oppressors would be overthrown, and she, purified by her sufferings, exalted to a position of unparalleled splendour and power. Through her fidelity to God and her supremacy among the nations God's reign on earth would be visibly realized, and Nature itself would be made fairer and more generous to grace the new order. This national hope proved itself vital enough to survive the most disillusioning experiences, but somewhere in the dark days of Persian or Greek ascendancy it was subjected to radical modification, and fitted into a world-view widely different from that to which it originally belonged. The new development was characterized in the first place by a thorough-going pessimism. In the eyes of apocalyptic writers the existing world or age is incurably evil, incapable of being transformed by any conceivable process of moral renewal into a kingdom of God. Human beings are in the mass hopelessly corrupt, and wicked men occupy the seats of power. And this is not all. A portentous development of the belief in evil spirits lends to apocalyptic pessimism a still darker hue. The world is the haunt of throngs of such spirits, who, under Satan their head, form a demonic hierarchy. With unwearied activity they prosecute their hellish work, thwarting the will of the Almighty, hounding on the heathen persecutors of His people, inciting men to wickedness and smiting them with disease. To these sinister figures God, by an inscrutable decree, has surrendered the government of the world. Satan is the world's real master. But, despite this pessimism with regard to the existing order, apocalyptic writers have no thought of surrendering their faith in God or in His promise to Israel. Only, their faith, finding nothing in the present to which it can attach itself, takes refuge in the future and becomes eschatological. The present world is given up to destruction, and religious interest transferred to the new and glorious world which God will reveal when the old has been swept away. With passionate eagerness the great catastrophe that shall open the way for the Kingdom is anticipated, and the horizon scanned for signs of its approach. When it arrives, its opening scene will be one of judgment. To the bar of the Almighty the whole world, Jews as well as Gentiles, and—what is still more significant—the dead as well as the living, will be gathered to answer for the deeds they have done. The fate of each soul having been decided, sentence will at once be executed. For the righteous there is reserved a blessed and deathless life in the presence of God; for the wicked, everlasting destruction.

Before leaving Jewish apocalyptic, two points must be more particularly noted as bearing on questions that will emerge later. The first relates to the personality of the Judge. In most writings it is God Himself who is represented as occupying the throne (Dn $7^{9.10}$, *En.* i. 3–9, xc. 20, 2 Es 6^{6} 7^{33}). Sometimes, however, the Messiah or Son of Man appears as conducting the Judgment in God's name (*En.* li. 1. 2, lxix. 27; *Apoc. Bar.* lxxii. 2). There was no fixed doctrine on the subject; the one matter of importance was that the Judgment was a Divine Judgment. The second point relates to the fate of the wicked. Here again we find no uniform view, except that their fate involves final and irretrievable ruin. Many passages assume that only the righteous will be raised from the dead. For the sinner death will be the end (*Ps.-Sol.* iii. 13–16, *Apoc. Bar.* xxx.). Sometimes, however, Sheol, into which the dead descend, is itself transformed into a place of punishment, so that to be left there does not mean annihilation (*Eth. En.* xcviii., xcix., civ.). We have also passages in which Sheol is the abode of the lost only until the Day of Judgment, when they are thrust into Gehenna or hell, to suffer eternal torment, with devils for their companions (*En.* liii. 3–5, liv. 1. 2).

This belief in a resurrection of the dead and a universal judgment forms a landmark in the history of Hebrew religion. We see in it the victory of individualism. It is no longer the nation but the individual that is the religious unit. The worth of the individual is recognized, and he is set solitary before God. How is the rise of the apocalyptic conception of things to be explained? Partly, no doubt, by the calamitous situation of the Jewish people under Persian and Greek rule. A fulfilment of the prophetic promise through the means that the prophets had in view—inner reform, political revolution, a victorious leader—no longer seemed within the range of possibility. God had ceased to speak to the people through the living voice of prophecy, and a feeling was abroad that He had forsaken the earth. This explanation is, however, only partial. The pessimism and dualism of the apocalyptic world-view, its demonology and angelology, its conception of a death-struggle between the kingdom of Satan and the kingdom of God, its conception of a resurrection from the dead and a Final Judgment, can be accounted for only on the hypothesis of Persian influence.

2. In the teaching of Jesus.—So far as its outward form is concerned, Jesus' conception of judgment and punishment is wholly on apocalyptic lines. The Judgment will come at the end of the world; it will be a judgment of individuals; and it will be universal (Mt 22^{13} 16^{27}). The sentence pronounced will be final: nowhere do we find a hint of future probation. With respect to the person of the Judge, Jesus follows the tradition that assigns the office to the Son of Man. 'For the Son of man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels; and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds' (Mt 16^{27} 13^{41} 25^{31}). No particular significance is, however, attached to this fact: the emphasis falls, not on the personality of the Judge, but on the judgment He conducts. What is Jesus' teaching with regard to the doom of the lost? Uniformly He follows the tradition that regards them as consigned to Gehenna or hell (Mt $5^{22.29}$ 10^{28} 18^{9}). And, as in apocalyptic, Gehenna appears as a fiery furnace in which the wicked suffer unending torment (Mt 5^{29}, Lk 16^{24}, Mt 25^{46}). Jesus is no theologian, but something incomparably greater. In the main He appropriates the conceptions of His time, modifying or rejecting them only when they conflict with some vital religious or ethical interest. What is original in His teaching is not the theological conceptions but the new content with which they are charged. If His conception of the Judgment and of punishment is in formal respects that of Jewish apocalyptic, the spirit of which it is the vehicle is all His own. New is the moral earnestness with which He brings each individual soul face to face with the righteous Judge. 'And be not afraid of them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul: but rather fear him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell' (Mt 10^{28}). New also is the moral purity with which the conception of judgment is carried out. Everything

national and sectarian falls away. Of a mechanical balancing of good and bad actions we hear nothing. The one test is character, and character in its deepest principle—the love in which lies the root of all morality and all religion. 'I was an hungred, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink. . . . Inasmuch as ye did it unto one of these my brethren, even these least, ye did it unto me' (Mt $25^{35ff.}$). And what is true of Jesus' teaching about judgment is true also of His teaching about punishment. The element of originality is to be found not in the formal conceptions but in the spirit they enshrine. In the descriptions of hell in Jewish apocalyptic embittered national and ecclesiastical feeling is at least as much in evidence as moral hatred of iniquity. Far otherwise is it when we turn to Jesus. What comes to expression in His almost fierce words regarding the fate of the wicked is His burning indignation against all high-handed sin, particularly against hypocrisy and heartlessness, His deep sense of the infinite and eternal difference between right and wrong, His immovable conviction that the first means everlasting life to a man and the second everlasting death. 'And if thy hand or thy foot causeth thee to stumble, cut it off and cast it from thee: it is good for thee to enter into life maimed or halt, rather than having two hands or two feet to be cast into the eternal fire' (*Mt* 18^{8}).

3. In the Apocalypse of John.—We begin our study of the apostolic writings with the Apocalypse of John, not because it is the earliest of these writings—in its present shape it cannot be dated before A.D. 95—but because the description it gives of the events of the End is by far the most detailed, and because we are probably justified in regarding it as, in the main, representative of primitive Christian views. In his programme of eschatological events the writer follows closely his Jewish models. At His Parousia, Christ will smite the nations of the earth assembled against Him in battle, and prepare the way for His millennial reign (19^{11}–20^{6}). The close of this reign will see a last uprising of the powers of evil, ending in their utter and final overthrow (20^{7-10}). Then will come the general resurrection and the Judgment (20^{11-13}). The Judgment, which is universal in its scope, is conducted not by Christ but by God (20^{11}). Men are judged 'according to their works,' and out of certain books, one being singled out by name as 'the Book of Life.' The books contain a record of the deeds, good and bad, of each individual: the Book of Life is the list of God's elect people. Exceedingly brief is the account of the fate of the reprobate. 'Death and Hades were cast into the lake of fire . . . and if any was not found written in the book of life, he was cast into the lake of fire.' Though the writer describes this as 'the second death,' it is clear that he is thinking not of annihilation but of an eternity of suffering ($14^{10.\ 11}$). It must be admitted that the Book of Revelation does not everywhere maintain the high level of the Christian spirit. It comes to us from a time when the Church was passing through the same harrowing experiences as were the lot of the Jewish people in the days when apocalyptic had its birth. And in the one case as in the other persecution has resulted in an exacerbation of feeling and a narrowing of sympathy.

4. In St. Paul.—For St. Paul as for the Christian community in general the Last Judgment is a great and dread fact with which believer and unbeliever have equally to reckon. He knows the terror of the Lord (2 Co 5^{11}). 'We must all be made manifest before the judgment-seat of Christ; that each one may receive the things done in the body, according to what he hath done, whether it be good or bad' (2 Co 5^{10}, Ro 2^{3-16} 14^{10}, 1 Co 3^{13} 4^{5}). In this and in the majority of relevant passages it is Christ who sits as Judge. But that the point is not regarded as dogmatically fixed is shown by the fact that the Apostle can also speak of God as the Judge (Ro $2^{6.\ 11}$ 14^{10}). What is his teaching with respect to the fate of the wicked? The Book of Revelation gives us two pictures—one of the redeemed in Paradise, the other of devils and condemned souls in the lake of fire. Of the second picture there is not a single trace in the Pauline Epistles. The wicked simply disappear from the scene, the nature and term of their punishment being left shrouded in obscurity. By bringing together a number of scattered indications we may, however, arrive at a fairly certain notion of what the Apostle thinks regarding their fate. That he contemplates a universal restoration is an idea that may at once be put aside. Support has, indeed, been sought for it in certain statements of a general character: 'As in Adam all die, so also in Christ shall all be made alive,' 'God hath shut up all unto disobedience that he might have mercy upon all' (1 Co 15^{22}, Ro 11^{32}, Col 1^{19}, Eph 1^{10}). But such statements cannot be pressed in their letter against the multitude of passages that assert in unambiguous terms the final ruin of the ungodly (Ro $2^{5.\ 12}$, Ph 3^{18}, 2 Th 1^{9}). They are but examples of the Apostle's sweeping and antithetical way of putting things. Quite decisive against the idea of restoration is the fact that nowhere do we find a single syllable that suggests future probation.

One point only is open for argument, whether the Apostle has in his mind annihilation or an eternity of suffering. With regard to this, the words used in describing the fate of the wicked are not in themselves decisive. Of these words the two most important, both from the frequency of their occurrence and from their intrinsic significance, are 'death' (*θάνατος*) and 'destruction' (*ἀπώλεια*). Death is for St. Paul sin's specific penalty, its wages (Ro 5^{12} $6^{21.\ 23}$ 8^{6}). What does the term connote? Not necessarily annihilation, since, according to current ideas, the dead descended into Hades to lead there a wretched phantasmal existence. We can take from it nothing more than this—the loss of all that gives to life its value, the loss of all that is signified by salvation. Not materially different is the connotation of the term 'destruction.' The wicked are brought to utter ruin, swept from the place of the living and the presence of God. But, if a study of terms leaves the question of annihilation or eternal suffering an open one, the general tenor of the Apostle's thought points conclusively to the former alternative. Weight must be attached to the fact of an absence of any reference to a place of torment. The tribulation and anguish of Ro 2^{9} need refer to nothing beyond the experience of destruction. On two things only does St. Paul lay stress—that the wicked have no inheritance in the Kingdom of God, and that they are cleared off the face of the world. Still more decisive is this other fact—that the universe he contemplates as the goal of redemption is one reconciled to God in all its parts. If the demonic powers are not ultimately reconciled, as in one passage he seems to indicate (Col 1^{19}), they are abolished (1 Co 15^{24}). God becomes all in all. St. Paul leaves us with the vision of a world that is without a devil and without a hell, without a shadow on its brightness or a discord in its harmony.

The Apostle's allusions to the Judgment are neither few nor ambiguous, yet we have to take account of the perplexing fact that, in those passages where he gives a detailed programme of the End, not only is all reference to the great event omitted, but no place seems to be left for it. In 1 Th 4^{15-17} we read of a resurrection of believers

who have died and of a gathering of these and of living believers to meet the Lord in the air and be for ever with Him, but there is no mention of a resurrection of the wicked and a Final Judgment. These events seem to be excluded. So is it also in 1 Co 15[22-28]. Though the picture here is more detailed, the resurrection of the wicked and the Judgment find no place in it. And in 2 Co 5[1-8] and Ph 1[23] the Apostle speaks as if death at once ushered the believer into the presence of Christ. To depart is to be with Christ. Here not only the Judgment, but the whole drama of the End, including the Parousia, falls away. How are we to account for this perplexing fact? That St. Paul ever consciously broke with the apocalyptic tradition in any of its main features is incredible. In Philippians, one of the later Epistles, he still bids his readers expect the Parousia (4[5]). More can be said for the hypothesis that his ardent longing for union with Christ leads him to overleap intervening events and hasten to the goal. This, however, is not the whole explanation. The truth is that there are elements in the Apostle's thought which, though he is hardly conscious of the fact, are carrying him away from the apocalyptic scheme. In Judaism the Judgment has its main significance as the instrument for effecting a separation between the righteous and the wicked. But for St. Paul this separation has already been virtually effected. By the fact of their unbelief the wicked are already condemned; by the fact of their faith the righteous are already justified. It is true that the Apostle does not think of the believer's present state of salvation as absolute. But against this we have to set the emphasis which he places on the element of assurance. 'Who is he that shall condemn? It is Christ Jesus that died!' Had the Judgment been to St. Paul all that it was to a pious Jew, he could hardly, in his account of the End and in his contemplation of death, have left it unnoticed. In the Fourth Gospel, to which we now turn, this drift from apocalyptic is much more pronounced.

5. In the Fourth Gospel.—No more than St. Paul does the writer of the Fourth Gospel contemplate a formal breach with the traditional apocalyptic ideas. 'The hour cometh,' Christ is represented as saying, 'in which all that are in the tombs shall hear his (the Son of man's) voice, and shall come forth; they that have done good unto the resurrection of life, and they that have done ill unto the resurrection of judgment' (5[28. 29]; cf. 12[48], 1 Jn 4[17]). But, if the Evangelist yields this recognition to traditional views, his own peculiar thought moves on other lines. The judgment on which the stress falls is that which Christ accomplished in the course of His earthly ministry and is always accomplishing. While He lived on earth, He was already invested with the sovereign power to judge. 'For judgment I am come into the world, that they which see not might see, and that they which see might be made blind' (9[39] 5[27] 8[15. 16] 12[31]). If passages appear in which He is made to disclaim the office of Judge—'I came not to judge the world but to save the world'—they are added in order, by seeming contradiction, to drive thought deeper (12[47] 5[45] 3[17]). His real purpose is, indeed, to save, but none the less His appearance in the world has the inevitable result that a separation is effected between the children of light and the children of darkness. The former are attracted to Christ, to find in Him their salvation; the latter are repelled and driven into hostility. In the attitude which a man takes up towards Christ he is already judged. 'This is the condemnation that light is come into the world, but men loved the darkness rather than the light' (3[19]). In the matter of doom we find a similar shifting of the centre of gravity from the future to the present. Sin's real punishment is not physical death or even suffering, but exclusion from the higher life that comes into being through the birth from above. 'He that heareth my word . . . hath eternal life, and cometh not into judgement, but hath passed out of death into life' (5[24]). The popular notion of hell disappears as completely as in St. Paul.

But notwithstanding this spiritualizing train of thought, the traditional apocalyptic notions—the Parousia, a resurrection of the just and unjust, final judgment by Christ and eternal punishment for the lost—succeeded in maintaining themselves in the Church's faith. Not till the introduction of the idea of purgatory do we meet with any important modification of this scheme. And it was not till the beginning of the 3rd cent., with Origen, Cyprian, and the Gregorys, that the idea of purgatory began to emerge.

6. Only one other point, and that of minor importance, remains to be noted. Not a few early Christian writers speak of a descent of Christ into Hades and a preaching to the dead. In 1 P 3[19f.] it is the disobedient of the days of Noah to whom Christ brings the message of salvation; in Irenæus (IV. xxvii. 2) it is the Patriarchs; in Marcion (Iren. I. xxvii. 3) it is Cain, the Sodomites, Egyptians, and other heathen. It is improbable that this conception was a creation of the Church; rather have we to think of the adoption and Christianizing of a current pagan myth of a saviour-god descending into the under world to wrest the sceptre from its powers. The mythological details are stripped off, and Christ's mission becomes one of preaching to those from whom in their lifetime the gospel had been withheld. Also from the ranks of the dead Christ will win His trophies. Judged according to men in the flesh, they will live according to God in the Spirit (1 P 4[6]) (see W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 1913, p. 32 ff.). See, further, art. DESCENT INTO HADES.

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W. MORGAN.

JUDGMENT-HALL.—In ancient times justice was dispensed in the open, usually in the market-place, near the city gate. With the development of civic life, however, special courts of justice began to be built. Thus Solomon had his 'throne-room' or portico erected within the complex of his palace buildings (1 K 7[7]), where justice continued to be administered no doubt till the latest period of the Monarchy. The Sanhedrin also convened for judgment in the 'Hall of Hewn Stone' on the south side of the great court of the Temple. In Rome, too, the Imperial Age saw the law-courts transferred to *basilicæ*, or open colonnades near the Forum, and finally to closed halls, where cases were heard in secret (*in secretario*). The administration of justice in *basilicæ* has been traced to Pompeii and other centres of Roman life, but was apparently not the custom in Palestine, the word translated 'judgment hall' in the AV (Jn 18[28. 33] 19[9], Ac 23[35]) being really πραιτώριον or *palace*.

A. R. GORDON.

JUDGMENT-SEAT.—The judge invariably sat on a special 'seat' or throne. Thus Jerusalem and the smaller cities alike had their 'thrones for judgement' (Jg 4[5], 1 K 7[7], Ps 122[5], etc.). In Rome magistrate and jury were seated together on the raised *tribunal*, or 'bench,' the magistrate on his *sella curulis*, or 'chariot seat,' specially associated with the Roman *imperium*. The custom extended also to the Provinces. In the NT κριτήρια ('tribunals') is used of law-courts generally (in 1 Co 6[2. 4] and Ja 2[6]), while βῆμα, lit. 'step,' 'seat' (for

parties in a law-suit), is applied to the 'judgment-seat' not only of the Emperor (Ac 25[10]), but also of the governors Pilate (Mt 27[19], Jn 19[13]), Gallio (Ac 18[12. 16f.]) and Festus (25[6. 17]), and even metaphorically of God (Ro 14[10]) and Christ (2 Co 5[10]). See, further, TRIAL-AT-LAW.

A. R. GORDON.

JULIA ('Ιουλία, Ro 16[15], a Latin name, the feminine form of Julius [the name of a famous Roman gens]. Both of these were extremely common names. The name Julia is very frequently found as a name of female slaves belonging to the Imperial household).—A woman saluted by St. Paul and coupled with Philologus. They may have been brother and sister, or more probably husband and wife. Other couples saluted in Ro 16 are Aquila and Prisca (v.[3], the order being, however, 'Prisca and Aquila'), perhaps Andronicus and Junia (v.[7]; see JUNIAS), and Nereus and his sister (v.[15]). It has been conjectured that the names in this verse are those of persons forming a Christian family with a household church (*καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς πάντας ἁγίους*). If this be so, Philologus and Julia were perhaps the parents of Nereus and his sister (Nerias) and Olympas, and the leaders of the little community which gathered for worship at their home (cf. v.[3], where a married couple are saluted as 'fellow-labourers' with the Apostle, and the salutation includes 'the church which assembles at their house'). The locality to which we assign this circle of Christians will depend upon our view of the destination of Ro 16[3-20]. Nothing further is known of any of these persons.

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

JULIUS ('Ιούλιος).—After the decision of Festus to send St. Paul to Rome, he was entrusted to the care of a 'centurion named Julius of the Augustan cohort' (Ac 27[1-3]). The Apostle was treated with kindness and consideration by the centurion, who, although he disregarded St. Paul's advice as to the place of wintering (vv.[9-11]), deferred to his recommendation regarding cutting away the boat (v.[31]), and, in order to save him, refused to allow the soldiers to kill the prisoners (v.[42]). On arriving in Rome Julius handed over his prisoner to the 'captain of the guard' (28[16]). Much discussion has gathered round the phrase 'Augustan cohort' to which Julius belonged. Ramsay regards it as probable that Julius belonged to the corps of official couriers, employed as emissaries to various parts of the Empire—the *peregrini*; and the 'captain of the guard' is supposed to have been their commanding officer (see artt. BAND, AUGUSTAN BAND).

As Julius was the family name of the members of the Roman Imperial house, it was assumed by many of the vassal kings from the days of Julius Cæsar onwards. It was borne by all the Jewish princes from Antipater, the father of Herod the Great. Josephus mentions a Julius Archelæus, son-in-law of Agrippa I. (*Ant.* XIX. ix. 1; cf. Schürer, i. 561, also index, p. 69).

LITERATURE.—R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 516; W. M. Ramsay, *St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 315; E. Schürer, *GJV*[4] i. [1901] 460-462.

W. F. BOYD.

JUNIAS, JUNIA (Ro 16[7]).—A person saluted by St. Paul and coupled with Andronicus. As the name occurs in the accusative ('Ιουνίαν), it may be Junias, a masculine name contracted from Junianus, or Junia, a common feminine name; in either case a Latin name. If the name is that of a woman, she was the sister, or more likely the wife, of Andronicus. Other couples saluted in Ro 16 are Aquila and Prisca (v.[3], the order, however, being 'Prisca and Aquila'), Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister (v.[15]). Andronicus and Junia(s) are described as 'kinsmen' of the Apostle, as his 'fellow-prisoners,' as 'of note among the apostles,' and as having become Christians before St. Paul (see ANDRONICUS). It is surely not at all impossible that St. Paul should include a woman among the apostles in the wider sense of accredited missionaries or messengers, a position to which their seniority in the faith may have called this pair. So Chrysostom understood the words (*Hom. in S. Pauli Ep. ad Rom.*).

T. B. ALLWORTHY.

JUPITER (Ac 14[12. 13] [RVm **'Zeus']** 19[35] [AV and RV 'the image which fell down from Jupiter'; RVm 'from heaven']).—The Oriental setting of the events which took place at Lystra is strongly evident in the first of these passages. The miracle of healing at once causes the barbarians to suppose that the gods had come to pay them a visit, and the impassive Barnabas is regarded as the chief. 'True to the oriental character, the Lycaonians regarded the active and energetic preacher as the inferior, and the more silent and statuesque figure as the leader and principal' (W. M. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 57 n.). It was not that such visits were supposed to be common, but a well-known legend (Ovid, *Metam.* viii. 626 ff.; cf. *Fasti*, v. 495 ff.) told of such a visit, when the aged couple Philemon and Baucis had alone received the august visitors and had been suitably rewarded; this had been localized in several districts. The people cried out in the speech of Lycaonia, and the original name of the local god given by them to Barnabas has been here replaced by the Greek equivalent, Zeus. In v.[13] Codex Bezæ has a slightly different phrase which reads, 'the temple of Zeus-before-the-city.' The participle in the phrase *τοῦ ὄντος Διὸς Προπόλεως* is used in a way characteristic of Acts, viz. to introduce some title or particular phrase, and we must consider that D is correct here. Zöckler (*ad loc.*) and Ramsay (*op. cit.* p. 51 f.) compare an inscription at Claudiopolis which has Zeus Proastios (*i.e.* 'Jupiter-before-the-town'). The title here, then, is Propoleōs, which is actually found in an inscription at Smyrna. The Temple would be outside the city proper, and it is not quite clear whether 'the gates' where the sacrifice was prepared were those of the Temple, or of the city, or of the dwelling-house of the apostles. It is most probable that the Temple is referred to, the gates being chosen as a special place for the offering of a special sacrifice (Ramsay).

Baur, Zeller, Overbeck, and Wendt regard the whole incident as unhistorical, since such people would rather have considered that the miracle-workers were magicians or demons. But the local legends give ample support to the text.

In 19[35] the translation should follow RVm: 'the image which fell down from the clear sky.'

LITERATURE.—See R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 1900, *ad loc.*; A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, 1897, p. 189 f.

F. W. WORSLEY.

JUSTICE.—In his analysis of justice (*δικαιοσύνη*), Aristotle (*Nicomachean Ethics*, bk. v.) distinguishes the justice which is co-extensive with virtue—is, in fact, 'perfect virtue'—from the special justice which consists in fairness of dealing with our neighbours. The NT writers use the word *δικαιοσύνη* almost exclusively in the former sense, connecting it with the righteousness of God (see RIGHTEOUSNESS). The lesser righteousness is, however, included under the greater; and though the emphasis is laid on mercy or love as 'the fulfilling of the law' (Ro 13[10]), justice is also recognized as a duty towards Him who is 'just' as well as the merciful 'justifier' of them that believe (see LOVE). Thus the Apostle enumerates 'things just' (*ὅσα δίκαια*) in his catalogue of Christian virtues (Ph 4[8]). He urges his readers likewise to set their

thoughts on that which is 'honourable' or 'seemly' (καλά), not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men (Ro 12^{17}, 2 Co 8^{21} 13^{7}). This Christian justice covers the whole round of life. All men are entitled to their full dues, alike of tribute, custom, fear, honour, service and wage. The Christian master respects the honour not merely of his wife and children, but even of his slaves (Eph $5^{22ff.}$, Col $3^{18ff.}$). The servant also deals justly with his master, not stealing or purloining, as heathen slaves were wont to do, but 'with good will doing service, as unto the Lord, and not unto men' (Eph $6^{5ff.}$, Col $3^{22f.}$, Tit $2^{10ff.}$, 1 P $2^{18ff.}$). For such service the labourer is worthy of an honest wage (1 Ti 5^{18}, 2 Ti 2^{6}). The same principle applies to the preacher of the gospel, even though he refuse to accept his privileges (1 Co $9^{13ff.}$). In their relations as citizens, Christian men are actuated by the most sensitive regard for honour. Though he stands for Christian freedom, the Apostle feels morally obliged to send back Philemon's slave, however helpful he found him to be; and he further takes on his own shoulders full liability for Onesimus' misdeeds (Philem $10ff.$). In order that public justice may be upheld, too, the Christian is urged to pray for kings and all in high places of authority (1 Ti $2^{1f.}$), and to be subject to all their ordinances for the Lord's sake (Tit $3^{1f.}$, 1 P $2^{13ff.}$). But he himself is entitled to justice before the law. No man suffered more for his Master's sake than St. Paul; and no one wrote more serious words on the sin of litigiousness (1 Co $6^{1ff.}$). Yet, in defence of his just rights as a citizen, he not only asserted his Roman freedom (Ac 16^{37} 22^{25} 25^{10}), but defended himself before the courts to the very last (Ac $24^{10ff.}$ $25^{10f.}$, 2 Ti $4^{16ff.}$). For to him the courts were there to secure justice for all. See TRIAL-AT-LAW.

A. R. GORDON.

JUSTIFICATION.—1. Considerations on the history of the doctrine.—Justification by faith formulates the distinctive principle of Protestantism. It has been a war-cry and word of passion, and embodies a spiritual and theological conflict. It claimed to be an advance on the Catholic idea, as more true to apostolic experience and more adequate to the sinner's need. It is advisable at the outset to investigate this claim as preparatory to a dispassionate analysis of the apostolic doctrine. Justification is a complex conception. Neither in Luther nor in the Council of Trent are ambiguities and inconsistencies wanting. The combatants on both sides in subsequent controversy have in consequence easily fallen into serious misunderstandings. The vital current re-animating modern religious theory is disclosing the fact,* and producing a better-proportioned perspective. Rid of the war-dust, we see clearly the salient features of the main respective positions and their conspicuous divergences. What are these? It is a rich, fresh experience Luther describes in his finest statement of his faith, *The Liberty of the Christian Man.* It finds no commensurate exposition in the Lutheran or Reformed Confessions. Luther himself was no theologian; and his varying expressions are difficult to harmonize. But the tendency of his teaching is plain.† The character of Tridentine teaching is as plain. Luther's is *aus einem Gusse* ('of one mould'), born of an intense travail of soul. The Catholic, polemical in import and comprehensive of aspect, has in view efficient discipline of souls. Grace, according to Luther, is known in personal relationship with Christ (*Com.* on Gal 2^{20}); it is a sense of God's favour; it saves from God's wrath; it saves at once and wholly by God's free mercy, is a complete and perfect thing, conditioned upon faith, bringing with it assurance of salvation (see *Against Latomus*). It is, in his own words, 'the favour of God not a quality of soul' (*ib.* 489), identical with forgiveness, release from His wrath, enjoyment of His favour, a present status rather than a new character. To receive such grace is to be justified. The Council of Trent* defines its doctrine in reference to three questions: the manner of gaining justification, of maintaining it, and of regaining it when lost through mortal sin. The answers are that it is gained in baptism, through which are received not only remission of sins but sanctification and renewal of the inner man (sess. vi. ch. 7); it is maintained by performance of good works, keeping the commandments of God and the Church, resulting in an increase of justification (ch. 10); it is regained by penance and penitential 'satisfactions' (ch. 14). 'That which truly justifies the heart is grace, which is daily created and poured into our hearts' (J. Fischer's *Refutation of Luther*, 1523). Grace on this view is a Divine substance,† *ex opere operato* imparted, increased by man's aid, dependent on faith and good works as co-ordinate in worth, all part and parcel of the same idea, 'the infusion of grace'—the novel feature in Catholic dogma. Catholic dogma, equally with Protestant, safeguards the Divine initiative and the work of Christ, but neither the honour of Christ nor individual assurance, since, concerning the former, Christ, though His righteousness is available for our salvation, is not regarded as indwelling in us as our Righteousness; and, concerning the latter, the organized machinery of means of grace brings in all the elements of uncertainty, leaving the doctrine unsatisfactory in the most crucial point. Luther's is a purely religious conception, vastly deeper within its limits than the other, comprising not only pardon of sin and escape from the Divine wrath, but peace of conscience and assurance of salvation. Its weakest features are the idea of faith, which is limited to belief and trust in Christ's satisfaction, apart from subjective appropriation of its experience through the indwelling Christ which faith makes possible, and the resulting unbridged chasm between justification and sanctification; and the lack of any really vital relation between the new status and the new character of the justified.‡ Judged by the standard of apostolic truth, both fall short. In the apostolic consciousness justification is more than merely God's favour or pardon of sins: it is release from the power as well as guilt of sin, a new character, in principle at least, with the new status. Therein the Catholic opposition to Luther was justified. But the new character is erroneously regarded by Catholicism as the gradual transformation of human nature (which is sanctification), a process in this life always incomplete, and liable to be imperilled by stagnation and lapse. Nor are the Catholic formulæ adequate to the profoundly spiritual and final representations in apostolic experience of the acts and operations of grace in the believing heart through the instrumentality of Christ's Person and Spirit. This, however, is a deficiency only in theology; it is compensated for in actual religious practice in the Sacrifice of the Mass, where faith is more genially receptive and heartfelt devotion more warmly active in realizing the real presence of Christ in all His justifying force. The Mass is to the creed

* Cf. particularly *inter multos alios* Ritschl in his great work, *Die christl. Lehre von der Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Bonn, 1870-74, i. and iii.

† For Luther's works consult the Erlangen ed., 1826 ff.; H. Wace and C. A. Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, London, 1896.

* The best ed. of the 'Decrees' of Trent is that of A. L. Richter and F. Schulte, Leipzig, 1853.

† For the recent ideas of Catholic divines on justification see art. in *CE*.

‡ For Luther's doctrinal position consult J. Köstlin, *Life of Luther*, Eng. tr., London, 1883, and T. M. Lindsay, *Luther and the German Reformation*, Edinburgh, 1900.

in the Roman system what, so to speak, 'Hebrews' is to 'Romans'* in Pauline thought.

2. The problem of justification.—Justification is a religious problem, the answer to an interior inquiry of Christian experience. The OT cry, 'How is man just with God?' is deepened in the NT: 'How is God gracious?' and 'How are we sure of His grace?' That again is the problem of fellowship with God—the most engrossing of modern quests. Of fellowship with God the very foundation and certainty is justification. In consequence modern spiritual philosophy is eagerly interested. It is better equipped to cope with the exquisitely delicate character of the inquiry than any past age. The modern idea of Divine immanence in Nature and man adds immeasurably to our perception of the nature of the human spirit, its workings, their relation to the Divine Spirit; and furnishes a key to the representation and reconstruction of inner soul-processes beyond the apparatus of the older theology. The mystical emotion is its highest form, and is no exceptional superaddition to man's nature; rather it is his natural consummation. It is not merely the secret action of the mind upon itself; while an inborn instinct, it comes to distinct form and growth from causes objective to itself, operating on it by the inworking of external and historical circumstance and the exercise and outworking of ethical faculty. Psychologically it is not of the ordinary emotive life; it is higher, inclusive of all the parts of human nature, gathering up into itself all those inner powers in whose interplay under its guidance and inspiration in one harmonious unity its life consists. In operation it is wholly personal, conscious, energetic, intensely individual. Into it enters the force of historic fact, out of it passes the power of moral life; but itself is a self inbreathing the one, outbreathing the other. The constitution of this self is the modern construction of justification. The life of that self is communion with God; justification is its origin and basis.

What is the origin?—the Divine graciousness† (Luther) or Divine grace (Catholic); a 'reckoning righteous,' or a 'making righteous'‡ by God? Neither of these alternatives standing solitary is to-day an intelligible concept applicable to the Divine or the human personality; nor is the one or the other a felt fact of religious experience, the ultimate test of every theory. These are otiose ideas, as useless as absolute ideas. God and His grace cannot be otiose. 'He speaks and it is done.' His grace is at once, as grace, prescient and prevenient, *operans* and *co-operans*, sufficient and efficient, and cannot be defined in merely legal or logical terms, or, in fact, in anything short of that 'interpenetration of essence' of God's self or character§ with man's self or character, bestowing on man's its profoundest promise and potency; and *instanter* translating it into the status and character of life that is being sanctified after His image, and on His initiative. What Protestant thought clumsily encloses within two notions, 'justification' and 'imputation,'‖ may be regarded under one more modern—'development.' Then, man's self is appreciated from the Divine standpoint, as God saw creation in its first being, not as it actually is in present attainment, nor as it will be in perfect fruition, but as it is ideally becoming when put upon the right basis and in the right atmosphere, the condition we find in 'the stature of a perfect man'—Christ—the root and direction rather than the end or goal determining the judgment of its character. That appreciation is justification.

The faculty of self by whose exercise the new status and generation are attained is 'faith.' By 'faith' the Divine Life dwells in man's soul and Divine truth becomes power. Faith here is more than spiritual insight, it is spiritual grasp; more than a receptive force, it is also the bestowing fact, softening the harsh independence of these two realities. The truth is that every approach of God to man has a true tendency to create the faith without which the approach can never become a real entrance. Faith is man's welcome of Him, created in man's heart, as the face of a friend coming towards us reclaims us for his friendship. Faith again is more than assent or trust: it is the soul's entrance into healthy relationship to Him who is its true life; an entrance fuller or weaker according to the soul's capacity, and ever growing with the soul's growth. Faith thus understood widens its mental and emotional constituents. God and man underneath all obscuring media are of like nature; God is the 'element' of man's true life.* God is unceasingly solicitous in seeking man, and, finding man reciprocate, apprehends him, but as Life apprehending life, or the ocean refreshing the tide's eddy, or the tree quickening the branch. The term 'justification' may be technically a juridical one, but that which it aims at expressing is in idea and fact a spiritual transaction unexpressible in forensic terms, not even conceivable as a process having acts and stages. It may better be compared to a gem† having many facets, simultaneous, not successive, and glowing in enhancing splendour with every further advance into light. This is the essence of the idea in believing experience. It is also the essence of the idea in the apostolic conscience—the love of God seeking the love of man and finding it.‡

3. The apostolic doctrine of justification.—The apostolic doctrine is characterized by a singular originality, comprehensiveness, self-consistency, and spirituality. Its systematic statement is elaborate, developing itself consciously along three lines—experiential, historical, speculative. A careful analysis is necessary to separate its essential substance and abiding cogency from their first local form. Its originality is evident when compared with similar ideas in ethnic and Jewish religion; its comprehensive and self-consistent character by the exhibition of its contents; its spirituality by the demonstration of its purely religious validity; its permanent worth by the absoluteness with which it solves the religious problem of which avowedly it is an answer.

i. ORIGINALITY.—The idea of justification does not originate with Christianity, although truly it comes to its full expression there. Wherever religion becomes personal in actual communion with God, it brings with itself inquiry as to the specific nature of the power known and felt and the peculiar character of its working in the soul. This we find occurring in religious history generally, and especially in Hebrew religion. Ethnic faiths for the most part are so lacking in belief in a personal God that the inquiry hardly anywhere attains more than rudimentary shape. Even in more advanced faiths the Divine personality is mingled with such unworthy elements that fruitful conceptions are rare. The indelible convictions won are only two: the gravity of the need, and the failure

* See § 3, v. 'Hebrews.'

† This is the sense of 'grace' in Luther; cf. A. C. McGiffert, *Protestant Thought before Kant*, London, 1911, p. 28.

‡ The familiar contrast between Romanist and Protestant ideas.

§ The only adequate phrase to denote the NT conception of the relation of the ransomed soul to its Redeemer.

‖ Imputation is specially offensive to modern ethical sensitiveness; the sense of responsibility insists that each is himself, not another.

* Cf. St. Augustine, *Confessions*, i. 1: 'Thou hast made us for Thyself, and our heart is restless till it find its rest in Thee.'

† Cf. the soul as 'pearl' (Mt 13^{46}).

‡ Cf. the Parable of the Prodigal Son, the perfect picture of 'justification.'

of provision to meet the need. A more positive impetus enters with Semitic religion, in whose religious observances the reception of the Divine life is increasingly the centre of attention. The growing consciousness of Divine force is mediated in the Hebrew spirit by sacrifice, prayer, wisdom, and prophetic inspiration; in the experience of suffering also very notably, as in Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah; in mystical union with the righteous spirit of the Law, as in the finer Psalms; and realized as pardon of sin (Ps 32), life in God's favour (Ps 30), righteousness (Ps 4, etc.), mercy, and salvation, covering all aspects of the soul's state. 'The Law' at its best (Ps 119) was spirit and life, obedience to its precepts clothing the spirit and life of man with their imperishable energy, which is none other than that of God who gave them. Pre-Christian evolution deepened the conscience in at least three directions—the difficulty in the way of justification, the possibility of its accomplishment, the mode and means of its reality. The advent of Christ, the *tout ensemble* of His Person and Work as one organic influence, raised the whole problem in apostolic experience and thought to an incomparably richer plane, on which, while the difficulty is enlarged, the possibilities are matured and a final mode with adequate means provided. Here the centre of gravity is Christ and His own justification (1 Ti 3^{16}, He 3. 5. 6): 'being manifest in the flesh, he was justified in the spirit.' Wherein consists His being justified? The true answer is—in all that by which His higher origin was made known ('His glory' in St. John, manifested in words, works, resurrection [7^{46} etc. 2^{11} 3^{2} 14^{11}; cf. Mt 7^{29}, Ro 1^{4}, Ac 2^{36}, etc.]; 'His high-priesthood' [He 3. 5. 6]; 'His righteousness' [Ro 10^{4}, 1 Co 1^{30}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 3^{9}, etc., in St. Paul]). It is a description drawn in contrast with the preceding phrase, 'manifest in the flesh,' and includes all by which He is proved to be the very Person He truly was.* This general proof is further specialized into the events of His Death and Resurrection, its ultimate and most impressive parts, which as such procured the redemption from sin through which we are justified (Ro 5^{9} 4^{25}, He 8. 9. 10). His own justification consisted in the accomplished fact of His perfect holiness and His risen life. It is ours after the same manner; only it is His righteousness that is mediated to us to become ours, and that in virtue of our union with Him by faith (Ro $3^{22\text{-}26}$ 5). The old distress of man's nature is irrevocably dissolved under the assured potency of the new condition in which it stands.

ii. COMPLETENESS.—The general meaning of justification is clear, nay simple; but the greatly simple is the organization of the complex. And the apostolic exposition is complex. It comprehends many elements, commands a variety of relations. It derives its material from the Apostle's unique fellowship with the glorified Lord; and that experience, fundamentally the same in all, is varied by the diversity of individuality in each. Again, the reasoning of the apostles relates itself directly to immediate issues and is affected by the circumstances of the readers to whom it is addressed. Further, the intellectual equipment of the writers colours their statements. To all this we must add the fact that their doctrine had to establish itself on the successful displacement of two solutions already on the field, one of them strongly entrenched, viz. the ministration of the Law. The most systematic and dispassionate statement is given by St. Paul in the Epistle to the Romans, with which is to be associated the subsidiary matter (more or less disputatious) in Eph., 2 Cor., Gal., etc. Isolated references and aspects of the doctrine, more or less complete, are to be found in Acts, the General Epistles, and Hebrews. The relation of these to one another, and of them all to the Synoptic teaching of Jesus Himself, has to be adverted to.

(1) *St. Paul.*—Justification is by God's grace (Ro 3^{24} 4^{5}, Eph 2^{8}, Tit 3^{7}), by man's faith (Ac 13^{39}, Ro 5^{1}), by Christ's Death (Ro 5^{9}), by His Resurrection (Ro 4^{25}). It is a justification of the ungodly (Ro 4^{5}, 2 Co 5^{19}, etc.); it is not of works of the Law (Ro 3^{20}, Gal 3^{11}, etc.), not of the law written in the heart, the uncircumcision (Ro 2^{15}). It is not inconsistent with judgment by works (1 Co 9^{27}, Ph $3^{8\text{-}14}$). It is for remission of sins (Ro 3^{25}), peace with God, access into grace and hope of glory (Ro $5^{1.\ 2}$), righteousness (Ro $4^{22.\ 24}$ 5^{17} 3^{22}, 2 Co 5^{21}, Ph 3^{9}), for life (Ro 5^{18}: 'a justification taking effect in life'), which is through the body of Christ (Ro 7^{4}) and by His Spirit (Eph 2^{18}, Ro 5^{15} $8^{2.\ 4.\ 6.\ 10.\ 11}$, etc.). To the foregoing add the corroborative statement in Ro 4 as to Abraham's justification. There are five points. Justification is by faith, not works ($4^{4\text{-}8}$), therefore by grace (4^{16}). Being by grace through faith, it came not through law but through promise (4^{14}; cf. Gal 3^{18}). It is not by circumcision or outward privilege ($4^{9.\ 10.\ 11}$); it leaves no room for boasting or self-righteous confidence (3^{27} 4^{2}). According to the Apostle, justification is not an act of man but an act of God. It issues from His holy Fatherly love and righteousness, which can have no possible relation to unrighteousness but that of wrath. It is fundamentally related to believing self-surrender and trust (faith) on man's part. It is manifested in the historical work of Jesus. Its force resides in God, the object of faith, as He in His righteousness and clemency appears in the Death and Life after Death of His Son, by whose life we are saved (Ro 5^{10}). This justification is not cogently interpreted as 'a reckoning righteous,'* nor as 'a making righteous'; it is more than the first, and other than the second. It includes the juridical features within the larger personal and spiritual, for there enter into it (*a*) grace and (*b*) faith, (*c*) Christ's Spirit and (*d*) the believer in Christ, all in a plane of spirit and life. Here God cannot just be understood as a Judge acquitting a criminal;† the culprit has his position completely reversed, and is advanced to the honours and privileges to which he would have been entitled by a perfect obedience.‡ He not only goes free from merited penalty; he is transferred into a new freedom for righteous service, gains unrestricted admittance to the operations of grace, the right of sonship, with all the glorious future involved. All that future is here in its initial stage in germ, so that the whole is regarded as already in the potential possession of the believer, and God gives as God and Father, not after the manner of an earthly tribunal. The stress of the Pauline statement rests on the fact that he conceives the energies of the Spirit to be liberated for the believer by the justifying Death of Christ, and mediated to the believer by the present life of 'the Lord, the Spirit' (2 Co 3^{17}), to whom the believer is joined to form 'one spirit' (1 Co 6^{17}). It is a statement of spirit, not logic; experience and life, not legal forms.§

The Apostle proceeds next to plead for its efficacy by contrasting it with two earlier attempts in the history of the race to restore man's righteousness—attempts which had miserably failed. There was first the working of the natural conscience in

* His own use of the word 'justified' (Lk 7^{35}).

* The meaning of the term, a judicial word.

† To Him as Judge the situation is a legal *impasse* out of which there is no legal way; recourse is had to the Divine clemency.

‡ Cf. W. P. Paterson, *Pauline Theology*, London, 1903, p. 71.

§ St. Paul uses metaphors, some drawn from juristic terminology, others from the ceremonial on the Great Day of Atonement. These metaphors are to be interpreted not in separation but in their combined cumulative effect, if the comprehensive character of his idea is to be maintained.

the Gentile world. There is a light of nature which offers knowledge sufficient to impress on men the fact that their just due to God is full obedience to His will. By their wilful disobedience that light that was in them had been turned to darkness, with the result not of heightening the possibilities of human nature, but rather of increasing its unrighteousness, in fellowship with the god of this world, the Devil; and now the world was lying in wickedness under God's wrath (Ro $1^{22.25}$ $3^{9.10}$, Gal 3^{22}, Eph 2^{2}), and, in the individual heart, earnestly endeavouring to keep from its contamination, the conflict proved the prepotency of sin (Ro 7). Then there was the moral conscience trained under the Law of Moses. It was designed to remedy the moral disaster of the natural conscience. Was it successful?—It had been most ineffectual. Law could 'not make alive' (Gal 3^{21}) either in its precepts or in their sanctions. It might furnish an ideal of right and deepen the consciousness of sin, and it might educate to a higher type of virtue. It could also, on the contrary, incite to larger disobedience and to fresh vices. Its rigours working on sensitive souls tended to paralyze the will. But the only solution must lie in re-inforcement of the will. In Christ alone was that end won. He is 'the Wisdom and Power' of God, to them who believe, ideal and motive force in one Spirit. Nothing short of the religious conscience renewed by Him could suffice. The religious conscience begins in one subjective act on man's part, the act of faith. It is preceded or accompanied by repentance, but it is itself the simple, childlike, submissive, enthusiastic, unconditional self-surrender of the man's whole being, intellect, affections, purpose, to the will of God in Christ.*

(2) *St. James.*—The Epistle of St. James emphasizes two practical consequences of faith. (*a*) It works in the heart as a new law, obedience to the perfect, royal law of liberty (1^{25} 2^{8}). The point here is the contrast between the external compelling force of the older Law and the internal impelling force of the new, the 'word' in the heart, able to save the soul (1^{21}). (*b*) It works in the conduct as good works. The controversy that has arisen over the supposed antagonism between St. Paul and St. James is barren, and need not detain us. 'Faith' and 'works' have two different connotations in the two instances. St. James means by 'faith' not self-surrender so much as mental assent, and by 'works' not the legal deeds enjoined by the Law, but acts of mercy and kindness prompted by the law of love in the soul. The motive and interest of the two apostles differ; there is no room for opposition. Faith to St. James, as to St. Paul, is the pre-condition of good works, and the condition of acceptance with God. Like St. Paul also, he sees justifying energy active in the concrete circumstances of life—'a man is blessed not through but in his deed.' Further, there is no suggestion of merit in these good works of faith. The sub-apostolic age was not slow to materialize both 'the new law' and the 'merit of works,' but St. James is not responsible.†

(3) *St. Peter.*—From the speeches (Ac 3) and First Epistle we gather three features. (*a*) In justification the pardon of sins and clearing of guilt are explicitly connected with Christ's sufferings (Ac $3^{18f.}$, 1 P 1^{19} 2^{24}); also, as the righteous suffering for the unrighteous, Christ 'brings us to God' (3^{18}). (*b*) The gift of grace is the result of Christ's Resurrection (1 P 1^{21}); it is the ground and guarantee of the new life and of the gift of strength to overcome Satan. (*c*) The coming of grace into the heart finds its necessary complement in the life of love for the brethren. In the Second Epistle both freedom from sins and the power to work the righteousness of God depend upon faith in and knowledge of Christ ($1^{5.9}$). Knowledge here is akin to the Johannine idea—the inner personal apprehension of the saving Spirit of Christ.

(4) *St. John.*—The Epistles and Apocalypse do not share in the fullness of volume of mystical idealism pervading the Gospel. Yet the essential elements are here—the unity of life with God in Christ, the significance of Christ's Person, Death, Resurrection, fellowship with Him in 'sonship.' Especially emphatic is the writer on the two facts, that it is God's love to sinners, not sinners' love to God, that is the ground of faith and healing; that in sonship are to be included religious as well as moral ideals. In the Apocalypse the same ideas are central—but under sacrificial designations: Christ's Sacrifice (the Lamb) and Resurrection (alive for evermore) are the source of the stream of life proceeding from the very essence of God which, received by man, is in him a life of uninterrupted sacrifice.

(5) *Hebrews.*—This Epistle is a continuation of the Pauline 'apologia' for the gospel as against the claims of the Old Covenant. What is done in Romans for grace as against law is here done for Christ's sacrifice as against Levitical offerings. Justification by faith is expounded in connexions different from those St. Paul and St. John have in view, and the exposition stands midway between theirs, filling up an evident lacuna. Some scholars assert that the problem is here less deeply discussed, justification being narrowed to forgiveness and faith to spiritual insight apart from spiritual grasp. That would be to leave Hamlet out of the play. The author has a definite aim, and, notwithstanding an obscuring vocabulary and analogies, elaborates it admirably. His aim is to demonstrate the accessibility of God through Christ's sacrificial work. His demonstration puts in bold relief two aspects hitherto untouched in apostolic thought: (*a*) justification as a subjective fact as well as an objective act; (*b*) the principles of its mode. The justification of Christ (above, § 3. i.) is constituted by His sinlessness, effected as a spiritual fact in His own experience. The justification of the sinner as a spiritual fact in his experience is effected after the same manner as in Christ, and by Christ: viz. in 'the purging of the conscience from dead works to serve the living God,' and in resisting unto blood ($9^{14ff.}$). These aspects are set forth in detail and give the book its character. In both Christ and the believer the inner experience is identical (*a*) 'through eternal Spirit' (9^{14}) and (*β*) through their vital union: 'he that sanctifieth and they who are sanctified are all of one' (2^{11}). The word 'sanctify' is used in this Epistle in its Hebraic sense of 'consecrate.'* Just as in St. Paul the justified are accepted and become members of the Body of Christ, so in virtue of membership in the New Covenant, the believer, according to Hebrews, is set in right relation to God, receives forgiveness, cleansing of conscience, and is ἁγιαζόμενος, even τετελειωμένος: 'by one offering he hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified' (10^{14}). The faculty in man rendering this possible is faith, whose full content it takes 'hope' (6^{19} 7^{19}), 'obedience' (5^{8} 11), as well as 'faith' (11^{1}), to express. It is not merely spiritual perception of the unseen; it is rather the power of soul which makes the unseen future present, the

* We are not here concerned with the 'Rabbinic' form of St. Paul's argumentation nor with the character of his judgment on Gentile and Jew, but only with his thought.

† For a different view of St. James's position, see Piepenbring, *Jésus et les Apôtres.*

* Cf. the NT use of 'saint'—one of the covenant-people, the potentially holy—of whom moral qualifications are asserted not as a fact but as a duty. See F. J. A. Hort, *The First Epistle of St. Peter, I. 1—II. 17*, London, 1898, p. 70.

unseen present visible, and by so doing unites us to Christ in His present and future plenitude (10[38. 39]), from whom flows the transforming influence creative of the graces of life which are never separated from faith nor faith from them.

The efficacy of His Sacrifice rests fundamentally on the majesty of His Person. His High-Priestly act is an expression of the eternal Spirit of the Divine love.* By it He has destroyed every barrier of sin which lay between man and God. He has, as the sin-offering for humanity, freed all men potentially from the guilty consciousness of sin, and brought Christians to the heavenly rest of God. The emphasis is on what follows, viz.: 'the entering within the veil,' less the surrender of His life than its presentation within the veil, implying that the love and merciful kindness of God, which were manifested in time and in the earthly ministry, are eternal and changeless principles perpetually operative on our behalf. This must ultimately be the ground of our acceptance and the assurance of our life in communion with Him. The benefits and efficacy of His perfect Sacrifice are conditioned by our attitude of faith and trust.

(6) *The apostolic doctrine in relation to Christ's teaching.*—Is the apostolic teaching a necessary consequence of Christ's self-witness? Yes; if certain considerations be kept in view. We see, *e.g.*, that it was not drawn by conscious deduction. It is an original construction derived from life, from their experience of Christ revealing Himself in them (Gal 1[16]), as Christ's is from the manifold fruitfulness and insight of His own sublime Personality. Then we see it elaborated under stress of the Judaistic and Hellenistic environment of that age, in the endeavour to establish and justify itself in the intellectual atmosphere of the nascent Church-life. It was not possible to accomplish this with success except by a process which should display the hidden significance of what at first seemed so simple, and is so simple to simple hearts.* That age, however, was not simple-hearted;† it was a highly intellectual, profoundly perplexed, saddened age, sobbing its heart out in weakness; requiring accordingly the doctrine that would strengthen and comfort with effect to be in the mould of its own speculation and intuition. Christ's teaching is a plain, positive statement on the practical religious plane, delivering itself as easily as the flow of the stream, in conflict only with the hindrances of indifference and want of faith. That attitude characterizes the General Epistles, which are close echoes of the Master's style, and directed to the same general consciousness of religion as His was. It is otherwise with the Pauline and Johannine Epistles: in them we have the underlying universal quality and principle of His teaching disclosed, beaten out inch by inch on the hard anvil of bitter controversy (Pauline); or reflecting the more lambent genius of the mystic (Johannine). The differences are great, but they are not oppositions, nor vitiations. The same facts are looked at and loved, by means of the same great powers of soul, and within the same great principles and convictions.‡ Nor must we forget that since Christ's Person is the source of this inspiration and enlightenment, their statement is coloured throughout its whole extent by that all-pervading fact. It is a fact which leaves the writers free to be careless of superficial harmonizations, conscious as they are of the substantial unity below all apparent divergences and dissonances. That unity is impressive; its outlines strong and vivid. In contrast with Gentile wisdom and Jewish Law, which were both powerless to redeem men from sin, Christ stands out as Saviour. He is the answer to the age-long cry, 'How shall man be just with God?' He is 'the new and living way' of access into God's presence (He 10[20]), as He Himself claimed (Jn 14[6]). By Him is proclaimed 'the forgiveness of sins' (Ac 13[38]). He is exalted to give forgiveness (Ac 5[31]), and gives it (Eph 1[7], Col 1[14], etc.). He has broken down the 'wall of partition' (Eph 2[14]) and 'rent the veil' of the Temple (Mt 27[51], Mk 15[38], Lk 23[45]). He has effected 'so great salvation' (He 2[3]) in His own body on the tree (1 P 2[24]), by eternal Spirit (He 9[14]), in Himself and for Himself, as the Author and Finisher of our faith, really, vitally, consciously, not with a dull sense of unintelligible burden, but wholly rationally, intensely spiritually, in an experience where the issues are of life and death, fought out in a fiery heat of thought and emotion, of deeply moving religious conscience. The apostolic consciousness has caught the rich impress of this travail of soul. It sets it forth for mankind in varying form and mode—the picture of the great and guiltless sorrow bearing the sins of the world, and, in bearing them, bearing them away. As the soul of the age was sobbing itself out, here a nobler soul shares the fellowship of its suffering and of all suffering, but not in weakness; for the pain is fully faced and taken up into conscious life, there to be transmuted into abiding life. Thus was Christ justified; thus are we.

iii. SPIRITUALITY AND ABSOLUTENESS.—Justification is a purely religious problem. The apostolic solution is purely religious. Its spirituality may be vindicated by reference to its source, its ground, its results.

(*a*) *Grace the source.*—Justification presupposes the election of grace (*q.v.*), to which is traced its unconditional freeness (Ro 3[24], Eph 1[7]), its plenitude (Col 1[14], Ro 5[17], etc.), its Divine provision (1 Jn 4[10], Ro 5[8. 10]). The riches and freeness of God's grace are manifested in the redemption they provide. It is a manifestation in which there is nothing else than a free, unprompted, unsolicited expression of God's own nature and love to mankind. It is conditioned by nothing in man but man's clamant need, by nothing in God but His own holy love. Men are not pardoned on account of their faith or by their faith. Pardon already is in God's attitude toward them; what they have to do is to realize it by faith, and enjoy its blessing.* Nor does God pardon because of Christ's satisfaction. Christ's sacrifice is the outcome of His forgiving mercy. It does not create or impel God's love, it displays it (Ro 5[8. 10]). The Atonement, so far from being inconsistent with the Fatherhood of God, is its most distinct proof. Faith in Christ's atoning love only makes more conspicuously clear God's paternal love, for it is the marvellous way He took to struggle down through human experience to give us healing. This assured love of God is the living root of the justified life;† in its amplitude all are pardoned if they would only realize it in actual standing. It is the cause also of confident and bold access to God (Eph 3[12], 1 Jn 2[28] 3[21]) and the ceasing from confidence in the flesh (Ph 3[3]). Assurance of the Divine love in the forgiveness of sins already contained in it the whole idea of salvation, and holds together all the parts of the Divine life in their necessary nexus: the justification of the sinner before God and the principle of freedom for the consciousness of the justified subject

* As, *e.g.*, in Christ's teaching.
† *Cf.*, for a popular description, M. Arnold's *Obermann*.
‡ *Cf.*, for an able vindication of this view of the relation of the apostolic doctrine to Christ's, J. Denney, *Jesus and the Gospel*, London, 1908.

* Theology even in its most dreary day never made faith the operative but simply the instrumental cause of justification.
† *Cf.* Calvin's *Institutes*, in which justification is related to predestination: 'comprehension of the divine purpose creating confidence in the elect' (bk. iii. ch. 2).

himself in all his relations.* In that principle lies securely embedded, along with our acceptance by God, our assurance of salvation.† Starting from God, who from eternity has been beforehand with us, held by His predestinating love, creating, calling, pardoning, we raise our fabric of life in continual growth for eternal glory (Ro 8[31-39]). All along it is of God's initiative, of grace; all along it is an appeal to faith; man's dependence is absolute.

(*b*) *Christ's mediation the ground.*—Here the apostolic teaching assumes the form of a three-fold presentation: (*α*) Christ's righteousness is made peace; (*β*) Christ's blood is made obedience; (*γ*) Christ's life is made presence. The first is Pauline, the second that of Hebrews, the third Johannine—in such a way that, while each of the three has its predominant element as thus classified, we are not to suppose that each has no affinities with the others; on the contrary, the fullness of truth is in each, but ranged around the predominant element of each type.

(*α*) *The new righteousness.*—'Christ is made unto us righteousness' (1 Co 1[30]); 'he is our peace' (Eph 2[13-16]). The argument is in Ro 3[10. 19-24], and proceeds by a winding course through the following chapters to the eighth. There are three kinds of righteousness: 'God's righteousness,' 'our own righteousness,' and 'the righteousness of faith.' Before God's righteousness no man can stand. The attempt was made through His Law, given by Moses. The result was a self-righteousness that failed to bring peace between God and man for two reasons—firstly, the righteousness of the Law consisted in our own unaided obedience; and secondly, that self-righteousness was the condition of our acceptance with God. It contained all the elements of uncertainty of salvation. It was ineffectual. There is another righteousness never lost sight of under the Old Law, which has now appeared in Jesus Christ. By Him it is made ours. Presented in Him, it awakes in the sinner penitence and faith—a love of Christ's holiness, a hatred of his own sinfulness; this by God's grace. There is nothing in the self-righteousness of the righteousness of the Law to bridge the chasm between God and sin. The provision for that end is the very thing provided in Christ. How so? In Christ God gives His own righteousness, which is the end and meaning of all faith. He who receives it *in initio* receives it virtually *in extenso*; such is the mode of God's gift of it. The condition of possible or future righteousness is the right attitude or intention of mind towards actual present unrighteousness. It is possible to justify or accept as right only that attitude which at the time is the nearest right possible for the person. In the initial moment of contrition, the only possible and right posture of the sinner is that consciousness of himself which could not be the beginning of his hatred of sin if it were not to the same extent the beginning of a love of holiness. Where this exists in truth and sincerity, even though it be but the beginning of an infinite process, it is possible and right to accept and treat as right that which as yet is only a first turning to and direction towards right (cf. 1 Jn 1[8-10]). Thus the righteousness of faith begins with our sense of sin and experience of impotence, and God's loving acceptance of this repentance in us is the condition, starting-point, and earnest of a righteousness in us which is maintained and increased through Christ's, in whom we see revealed all the presence and power of God in us, and in consequence all the power in ourselves necessary to its actual attainment and possession. Faith in Christ as our righteousness can justify us because it is based on the one condition in ourselves of becoming righteous—a loyal disposition—and the one power without ourselves to make us righteous—the righteousness of God. The grace of God in Christ makes the sinner righteous, by enabling him to make himself righteous. It starts the process by regarding and treating as righteous the penitent believer:* 'justifying freely through grace by faith.'

(*β*) *The new obedience.*—'He learned obedience by the things which he suffered'; 'the obedience of faith' (He 5[8], Ro 5[19] 16[26], He 3[14] 4[11] 10[7. 10. 23. 24] 12). A. B. Bruce† has made the invaluable suggestion that by the author of Hebrews the blood of Christ has been translated from body to spirit, and as such enters into heaven, and is available for our benefit. The blood of Christ, says St. John, is ever actively cleansing us from all sin (1 Jn 1[7]). That blood-spirit becomes to us the law of all life because it is the law of the Spirit of life itself (Ro 8[2]). Obedience to that law clothes us with its power. How so?—Manifestly not simply as a general consequence of that which Christ has done for us, as if we found ourselves through the Atonement on the Cross under such changed relation to God as enables us to approach Him at will. That view is little distinguishable from the main position of Rationalism (Socinianism), whose central conviction is the assumption of a general order of Divine forgiveness independent of Christ, in accordance with which pardon is bestowed on the condition of the active obedience of faith. Ritschl‡ has demonstrated the hollowness of this assumption. Both 'faith' and 'obedience' lose their peculiar quality: for faith becomes merely assent to past teaching or trust in past acts; and obedience, instead of being motived by faith in the sense of surrender to Christ's spirit, is merely conformity to certain legal requirements. Nor is it enough to go a step further, and to conceive that Christ by His Death established a fund of merit of which we can on certain conditions make ourselves participants (Romanism). Scriptural figures of speech there are that seem to give some warrant to such a view of a spiritual reservoir of grace which waits only for our willingness to dive into it.

Faith's view of the High Priest's intercession in heaven will correct such notions. Nay, the narrow notion of faith may become a snare to us. It is, we admit, the first condition in our conscious looking for the new spirit of life. But we must not confound the possession of the condition with the bestowal of the gift, or make our qualification to receive supersede the act of the Giver. Something far more effectual happens. As we invoke His intercession, we do not merely awake an ancient memory; we hear a living voice and see a living form, our Advocate and Comforter, against every accuser (Ro 8[33-34]), and discern them reproduced in our hearts by His Spirit 'who maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered' (Ro 8[26. 27]). It is God that justifieth. It is the Son risen for our justification.

(*γ*) *The new presence.*—'It is expedient that I go away; for I will send the Spirit' (Jn 16[7], Ac 1[8]); 'Ye have an unction from the Holy One and know all things' (1 Jn 2[20. 27]); 'If our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence toward God' (3[21]); 'I saw in the midst of the Church the Son of man all glorious' (Rev 1[13-18]). St. John views the justified life as a new life in the deepest sense—not a doctrine merely for the mind to embrace; not an

* It is the permanent worth of Luther's doctrine to have set forth these two points with passionate cogency (*The Liberty of the Christian Man*).

† Not the same as assurance of the love of God.

* For a full discussion see DuBose, *The Gospel according to St. Paul*, chs. vi. and vii.

† *HDB*, art. 'Hebrews,' vol. ii. p. 333.

‡ *Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, ch. viii.

event simply to be remembered with faith; not the constitution only of a new order of spiritual relations for fallen man; but a new power into the very centre of human nature, the power of a new Divine principle. Because of this new principle it is a new creation, a new creation which indeed does not annihilate the old but transmutes it, and fulfils it—a process possible because the principle of the new is, if not continuous with the organic principle of the old, still consistent with that principle, the Logos being the cosmic counterpart of the Spirit. That new power, new principle, in the very centre of humanity is Spirit, presence. How so? By organic, living, universal development. Christ's force was not intended to stop in the person of one man to be transferred soon after to heaven. Nor was it intended to be a fund or quantum to be applied subsequently in the way of outward imputation. It goes forth to heal and justify the world, not as something standing beyond itself and by a power external. He gathers humanity rather into His own Person, stretches over it the law of His own life, so that it holds in Him as its root. Into this new order of existence we are not transferred wholly at once. We are apprehended by Him, in the first place, only, as it were, at a single point. But this point is central. The new life lodges itself, as an efflux from Christ, in the inmost core of our personality—the inmost self (above, § 2, 'Problem of justification'). Here it becomes the principle or seed of our sanctification, conceived always not as a substance but as personal, a presence; Christ is in the soul as a magnetic centre (Jn 12^{32}), producing in its life continually an inward *nisus* in the direction antagonistic to sinful impulse, a process which, if continued, will at last carry all in the soul its own way, as the soul's forces increasingly yield themselves in their totality to the totality of His Presence. The soul thus grows into His very nature. It is with reason that Schleiermacher speaks of the communication which Christ makes of Himself to believers as moulding the person (see *Der christliche Glaube*[2], 1830–31, § 140). The Presence of Christ is the ground of all proper Christian personality, 'the new man' in Christ Jesus (Eph 2^{15} 4^{24}, Col 3^{10}). The end of the process is the higher justification (2 Co 5^{17}), the fruition of that first justification which was but the beginning. It is a process which from beginning to end is only and wholly of Divine life.

(*c*) *Christ-in-us the result.*—The feud between 'faith' and 'works' is an old one. Certain points are clear. It is not a question of sinners being justified by works whether 'legal' or 'good.' The impenitent are never justified. It is not a question of believers being justified by good works only. By his works the believer will be judged. These are bald positions easily excluded. The crux of the controversy is that works to be good must spring from no motive other than the one proper motive, the new life in Christ. There are three alternatives: (1) Our own merit. We can go beyond the legal requirements so far that we are able to compensate for our wrongdoing. (2) Others' merit. Others may compensate similarly for us, either by way of being our substitute or by way of transference of their supererogatory virtue to us. Both positions lose force in face of the Divine claims upon us and all men for the whole devotion of which we are capable at every moment; even then we are 'unprofitable servants.' (3) Not of merit but of faith. By this it is not meant that we are justified because faith shows that we have altered our ways and that faith can complete itself in good works, or because faith has in it the germ of all that God approves; we are justified by faith, not on the ground of the holy life that may follow, but on the ground of Him who by faith is indwelling in our spirits and implants us in a new world of spiritual reality, where love (as He is love) alone is power. 'Love is the fulfilling of all law.' In pre-Christian ages that principle might be in men like Abraham in unconscious operation and be credited to them for its worth. Similarly to-day in the world outside Christ. But implicitly or explicitly it must be present whenever this is so; good works are the outcome of character not of ordinances, of love not of law, and the character and love are of Christ in us. The apostles plainly conceive of Christ in this reference in an ascending scale of presence in the world. He is in the Cosmos as its principle. He is in humanity, of which He is the 'recapitulation.' He is in the Christian body, of which He is head. Good works are good from the principle underlying them. It is that principle that justifies the doers of them. That principle is Christ. The Epistle to the Hebrews labours to show that Christ as Priest and Victim is perfect, eternal, final, from the fact that He is character, not ordinances. The Johannine Epistles are pregnant with the idea that Christ in the heart is Love. But character and love are pure Spirit. Its implanting into us for ever saves our 'good works' from degenerating into a mere moral code, and furnishes us with a richer and more personal basis for our confidence in doing our goodness. Our virtues cannot be things without us: they must be self-determined; but, if my self is determined by Christ in me, we can truly say, and ought to say, of our good works, as of all else in our life, 'Not I, but Christ in me.' This, further, we can say from the first, and with assurance. The confidence is secure in the implanted principle; it is not bound to the good works, which are themselves not independent but based on the principle. No doubt the real and vital relation of the Christian to Christ is invariably and inevitably accompanied by its practical sense and the actual experience of its living results in his quickened and risen self; but it is not the accompaniment, it is the relation itself, that is the ground of certainty. Ritschl * is out of the true lineal descent of Reformed theology when he argues that the individual believer attains certainty of salvation only as in the exercise of his religious experience he reaches dominion over the world; he is back on the old plane of 'ordinances' and 'works' which incited Luther's polemic.

There Luther was on sure ground—true to his own experience, true to the apostolic mind. That mind conceived and solved the problem of justification with splendid invincible spirituality, as the act of God alone. In so doing it at the same time set its finality on the firmest foundation. If the idea of the union between the Divine and the human be true, and the actualization of it necessary to satisfy the deepest want of the human spirit, before it finds peace with God, all that the case

* Ritschl's is the most exhaustive and original discussion in modern theology of the doctrine of justification. No references can give any idea of its wealth. The distinctive features of his definition are only partly true to Lutheran tradition. They are as follows: (1) the identification of justification and forgiveness of sins; (2) the denial of any punishment of sin except the sinner's separation from God; (3) the rejection of the ideas of the imputed righteousness of Christ and His substitutionary suffering; (4) the subordination of reconciliation to justification; (5) the ascription of justification to the Christian community; (6) the inclusion in the idea of justification of a reference to man's relation to the world.

The adequate reason of justification Ritschl maintains to be the fatherly love of God, not His judicial righteousness; the condition of its human appropriation is faith, which does not directly include love to man, but implies freedom from all law. This justification is primarily attached to the community of Christians and only to individuals as members of it. The best exposition in English is A. E. Garvie's *Ritschlian Theology*, Edinburgh, 1899. Good translations of vols. i. and iii. are now accessible, the former by J. Sutherland Black (Edinburgh, 1872), the latter by H. R. Mackintosh and A. B. Macaulay (do. 1900).

can possibly demand is met in Christ, in whom it is met not in idea merely but in reality. In every part of His life He shows a power of love. He offers Himself through its force unreservedly to God. Equally He offers Himself through its force unreservedly to men, for the purpose of drawing them to God and uniting them among themselves and with God. He is a centre of love, Divine and human, intensely interwoven with power to embrace the whole of humanity and to influence it without exhaustion of His fullness. Such an exhibition has never been paralleled or approached. There is no room to think higher than this. It cannot be transcended.

LITERATURE.—There is neither a good history of the doctrine nor a comprehensive discussion of the problems it raises. There are excellent articles in *PRE*[3] and *CE*, giving full statements of modern Protestant and Romanist ideas. The older books of Faber, Alex. Knox, Newman, simply confuse the issues. A thoroughly live investigation of the apostolic doctrine will be found in A. C. McGiffert, *Apostolic Age*, Edinburgh, 1897; and of St. Paul's in Sanday-Headlam, *Com. on Romans*[5] (*ICC*, do. 1902). Interesting expositions are those of C. Gore, *Romans*, London, 1899–1900; A. E. Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, do. 1911; W. P. DuBose, *The Gospel according to St. Paul*, New York, 1907. Of older books still worth study: Andreas Osiander, *De justificatione*, 1550, and *De unico mediatore Jesu Christo et justificatione fidei*, 1551; Erskine of Linlathen, *The Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel*, Edinburgh, 1831. The *Cunningham Lectures* for 1866 by Jas. Buchanan furnish a full exposition of the 'Forensic Theory.' The few brochures of the immediate present show the tendency of thought to be that argued for in the article—that justification meets two needs—the sense of alienation from God and the sense of weakness to do right—by substituting a loyal disposition for the performance of a legal code. On the more general problems of Pauline thought to which justification is related, the following are worth study: E. von Dobschütz, *Probleme des apostolischen Zeitalters*, Leipzig, 1904; M. Goguel, *L'Apôtre Paul et Jésus-Christ*, Paris, 1904; A. Hausrath, *NTZG*[2], Leipzig, 1873–77, and *Jesus und die neutest. Schriftsteller*, Berlin, 1908–09; H. J. Holtzmann, *Die Apostelgeschichte*[3], Tübingen, 1901, and *Neutest. Theologie*, do. 1911; C. Piepenbring, *Jésus et les Apôtres*, Paris, 1911.

A. S. MARTIN.

JUSTUS.—See JESUS, JOSEPH, TITUS JUSTUS.

K

KEEPER.—See GUARD.

KEY.—It is remarkable that 'key' in the concrete form does not occur in the apostolic writings. The four occurrences in Rev. are symbolical. There are certain passages in Acts where we should expect mention of a key, but the circumstances are exceptional, and 'key' is omitted (Ac 12^{10} $16^{26.\ 27}$). When a porter was in attendance, admittance was given from the inside, and a key to open was not necessary (cf. Ac $12^{14.\ 15}$). From the fact that city gates were guarded, the need for a key was in this case also absent. It may be noted that the chains by which prisoners were secured, and the stocks in which their feet were made fast, were in all likelihood secured by the equivalent of a key (Ac $12^{6.\ 7}$ 16^{24} etc.).

We remark the difference between the Hebrew word (מַפְתֵּחַ), 'that which *opens*,' and the Greek and Latin (*κλεῖς*, *clavis*), 'that which *shuts*.' This seems to correspond with actual usage. Among the Hebrews the lock was arranged in such a manner that the key was requisitioned only for opening (see illust. in *HDB* ii. 836). The bar was shot, and the lock acted of itself, but it could be withdrawn only by aid of a key or opener. This advanced mode of making fast a door was doubtless preceded and attended by a simpler process, whereby the bolt or bar could be moved forwards and backwards by means of a hook passing through a slit in the door. This served to shut the door, but did not make it absolutely secure as in the other case. For the age with which we have to deal we must think of the key as a device by which one outside held command over the closed door. Having shut it in the first instance, one had power to open it by applying the key.

The imagery of Rev., so far as 'key' is concerned, implies power and authority on the part of one standing outside and having possession of the key. This power is in the hands of angelic beings, who are above earth, and chiefly in the hands of the Risen Christ. Their dominion is manifested upon earth and in the under world, over living and dead.

(1) Christ has the keys of death and of Hades (Rev 1^{18}, RV). This power is Imperial, exercised from without and from above. There are interesting parallels to this, apart from Scripture, in literature, both earlier and later. When Ištar descended to the land of no-return she called imperiously to the porter to open the door, and threatened in case of refusal to shatter the door and break the bolt. Here the power is primitively conceived, and remains largely with the one within. For later and more advanced conceptions see Dante, *Purg.* ix. 65 ff., and Milton, *Paradise Lost*, ii. 774 ff., 850 ff. In both these instances the power, although great, is still limited.

(2) Angelic authority is evident in Rev 9^{1} 20^{1}, where the key of the 'pit' or 'well' of the abyss, or of the abyss simply, is spoken of. This power was delegated ('was given,' 9^{1}). That some symbol of power was bestowed seems clear from 20^{1}, where the key and a great chain for binding are seen in the angel's hand (or attached to his person). The figure of the key here directs our thought to the pits or wells of ancient times, whose opening was safeguarded against illegitimate use by a covering of some kind. The primitive setting of such coverings would naturally be horizontal, but here the imagery, extending to key, points rather to a door set upright and secured by bolt or lock. The stone doors of tombs may be compared.

(3) Upon earth itself Christ's unlimited authority is exercised over the churches, including that in Philadelphia (Rev 3^{7}). The 'key of David' here mentioned is reminiscent of Is 22^{22}, where some sort of investiture is in the writer's mind (*HDB* v. 172). In this instance power is exhibited in the most absolute form, and made over to the Church in the sense of a 'door opened,' for the enjoyment rather than for the extension of the gospel (see R. W. Pounder, *Hist. Notes on the Book of Revelation*, 1912, p. 140). It is not surprising that the reading of this verse should have been attracted to 1^{18}, as appears in some inferior MSS (*ἄδου* for *Δαυείδ*).

See further *DCG*, art. 'Keys.' For specimens of actual keys discovered in the course of excavation see R. A. S. Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, 1912, i. 187 and ii. 271. Further illustrations in A. Rich, *Dict. of Roman and Greek Antiquities*[3], 1873, *s.v.* 'Clavis.'

W. CRUICKSHANK.

KINDNESS. — In its substantival, adjectival, verbal, and adverbial form this term occurs in the

English NT in the following passages: Lk 6^{35}, Ac 27^{3} 28^{2}, 1 Co 13^{4}, 2 Co 6^{6}, Gal 5^{22} (RV only), Eph 2^{7} 4^{32}, Col 3^{12}, Tit 2^{5} (RV only), 3^{4}, 2 P 1^{7} (AV only; RV 'love of the brethren'). In all these passages (except Ac 27^{3} 28^{2}, where it renders *φιλανθρώπως, φιλανθρωπία*, Tit 2^{5}, where it renders *ἀγαθός*, and 2 P 1^{7}, where 'brotherly kindness' renders *φιλαδελφία*) the original has *χρηστός, χρηστότης, χρηστεύειν*. These Greek words, however, occur in several other places, where the English NT does not employ the term 'kindness,' viz. Mt 11^{30} ('easy'), Lk 5^{39} (AV *χρηστότερος*, 'better,' RV *χρηστός*, 'good'), Ro $2^{4\ bis}$ ('goodness'), 3^{12} ('good'), 11^{22} ('goodness'), 1 Co 15^{33} ('good'), Gal 5^{22} (AV 'gentleness,' RV 'kindness'), 1 P 2^{3} ('gracious'). These passages will have to be taken into account in determining the precise meaning of the conception.

χρηστός is the verbal adjective of *χράω*, 'use.' Its primary meaning, therefore, is 'usable,' 'serviceable,' 'good,' 'adequate,' 'efficient' (of persons as well as of things). This utilitarian sense of 'goodness' passes over into the ethical sense in which it becomes the opposite to such words as *πονηρός, μοχθηρός, αἰσχρός*. It further passes over into the more specialized ethical meaning of 'kind,' 'mild.' The process of the latter transition may perhaps still be observed in the phrase *τὰ χρηστά* = 'good services,' 'benefits,' 'kindnesses.'

In the NT there is only one instance where it has the sub-ethical meaning 'good for use,' viz. Lk 5^{39}; here the old wine is said to be 'good' or 'better.' According to Trench (*Synonyms of the NT*[9], 1901, p. 233), even here the thought is coloured by the ethical employment of the word in other connexions, *χρηστός* = 'mellowed with age.' This is certainly true of Mt 11^{30}, where Christ's yoke is called *χρηστός* because it is a figure for demands that are kind and mild. In all other instances the ethical application is explicit. The precise shade of meaning, however, attaching to the word in this sense is not easy to determine. In certain instances it may designate moral goodness in general. This seems to be the case in Ro 3^{12} (*ποιῶν χρηστότητα*, a quotation from Ps 14^{2}, where *χρηστόν* is the LXX rendering for טוב). In 1 Co 15^{33} the proverbial saying *φθείρουσιν ἤθη χρηστὰ ὁμιλίαι κακαί*, 'evil companionships corrupt good morals' (or 'characters'), has *χρηστός* in the same general sense, the opposite here being *κακός*. In all other cases there are indications that some specific quality of moral goodness is intended. Most clearly this is apparent in Gal 5^{22}, for here *χρηστότης* stands among a number of Christian graces and is even distinguished from *ἀγαθωσύνη*, 'goodness.' A similar co-ordination is found in Col 3^{12}, where *χρηστότης* occurs side by side with *πραΰτης*. Various attempts have been made at defining that conception. Jerome in his exposition of Gal 5^{22} renders *χρηστότης* by *benignitas* (cf. the rendering by Wyclif and in the Rheims Version), and quotes the Stoic definition: 'benignitas est virtus sponte ad benefaciendum exposita.' The difference between *χρηστότης* and *ἀγαθωσύνη* he finds in this, that the latter can go together with a degree of severity, whilst it is inherent in *χρηστότης* to be sweet and inviting in its association with others. This, however, does not quite hit the centre of the biblical idea. Most shrewdly, it seems to us, the latter has been pointed out by Tittmann (*de Synonymis in NT*, 1829–32, i. 141) as consisting in the trait of beneficence towards those who are evil and ungrateful: '*χρηστός* bene cupit, neque bonis tantum sed etiam malis.'

A closer inspection of the several passages will bear this out, at least as the actual implication of the NT usage, if not as the inherent etymological force of the word. In Lk 6^{35} God is said to be *χρηστός* towards the unthankful and evil, and the statement serves to urge the preceding exhortation: 'love your enemies, do them good, and lend, never despairing.' The passages in Romans point to the same conclusion. In 2^{4} the *χρηστότης* is associated with 'forbearance' and 'longsuffering'; it is that attitude of God by which doing good in the face of evil He leads men to repentance. In the second clause of this verse the word occurs in the form *τὸ χρηστὸν τοῦ θεοῦ*, which probably means the embodiment of the *χρηστότης* in acts. On the same principle in 11^{22} *χρηστότης* is the opposite of *ἀποτομία*, 'severity'; 'to continue in the *χρηστότης* of God' means to continue in conscious dependence on this undeserved favour of God (cf. v.[21], 'be not highminded, but fear'). In 1 Co 13^{4} we read of love that it 'suffereth long (*χρηστεύεται*), envieth not,' which indicates that a kindness is meant which overcomes obstacles. In 2 Co 6^{6}, again, *χρηστότης* is found in conjunction with 'longsuffering,' and in a context which emphasizes the patient, forbearing character of the Apostle's loving ministration to his converts. In Gal 5^{22} we meet with the same conjunction between 'longsuffering' and *χρηστότης*, and here, by distinction from *ἀγαθωσύνη*, 'benevolence,' and *πραΰτης*, 'meekness,' the sense is narrowed down to a benevolence which asserts itself either with a peculiar cheerfulness or in the face of peculiar difficulties. According to Eph 2^{7} the Divine grace is shown in kindness; no matter whether *χρηστότης* is here taken as *abstractum pro concreto* = the embodiment of God's kind procedure in the work of salvation, or whether 'grace' be given an objective concrete sense; in either case the association of the two shows that the Divine *χρηστότης* is conceived as having for its object the sinful and unworthy. The context of Col 3^{12} likewise emphasizes the forbearing and forgiving disposition required of the Christian in view of the forgiveness received from God, and the terms with which *χρηστότης* is here associated ('lowliness,' 'meekness,' 'longsuffering') are again terms that describe benevolence over against faults observed in fellow-Christians. The *χρηστότης* of Tit 3^{4} is shown by the context to be God's kindness towards sinful, undeserving man, and held up as an example for the Christian of abstention from evil-speaking, contentiousness, and pride. It came to such as were 'foolish, disobedient, deceived, serving divers lusts and pleasures, living in malice and envy, hateful and hating one another.' Finally, in 1 P 2^{3} (a quotation from Ps 34^{9}) the general meaning 'gracious' seems to be indicated by the fact that the Divine *χρηστότης* is set in contrast to the wickedness and guile and hypocrisies and envies and evil-speakings, which the readers must put aside as new-born men (cf. 1^{23} and the 'therefore' in 2^{1}), and the putting aside of which is invited by their vivid experience in the new life that the Lord Himself is gracious.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

KING.—The title is applied to rulers of various degrees of sovereignty. We find it employed to designate the tetrarch Agrippa II. (Ac 25^{13}); Aretas of Arabia (2 Co 11^{32}); Agrippa I., whose territory was co-extensive with that of Herod the Great, and who seems to have received the royal title (Ac 12^{1}); and the Roman Emperor, whom it appears to have been the custom for Greeks and Orientals so to designate (1 Ti 2^{2}, 1 P $2^{13.\ 17}$). An instance of the elasticity of the term is provided in Rev 17, where the seven kings in v.[10] are Roman Emperors, while the ten kings in v.[12] are vassal kings.

1. Christ as King.—(1) *The nature of Christ's Kingship.*—It was made an accusation against St. Paul and Silas at Thessalonica (Ac 17^{7}) that they were guilty of treason, inasmuch as they pro-

claimed another king, one Jesus. It was the revival of the charge brought against the Master (Lk 23[2]). It is true that the Christians did claim Kingship for their Lord, but His Kingdom was not of this world (Jn 18[36]). His throne is in heaven, where He is set down with His Father (Rev 3[21]). There are various representations of His Kingship in the apostolic writings.

At one time His reign seems to have already begun. This is the thought suggested by the frequently recurring phrase, based on Ps 110[1], 'sitting at the right hand of God' (Ro 8[34], Eph 1[20], Col 3[1]), which signifies Christ's participation in the Divine government. According to this view, Christ enters into His *βασιλεία* immediately on His Exaltation (B. Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of the NT*, Eng. tr., ii. [1883] § 99), in recognition of His obedience unto death (Rev 3[21], He 12[2], Ph 2[8f.]). On the literal interpretation of Col 1[13], the Kingdom of the Son is present even now, and believers are already translated into it (so Lightfoot and Haupt, while others interpret the phrase proleptically). Their citizenship is in heaven, whence they look for Christ (Ph 3[20]). The law they obey is called *νόμος βασιλικός* (Ja 2[8]), in virtue of its emanating from the King (Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, p. 265). At times this heavenly Kingship of Christ is represented as undisturbed by further conflict, and as peaceful sway over the powers which have been brought into subjection. So in 1 P 3[22] He is on the right hand of God, 'angels and authorities and powers being made subject unto him' (cf. Eph 1[20f.]); and in He 10[12f.] He is represented as sitting down for ever at the right hand of God, 'from henceforth expecting till his enemies be made his footstool.' According to this view, His work is finished; His present state is one of royal rest, and it remains for God to complete the subjugation of the hostile powers.

But there are other representations of Christ's Kingship. The most general view of His *βασιλεία* in the NT represents it as not already realized, but beginning at the Parousia (so O. Pfleiderer, *Paulinism*, Eng. tr., 1877, i. 268); and according to the programme sketched by St. Paul in 1 Co 15[24ff.], His reign is no peaceful sway, but a ceaseless conflict against the powers of darkness. 'He must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet' (v.[25]). The last enemy to be overcome is Death; and when that is accomplished, then cometh the end, when He delivers up the sovereignty to God (v.[24]). According to this outline, Christ's reign is of the nature of an interregnum, to be terminated (in opposition to the *εἰς τὸ διηνεκές* of He 10[12]) when He resigns the power into the hands of God.

In the later Epistles this programme is not adhered to. In accordance with their more developed Christology, Christ becomes the end of Creation (Col 1[16]), and the final consummation is now represented, not as the reign of God, who is to be 'all in all' (1 Co 15[28]), but as the Kingdom of Christ and God (Eph 5[5]), or even of Christ alone (2 Ti 4[1]), whose Kingdom is an everlasting one (2 P 1[11]), and whose sovereignty is declared to extend to the future æon (Eph 1[21]). Again, in the earlier representation Christ's Kingdom is to be established on earth at His Coming, but in the later versions it becomes a heavenly kingdom (2 Ti 4[18]), corresponding to the kingdom of the Father which St. Paul had expected to succeed the interregnum of the Son.

In Revelation we again meet with the conception of a temporary reign of Christ, its duration being put at 1,000 years (20[4]). It is questionable whether that reign is here regarded as one of uninterrupted peace and blessedness, or of continuous conflict against the powers of evil. H. J. Holtzmann (*NT Theologie*[2], 1911, i. 542f.) thinks that the only original contribution made by the author of the Revelation in this picture of the millennium is the representation of the interregnum as a period of peace and rest (20[2. 3. 7]). On the other hand, F. C. Porter (*HDB* iv. 262) contends that the 1,000 years' reign is part of the last conflict against evil, the reigning and judging of Christ and His saints being the gradual subjugation of the powers of evil, and that there is no suggestion in Rev. that peace and rest characterize the millennium.

(2) *Christ and earthly kings.*—In the Pauline references to the sovereignty of Christ the hostile forces which He overcomes are not earthly potentates but the angelic principalities and powers, the world-rulers of this darkness (Eph 6[12], 2 Co 4[4], Col 1[13]). To this corresponds the conflict with Satan in Revelation. But in the latter book there is also frequent representation of Christ's sovereignty over earthly potentates. He is Prince of the kings of the earth (1[5]), King of kings and Lord of lords (17[14] 19[16]). Out of His mouth goeth a sharp sword with which to smite the nations, and He rules them with a rod of iron (19[15]). The kings of earth who have committed fornication with Babylon (17[2]), and who marshal their armies in support of the Beast (19[19]), are numbered among the enemies whom He has to subdue. Corresponding to this attitude of hostility to Christ on the part of the kings of the earth in Rev. is the spirit of hatred to the Roman Empire which the book breathes, as contrasted with that recommended in the other apostolic writings. St. Paul as a citizen of the Roman Empire recognizes in the higher powers the ordinances of God, and regards subjection to them as a religious duty (Ro 13[1ff.]). St. Peter recommends submission to every ordinance of man for the Lord's sake, and exhorts to fear God and honour the king (1 P 2[13. 17]). In 1 Ti 2[2] the injunction is given to pray for kings and for all in authority. But in Rev. we find a fierce hatred of Rome and longing for her destruction. She is to the author the throne of the Beast (16[10]), the very incarnation of the sin which Christianity sought to destroy, and his attitude towards the Imperial power is the direct opposite of that taken up by St. Paul.

2. God as King.—There is no power but of God (Ro 13[1]), and all kingly authority ultimately proceeds from Him who is King of kings and Lord of lords (1 Ti 6[15]). Christ has ultimately to deliver up the sovereignty to the Father, being subject to Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all (1 Co 15[24-28]). In the song of Moses and of the Lamb (Rev 15[3]) God is praised as the King of nations, and in 1 Ti 1[17] a doxology is sounded to Him as King of the æons. The phrase may be chosen with reference to the Gnostic series of æons, and may mean 'King of the worlds.' Others take it as 'King of the world times,' the ruler who decrees what is to happen from age to age; while others render it, as in the AV, 'the King eternal.'

3. Believers as kings.—In Rev 1[6] the AV runs: 'and hath made us kings and priests unto God.' This is based on the reading *βασιλεῖς*, which must be abandoned for the better-attested *βασιλείαν*. But in 5[10], where the same phrase occurs in the song of the angels concerning the Church (though here again there is a variant *βασιλεῖς*, which, however, would render the concluding clause superfluous), there is the further addition: *καὶ βασιλεύουσιν ἐπὶ γῆς*. ℵ reads *βασιλεύσουσιν*; and if we accept that reading, then the reference is to the future dominion of believers as represented in 20[4], where they live and reign with Christ 1,000 years. Other references to this future sovereignty are found in Ro 5[17], 2 Ti 2[12], and 1 Co 6[2f.] (where they

judge the world and the very angels). But if *βασιλεύουσιν* be retained, then the standpoint of the author is that already that sovereignty of the saints prophesied in Dn 7[22. 27] has begun. The Church, down-trodden and oppressed, is already the dominant power in the world. St. Paul ironically congratulates the Corinthians on the assumption of kingly authority (1 Co 4[8]). Their vaunting may have been due to a perversion of this doctrine of the present sovereignty of the saints.

LITERATURE.—The various handbooks on *NT Theol.*; H. Weinel, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, 1908; A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908.

G. WAUCHOPE STEWART.

KING OF KINGS AND LORD OF LORDS.—The title 'King of kings,' assumed of old by the Babylonian monarchs and adopted by the Achæmenidæ, is proved by coins and inscriptions to have been laid claim to, about the beginning of the Christian era, by various other Oriental potentates, *e.g.* the kings of Armenia, the Bosporus, and Palmyra (A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908, p. 265). It had been applied by the Jews to their God (2 Mac 13[4], 3 Mac 5[35]), and is combined with the appellation 'Lord of lords' (bestowed on Jahweh in Dt 10[17], Ps 136[3]) to form the supreme title 'King of kings and Lord of lords,' with which God is invested in 1 Ti 6[15]. This heaping up of attributes has a parallel in 1[17]. It is not evident what is its precise purpose in the context. Some would explain it as a counterblast to Gnostic misrepresentations. H. Weinel (*Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, 1908, pp. 22, 51), who recalls the Babylonian origin of the title, finds some trace of the old Babylonian astrology in the further course of the passage, 'who only hath immortality, dwelling in the light which no man can approach' (cf. Ja 1[17], 'the Father of lights,' *i.e.* stars). The same lofty title is applied in Rev 17[14] 19[16] to Christ, in earnest of the certainty of His triumph over the kings of the earth. In view of the hostility to the Roman Empire which breathes throughout the Book of Revelation, and the express references in it to the worship of the Emperor (13[8. 15] 14[9] 20[4]), it is probable that this title is deliberately assigned to Christ in assertion of His right to that dignity and reverence which were falsely claimed by the Roman Emperor (see artt. KING and LORD).

G. WAUCHOPE STEWART.

KINGDOM, KINGDOM OF GOD.—1. References in Synoptic Gospels.—The conception of the Kingdom which occupies so large a place in the first three Gospels finds a relatively small place in the remaining books of the NT. In our earliest Gospel* —that of St. Mark—the Kingdom of God is the main topic of Christ's preaching. He began His ministry by announcing the good news that the Kingdom of God was at hand (1[15]). To His disciples was entrusted the 'secret plan' about the Kingdom (4[11]). The Parable of the Seed Growing Secretly explained that it would come like harvest after a period of growth, *i.e.* it would present itself in due time when the period of heralding its advent was over (4[26-29]). Its coming would not be long delayed, for some who heard Christ speak would see it come with power (9[1]). The possession of wealth was an impediment to entry into it; *i.e.* wealth hindered men from enrolling themselves as disciples of Christ, the coming King (10[23-24]). Elsewhere we read not of the coming of the Kingdom, but of the Coming of the Son of Man (so in 13[26] 14[62]). The meaning attached to 'gospel' in this book as the good news of the coming Kingdom preached by Christ is primitive, and earlier than the Pauline use of 'gospel' for the good news about Christ.

In the First Gospel the term is changed. We read now of the 'kingdom of the heavens' rather than of the Kingdom of God. But the main line of idea is the same (see W. C. Allen, *St. Matthew* [*ICC*, 1907], pp. lxvii–lxxi). The emphasis which is placed in this Gospel upon the near coming of the Son of Man to inaugurate the Kingdom (cf. 16[28] 24[3. 34], etc.) is due largely to the Matthæan collection of discourses used by the editor.

St. Luke returns to the phrase 'the Kingdom of God,' and though in general outline the idea of the Kingdom is the same as in the two prior Gospels, there are one or two suggestions that St. Luke was beginning to realize that a considerable period of history might precede the coming of the Son of Man to inaugurate the Kingdom. Jerusalem is to be trodden down by the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled (21[24]). And there is a hint of the idea which was soon to overshadow the anticipation of the near approach of the Son of Man, that in a very real sense the Kingdom was already present (17[21], 'within' or 'among you').

2. References in other NT books.—References to the Kingdom occur in St. Mark some 16 times, in St. Matthew some 52 times, and in St. Luke about 43 times. By contrast with this the comparative paucity of references to the Kingdom in the remaining books is very striking. In the Fourth Gospel it occurs only 5 times, and in all these passages the conception is that of a spiritual Kingdom which might be conceived of as now present. In Acts it occurs 8 times, 6 of them being references to speaking or preaching about the Kingdom. In the whole of St. Paul's Epistles it occurs only 13 times, in the Catholic Epistles only twice (Ja 2[5], 2 P 1[11]), in Hebrews only twice (1[8] 12[28]), in the Apocalypse 5 times (1[6. 9] 5[10] 11[15] 12[10]).

3. References to Christ as King.—Outside the Gospels there is also a very infrequent reference to Christ as King except in so far as this was involved in the title 'Christ' or 'anointed.' In the Gospels such references occur almost entirely in connexion with the events of the last few days of the Lord's life (entry into Jerusalem, trial before Pilate). The exceptions are Mt 2[2] (where the Magi inquire after the one who has been born King of the Jews), 25[34] (where the term 'king' is placed in the mouth of Jesus as descriptive of the Son of Man sitting upon the throne of glory), Jn 1[49] (where Nathanael addresses Him as 'King of Israel'), and 6[15] (where it is said that the multitudes wished to make Him a king). Nowhere in St. Paul, in the Catholic Epistles, or in Hebrews is the term applied to Christ. But in Ac 17[7] the accusation is made against Christians that they acted contrary to the decrees of Cæsar, saying that there was another king, one Jesus. Lastly, in the Apocalypse the exalted Lamb, and the Rider on the white horse, titled 'the Word of God,' are called 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (17[14] 19[16]; see preceding article).

4. Reasons for paucity of references in apostolic literature.—If we now ask why the idea of kingship as applied to Christ finds so little space in the literature of the Epistles, the answer must be manifold. (1) The conception of kingship found partial expression in the terms 'Christ' and 'Lord.' (2) The avoidance of the term 'king' was an obvious precautionary measure. Ac 17[7] is significant in this respect. The early Christian teachers had enough difficulties to contend with without inviting the accusation that they were guilty of treason against the State. Apart from Matthew, which was probably intended originally for circulation amongst Jewish Christians, the only writing of the NT which in so many words assigns the title 'King' to Jesus is the Apocalypse, a book written at a time when State persecution had driven the writer to an attitude of definite hostility to the

* It does not fall within the scope of this art. to consider at length the idea of the Kingdom in Christ's teaching.

Roman Empire, and had induced him to throw over the cautious attitude of a previous generation towards the State. (3) It was soon felt that the teaching of Christ was many-sided and capable of more than one interpretation. Roughly, there were two ways of thinking about the Kingdom. It might be thought of eschatologically as a Kingdom to be founded when Christ returned. This is perhaps the view which prevails in the NT. It is difficult to prove this, because the passages which speak of the Kingdom are not brought into immediate connexion with those which speak of the Second Coming of Christ. And it is therefore often open to question whether the Kingdom referred to is a Kingdom to be established when He comes, or a Kingdom of which the Christian disciple feels himself even now to be an actual member by virtue of his relationship to God through Christ. But the eschatological sense is probable in 1 Th 2^{12}, where St. Paul prays that his converts may walk worthily of God, who calls them 'to his kingdom and glory,' and in 2 Th 1^5, 'that you may be accounted worthy of the kingdom of God, on behalf of which you suffer.' The same may be said of 2 Ti 4^1, 'his appearance and his kingdom,' and 2 Ti 4^{18}, 'shall save me into his eternal kingdom.' This eschatological sense appears also in 2 P 1^{11}, 'an entry shall be granted unto us into the eternal kingdom of our Lord and Saviour,' and less certainly in He 12^{28}, 'receiving a kingdom which cannot be shaken.' But the word 'kingdom' here may perhaps rather mean that Christians even now become members of a spiritual kingdom which will remain unshaken even during the final catastrophe which will cause the dissolution of the material universe. The passages which speak of Christians as inheriting a kingdom may refer to the Kingdom in the eschatological sense, or, less probably, to the Kingdom conceived as present (cf. 1 Co $6^{9.\ 10}$ 15^{50}, Gal 5^{21}, Eph 5^5, Ja 2^5).

But the phrase 'Kingdom of God' might also be interpreted of the present life which Christians now live, in so far as this is governed by obedience to Him. The writers of the NT seem sometimes to regard Christians as already members of the coming Kingdom, living according to its laws, and enjoying even now in some measure its privileges. So St. Paul in Ro 14^{17}, 'the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and joy, and peace in the Holy Spirit,' and in 1 Co 4^{20}, 'the kingdom of God is not in word but in power.' So too Col 1^{13}, 'hath translated us into the kingdom of the Son of his love.' On the whole, this sense seems to be not primary but derivative and consequential. Just as the writer of the Hebrews thinks of the true rest as still in the future, belonging to the world to come ($4^{9.\ 10}$), and at the same time feels that Christians in some sense anticipate and enter into that rest even now (4^3), so the NT writers think of the Kingdom of God as waiting to be manifested when Christ comes again, and yet feel that in some sense the Christian is even now a member of it, and that, as the number of Christian disciples increases, the Kingdom widens here upon earth. But in the NT this belief is always conditioned by the certainty that the Second Coming of Christ is necessary to the full manifestation of the Kingdom.

This double-sidedness of the conceptions 'kingdom' and 'king' may in some measure explain why the apostolic writers avoid them.* And it is significant that another term which was closely connected with the doctrine of the Second Advent is also left unused outside the Gospels. The term 'Son of Man' is employed in the first three Gospels chiefly in connexion with the ideas circling round the thought of the Death, Resurrection, and Second Coming of Christ. Similarly in the Fourth Gospel it is used chiefly in passages which speak of the lifting up or glorification of the Son of Man. Outside the Gospels it occurs only once—in the mouth of Stephen; here too of the glorified state of the Messiah (Ac 7^{56}). The remaining NT writers never use it. And yet the thought of the Coming runs like a silver thread of hope through all their writings. They seem to have felt that on the one hand the phrase 'Son of Man' was too technically Jewish for Gentile readers, and on the other that the terms 'King' and 'Kingdom' were open to grave misconception. The King for whose appearance they looked was no earthly monarch, and His Kingdom was no rival to earthly kingdoms, nor even in so far as it was now partially present did it prevent men from loyal obedience to the existing government. Hence they choose other terms in which to clothe the Gospel hope of Christ's return, and the state of felicity which would ensue. St. Paul uses such terms as the following: 'to wait for his Son from heaven' (1 Th 1^{10}), 'the parousia' of the Lord Jesus (1 Th 2^{19} 3^{13} 4^{15} 5^{23}), the Lord descending from heaven (1 Th 4^{16}), 'the day of the Lord' (1 Th 5^2, 2 Th 2^2, 1 Co 1^8 5^5, 2 Co 1^{14}, Ph 1^6), 'the apocalypse of the Lord Jesus from heaven' (2 Th 1^7), 'waiting for the apocalypse' (1 Co 1^7), 'until the Lord come' (1 Co 4^5), 'until he come' (1 Co 11^{26}), 'the day when God shall judge . . . through Jesus Christ' (Ro 2^{16}), 'from whence we await the Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ' (Ph 3^{20}), 'the Lord is near' (Ph 4^5), 'the manifestation of Christ' (Col 3^4), 'the epiphany of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Ti 6^{14}), 'the epiphany of our Saviour Jesus Christ' (Tit 2^{13}).

In the Catholic Epistles we have: 'the Parousia of the Lord is at hand' (Ja 5^8), 'the apocalypse of Jesus Christ' (1 P 1^{13}), 'when the chief Shepherd is manifested' (1 P 5^4), 'the day of the Lord' (2 P 3^{10}), the manifestation of Christ (1 Jn 3^2); in Hebrews: 'he that cometh will come, and will not tarry' (10^{37}); and in the Apocalypse, the many references to the Coming of Christ, beginning with 1^7.*

By thus expressing the Christian hope in terms of expectation of the Return of Christ, and by substituting for 'King' and 'Son of Man' such terms as 'Lord,' 'Saviour,' 'Chief Shepherd,' the apostolic writers were able to avoid suspicion of political propaganda, and to give to the thought of the Second Coming a far wider significance than any which they could have suggested by laying too much emphasis upon the future as the establishment of a Kingdom, however much they might have attempted to give to this term a spiritual and non-material connotation. For, after all, Christ is and will be more than king, and 'kingdom' does not go very far in expressing the conditions of the life with Him for which Christians long.

5. Apostolic conception of the Kingdom.—If we now ask what ideas the writers of the Apostolic Age attached to the term 'Kingdom of God' or 'of Christ,' the answer must be that for them as in the teaching of Christ in the Gospels it is a term to symbolize the inexpressible—that is to say, the future blessedness of the redeemed.† The Anointed King had risen from the dead, and was seated at the right hand of God. His reign had therefore begun. Why then did they not conceive of His Kingdom as a heavenly one into which His followers were admitted at death? Mainly, no doubt, because of the teaching, ascribed to Christ

* Sanday finds in St. Paul's conception of 'righteousness' his equivalent for the Gospel term 'kingdom' (*JThSt* i. 481 ff.).

* On the unique feature of the Apocalypse—the thousand years' reign of Christ upon earth—see A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, p. 113.

† 'It connotes, with infinite richness of meaning, all that is implied in the word "Salvation"' (Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 50).

Himself, that He would return to gather together His elect. Partly, too, because of the common apocalyptic teaching that before the inauguration of the Messianic Kingdom there must be the final act in the present world-order, the general resurrection, final judgment, and transformation of this world to fit it to be the arena of the heavenly Kingdom. Thus the Kingdom was in being, but it awaited its manifestation. The King was crowned, His subjects could serve Him. But however close the union between Him and them, there was a sense in which they were now absent from the Lord, and awaited His coming. The Kingdom would be fully manifested only when He came. Meanwhile the Kingdom could be spoken of as a present reality rather because the Christian could be transported by faith into the presence of the King than because he brought (by his Christian life) the Kingdom down into this present world.

There is hardly any trace in the Epistles of the mediæval idea that the Church on earth was the Kingdom of God. And the idea of some modern theological writers, that this world as we know it will develop under Christian influence until it becomes the Kingdom, is quite alien to their thought. Indeed, the apostolic writers seemed to regard this world as incapable of becoming the arena of God's Kingdom. They felt that human nature as now constituted could reach a very imperfect measure of Christian perfection. Limited as we are, even Christian knowledge must be imperfect; 'now we see through a mirror, in a riddle,' cries St. Paul (1 Co 13^{12}).

There was also the problem of physical death. So long as that remained, Christ's sovereignty could not be fully manifested. The ultimate perfection which is the goal of the individual Christian could only be dimly guessed at. 'It doth not yet appear what we shall be, but we know that if he shall be manifested, we shall be like him, for we shall see him as he is' (1 Jn 3^{2}). And in a wonderful passage St. Paul seems to express the belief that physical nature as now known to us must undergo some transformation at Christ's return before it can be the scene of His Kingdom: 'we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth together in pain even until now.' 'For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God' (Ro $8^{19.\ 22}$).

Consequently, their anticipation for this world was far from being a hope of gradual amelioration. The period immediately preceding the coming of the Kingdom would be one of evil and not of good. Cf. 1 Th 1^{10}, 'the wrath to come,' 2 Th $2^{1\text{-}12}$, 'in the last day evil times shall come,' 2 Ti 3^{1}, and the Apocalypse, *passim*. The writer of 2 Peter stands alone in anticipating a destruction of the present world by fire (2 P 3^{7}). If any one of these writers had been asked whether the Kingdom was now present, he would have answered, No. Christ was King, but His Kingdom would be manifested only when He came. If he had been further asked what that Kingdom would be, or in what relation it would stand to this present world, he would probably have answered that nearly all that constitutes this present world would have vanished—imperfection, sin, death; and that as to the nature of the new world he could say but little save that Christ would be there, and that His servants would serve Him, and that that was enough for anyone to know.

When modern writers ransack the records of Christ's teaching or the other apostolic writings for traces of the conception that the Kingdom of God is now present in human life, it is, of course, possible to find them. For, wherever a human soul is in communion with the absent King, there in some measure is the sovereignty of God exhibited and the reign of Christ realized. But in the NT the admission that the Kingdom is now in some sense present, whether in the subjection of the Christian soul to the law of Christ, or in the Church of which He is the Head, or in the life of God streaming down into the world through the Spirit of Christ in the forms of righteousness and peace, is always made on the understanding that these foreshadowings of the Kingdom of God imply a far more perfect realization of the Kingdom in the future, and that when Christ comes again the Kingdom will come in such sense that by comparison it will seem never to have come before. The relation between the Kingdom now and the Kingdom of the future is perhaps much the same as that between the presence of Christ now and His presence when He returns. None has ever so fully been conscious of the life of Christ in him as was St. Paul: 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me.' Yet none has ever looked forward more earnestly, with greater expectation of living hope, to the day of Christ's return. He could even speak of this present life as a condition of absence from the Lord (2 Co 5^{6}). By contrast with such knowledge as we have of Christ now, vision of Him when He came again would be 'face to face' (1 Co 13^{12}).

LITERATURE.—A. Robertson, *Regnum Dei*, London, 1901; A. B. Bruce, *The Kingdom of God*[4], Edinburgh, 1891; J. S. Candlish, *The Kingdom of God*, do. 1884; J. Orr, art. 'Kingdom' in *HDB* ii.; W. Sanday, 'St. Paul's Equivalent for the "Kingdom of Heaven"' in *JThSt* i. [1900] 481.

WILLOUGHBY C. ALLEN.

KISH (שִׁישׁ, *Kîs*), the father of Saul, called *Cis* in the AV (Ac 13^{21}).

KISS.—See SALUTATION.

KNOWLEDGE.—The distinctive sense in which the apostles speak of knowledge has reference to the knowledge of God, and especially to the knowledge of God and the world through Jesus Christ.

1. The organ of knowledge.—St. Paul teaches clearly (Ro $1^{18\text{-}23}$) that, apart from any special revelation, God has exhibited so plainly His attributes of eternal power and divinity in creation that there is given to man an instinctive knowledge of God. There is a certain intelligence in mankind which, apart from the power of the senses, makes God known by the heart when He is not understood by the reason. Indeed, men became darkened in their understandings when they began to indulge in reasoning, and in trying to be wise they became fools. Thus St. Paul places the intuitive moral consciousness as the central organ of the true knowledge of God. When the Apostle speaks of the means by which the Christian knowledge of God is acquired, he develops this principle. It is true that St. Paul admits that for the knowledge of the facts of Christ's life he and others are indebted to the testimony of witnesses (1 Co 15^{3}), and that for bringing faith and knowledge the preaching of the word of truth is invaluable, but he insists pre-eminently that in all true knowledge of God in Christ the spirit of man is directly acted upon by the Spirit of God (1 Co $2^{4\text{-}6}$, Eph 3^{5}).

St. Paul, who excelled in logic and speculation, cannot be regarded as unnecessarily decrying the logical faculty or the speculative gift, and yet he speaks of reasonings (λογισμούς) and of vaunting speculations ('every high thing,' πᾶν ὕψωμα) as possible strengths of the enemy that required to be cast down, and of the need of bringing every thought into the obedience of Christ (2 Co 10^{5}). Perhaps this attitude may have been accentuated for the Apostle by the fact that in his own experience so much of his knowledge should have come directly in visions, as in the vision of Jesus, the Exalted Christ (Ac 9^{3}), in the vision of the man

of Macedonia (16[10]), and in the vision of the third heaven (2 Co 12[1]).

St. John declares that all men have the organ of spiritual vision by which God, who is light, is revealed to them. Many refuse to exercise this organ, and prefer to dwell in darkness, and thus lose the power of knowing, while spiritual vision becomes clearer and stronger by a purer and better moral life. Those who keep the commandments of God come to a growing knowledge (1 Jn 2[3]), and only those in whom love is abiding really possess this Divine knowledge (4[7]). Whoever persists in sinning does not know God (3[6]). The organ of knowledge is spiritual and ethical, not merely logical or speculative.

Thus both these apostles are alike in their insistence that the organ of Divine knowledge is to be found in this deep faculty of the soul. The apostles would agree in the saying: 'Pectus facit Christianum,' if not: 'Pectus facit theologum.'

2. The object of knowledge.—Much of the earliest teaching of the apostles was to demonstrate that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ of God (Ac 2[36]), and the object of all their knowledge and preaching might be summed up in the phrase of St. Paul: 'to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God in the face of Jesus Christ' (2 Co 4[6]). This illumination (*φωτισμός*) came first to the apostles with the purpose of being conveyed by them to others who were in ignorance. Thus the object that is made known to all Christians is the glory of God as revealed in the person, character, and work of Jesus Christ, so that what was only dimly discerned before is now clearly seen. This is the open secret that believers in Christ have discovered and delight to make known. This is the *μυστήριον* that was hidden for long ages but is now revealed, so that the Divine plan of redemption is no longer a secret but is heralded forth in Jesus Christ (Ro 16[25], 1 Co 2[7]). Thus St. Paul conceives of the glory of God as having been long concealed by the clouds of earth, but at last having shone forth in undimmed splendour; and those who believe that Jesus is the Lord receive a vision of God's glory that illuminates all life, history, and experience.

To St. John also Jesus Christ is the source of light on all the great matters of life. Through Him we know God (1 Jn 2[3]), and this provides the key to all knowledge.

The other apostles agree in the central place in their teaching being given to the knowledge of God in Christ, and the Epistle to the Hebrews (8[11]), in announcing that under the New Covenant there has come a universal knowledge of God, not only embodies the hopes of the OT prophets but also declares the faith of the NT teachers.

3. Implications of knowledge.—This Christian knowledge sheds its light on all the facts and aims of life. Thus individuals learn the outstanding features of their own characters (Ja 1[23]), the sanctity of their lives as being the temples of God (1 Co 3[16]), the value of their bodies as members of Christ (6[15]), and the consecration of all the powers of body and mind as an acceptable service to God (Ro 12[1]). Christian knowledge leads to a better understanding of all the experiences of life, and to a conviction that in and through every event God is making all things to work together for good to them that love Him (Ro 8[28]), and especially to a conviction that the trials of life do not come without Divine planning but are appointed by the will of God (1 Th 3[3]). Through Christ there comes likewise a better knowledge of social duties, *e.g.* in the relation of masters and servants. Servants are expected to render a whole-hearted service because they know that their real master is Jesus Christ, by whom they are to be recompensed. Masters are required to carry out all their duties with justice and fairness, for they know that they have to account to their Unseen Master, the Lord in heaven (Col 3[22ff.]). Even minor social problems like those of eating and drinking have new light cast upon them (Ro 14[14]), for the light of Jesus Christ has illuminated all life and brought knowledge where formerly there was doubt or ignorance.

In the Epistles of St. John this Christian *gnosis* has a predominant place, and it is interesting to note how wide and vital this knowledge becomes according to the Apostle. The knowledge of God is at the centre, and it radiates forth in every direction to a wide circumference, for it includes the knowledge of truth (1 Jn 2[21]), of righteousness (2[29]), of love (3[16]), of spiritual life and inspiration (3[24] 4[2]), and of the state of those beyond the grave (3[2]). In the light of God Christians possess a light that brings enlightenment to them on many problems of experience, perplexities of the present time, and mysteries of the future life.

4. Complements of knowledge.—The apostles uniformly recognize that knowledge of itself is imperfect and must be always associated with other Christian gifts. To reach its fullness it must be accompanied by abnegation (Ph 3[8]), by fellowship with God and with brethren (1 Jn 1[3]), by obedience to God's commands (2[3]), by attention to apostolic teaching (4[6]), and by faith, virtue, temperance, patience, godliness, love of the brethren, and love (2 P 1[6]).

Special notice should be taken of the connexion of knowledge and faith, and of knowledge and love. The apostles do not recognize any essential antagonism between faith and knowledge. Faith does not arise from ignorance but from knowledge (Ro 10[17]), and knowledge does not supersede faith but includes it (2 P 1[6]). The knowledge of God in Christ is synonymous with faith in Him, and in their essence the two are closely inter-related. In knowledge there is the recognition of the Divine by our spiritual nature, in faith there is the action of the will in virtue of this insight, so that the highest knowledge and the humblest faith go together. There is a kind of knowledge, however, that puffs up (1 Co 8[1]), and so far from its leading to faith it begets a self-sufficiency and pride that strike at the very foundations of all Christian faith.

At their best there is also no antagonism between knowledge and love. To know God is to love Him, and to reach the highest knowledge love is necessary. 'Every one that loveth is begotten of God and knoweth him' (1 Jn 4[7]). Christian knowledge is not a matter of the intellect but of the deeper moral and spiritual faculties that find their true expression in love. Still knowledge and love may come into conflict, and in the solution of many practical problems love is even more necessary than knowledge. St. Paul deals with this relation especially in his discussion of the attitude to be adopted to things sacrificed to idols. For his generation the difficulty was intense, as some Christians dreaded the slightest approval being given to idol-worship, while others were so convinced that idolatry was false that they considered it a negligible quantity. Among the latter were many Corinthian Christians, who had announced to the Apostle their conviction that the whole system of idolatry seemed so false that they could eat any food irrespective of its being associated with idol-worship. But St. Paul in his reply (1 Co 8[1ff.]) argues that a mere intellectual conviction is not the only or the best guide in such a matter. In theory the Corinthians might be right, but in practice they must not be guided by knowledge alone. 'Knowledge puffeth up, but love edifieth,' and in matters that are intimately concerned

with the feelings and prejudices of others love is the safer guide. To a Christian even more than to a philosopher the saying of Aristotle must apply: *τὸ τέλος ἐστὶν οὐ γνῶσις ἀλλὰ πρᾶξις* (*Nic. Eth.* I. iii. 6).

5. Philosophy and theosophy.—The relation of Christian knowledge to philosophy and theosophy is discussed by St. Paul. The Apostle expounds the gospel as being not only 'power' but also 'wisdom,' yet he refuses to establish this wisdom by any of the current arguments or by the conclusions of Greek philosophy (1 Co $2^{1ff.}$). He is proclaiming a gospel that is folly in the eyes of many, and yet it is the true wisdom to those who understand it. This higher philosophy has been hidden from the sight of men, otherwise they would not have crucified the Lord Jesus Christ. It comes through the indwelling of the Spirit of God, who alone can reveal it. Just as the spirit of man alone can understand the things of a man, so the Spirit of God in man alone can understand the Divine philosophy. 'The merely intellectual man' rejects this philosophy, as he does not possess the spiritual insight to discern its Divine wisdom. Even Christian people may be mere children in this respect, not able to understand this teaching; and among other indications of this childish mind was the party spirit by which so many were impelled. Thus St. Paul argues that the initiated Christians find in Christ a philosophy as well as a gospel.

Christian knowledge came into conflict with the theosophical tendencies that were so prevalent in many ancient schools of thought. In this connexion St. Paul's Epistle to the Colossians is of chief importance. The Apostle deals in this Epistle with claims that had been made by certain Christians to a higher Christian life through means that involved ascetic and ritual practices, and from arguments that rested on speculative and theosophic principles. It is unnecessary for the present purpose to decide whether these heresies arose from a latent Gnosticism or from certain features of Judaism; but, if Judaism was the source, it was a Judaism influenced by the thought and spirit of the Diaspora. This may be judged by the kind of speculations in which they indulge, especially in the cosmical dualism that they shadow forth and in the belief in an endless series of angelic beings as mediators between God and men. St. Paul does not denounce all speculative knowledge, but opposes it by a higher knowledge of Jesus Christ. He develops the teaching about Christ so that He is presented not only as a full and perfect Saviour for men, but also as the Lord of the Universe, in whom all things, even angels, were created, and as the fullness of all things, by whom both men and angels were made at one with God. This insistence on the cosmical value of Christ carries with it the best refutation of all extra-Christian theosophical teaching.

LITERATURE.—H. J. Holtzmann, *NT Theologie*, 1896, i. 476-486; A. E. Garvie, in *Mansfield College Essays*, 1909, p. 161; J. Y. Simpson, *The Spiritual Interpretation of Nature*, 1912, p. 11; J. R. Illingworth, *Reason and Revelation*, 1902, p. 44; A. Chandler, *Faith and Experience*, 1911; W. P. DuBose, *The Reason of Life*, 1911, p. 198; J. Denney, *The Way Everlasting*, 1911, p. 26; W. M. Macgregor, *Jesus Christ the Son of God*, 1907, p. 175; W. G. Rutherford, *The Key of Knowledge*, 1901, p. 1; artt. in *HDB* (J. Denney), *SDB* (J. H. Maude), and *CE* (A. J. Maas); see also art. IGNORANCE.

D. MACRAE TOD.

KORAH (*Κορέ*, hence called *Core* in the AV).—His rebellion and punishment (Nu 16) are alluded to by Jude (v.[11]).

L

LABOUR.—Greek and Roman thought regarded those who lived by labour as indispensable but contemptible necessities. Jewish teaching stood in strong contrast to this. 'Hate not laborious work' (Sir 7^{15}) was accepted as a rule of life. Even the scholar was to spend some of his time in manual work (Schürer, *HJP* II. i. [Edinburgh, 1885] § 25). The apostolic writers repeat and emphasize this principle. A man who does no work is to them a parasite (2 Th 3^{10}). In the Thessalonian Church the expectation of the speedy return of the Lord had been made an excuse by many for the abandonment of their daily work. St. Paul meets this by reminding his converts how, when he had preached to them, he had taught them to welcome a life of labour. It brings with it three good effects—quietness of spirit, honourable standing among neighbours, and independence of other men's alms (1 Th $4^{11f.}$, 2 Th 3^{12}). To these he adds in Eph 4^{28} the ability to help those who are in need. It is possible, as von Dobschütz suggests, that this had been forgotten not only at Thessalonica, but also at Jerusalem, and that that fact was one of the causes of the distress among Christians there.

St. Paul enforced his teaching by his own example. He had been taught at Tarsus the local trade of tent-making, and by practising this (cf. Ac 18^{3}) maintained himself while evangelizing. That he might be no burden to others, he willingly worked overtime ('night and day,' 1 Th 2^{9}). His roughened hands showed the severity of his toil (Ac 20^{33-35}). In 1 Co 9^{6} he mentions Barnabas as another who lived by the same rule—a striking instance of self-discipline in view of his past history (cf. Ac 4^{36}).

The justification of this high view of labour can be seen in St. Paul's treatment of the position of slaves (Eph 6^{5-9}, Col 3^{22}–4^{1}). There was a danger that slaves might suppose that, as in the eyes of God they were of equal value with their masters, they need not do their work very carefully. But St. Paul forbids all scamping of work ('not in the way of eyeservice'). It is to be done thoroughly, because they are servants not so much of earthly masters as of Christ, who has an absolute claim on their best, and will see to their reward.

It was the custom among Jewish artisans to maintain anyone of their own craft who was seeking work until his search was successful. In the *Didache* (xii.) a similar rule is laid down for Christians. But such help is to be given for two or three days only, to avoid imposture. If a man does not know a trade, he is to learn one. Similar advice is given in *Ep. Barn.* (x.), where Christians are forbidden to keep company with the idle.

Modern conditions call for a renewed emphasis on the apostolic teaching about labour. The principles which it embodies are a warning, to the wealthy not to consider themselves exempt from labour, if they would be accounted Christians, and to the workman not to be content with less than the best in his work, because anything less is unworthy of the Heavenly Master.

LITERATURE.—E. von Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, Eng. tr., London and N.Y., 1904; W. Rauschenbusch, *Christianity and the Social Crisis*, N.Y.,

1907, ch. iii.; F. Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Christ*, London, 1902, ch. ix. § 3; A. B. D. Alexander, *The Ethics of St. Paul*, Glasgow, 1910. For Greek view of labour: E. Barker, *Political Thought of Plato and Aristotle*, London, 1906, ch. viii. § 1. For Roman: W. Warde Fowler, *Social Life at Rome*, do. 1908, ch. ii. For Jewish: *Pirqe Aboth*, ed. Taylor, do. 1877, p. 18; cf. Delitzsch, *op. cit.* ch. ii.

C. T. DIMONT.

LADY.—See JOHN, EPISTLES OF.

LAKE OF FIRE.—That particular conception of future punishment represented as 'the Lake of Fire' is found only in the Apocalypse of St. John among the Christian writings of the Apostolic Age. For a fuller account of the early history of the conception see 'Introductory' and 'Christian' sections of 'Cosmology and Cosmogony' in *ERE*, and 'Hinnom, Valley of,' in *HDB*; and, for the fuller discussion of the general subject, artt. HELL and FIRE in the present work. It will be sufficient to sum up briefly here the facts concerning the origin of the conception.

Both the Babylonian and the Persian cosmogonies contain the conception of the future destruction of the world by fire, closing an æon or period in the history of the world. But, while Persian eschatology shows the presence of the conception of penal fire (cf. *SBE* v. 125 ff.), there is, according to H. Zimmern (*KAT*[3], 1902–03, p. 643), no trace of the conception in early Babylonian religion. Hence the presence of the idea in Jewish prophetic eschatology is held by many scholars to be due to Persian rather than to Babylonian influence.

1. In Jewish eschatology we find three related conceptions, each possibly a different topographical setting of the same central idea:

(1) *The conception of the Valley of Hinnom* (גֵּי הִנֹּם) as a place of fiery torment for the wicked during the Messianic Age; cf. Is 66[23-24], where the proximity of the place of punishment to Jerusalem shows that the Valley of Hinnom is intended.

(2) *The conception of a fiery stream issuing from Jahweh, or from His throne*; cf. Is 30[33], Dn 7[10]. This form may possibly have links of connexion with the ancient conception of Jahweh as a volcano-god.

(3) *The conception of a valley or sea of fire and sulphur*; cf. Is 34[9], where the topographical setting is in Edom. This conception goes back to the story of Sodom and Gomorrah, which again is connected by Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos*) and Jeremias with the Babylonian cosmology (cf. A. Jeremias, *The OT in the Light of the Ancient East*, Eng. tr., 1911, ii. 40 f.; M. Jastrow, *The Rel. of Bab. and Assyr.*, 1898, p. 507). The whole valley of the Dead Sea is still called by the Arabs *Wâdy en-Nâr*, 'Valley of Fire.'

The conception as it appears in the Apocalypse is related rather to the forms (2) and (3) than to the Gehenna conception.

2. In the Apocalypse we have again three distinct conceptions.

(1) *Hades* (see artt. HADES, HELL), an intermediate place or state whose existence ends at the close of the millennial kingdom. Death and Hades are cast into the Lake of Fire (Rev 20[14]). Hades is not connected distinctly with the idea of punishment in the Apocalypse.

(2) *The Abyss* (20[1]), in which the dragon is bound during the millennial reign (cf. 9[11] and Lk 8[31]).

(3) *The Lake of Fire*, mentioned as existing before the beginning of the millennial kingdom (19[20]), the place into which the beast and the false prophet are cast after their defeat by the Lamb. It is also the place into which the devil is cast after the defeat of Gog and Magog (20[10]). Then, at the close of the Final Judgment, death and Hades are cast into the Lake of Fire (20[14]); and, lastly, everyone not found written in the Lamb's Book of Life is cast into the Lake of Fire (20[15]). An additional statement (21[8]) describes those who have their part in the Lake of Fire; cf. the description of those who are without the city (22[15]).

3. The relevant passages in **the contemporary apocalyptic literature** are: *2 Bar.* xliv. 15 ('the dwelling of the rest who are many shall be in the fire,' in contrast to the blessing of the righteous in the new age [xliv. 12]), xlviii. 39, 43, lix. 2, lxiv. 7 (of Manasseh), lxxxv. 13; *2 Es.* vii. 36 ('the pit of torment' and 'the furnace of Gehenna,' as the abode of the wicked after the 400 years' Messianic kingdom); *Ass. Mos.* x. 10 (the enemies of Israel are seen in Gehenna). Hence in the apocalyptic literature contemporary with the Apocalypse the precise form of the conception does not appear.

4. In the same way the passages in **the Pauline Epistles, Hebrews, 2 Peter, and the Apostolic Fathers** are all vague and general. Fire is one of the accompanying features of the Parousia; it is the real or metaphorical agent of punishment for the wicked, and only in 2 Peter do we find the definite conception of a final conflagration which will destroy the old heavens and earth.

The principal question then arising from the use of the conception in the Apocalypse is as to its relation to the future state.

(1) The Lake of Fire may be regarded as a place of the final annihilation of evil. The force of the expression 'second death' determines the writer's use of the conception. The 'second death' is a Jewish theologoumenon, *e.g.* in the well-known passage in the *Jerus. Targum* on Dt 33[6], 'Let Reuben live in this age and not die the second death.'

In Jewish Rabbinical theology the expression seems to imply a non-participation in the life of the age to come; cf. the discussion in *Sanh.* 11 as to those who shall share the life of the coming age. Hence the meaning of annihilation is possible. Those who are not raised to the life of the world to come cease to exist. On the other hand, the writer of the Apocalypse holds the doctrine of a general resurrection to judgment at the close of the Messianic Kingdom. Hence it is also possible that he has given the Jewish phrase a new meaning. But for a fuller discussion of this point see art. IMMORTALITY.

(2) The writer's conception of the Lake of Fire may be penal. The beast and the false prophet are said to be tormented there day and night, and the unrighteous have 'their part' in the Lake of Fire, an expression which is most naturally interpreted in a penal sense. In the light of contemporary apocalyptic literature the penal sense would seem to be the most natural one.

(3) It is possible to maintain a purgative meaning for the conception, but this view finds no support in the NT literature itself.

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Fire' in *DCG*; S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[4], 1901; R. H. Charles, *Eschatology: Hebrew, Jewish, and Christian*[2], 1913; W. O. E. Oesterley, *The Doctrine of the Last Things*, 1908; C. Clemen, *Primitive Christianity and its non-Jewish Sources*, Eng. tr., 1912; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*[2], 1907; P. Volz, *Jüd. Eschatologie von Daniel bis Akiba*, 1903.

S. H. HOOKE.

LAMB.—The point of view for this subject is suggested by Delitzsch: 'All the utterances in the New Testament regarding the Lamb of God are derived from this prophecy [Is 53[7]], in which the dumb type of the Passover now finds a tongue' (*Com. on Isaiah*, Eng. tr., 1890, ii. 297).—(1) In Philip's interpretation of this passage to the eunuch who questioned him concerning its meaning, he showed that its fulfilment was found in Jesus (Ac 8[32]).—(2) In 1 P 1[19], Christ is compared with a sacrificial lamb; as an offering on behalf of sin He gave Himself (1 Co 5[7]), without blemish and without spot (cf. Lv 23[11]). If the allusion here is first

to the descriptive terms of Isaiah, yet there is included an association derived from the Levitical ritual. Christ was not only a quiet, unresisting sufferer, but also a sacrificial offering for sin.—(3) The main use of the term 'Lamb' in the NT is in Revelation, where it occurs 28 times. The word of which it is a translation is a diminutive, and is peculiar to the Apocalypse. Many surprises await one who, familiar only with the significance of the Lamb in the Levitical sacrifices, traces the new forms in which the figure made itself at home in the visions of the Seer of Patmos. It is evident that the writer had been fascinated by the suggestion on account of which he first employed the term to designate the Exalted Christ (5^6), and he was afterward conscious of no incongruity or embarrassment in continuing to use the title when he referred to Christ, even when he associated the most incompatible qualities, relations, and activities with it. In the interest of clearness and consistency one may try to substitute 'Christ' for 'Lamb' wherever the latter term occurs in this book, but it will be found that then something almost indefinable but very real has fallen out and that nothing of equal worth has taken its place. We move here in a region of prophecy, of symbolism, and of spiritual values, where the imagination supplies itself with wings, and where exact logical thought has to plod along as best it can afoot. According to Rev 5^6, in the central place before the throne, in the midst of the four and twenty elders, and the four living creatures, the Revelationist turned to see a Lion, symbol of majesty and overmastering power, when lo! instead of a lion he beheld a Lamb, standing, bearing still the wound by which He was slain in sacrifice, yet with the emblems of power and wisdom in the highest degree. 'He looked to see power and force, whereby the foes of his faith should be destroyed, and he saw love and gentleness by which they should be conquered' (G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the NT*, 1899, p. 542). The reason Hofmann offers why the Lion which has conquered appears as a Lamb is that He has gained His victory in that form (*Weissagung und Erfüllung*, 1841-44, ii. 328; cf. Is 53^{12}). Attempts to trace the symbolism to astro-theology (cf. A. Jeremias, *Babylonisches im NT*, 1905) or to a Babylonian source discover a single reference to the blood of a lamb substituted as a sacrificial offering for men; but no influence of this on pre-Christian Messianism, or of contemporary cults on this particular symbolism, has been found (cf. J. Moffatt, *EGT*, 'Revelation,' 1910, p. 385). But always at the heart of every picture of the Lamb throughout this book is the never-to-be-forgotten fact of His sacrifice and victorious power, and all the properties and functions of the Exalted Christ take their rise from this fact. Among the functions assigned to Him is: (*a*) that of loosing the seals of the Divine judgments, *i.e.* of carrying history through its successive stages to its ultimate goal. Henceforth the life of the world must be dominated by the ideal which He has realized, and the power for its fulfilment must proceed from Him. (*b*) At the very centre of the heavenly host, together with God He receives universal homage from the highest beings in heaven—innumerable angels—and the entire animated creation (Rev 5^{8-13} 7^{9-10}). The significance of this worship, springing as it does from a convinced monotheistic faith on the part of the writer, is not to be mistaken. Not a higher and a lower worship are here, but the two are of the same order and unite in one stream. The Lamb does indeed share the throne of God (22^1), yet the throne of God and of the Lamb is one. (*c*) To Him as slain the redeemed owe their power over sin and death ($5^{6.9.12}$ $7^{10.14}$ 12^{11} 14^4); nor in this connexion does the author shrink from the word 'purchase.' (*d*) To Him is entrusted the eternal welfare of men, symbolized by the 'book of life' (21^{27}; cf. 3^5), the history and significance of which may be traced in Is 4^3, Ex $32^{32f.}$, Ps 38^{15} 89^{70}, Ezk 13^9, Mal 3^{16}, Dn 12^1, *Enoch* xlvii. 3, *Apoc. Bar.* xxiv. 1, *Asc. Is.* ix. 12, Lk 10^{26}, Ph 4^3). (*e*) Still, as in the earthly life, the redeemed follow Him and He maintains the life which was begun through Him, by keeping them in fellowship with Himself and with God as the source of life (Rev 7^{17} $14^{1.4}$). As the vision unfolds, several startling paradoxes are thrown into the foreground. The Lamb bears the marks of a violent death at the hand of others, yet He is all-powerful (5^6). He gave Himself in the surrender of a perfect love for the sake of sinners, yet He is moved by fierce wrath against evil-doers (6^{16}). The Lamb becomes the great Shepherd of the sheep, whom He guides and they follow Him (7^{17}). Hostile forces shall make war against the Lamb, and the Lamb shall overcome them (17^{14}). In the final chapters, the scene shifts and still more striking symbolism appears. The Lamb is pictured as the central figure in a marriage feast—the Bridegroom whose bride is the New Jerusalem ($19^{7.9}$ 21^9), hidden with God until the fullness of time. Again the scene changes to the New Jerusalem, whose foundations are the twelve apostles of the Lamb (21^{14}), whose temple is the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb (v.^{22}), and whose lamp is the Lamb (v.^{23}).

In closing we may summarize the significance of 'Lamb' in the Apocalypse. The meaning of the person and work of Christ is disclosed in sacrifice. The secret of His nearness to God, of His personal victory and power over others, and the common spirit by which His activity on earth is bound to that in heaven, is found in love. And still further, central in the throne of God, the law of the moral order of the world, the power which moves history to its goal, the all-pervading spirit of the angelic hosts, the principle in which the paradoxes of life are resolved, the magnet which draws heaven down to earth and domiciles it with men, and the light in which all social good is revealed and glorified is sacrificial love.

C. A. BECKWITH.

LAMP, LAMPSTAND.—Recent excavation in Palestine has greatly increased our knowledge of the types of lamps in use during the various epochs of antiquity. The recently published Memoir, *The Excavation of Gezer* (R. A. S. Macalister, 3 vols., 1912), has multiplied examples, and, together with *Excavations in Palestine during 1898–1900* (F. J. Bliss and R. A. S. Macalister, 1902), allows us to trace the development very fully. We may now classify the lamps of the Apostolic Age under the head of 'closed' lamps, with divisions according to shape and ornamentation. It is likely that the most interesting forms lie outside our period (*i.e.* after A.D. 100)—those that bear Christian inscriptions, and others that show the conventional 'candlestick' pattern. Allowance must be made for the older 'open' type, which here and there persisted. It must also be remembered that Greek influence had to a large extent modified the national types. Roman forms are forthcoming, but they are rare. These remarks apply to lamps of the ordinary material, *i.e.* clay. Bronze lamps play little part in Palestine, and even terra-cotta forms are uncommon. All forms agree in certain general features, viz. the receptacle for oil, and the orifice for the wick. But there are many peculiarities in regard to shape, the mode of base and of handle, the number of wick-holes, the size of the reservoir opening, the presence of a slit for raising the wick, etc. In the type that retains the old saucer form, account must be taken of the number of points—one, four, and even seven ('multiple radiating'

lamps)—which implies a corresponding number of wicks. The lamp is for the most part dissociated from its stand. Lampstands, for table and for floor, and candelabra, with ground base, as appearing in classical illustrations pertaining to the 1st cent. A.D., are highly ornate. It cannot be said that Palestine has produced many examples of these, although they were in use, fashioned from materials of wood, stone, and metal. Hanging lamps were also known, as can be judged by the form of the handles. For outdoor purposes the more primitive torch was used, consisting of a handle surmounted by a saucer-shaped protective disc, and having a receptacle for a bundle of wicks. These were saturated with oil, supplied from a separate vessel. The oil used was chiefly olive.

When we examine the biblical literature of the Apostolic Age we find that the essential words under this head are λύχνος, λυχνία, λαμπάς, 'lamp,' 'lampstand,' and 'torch,' according to the above description. In spite of our increased knowledge regarding specific forms, we cannot add much towards elucidation of the passages about to be enumerated. The 'lights' of Ac 16[29] (RV) (*φῶτα*, neut. plur.—not 'a light' as in the AV) cannot well be defined. The λαμπάδες (Ac 20[8]) in the upper chamber might as reasonably be lamps as torches, notwithstanding the term employed (on the reading ὑπολαμπάδες [D] see H. Smith in *ExpT* xvi. [1904–05] 478, and J. H. Moulton and G. Milligan in *Expositor*, iv. [1912] 566). In Rev 4[5] the same word is translated in the RV 'lamps,' and in 8[10] 'torch,' which shows the perplexity attaching. R. C. Trench (*NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 159) is of opinion that the invariable rendering in the NT should be 'torches,' Mt 25[1] being no exception. The point need not be pressed.

The generic term λύχνος has been consistently rendered 'lamp' in the RV, 'candle,' which is erroneous, having been dropped (Rev 18[23] 22[5]), and 'light,' which is indefinite, having been displaced (2 P 1[19], Rev 21[23]). No information can be gathered from these passages as to the type of lamp.

Although **candle** has been dropped, **candlestick** (ἡ λυχνία—with one exception plur.) has been retained, and 'lampstand' placed in the margin (Rev 1[12. 13. 20] 2[1. 5] 11[4]). He 9[2] stands apart from this, 'candlestick' alone being employed. The reference in this case is to the furniture of the tabernacle (for a description of the Golden Candlestick [Lampstand] see *HDB* iv. 663 f.). The remaining instances quoted, all in Rev., also hark back to OT parallels (Ex 25[37] 37[23], Zec 4[2]). There is, however, difference amid similarity. By the necessity of the case, since there are seven churches (Rev 1[4] etc.), the lampstands are single and number seven, instead of being one shaft, divided into seven branches. The parallel to Zec 4[2] does not extend to the number of the lampstands (two in Rev 11[4], one in Zec.), although the number of the olive trees is the same. This point is elaborated in *HDB* iv. 255.

In conclusion, reference may be made to the representation of the seven-branched lampstand on the Arch of Titus, often reproduced, which is probably a copy of the original (*EBi*, art. 'Candlestick'); to contemporary Roman practice in lighting (see H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1907, p. 240); and to the abundant materials for studying the development of the lamp within Christian times provided by H. Leclercq, *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne*, 1907, ii. 509 ff., 556 ff.

W. CRUICKSHANK.

LAODICEA (ℵ has Λαοδικία everywhere. B has this form of the word in Col 2[1], Rev 1[11] 3[14], but Λαοδίκεια in Col 4[13. 15. 16] [the latter is the form used by almost all Gr. authors]; Lat. *Laodicea* [incorrectly *Laodicia*]).—Laodicea was an important seat of commerce in the Roman province of Asia, one of three cities in the Lycus valley which were evangelized about the same time. It was 11 miles W. of Colossæ and 6 miles S. of Hierapolis. Founded probably by the Seleucid king Antiochus II. (261–246 B.C.), and named after his wife Laodice, it was known as 'Laodicea on the Lycus' (Λαοδικία ἡ πρὸς [or ἐπί] τῷ Λυκῷ, *Laodicea ad Lycum*). Being some distance east of 'the Gate of Phrygia,' it is classed by Polybius (v. 57) and Strabo (XII. viii. 13) among Phrygian cities, while Ptolemy sets it down as Carian. It stood on a small plateau about 2 miles S. of the Lycus, and had behind it to the S. and S.W. the snow-capped mountains Salbakos and Kadmos, each over 8,000 ft. above sea-level. Designed, like the other Seleucid foundations in Asia Minor, to be at once a strong garrison city and a centre of Hellenic civilization, it occupied a strategic position on the great eastern trade-route, where the narrow Lycus gorge opens into the broad Mæander plain. 'Formerly a small town' (Strabo, XII. viii. 16), its prosperity dated from the peaceful time which followed the Roman occupation (133 B.C.).

'The country around Laodicea breeds excellent sheep, remarkable not only for the softness of their wool, in which they surpass the Milesian sheep, but for their dark or raven colour. The Laodiceans derive a large revenue from them, as the Colosseni do from their flocks, of a colour of the same name' (Strabo, XII. viii. 16).

The native religion of the district was the cult of Carian Men, whom the Hellenists of Laodicea identified with Zeus. His temple was at Attuda, 13 miles W. from Laodicea. In connexion with it, but probably in Laodicea itself, was 'a large Herophilian school of medicine under the direction of Zeuxis, and afterwards of Alexander Philalethes' (Strabo, XII. viii. 20). The physicians of Laodicea were skilful oculists, and a preparation for weak eyes, called 'Phrygian powder' (*τέφρα φρυγία*), was well known. Nearly the whole basin of the Mæander was subject to earthquakes (*ib.* 17). Imperial funds were usually given for the restoration of cities thus injured, and Laodicea accepted a grant from Tiberius after such a calamity, but of a later visitation Tacitus writes: 'The same year [A.D. 60] Laodicea, one of the most famous cities of Asia, having been prostrate by an earthquake, recovered herself by her own resources (*propriis opibus revaluit*), and without any relief from us' (*Ann.* XIV. xxvii.). She had long been rich and increased in goods, and had need of nothing (Rev 3[17]). More than a century before (in 51 B.C.), Cicero proposed to cash his treasury Bills of Exchange at a Laodicean bank (*Ep. ad Fam.* iii. 5).

Such a thriving commercial centre had great attractions for a colony of Jews. If the first settlers were sent thither by the founder of the city, or by Antiochus the Great, who is said to have planted 2,000 Jewish families in Phrygia and Lydia (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4), they would enjoy equal rights of citizenship with the Greeks. When Flaccus, Roman governor of Asia (62 B.C.), forbade the Jews to send contributions of money to Jerusalem, he seized as contraband twenty pounds weight in gold in the district of which Laodicea was the capital (Cicero, *pro Flacco*, 28). Calculated at the rate of a half-shekel for each man, this sum represents a Jewish population of more than 11,000 adult freemen, women and children being exempted. Josephus preserves a letter from 'the magistrates of the Laodiceans to Caius Rubilius' (*c.* 48 B.C.), guaranteeing religious liberty to the Jews of the city (*Ant.* XIV. x. 20).

The details of the founding of the Church of Laodicea have to be pieced together from allusions in the Acts and Epistles. St. Paul was not directly the founder. His words in Col 2[1], 'I strive for

. . . them at Laodicea, and for as many as have not seen my face in the flesh,' imply that he had not personally laboured in the Lycus valley. In his third missionary tour he did not go to Ephesus by the ordinary route of commerce, which would have brought him to the Lycus cities, but passed through 'the upper country' (*τὰ ἀνωτερικὰ μέρη*, Ac 19[1]), probably by Seiblia and the Cayster valley. His influence in the former region was indirect. During his three years' residence in Ephesus 'all they who dwell in Asia heard the word' (19[10]). The truths which he proclaimed in the metropolis were quickly repeated all over the province, and especially in the cities along the great roads. His evangelist of the Lycus glen was Epaphras, whom St. Paul regarded as his deputy (Col 1[7] [RV], reading *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν* instead of *ὑμῶν*), and whose labour on behalf of the three communities evoked a warm encomium (Col 4[12. 13]). The close relations subsisting between the churches of Laodicea and Colossæ are indicated by the injunction that the Epistle to Colossians should be read in the Church of the Laodiceans, and that the Colossians should read 'the Epistle from Laodicea.' The latter was perhaps the canonical 'Epistle to the Ephesians,' which Marcion expressly names the Epistle 'to the saints who are at Laodicea.'

The last of the Epistles to the Seven Churches of Asia is addressed to Laodicea (Rev 3[14-22]). The severity of the prophet's rebuke has made 'Laodicean' for ever suggestive of lukewarmness in religion. Once fervent, Laodicea became so tepid that her condition excited a feeling of moral nausea. Each of the Seven Epistles is of course concerned with a Christian church rather than with a city, but the Christians were citizens, and the spirit of the city could not be kept out of the church. The allusions to the circumstances and character of Laodicea are unmistakable. The famous commercial and banking city, too proud to accept an Empire's aid, is invited to come to the poor man's market and buy from the Sender of the letter (*παρ' ἐμοῦ* is emphatic) gold refined by fire (vv.[17. 18]). She who has innumerable flocks on her Phrygian hills, and whose fine black woollen fabrics are prized everywhere, has need of *white* garments to cover her own moral nakedness (v.[18]). Her Æsculapian school of medicine has no Phrygian powder for the healing of her spiritual blindness, which requires the eye-salve (*collyrium*) of another Physician (v.[18]). Rich Laodicea, well-clothed and well-fed, self-reliant and self-satisfied, is in danger of being rejected with loathing. Yet her absent Lord loves her, and writes her so incisively only because He hopes to find her chastened and penitent when He returns and knocks at her door (vv.[19. 20]).

Little is known about the post-apostolic history of Laodicea. Traditions regarding Archippus, Nymphas (Col 4[15]), and Diotrephes (3 Jn [9]) are worthless. The so-called 'Epistle to the Laodiceans' (in Latin) is a forgery. The subscription of 1 Tim., 'written from Laodicea, which is the chiefest city of Phrygia Pacatiana,' has no authority. The ruins of Laodicea are many but not impressive.

LITERATURE.—W. M. Ramsay, *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, 1904, pp. 413-430; W. J. Hamilton, *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, Armenia*, 1842, i. 515 f.; W. M. Leake, *Journal of Tour in Asia Minor*, 1824, p. 251 f.; Murray's *Handbook to Asia Minor*, 1895. JAMES STRAHAN.

LAPIS LAZULI.—See SAPPHIRE.

LASCIVIOUSNESS (*ἀσέλγεια*).—**1. Usage.**—The Greek word occurs 10 times in the NT (Mk 7[22], Ro 13[13], 2 Co 12[21], Gal 5[19], Eph 4[19], 1 P 4[3], 2 P 2[2. 7. 18], Jude [4]). It should be read instead of *ἀπώλεια* in 2 P 2[2]. It is 7 times translated by 'lasciviousness' (AVm so translates it in 2 P 2[2]) in the AV, while the RV translates it so in all cases except Ro 13[13], where the 'wantonness' of the AV is retained (cf. 2 P 2[18]). In 2 P 2[7] *ἐν ἀσελγείᾳ* is translated 'filthy conversation.'

2. Derivation.—The derivation of the word is unknown. The old derivation was from *Selge*, a city in Pisidia regarded by some as remarkably addicted to wantonness (Suidas, *s.v.*), and by others as noted for its sobriety (*Etymologicon Magnum*, *s.v.*; Strabo, xii.; Libanius, schol. in Dem. *Orat.*). In the first case the *a-* would be intensive, in the second privative. Moderns derive it from *α* + *σέλγω* (*θέλγω*) (see Trench, *NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 54, and T. K. Abbott, *Ephesians and Colossians* [*ICC*, 1897, p. 132]), or from *ασ* ('satiety') + *ελγ*, or from *α* + *σαλαγ* (*σέλας*), in which case the primary meaning would be 'foul' (J. W. Donaldson, *New Cratylus*[3], 1859, p. 692; Ellicott on Gal 5[19]).

3. Classical meaning.—The classical meaning of the word is excess of any kind—even inordinate size (see Donaldson, *op. cit.* p. 692), but particularly moral excess and outrage, contemptuous violence and insolence towards others. It has thus much the same range of meaning as *ὕβρις*. Trench brings out well the classical meaning of the word (*op. cit.* p. 54 ff.).

4. NT meaning.—In the NT, however, the term seems to refer exclusively to 'open, shameless impurity.' It has plainly this meaning in Ro 13[13], 2 Co 12[21], Gal 5[19], Eph 4[19], 2 P 2[7. 18]. It is one of the works of darkness, the fit climax of fornication and uncleanness; it is a vice closely associated with banquetings and drinking bouts (*κῶμοι καὶ μέθη*; cf. 'wine, women, and song'); see C. Bigg, *St. Peter and St. Jude* (*ICC*, 1901), 168.

ἀσέλγεια or *ἀκαθαρσία* ('a man may be *ἀκάθαρτος* and hide his sin; he does not become *ἀσελγὴς* until he shocks public decency' [J. B. Lightfoot, *Galatians*[5], 1876, p. 210]) and *πλεονεξία* seem to be the two characteristic heathen vices.

Bengel (on Ro 1[29]), followed by Trench, maintains that psychologically man without God must seek satisfaction in either *ἀσέλγεια* (*ἀκαθαρσία*) or *πλεονεξία*, and *ἀσέλγεια* is associated in the NT with *ἀσέβεια* and seems to be characteristically a heathen sin (cf. Wis 14[26], 3 Mac 2[26]). Abbott (*op. cit.* p. 133 f.) opposes this view of Bengel.

In Mk 7[22] and 1 P 4[3] it is possible to defend the classical sense of 'excesses.' 'Raphelius justly observes that if *ἀσέλγεια* were in this passage [Mk 7[22]] designed to denote lewdness or lasciviousness it would have been added to *μοιχεῖαι* and *πορνεῖαι*, vices of a like kind, in the preceding verse. But as it is joined with *δόλος*—deceit—he interprets it in general—an injury of a more remarkable and enormous kind; and shows that Polybius has in several passages used the word in this sense; cf. also Wetstein' (J. Parkhurst, *Greek Lexicon to the NT*[4], 1804).

Against this, however, see the convincing note of H. B. Swete (*St. Mark*[2], 1902, p. 154): 'Here the reference is probably to the dissolute life of the Herodian court, and of the Greek cities of Galilee and the Decapolis; if *δόλος* characterized the Jew, his Greek neighbour was yet more terribly branded by *ἀσέλγεια*.' In 1 P 4[3] the word is definitely used as a general term of the 'will of the Gentiles,' and is evidently the licentiousness which accompanied heathen feasts and lawless idolatries, while in Jude and 2 Peter it is the typical sin of the cities of the plain, which the libertines, under the guise of a spurious freedom, followed, and into which they inveigled others. In their case the sin of *πλεονεξία* was associated with it. While a rigid asceticism sprang from a horror of this sin, sensuality defended itself by the principle that the body did not count for spiritual life.

We may, then, conclude that the prominent

idea in ἀσέλγεια in the NT is flagrant, shameless sensuality. While this was reckoned one of the ἀδιάφορα among the heathen, it was branded as deadly and loathsome by Christianity. In the heathen world 'sexual vice was no longer counted vice. It was provided for by public law; it was incorporated into the worship of the gods. It was cultivated in every luxurious and monstrous excess. It was eating out the manhood of the Greek and Latin races. From the imperial Cæsar down to the horde of slaves, it seemed as though every class of society had abandoned itself to the horrid practices of lust' (G. G. Findlay, *Ephesians* [Expositor's Bible, 1892], 272).

LITERATURE.—Grimm-Thayer, *s.v.* ἀσέλγεια; R. C. Trench, *NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 54 *f.*; J. Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, 1877–85, i. 159 ff.; the Commentaries of Hammond (on Ro 1[29], where an attempt is made to equate ἀσέλγεια and πλεονεξία), C. J. Ellicott, J. B. Lightfoot (on Gal 5[19]), H. B. Swete (on Mk 7[22]), J. B. Mayor (on 2 P 2[2]).

DONALD MACKENZIE.

LASEA (Λασαία, WH Λασέα).—Lasea was a city near Fair Havens, on the southern coast of Crete (Ac 27[8]). It is not elsewhere mentioned by any ancient geographical or other writer, but as it was one of the smaller of the hundred cities of the island—'centum nobilem Cretam urbibus' (Hor. *Ep.* ix. 29)—this need cause no surprise. The conjecture of Captain Spratt in 1853 as to its site was confirmed by G. Brown, who examined the ruins in 1856. He found the beach buried under masses of masonry, and higher up discovered the ruins of two temples. 'Many shafts, and a few capitals of Grecian pillars, all of marble, lie scattered about. . . . Some peasants came down to see us from the hills above, and I asked them the name of the place. They said at once, "Lasea," so there could be no doubt' (J. Smith, *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul*[4], 1880, p. 268 f.).

The city was about 5 miles east from Fair Havens, and 1 mile east from Cape Leonda, which was so named from its resemblance to a lion couchant. As St. Paul's ship remained for 'much time' (ἱκανοῦ χρόνου) in the Havens, Lasea was perhaps frequently visited by the Apostle. It is quite possible that the evangelization of Crete, in which Titus afterwards laboured, was begun at that time.

JAMES STRAHAN.

LAVER.—'Laver' is the translation of λουτρόν in Eph 5[26] RVm, where the text has 'washing.' The same Greek word occurs in Tit 3[5], where the RVm again gives 'laver.' This rendering is at least doubtful. In the LXX כִּיֹּר, 'a laver,' is always rendered by λουτήρ, while λουτρόν is used for רַחְצָה, 'washing,' in Ca 4[2] 6[6], Sir 31[30]. The phrase διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας, therefore, probably means 'through a washing, or bathing, of regeneration,' rather than 'through a laver, or font.' For patristic references confirming the translation 'washing,' see J. A. Robinson's *Ephesians*, 1903, p. 206.

JAMES STRAHAN.

LAW.—1. Introductory.—The subject of the Law formed one of the main problems, if not indeed *the* main problem, of the Apostolic Church, inasmuch as it involved the fundamental relation of primitive Christianity to Judaism on the one hand and heathenism on the other. Later Judaism, on its Pharisaic side, had carried legalism to extremes, and thus accentuated the separation between Israel and the Gentiles. The primitive Christian community, on the other hand, had been taught by its Founder to rank the freedom of Divine grace higher than human merit (cf. *e.g.* Mt 9[9-13] ‖s and, generally, the attitude of Jesus to publicans and sinners), and to regard faith as of more importance than the distinction between Jew and Gentile (cf. Mt 8[5-13] ‖s, 15[21-28] ‖). In the evangelical record, moreover, the early Church had preserved the recollection of its Lord's outspoken utterances regarding the merely relative validity of the Jewish ceremonial Law (*e.g.* of the Sabbath, Mt 12[1-14] ‖s; of cleanness, Mt 15[10-20] ‖s)—or, at all events, of the interpretations recognized in the Synagogue ('the traditions of the elders,' Mt 15[2ff.] ‖). Still, the same record showed that in principle the attitude of Jesus to the Law as a whole was an avowedly conservative one (Mt 5[17-20], Lk 16[17]), even as He had lived His life within the confines of the Law (cf. Gal 4[4]: γενόμενος ὑπὸ νόμον); His supreme aim, indeed, was to bring out with full clearness and force the will of God made known in the Law. We thus see that, with regard to the Law, the evangelical tradition seemed capable of a double construction, or, at least, that it did not supply the means for deciding a question that soon became urgent. It is therefore easy to understand why the early Christian community in Jerusalem assumed at first a rigidly conservative attitude towards the Law, and regarded the faithful observance of it as praiseworthy (Ac 21[20]; cf. 2[46] 3[1] 10[9. 14] 22[12]). St. Peter, *e.g.*, required a special revelation before he would enter the house of the uncircumcised Cornelius and admit the first Gentile convert into the Church by baptism (10[1-48]) —a step which did not fail to arouse opposition on the part of those who 'were of the circumcision' (cf. 11[1-18]).

2. The view of St. James.—The principal representative of this zeal for the Law in the infant Church was St. James, the brother of the Lord, who, according to Acts, as also to the Pauline Epistles, occupied a leading position therein (Ac 15[13-21] 21[18-26], Gal 2[9]; cf. 1[19]). St. James, by reason of his righteous life, is said to have been esteemed scarcely less highly by non-Christians than by believers (Hegesippus, in Eus. *HE* ii. 23). His great concern was to smooth the way by which Israel might come to Jesus Christ, and to put no stumbling-block before his people. From this point of view his attitude to the question concerning the Gentile Christians discussed at the Apostolic Council becomes readily intelligible. Here he shows himself to be a genuine disciple of Jesus in recognizing, after the example of Peter, the supremacy of grace, and in refusing to put the yoke of the Law upon the Gentile Christians, whom rather he receives as brethren, while he acknowledges St. Paul as the Apostle of the Circumcision (Ac 15[13-21]; cf. v.[11], Gal 2[9]). He thus came into direct conflict with the Pharisaic group of Jewish Christians—those who asserted that the salvation of the Gentiles depended upon their being circumcised and their acceptance of the Law (Ac 15[1-5], Gal 2[1-5]). It was probably only for the sake of brotherly intercourse between circumcised and uncircumcised Christians that James proposed the restrictions to Gentile Christian liberty which were laid down in the so-called Apostolic Decree (Ac 15[20f. 28f.]). The reason given for the proposal (v.[21]: 'For Moses from generations of old hath in every city them that preach him, being read in the synagogues every sabbath') probably means simply that the four prohibitions in question — which formed the kernel of the so-called Noachian commandments, and correspond to the laws for proselytes—had come to be so impressed upon the minds of the Jews that they could not countenance any disobedience to them if their intercourse with their Gentile brethren in the Church was to be unconstrained. In formulating the injunctions of the Apostolic Decree St. James was in reality only following the practice of the Synagogue with regard to proselytes of the narrower class ('the God-fearing,' οἱ φοβούμενοι [or σεβόμενοι] τὸν θεόν), just as that practice no doubt had already prepared the

way in the Christian mission to the Gentiles; for the fact that St. Paul makes no mention of the Apostolic Decree in Gal $2^{9f.}$ probably signifies that he had observed its provisions on his own initiative (so, in substance, A. Ritschl, B. Weiss, H. H. Wendt, etc.; cf., further, art. MOSES). But the question regarding the Gentiles was in no sense solved, as soon appeared in what occurred at Antioch (Gal 2^{11-14}). If, for the sake of Christian fellowship, St. Peter had in that city ignored the Jewish regulations about food, and had eaten in the company of Gentile Christians, this did not coincide with the views of those who 'came from James.' These men took offence at St. Peter's practice—just as the Jewish Christians at Jerusalem had resented his action at Cæsarea (Ac 10; cf. $11^{2f.}$)—manifestly assuming that Jewish Christians, as the circumcised, were under an absolute obligation to the Mosaic Law, and that they ought not, even for the sake of Christian fellowship, to make any concession whatever to the liberty of the converted heathen. If concessions were to be made at all, they must come from the Gentile, not the Jewish, side. Whether this point of view is to be traced directly to St. James himself, or rather merely coincided with his position, is a much-debated question. It is probable, however, that in his view of the matter his concern for Israel bulked more largely than his regard for the Gentiles, and that accordingly he would have preferred to surrender the possibility of perfect Christian communion between Jewish and Gentile Christians rather than grant the former a dispensation from their regulations regarding food. Perhaps we may, with B. Weiss, see a suggestion of this point of view in what St. James says in Ac 15^{14} regarding the mission to the Gentiles, viz. that God had taken out of them a people for His name—*i.e.* a *new* people of God, in addition to the old.

To this type of Jewish Christianity corresponds generally the religious standpoint of the Epistle which is ascribed to St. James. The letter shows so little of a distinctively Christian character, that Spitta has in all seriousness hazarded the theory of its being in reality a Jewish work in which the name of Jesus has been inserted here and there. As a matter of fact, however, the writer shows clearly that he is a Christian, not merely in his reference to Jesus Christ in his address (1^1; cf. 2^1), but also in his giving expression to specifically Christian ideas, as *e.g.* when he speaks of the regeneration of his readers by the word of truth (1^{18}) and of the saving word as implanted in their hearts (1^{21}). He betrays his Jewish Christian mode of thought, however, when, in enjoining his readers to be doers, and not merely hearers, of the word (1^{22}), he presently replaces 'word' by 'law,' although 'the perfect law of liberty' means the law as given to, or as fulfilled in, human freedom. He thus shows that for him the central element in Christianity consists in fulfilment of the Law (cf. 1^{22-25} with 2^{12}). It is true that St. James's conception of the substance of the Law likewise shows the influence of Jesus, as he ranks the law of love to one's neighbour above the others (2^8), and, generally, urges the pre-eminence of the commandments enjoining love and mercy ($2^{1-13.\ 15f.}$ $1^{26f.}$ 4^{11}, etc.), just as he specially denounces such sins as judging one's neighbour (cf. Mt 7^1) and swearing (cf. Mt 5^{34-37}), and condemns hatred as murder (Ja 4^2). His commendation of the practice of mercy and of keeping oneself unspotted from the world as the true worship of God (1^{26}) is also wholly in the spirit of Jesus (cf. *e.g.* Mt 9^{13} 12^7), while he is silent regarding all outward service and ceremony. It is quite unnecessary to follow modern criticism in regarding this spiritual and ethical conception of the Law as pointing to a post-apostolic date of composition, any more than the attack upon the doctrine of justification through faith alone (2^{14-26}) need be regarded as post-Pauline. St. James's view of the Law, in fact, coincides on the whole with the view urged by Jesus: in substance the new Law does not differ from that of the OT, and in 2^{9-12} he finds his examples in the latter (the Decalogue and Dt 1^{17}); while there is no difficulty in seeing why he never makes the slightest reference to the ceremonial Law—for readers such as his it was quite unnecessary to insist upon that side of the old religion, nor, for that matter, did Jesus Himself lay any emphasis upon it. Further, if the Epistle was addressed to Jewish Christians who had not as yet broken off relations with the Synagogue (cf. *e.g.* $2^{1f.}$), it may be confidently assumed that they were not neglectful of the ceremonial Law. What they required rather was to be reminded of the ethical aspect of the Law, and above all, to be warned against the common Jewish delusion that hearing and speaking the word could take the place of doing it. In 2^{14} the reference is not to 'the works of the Law,' but solely to works in the ethical sense. Moreover, as the theologians of the Synagogue had already turned their minds to the passage Gn 15^6 (cf. A. Schlatter, *Der Glaube im NT*^{2}, Calw and Stuttgart, 1896, pp. 29 ff. 45 ff.), the antithesis of faith and works, and the contrast between a justification by faith and a justification by works, may quite well have been formulated in an age prior to St. Paul.

3. The view of St. Peter.—Besides St. James, the most outstanding representative of the Jewish Christian position in the primitive Church was St. Peter. But just as, according to Ac 10, he had been led by a Divine revelation to enter the house of an uncircumcised man, and to eat with the Gentiles (cf. 11^3), we may infer also, from his speech in the Apostolic Council, and especially from his behaviour in the Gentile Christian community at Antioch, that he had a much clearer view than St. James of the merely relative obligation of the Law even for Jewish Christians. In certain circumstances he thought himself justified, for the sake of brotherly intercourse with Gentile Christians, in disregarding the rigour of the Law, since, after all, salvation did not depend upon the Law, whose yoke, indeed, neither the fathers nor the Jews then living were able to bear, but Jew and Gentile alike could look for salvation only to the grace of Jesus Christ, and to faith in Him (cf. Ac 15^{7-11}, Gal 2^{12a}). Hence St. Paul takes for granted that the subsequent vacillation of St. Peter at Antioch (Gal 2^{12b}) was nothing but dissimulation, as it was due, not to any change of conviction, but simply to fear of the Jews. In principle St. Peter recognized the religious freedom of the Jewish Christians, not merely as regards the more general intercourse with their Gentile brethren sanctioned by the Apostolic Decree, but also as regards the closer intimacy involved in eating with them (cf. the Agapæ). In other words, he had, according to St. Paul, actually acknowledged that the Jewish Christians had the right to accommodate themselves to the freedom of the Gentiles. Only we must bear in mind that St. Peter was, in a much greater degree than St. Paul, a man of moods, and was therefore not always so consistent in his thinking.

It is remarkable that the two Epistles bearing the name of Peter do not refer to the Law. The Second Epistle obviously dates from a time when the question regarding the Law had given place to other controversies, and, at all events, it is concerned with a libertinism and a doctrine that lie beyond the purview of Jewish legalism. It is a striking fact that even the First Epistle, the

authenticity of which is open to no decisive objection, does not so much as mention the Law, but speaks from a quite unstudied and non-legalistic point of view. As the writer implies that, *e.g.*, the OT conception of the priesthood was first properly realized in the NT Church, and describes the latter as the true Temple of God ($2^{5ff.}$), it would seem that the OT legal system as a whole had for him only a typological value. This would certainly be strange if the Epistle was written, as B. Weiss and Kühl suppose, to Jewish Christians, *i.e.* prior to the time of St. Paul, but is quite intelligible if it was addressed to Gentile Christian, Pauline communities, and written under the influence of Pauline Epistles, as Romans and Ephesians — a hypothesis to which, in view of the editorial collaboration of Silvanus, the follower of St. Paul, no exception can be taken.

4. The view of St. Paul.—In point of fact, the first to decide the question of the Law upon grounds of principle was the Apostle Paul himself, though others had already pointed the way. In conformity with what has been said of St. Peter's views, it is perfectly credible that, as related in Acts, St. Peter was the first to baptize a heathen, and that he should make reference thereto in his address to the Apostolic Council (Ac 15^{7-9}). Here, however, the most outstanding name is that of the martyr St. Stephen, who anticipated St. Peter in divining the essentially non-legalistic character of the gospel. St. Stephen, as a Hellenist, could of course more easily than St. Peter discern the merely relative validity of the Jewish legal system, and especially of the Temple ritual; and although his adversaries, in charging him with having in his preaching attacked the Holy Place and the Law, were undoubtedly doing him an injustice, yet the accusation was not altogether unfounded. His trenchant speech (Ac 7) not only attacks the Jews for their persistent rejection of the Prophets, but also pointedly criticizes their over-estimation of the Temple: 'the Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands' (7^{47-50}). His general plea is that Divine revelation is independent of any particular holy place, and he honours Moses less as the Law-giver than as the prototype of Jesus, and as the one who foretold His coming (cf. $7^{35ff.}$). The very Law to which the Jews appealed they had not kept (v.^{53}).

It was no mere accident that in particular the personality and preaching of St. Stephen should have wrought powerfully on the young Pharisee Saul (7^{58}). Saul probably belonged to the Cilician synagogue, whose members had disputed with St. Stephen, and in any case the latter's great vindicatory speech must have still further opened the eyes of the zealous Pharisee to the inherently non-legal nature of the gospel, and rekindled his persecuting zeal against the followers of Jesus (cf. $6^{9f.}$).

Even before his conversion Saul must have been sensible of the great alternative which he sets forth in Gal 2^{15-21}: either righteousness is through the Law, and Christ died for nought; or else the Crucified Jesus is truly the Christ, and righteousness is to be attained through faith alone. It need, therefore, occasion no surprise that in his conversion Saul had become convinced of the universality of Christianity, or that thereafter he maintained that the Law was not in a religious sense binding upon either Gentile or Jewish Christians (Gal 1. 2).

According to Gal $1^{15f.}$ St. Paul saw at once that he was called to be a missionary among the heathen, and he seems to have laboured as such for a time without any interference whatever—a circumstance which will hardly seem strange when we remember that certain Hellenists who had been driven out in consequence of the persecution connected with Stephen had preached the gospel in Antioch even to the Gentiles, and that the numerous converts whom they had won from heathendom were recognized as brethren by the community in Jerusalem (Ac 11^{20-24}). Nor does the Apostle make the slightest reference to the question of the Law in his earliest Epistles, 1 and 2 Thessalonians. It was in reality the aggression of certain Christian Pharisees—Judaizers (Ac $15^{1.\ 5}$, Gal 2^{4})—that forced him into a thorough-going discussion of the significance of the Law, and this is his special theme in his Epistles to the Galatians, Corinthians, and Romans. In seeking to delineate here the Pauline doctrine of the Law, however, we must also draw upon the Epistles of the Imprisonment and the Pastorals.

(*a*) *His use of the term 'Law.'*—In discussing the Pauline conception of the Law, we note that the Apostle uses the term *νόμος* in somewhat different senses. It may mean the whole Pentateuch—the Torah in the wider sense—as in Ro 3^{21} (the Law and the Prophets), Gal 4^{21}, 1 Co 14^{34}, and even the entire OT, which might be thus designated *a parte potiori*, as in Ro 3^{19} (the Psalms also included under the term), 1 Co 14^{21} (Is $28^{11f.}$). As a rule, however, *νόμος* is applied by St. Paul to the Law delivered by Moses, as recorded in the Mosaic Books from Exodus to Deuteronomy (cf. Ro $5^{13.\ 14}$: *ἄχρι νόμου* = *μέχρι Μωσέως*, Gal 3^{17}: the Law given 430 years after the promise). Further, St. Paul sometimes uses the term with, sometimes without, the definite article, and the distinction must not be ignored. It is true that *νόμος*, even without the article, may mean the historically-given Law of Moses, the possession of which was the special prerogative of the Jews as distinguished from the Gentiles (Ro 2^{12-14} $3^{20f.}$ $5^{13f.\ 20}$). The omission of the article, however, generally points rather to 'law' as a principle; thus what is so said of 'law' would hold good of any other positive ordinance of God—if such existed at all (cf. Ro 2^{13-15}: 'For not the hearers of law are just before God, but the doers of law shall be justified; for when Gentiles who have not law do by nature the things of the law, these having no law are law to themselves,' etc., and 5^{13}: 'For prior to law sin was already in the world, but sin is not imputed when there is no law'). In both of these passages it is obvious that *νόμος* and *ὁ νόμος* equally refer to the Mosaic Law, but it is no less obvious that they assert principles, not merely historical facts; cf. also Gal $5^{18.\ 23}$, 1 Ti $1^{8f.}$ ('The law is good, if a man use it lawfully, knowing that law is not made for a righteous man'). On the other hand, when St. Paul wishes to make a historical statement regarding the Law of Moses, he uses the phrase *ὁ νόμος*. The extent to which he can abstract from the concrete historical sense of *νόμος*, however, is seen in the fact that he occasionally uses *νόμος*, virtually as a purely formal concept, as equivalent to *norma*, 'rule': Ro 3^{27} (the law of faith, *i.e.* the Divine ordinance which enjoins faith, not works; cf. 1^{5} 9^{31} 10^{3} 16^{26}), 7^{23} (the law of sin), 8^{2} (the law of life = natural law), Gal 6^{2}; cf. 1 Co 14^{21} (the law of Christ).

As regards the proper signification of the term, however, the Law may be defined as the positive revelation of the Divine ordinance to the Israelites, who therein, as in the covenants, the promises, and the Temple service (Ro 9^{4}), had a sacred privilege unshared by other peoples (cf. 2^{12} 3^{19}). The law of God, which in the heathen was but an inward and therefore vague surmise, was for the Jews formulated objectively and unmistakably in the written Law (Ro 2^{17-20}; cf. 2 Co 3^{7}), and the Jews, even if they broke that Law (Ro $2^{21ff.}$), could yet boast of a moral advantage over the heathen (Gal 2^{15}).

The Law, however, is a revelation not only of the Divine requirements, but also of the Divine promises and threats attached thereto. The Law, in

short, contains a judicial system, in that it determines the relation between man and God by man's obedience to, or transgression of, the Divine commandments. If man keeps the whole Law, he is rewarded with 'life' (Gal 3^{12}=Lv 18^5), and this is bestowed not of grace, but of debt (Ro 4^4: *κατὰ ὀφείλημα*); while if he does not keep the Law in its entirety, he is accursed (Gal 3^{10}=Dt 27^{26}), and passes into the power of death (Ro 6^{23} 7^{10}, 1 Co 15^{56}).

The Law demands, not faith, but works (Gal $3^{11f.}$), and hence St. Paul speaks repeatedly of the 'works of the law' (*ἔργα νόμου*, 'works prescribed by the law'; cf. Ro 3^{20}, Gal 2^{16}). By 'works of the law,' however, he means, not simply the externally legal actions in which the heart is not implicated, but no less the morally irreproachable fulfilment of the commandments, which claim the obedience of the soul as well as of the body, and forbid sinful desire as well as sinful action—just as, indeed, the requirement of the whole Law is summed up in the commandments of love (Ro $13^{9f.}$, Gal 5^{14}). It is no doubt the case that for St. Paul outward rites and ceremonies are included in the characteristic ordinances of the Law (Gal 2^{12} 4^{10}; cf. Ro 9^4 14^5). The Law as a whole consists of particular commandments of a statutory nature (*τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι*, Eph 2^{15}; cf. Col 2^{14}).* In Gal. it is especially the ceremonial or ritual ordinances of the Law that are referred to, as St. Paul is here dealing mainly with the question of circumcision (cf. $2^{12ff.}$ 4^{3-10} $5^{2ff.}$, also Col $2^{13f.}$ $^{20-22}$). In Rom., on the other hand, he is treating rather of the moral requirements of the Law (cf. 2^{12-23} 7^{7-8}). Nevertheless, we must not ascribe the conscious differentiation between moral law and the ceremonial Law to the Apostle himself. For him the Law is an indivisible whole (Gal 3^{10} 5^3), though he certainly recognizes gradations of value in its commands (*e.g.* the commandment of love), and finds its kernel in the Decalogue (cf. Ro $13^{9f.}$, 2 Co 3^{3-7}: the Law engraven in letters on tables of stone). All the Law is Divine. While it might seem as if in Gal. St. Paul designedly avoids speaking of the Law as the Law of God (cf. 2^{19} 3^{19-21}), but rather sets it, as the 'mere rudiments of the world' ($4^{3.9}$; cf. Col $2^{8.20}$), on a level with the heathen stage of religion, the absence of any such design is shown by the fact that even in the same Epistle he exhorts his readers to fulfil the Law by love ($5^{13f.}$), and thus asserts its holiness, while elsewhere (*e.g.* Ro $7^{12.14.16.22}$) he insists upon its Divine and spiritual character.

(*b*) *His view of the function of the Law.*—The most characteristic feature of St. Paul's doctrine of the Law, however, is found in his statements regarding its function. Here, in fact, he develops a view directly opposed not only to his own earlier Jewish conception, but also to the thoughts of the natural man, viz. that the Law is not meant to mediate life to man, but is rather a medium of death. In the abstract, of course, he still recognizes that the Law was designed to be a real channel of righteousness and life (Ro 7^{10}: 'the commandment which was unto life,' 10^5, Gal 3^{12}: 'he that doeth them shall live in them'). In the actual circumstances of life, however, the matter has quite a different bearing, for no human being has ever fulfilled, or ever can fulfil, the condition of perfect obedience to the Law. The Law is thus quite incapable of bringing life to man; nor, indeed, was it given by the all-foreseeing God with any such design. On the contrary, it has primarily a purely negative aim and effect, viz. to intensify the moral and spiritual misery of the unsaved man, so that the greatness of the Divine grace may be the more clearly displayed; and it is only upon this background that the Law has any positive significance at all.

This estimate of the Law, so obnoxious to the Judaistic mind, the Apostle made good by an appeal to experience as well as to Scripture and sacred history. His demonstration is given more especially in the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans. In the latter he starts from experience, which shows that not only the heathen who live without the Law but even the people of the Law themselves are all held fast under the power of sin. The Jews glory in the Law with their lips, but, when their conscience is appealed to, they have to confess that their deeds are little better than those of the heathen (Ro 1^{18} 2^{24}). Next he shows from Scripture, from the Torah, which speaks to the Jews in particular, that they, equally with all mankind, are guilty before God (3^{9-20}; cf. Gal 2^{16}); moreover, the OT plainly declares that by the works of the Law shall no flesh be justified (Ro 3^{20}, Gal 2^{16}=Ps 143^2; the words 'by the works of the law' were added by St. Paul himself, but are quite in accordance with the sense). Finally, on the lines of sacred history, he deduces the impossibility of justification by the works of the Law from the fact that God has now manifested a new species of righteousness apart from the Law, viz. the righteousness that is through faith in Jesus Christ, who has been set forth in His blood as a *ἱλαστήριον* (Ro $3^{21f.25}$), *i.e.* an expiation, or a propitiation (Luther: *Gnadenstuhl*, 'throne of grace'), and has rendered satisfaction to the Law (Gal 3^{13}; cf. 4^5). This new mode of righteousness, moreover, was foreshown by the Law and the Prophets, as is argued in greater detail in Ro 4, where St. Paul discusses the grand precedent of Abraham; for Abraham, the father of God's people, was justified not by works but by faith, and while as yet uncircumcised, in order that he should be the father of all who have faith (4^{1-12}). Besides the case of Abraham, St. Paul appeals specially to the prophetic utterance of Hab 2^4 (Ro 1^{17}, Gal 3^{11}: 'The just shall live by faith'). In Gal. likewise he attaches great importance to the pattern of Abraham. Here he represents the Law as a secondary institution in comparison with the Promise. In man the Promise presupposes faith only, and may be compared to a testament, which could not be invalidated by a positive decree such as the Law delivered 430 years later (Gal 3^{15-18}). In the section of Rom. (9–11) which deals with the rejection of Israel, he returns again to the biblical arguments for the righteousness of faith, which excludes justification by the Law (10^{3-17}). But the decisive proof of his contention that the Law is incapable of justifying sinners lies for St. Paul in the Death of Christ proclaimed in the gospel (Gal 2^{16-21}; cf. Ro $3^{24ff.}$). It is his absolute conviction that, if righteousness could be secured by the Law, then Christ died for nought (v.^{21}; cf. Ro $10^{3ff.}$). Nor is the synthesis of the two kinds of righteousness a possible conception. The Law is no more based upon faith (Gal 3^{12}) than the grace of Jesus Christ (Ro 5^{15}) is based upon works (Ro 11^6: 'if by grace, then no more of works; otherwise, grace is no more grace').

How does it come about, then, that the abstractly possible righteousness by the works of the Law (Ro 2^{13}) is impossible in the sphere of actuality? Or, otherwise, why is man incapable of fulfilling the Law? The answer is given in the Apostle's idea of the carnal constitution of man, which is antagonistic to the spiritual character of the Law (7^{14}). Man, by reason of his carnal nature, is sold into the servitude of sin, for the mind of the flesh is hostile to God, and cannot become subject to His (spiritual) Law. No doubt the Law

* Some scholars are of opinion that the word *δόγματα* here refers to the treatises with which the ancient Rabbis had overlaid the Law, but this is hardly compatible with Col 2^{14}: *τὸ χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασιν.*

of God includes commandments which, because of their external character, may quite well be obeyed by the 'flesh' (Gal 3^3; cf. 4^{10}), but its most distinctive requirement, the law of love, is repugnant to the flesh. For with St. Paul the term 'flesh' (σάρξ) is by no means restricted to the sensuous corporeal aspect of human nature—as if the principle of sin were rooted in man's physical constitution (cf. Gal $5^{12ff.}$); on the contrary, the flesh penetrates even to his inmost soul, so that we may speak also of a 'mind of the flesh' (Col 2^{18}). The 'works of the flesh,' accordingly, embrace not only sins of sensuality, but also sins of the selfish will (Gal 5^{19-21}), and hence, in a passage immediately preceding this, St. Paul contrasts brotherly love with the misuse of liberty as an occasion to the flesh ($5^{13f.}$). Even in the regenerate man, the Christian, the flesh maintains its power so persistently (5^{16-24}) that he cannot conquer sin by the Law, but can triumph over it only by the Spirit of God (Ro 7^{14}–8^{13}).

If, however, the Law does not bring salvation to man, and was not designed to do so, what is its real function? The most comprehensive answer to this question is given in Ro 3^{20b}: 'through the law comes the knowledge of sin.' The answer is defined more concretely in a number of kindred statements (cf. 4^{15} $5^{13f.\ 20}$ $7^{5.\ 7ff.}$, 1 Co 15^{56}, Gal 3^{19}). The Law not only serves to make sin known as sin, and to condemn the sins of men, but it resolves ill-doing into aggravated sin, giving it the character of trespass against the commandments of God: 'where there is no law, neither is there transgression' (Ro 4^{15}), 'and therefore sin is not imputed' (5^{13}). But the actual operation of the Law in thus resolving sin into positive transgression and guilt must, according to the teleology of the Apostle, have been the Divine purpose of the Law (Gal 3^{19}: τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν, 'in order to bring forth the conscious transgressions as such'; cf. Ro 5^{20}: 'that the Fall might be increased'; 7^{13}: 'that sin might be shown to be sin').

Thus the Law produces a qualitative intensification of sin: sin becomes guilt. The evil done by those who have not the Law is relatively blameless. But the Law, which invests sin with the character of guilt, evokes wrath, *i.e.* in God (Ro 4^{15}). Sin, however, is not only qualitatively intensified, but also quantitatively increased, by the Law. For, according to Ro 7^{5-13}, the Law tends to rouse the slumbering power of sin, which then breaks out in all kinds of appetites and passions. Just as an innocent youth, who has, say, listened to some explanation of sexual matters, may thus be wrought upon by sinful inclinations hitherto unfelt, so—the Apostle's idea would seem to have been something of this kind—the as yet relatively blameless man is brought under the influence of evil desires by the Law's very prohibition of such desires. This in no sense, however, proves that the Law is sinful, but simply shows the awful power of the sin that dwells in the flesh; for man's conscience, his better self, agrees with the Law, and cannot but attest its holiness (cf. $7^{5.\ 7-13.\ 16.\ 22}$). Here the Apostle is probably not thinking of an outward multiplication of sins; he rather assumes, indeed, that generally the Jews live on a higher moral level than the heathen (Gal 2^{15}; cf. Ph 3^6), and his idea is in all likelihood that of an inward development—in the shape of sins of thought.

The Law, in thus aggravating the power of sin both qualitatively and quantitatively, brings man into a state of deeper misery than he ever experienced while still without the Law; it works in him the apprehension of God's wrath and curse (Ro 4^{15}, Gal 3^{10}), and of death (Ro $7^{10.\ 24}$, 2 Co 3^{6-9}, 1 Co 15^{56}), and yet at the same time the most profound yearning for salvation.

It is true that death, as a result of Adam's sin, reigned over mankind even before the Law (Ro 5^{14}, 1 Co $15^{21f.}$). Even so, however, the individual could live in relative unconcern (Ro 5^{13} 7^9); the Law written in his heart asserted itself but feebly. Accordingly, when God determined to institute salvation for the race of man, and chose a people as its depositary, He began by giving to Abraham, the father of that people, simply the Promise, the condition of which was faith alone; subsequently, however, He added the Law, not indeed with the design of laying down a new condition co-ordinate with, or as a substitute for, faith, but rather, as it were, for the purpose of keeping His people in ward and custody, the Law acting as a stimulus to the power and guilt of sin in such wise as to exclude every hope except that of justification by faith in Christ as the medium of salvation (Gal $3^{6.\ 25}$, Ro $4^{13ff.}$). Had Christ appeared without the previous intervention of the Law, the misery of man would not have been so great; but also the glory of Divine grace would have been less transcendent (Ro $5^{20f.}$). In the historical outworking of redemption, therefore, the Law had merely a pedagogic function; it was our moral guardian (παιδαγωγός) until Christ came, so that we might be justified through faith, and through faith alone (Gal 3^{23-25}).

(*c*) *The abolition of the Law.*—If the function of the Law was, as we have just seen, merely pedagogic, it must also have been but temporary. 'Now that faith [or its object, Jesus Christ] is come, we are no longer under a tutor' (Gal 3^{25}; cf. 4^{1-7}); 'Christ is the end of the law unto righteousness to every one that believeth' (Ro 10^4). In Eph 2^{15} St. Paul asserts that Christ has actually abolished the law of commandments contained in ordinances; and, *objectively*, the Law, as a statutory system, was abrogated when Christ made satisfaction to it by His Death, or, as the Apostle puts it, bore its curse (Gal 4^4 3^{13}; cf. Col 2^{14}). But this is not to be understood in the sense that from the time of Christ's Death every man, every Jew, is absolved from the Law; *subjectively*, the individual is freed from its dominion only when he becomes a Christian, and is united to Christ by faith and baptism, so as personally to appropriate His Death and Resurrection. Just as Christ Himself was released from the Law's domain only through His Death on the Cross, in order that, as the Risen One, He might thereafter live a new life in immediate union with God, so His followers are loosed from the Law only through their communion with their Crucified and Glorified Lord (Ro 7^{1-6}, Gal $2^{19f.}$). This is to be taken, first of all, in a legal sense: 'the law hath dominion over a man as long as he lives.' Just as, when a husband dies, a wife is loosed from the law which bound her to him, and may marry another, so, when Christ died, His community became exempt from the Law, and was free to yield itself to another, viz. the *risen* Christ (Ro 7^{1-4}). Once the curse of the Law, which is death, has been carried out upon the transgressors of the Law, the Law can demand no more; we are then redeemed not only from its penalty, but also from its obligation (Gal 3^{13} $4^{4f.}$). It is true that many interpreters refer this exemption from obligation not to Christ's passive but to His active obedience to the Law—an interpretation that may be right in so far as His active obedience was the precondition of the propitiatory significance of His passive obedience. But, taken all in all, the Apostle's view is that we have been made free from the Law by Christ's Death (cf. also Gal $2^{19f.}$, Col $2^{14.\ 20}$, Eph 2^{15}).

St. Paul, however, goes far beyond this purely juridical conception. He also represents our deliverance from the Law as a transaction ethically conditioned. From the mystical union with the

Crucified and Risen Lord comes a power which transforms and re-creates our nature, and thus enables us of ourselves to fulfil the requirements of the Law (Ro $8^{2ff.}$, Gal 5^{18}; cf. v.^{23}). The Apostle traces this power to the Spirit of God and of Christ: 'if ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law' (Gal 5^{18}); against such as bring forth the fruits of the Spirit the Law is not valid (v.^{23}); the Law is not imposed upon a righteous man (1 Ti 1^{9}). Thus freedom from the Law is in no sense a merely legal freedom; it is an ethical freedom which is quite different from mere arbitrary choice, and implies that we fulfil the demands of the Law not through compulsion or fear, but in zeal and love (cf. Ro $8^{14ff.}$, 2 Co $3^{17f.}$). Hence the Christian is not free in the sense of being his own master; on the contrary, he is subject to the Lord Jesus and God (Ro 14^{7-9}), but serves Him from the dictates of the inmost heart, having yielded himself with consuming gratitude and love to the Saviour who died for him (2 Co $5^{14f.}$).

(*d*) *The Law abolished yet continuing in force.*—St. Paul thus teaches that the Law is abolished, and that nevertheless it abides. It is abolished by Christ in the sense that it has no longer any validity for the Christian as a statutory system; justification is effected through faith alone, and without the works of the Law (Ro 3^{28}, Gal 2^{16}). This holds both for Jews and for Gentiles (Ro $1^{16f.}$ $3^{21f.}$); here there is no difference between them. The place of the Law is now taken by Christ (Ro 10^{4}). Everything turns upon our union with Him, and works are not to the purpose; in other words, all depends upon faith, which is simply the acceptance of the gospel, or of Christ, and the invocation of His name (Ro 10^{5-17}). In particular, the ordinances which had hitherto obstructed religious intercourse between different peoples, as Israelites and Goyim, had all been done away in Christ (Eph 2^{11-22}; cf. Gal 3^{28}, Col 3^{11}). In Him circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision nothing (Gal 5^{6} 6^{15}, 1 Co 7^{19}). Hence St. Paul, a Jew, can become as a Gentile to the Gentiles (1 Co 9^{21}), just as St. Peter and other Jewish Christians had done in Antioch (Gal 2^{12-14}). In the religious sense, *i.e.* as regards salvation, the Jewish Christians too were now free from the Law.

On the other hand, however, the Apostle also affirms the permanence of the Law. The imperative of the Law remains valid not only because it still retains its juridical authority over non-believers, but also because it furnishes the ethical standard of the Christian life generally, and of the religious life of Jewish Christians in a special degree. Thus the idea of a 'tertius usus legis,' of which the Reformers spoke, corresponds exactly to the Pauline view. Not only does St. Paul regard the all-embracing requirement of the Law—the commandment of love—as a permanent expression of the Divine will (Ro 13^{8-10}, Gal 5^{14}), but he also borrows moral precepts and rules of discipline from the Mosaic legislation (see art. COMMANDMENT). He is confident, no doubt, that the Spirit supplies not only moral power but also moral insight (Gal 5^{16}; cf. Ro 12^{2}); but the Spirit does not operate only in the individual soul, but operates also, and mainly, through prophecy and through the written Law, which indeed is spiritual (Ro 7^{14}), and must therefore be spiritually understood (cf. *e.g.* 1 Co 9^{8-10}).

Here we undoubtedly light upon a difficulty in the Pauline view. On the one hand, the Apostle incisively challenges the Judaistic claim to impose the ordinances of the Law upon the Gentiles, while, on the other, he upholds the authority of the Law under the term 'Scripture.' The latter contention might readily lead to a new kind of legalism, and has frequently in some measure done so. St. Paul himself, however, rejected this inference, and even suggested a rule for the spiritual application of the Law, viz. in his doctrine of the Law as having a typological or allegorical significance for Christianity; cf. Col $2^{16f.}$, where he says that the ordinances relating to foods, feast-days, etc., are only prefiguring shadows of the reality, which is Christ, just as the circumcision of the flesh has found its true fulfilment in Christian baptism (v.$^{11f.}$).

In connexion with this problem we must also consider the peculiar relation of the Jewish Christians to the Law. According both to Acts and to the Pauline Epistles, the Apostle maintained that the Law had a peculiar binding force upon Christians belonging to the race of Israel. As regards Acts, we need refer only to 21^{21-26} 16^{3} 18^{18}. When St. James spoke to St. Paul of the rumour that he taught the Diaspora to forsake Moses, St. Paul promptly gave the required practical evidence for the falsity of the report, and for his own allegiance to the Law ($21^{21ff.}$). He even circumcised Timothy, a semi-Gentile (16^{3}). According to his own Epistles, again, he was to the Jews as a Jew (1 Co 9^{19}), and he counsels the Jewish members of the Church in Corinth not to undo their circumcision (7^{18}), since every man should remain in the condition in which he was called (v.^{20}). In Gal 5^{3} he solemnly declares that every one who receives circumcision is under obligation to keep the whole Law—an assertion designed to traverse the foolish idea which the Judaizers had tried to insinuate into the minds of the Galatians, viz. that circumcision was a matter of no great importance. This declaration, no doubt, was made from the standpoint of those who believed that justification was to be obtained by the works of the Law. At all events, where higher issues are at stake, the Apostle assumes that he is absolved from the strict letter of the Law, as, *e.g.*, for the sake of brotherly intercourse with the Gentile Christians (cf. 1 Co 9^{21} with Gal 2^{12-14}). There is another fact that points in the same direction. In Ro 11 St. Paul asserts that the Chosen People are to occupy a permanently distinct position in the Divine process of history. But the persistence of the distinctively religious character of Israel would seem to involve their permanent retention of circumcision and the Law.* How such segregation is to be effected and maintained in mixed communities without violating full religious fellowship is a problem with which missions to the Jews are still greatly concerned; cf., *e.g.*, the relation between the Sabbath and Sunday. But it is implied in the whole tenor of Pauline teaching that in such conflicts the principle of freedom shall in the last resort prevail. For, as has already been said, all the commandments are comprehended in the law of love, and rites and ceremonies, such as circumcision, purifications, and observance of the Sabbath, are but shadows of the reality that we have in Christ. In relation to God circumcision is in itself of no value. Hence, when St. Paul asserts that it is the doers of the Law who will be declared righteous in the Day of Judgment (Ro 2^{13}), he is thinking, as the context shows, not of an external obedience, a performance of the law 'in the flesh,' but of a circumcision of the heart and of a moral righteousness (cf. $2^{14f.\ 25-29}$).

(*e*) *Survey.*—When we survey the Pauline doctrine of the Law as a whole, we see that it is quite wrong to attribute to the Apostle any form of antinomianism. Of the operation and purpose of the Law he doubtless uses language which could not but have a decidedly antinomian sound to the ears of a Jewish Christian. When he speaks of the Law as a power that stimulates sin and brings about death, and of the ministration mediated by

* Cf. on this point generally, A. Harnack, *Neue Untersuchungen zur Apostelgeschichte*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 21 ff.

Moses as a ministration of condemnation (2 Co 3[6-11]), one involuntarily asks how such utterances can be reconciled with the praise of, and the delight in, the Law which we find, *e.g.*, in the Psalms (cf. Ps 19[8ff.] 40[9] 119 *passim*). And how does his description of the period between Moses and Christ as a time during which there was no faith and the people groaned under the yoke of the Law (Gal 3[19-25]) harmonize with the OT?

As regards the latter question, the Apostle does not of course mean to deny that faith was a power among God's people after Moses as well as before him. He is quite assured that, besides the Mosaic legislation, Israel had also the adoption, the covenants, the Temple service, and the promises (Ro 9[4]), that it was the people of hope (Eph 2[12]), and that in a sense Christ was with it (1 Co 10[4. 9]), just as in the wilderness wanderings the people received prototypes of the Christian sacraments (vv.[2-4]), and in their sacrificial worship prototypes of the sacrifice of Christ (5[7]; cf. Eph 5[2]). As a matter of fact, St. Paul saw in the OT dispensation in general, as recorded in the Scriptures, a typical prefiguration of the NT dispensation (cf. 1 Co 10[6.11], Ro 15[4], Col 2[17]). And, although he speaks of the NT salvation in its universal application as having been a Divine mystery until its manifestation in Jesus Christ (Ro 16[25f.], Eph 1[9] 3[5. 9], Col 1[26]), yet he regards it as having been foreshown in the prophetic writings (Ro 1[2] 3[21] 16[26]). Hence the people of the Law cannot have been wholly without faith, and thus what St. Paul means in Gal 3[23] is simply that Christian faith as the one exclusive principle of righteousness was not revealed until Christ came.

In the OT, doubtless, the supreme principle was the Law. Yet the Law did not operate in a vacuum; devout Israelites always saw it against the background of grace. Every expression of delight in the Law presupposes faith in the gracious and merciful God who 'passes over transgression.' Moreover, the Law was not as yet recognized in all its depth and rigour; in reality, the people lived in a spiritual environment of mingled Law and grace. Such a state of matters, however, could not be permanently borne. The two elements necessarily tended to disengage and separate themselves from each other. In Pharisaic Judaism the principle of the Law moved ever further apart from the principle of grace, and the Law itself came to be regarded more and more as a legal contract by which performance and recompense were rigidly adjusted to each other. The religious untenability of such a position could remain unrecognized only so long as the Law was understood in a purely external sense. But as soon as it came to be interpreted in that profound inner sense which Jesus indicated, it necessarily became obvious that legalism could only lead to despair, and that there could be no other principle of salvation than grace. The Judaizers, the opponents of St. Paul who started from Pharisaism, were legalists in their way of thought, conceiving of grace—and faith—as in a proper sense merely supplementary to an imperfect fulfilment of the Law; in other words, they regarded Christianity as only a perfected Judaism. St. Paul, on the other hand, although his starting-point too was Pharisaic legalism, combined therewith that inward interpretation of the Law which Jesus had instituted, and saw that the question at issue was not that of a synthesis of Law and faith, but simply that of a choice between the two, *i.e.* between Judaism as a religion of Law and Christianity as the religion of grace. If we are to estimate aright his utterances regarding the function of the Law, we must always bear in mind that they have a polemical setting, and that he is speaking of the Mosaic legislation and the Old Covenant not in their historical conditions, but in their character as principles. This explains the apparent bias of his statements regarding the Law.

Taken as a whole, however, St. Paul's doctrine of the Law does not issue from a belief that the miserable state of mankind is due to the Law in itself, and that accordingly God had abolished the Law, and set grace in its stead. The Apostle's view is rather that human wretchedness arises from the sinful flesh, and from the Law only in so far as it is made impotent by the flesh (Ro 8[3]), and so intensifies the misery of sin. Thus the work of Christ was to dissolve the immemorial connexion between these two powers—law and sin—on the one side, and man on the other. But what the work of Christ is in the last resort designed to secure is that the ideal demand of the Law shall be fulfilled (Ro 8[4]). The essential purport of the Pauline doctrine has been aptly expressed by Augustine in the words: 'The Law is given that Grace may be sought; Grace is given that the Law may be fulfilled.'

5. The Law in the Epistle to the Hebrews.—Paulinism was fully vindicated by the historical development that took place on the soil of Judaism. Not only did the Jews of the Dia-spora harden their hearts more and more against the Pauline Christian mission, but those resident in Palestine, notwithstanding the conservative attitude of the mother Church towards the Law, became ever the more hostile to Christianity. In the sixth decade of the 1st cent. the antagonism developed into open persecution, and James the Just fell a victim to it. The Christians in Jerusalem, and in Palestine generally, were thus brought to a point where they had to choose between their affection for their fathers' religion and their confession of Jesus; in particular, their connexion with the fellowship of the synagogue and their participation in the Temple service were involved, and these at last could be retained only at the price of their cursing the name of Jesus. Such is obviously the situation presupposed in the Epistle to the Hebrews. In the opinion of the present writer, this Epistle can have been addressed only to Jewish Christians in Palestine who were tempted by their passionate attachment to their old religion to apostatize from Christ. The author of the Epistle will therefore exhibit the pre-eminence of the NT revelation and the NT priesthood. The essential core of the Epistle is its portrayal of Jesus as the Melchizedek high priest. Inasmuch as such a high priest has been installed, the old legal priesthood — the Aaronic—is *eo ipso* brought to an end. But, if the priesthood is changed, the change must necessarily also affect the Law (He 7[12]). The ancient commandment is annulled because of its weak and unprofitable character—'for the law made nothing perfect' (*οὐδὲν ἐτελείωσεν*, v.[19]). Hebrews no doubt looks at the Mosaic Law mainly under the aspect of the priestly and sacrificial legislation, but its view comes to embrace the Old Covenant as a whole (8), in the place of which, as foretold by Jeremiah, God has instituted a New Covenant, writing His law upon the minds and hearts of men, entering into immediate fellowship with them, and forgiving their sins (8[7-13] 10[16]). The weakness of the Old Covenant really lay in the external nature of its institutions. Its oblations were carnal, and could not purge the conscience, and thus required to be continually repeated, just as, again, the priests themselves were mortal, and in turn gave place to others. Likewise the sanctuary was merely of this world, merely a copy of the true sanctuary in heaven, just as the benefits of the Old Covenant were of an earthly nature—a shadow of heavenly benefits to come (8–10). The leading idea of Hebrews, accordingly, is not so

much that the Law is a tutor until Christ comes (see above, 4 (*b*)) as that it is an imperfect and now obsolete institution which Christians may therefore tranquilly leave behind.

Compared with St. Paul's doctrine of the Law, that of Hebrews is more restrained in so far as it attaches greater importance to the connexion between the Old Covenant and the New, *i.e.* that it more strongly emphasizes the typological character of the Law, and that it regards the OT faith as being more akin to that of the NT; or, to put it otherwise, it insists more upon the aspect of hope even in the NT faith (11^1-12^3). Again, however, the view of Hebrews is more radical than that of St. Paul in so far as it is of a more spiritual stamp (cf., *e.g.*, the expression in 9^{10}: 'only . . . carnal ordinances,' *μόνον δικαιώματα σαρκός*) — a feature connected with the fact that the author has in view mainly the ritual law. As a whole, the Epistle stands upon a basis of Paulinism, but it also bears the impress of the Alexandrian spiritualistic philosophy. The attitude of the author to the Jewish Christian problem in the narrower sense—as, *e.g.*, the retention of circumcision and the Sabbath—cannot be directly inferred from the Epistle, but, if we may argue from his general standpoint, he must have regarded all such matters simply as *adiaphora*. The Epistle as a whole may be described as an appeal to the Jewish Christians to abandon Judaism without misgiving, since Christians have here no abiding city (Jerusalem), but seek the city which is to come (13^{14}). The subsequent destruction of the Temple was the best illustration of that appeal.

6. The Law in the Johannine writings.—Echoes of the controversy about the Law may no doubt still be heard in the Johannine writings, but the question is no longer a living one. Paulinism had by this time fought to an end the decisive battle with Judaism, and the great catastrophe of A.D. 70 had exercised a liberating influence on Jewish Christianity. It is true that, of the Johannine writings, Revelation may have been written in the decade preceding the Fall of Jerusalem, but, though in the Epistles to the Seven Churches (2. 3) the influence of the Apostolic Decree is probably still traceable (cf. $2^{20ff.}$ with $2^{4.\ 14}$ and Ac 15^{28}), yet the idea of the Law plays no part in the book. The Apocalypse no doubt attaches special importance to the 'commandments of God,' repeatedly enjoining their observance (12^{17} 14^{12} 22^{14}), and, similarly, great stress is laid upon the works of believers, since in the Judgment men are to be recompensed according to their works (2^{23} $20^{12f.}$ 22^{12}; cf. 14^{13}), while in five (RV; AV all) of the seven letters the direct address opens with the words, 'I know thy works' ($2^{2.\ 19}$ $3^{1.\ 8.\ 15}$). The works referred to, however, are in no sense the 'works of the Law,' but rather ordinary Christian actions, or Christian virtues; cf. the details of the letters and the lists of vices in $21^{8.\ 27}$ 22^{15}. Nor, again, are the 'commandments of God' to be identified with the commandments of Moses. On the contrary, the peculiar way in which they are linked with the 'testimony,' or the 'faith of Jesus,' seems to indicate that the expression does not differ essentially in meaning from the phrase 'the word of God' occurring in a like connexion, and that it finds its explanation in 1 John, in which faith in the name of Jesus and brotherly love are represented as the two chief commandments of God (cf. Rev 1^9 12^{17} 14^2 with 1 Jn 3^{23} $4^{15f.}$ 5^{1-5}).

That the general religious attitude of Revelation is Jewish Christian may probably be inferred from such passages as 11^2 20^9 21^{12} and 7^{1-8}. But this does not imply that the work has a particularistic or an anti-Pauline standpoint; the truth is, rather, that the book presupposes throughout the universality of salvation (cf. 5^9 7^9 [21^{24-26}]), just as, conversely, it says that the unbelieving Jews are not Jews but 'a synagogue of Satan' (2^9 3^9). And when (in 2^{24}) the Lord assures believers that He will cast upon them no other burden than abstinence from things sacrificed to idols and from fornication (cf. $2^{14f.\ 20}$), we are reminded, as indicated above, of the ordinances of the Apostolic Decree for the Gentile Christians. The word 'law' (*νόμος*), however, does not occur in the book.

In the First Epistle of John—as in the Second and Third as well—we find no special reference to the Law. In the First Epistle an error is assailed which lies quite outside the question as to the validity of the Mosaic Law, viz. an ethical indifferentism which, side by side with a Docetic Christology, had apparently assumed a Gnostic complexion. When John, after a warning against being led astray, declares with emphasis that 'he (only) that doeth righteousness is righteous,' and that 'he that doeth sin is of the devil' ($3^{7f.}$), he probably has in view some misapplication of the Pauline teaching on righteousness. There is nothing in the Epistle which points directly to antinomian tendencies, but something of that nature seems to be hinted at in the closing admonition against 'the idols' (5^{21}), which would appear to point to the evils mentioned in Rev $2^{14f.\ 20}$. On the positive side, the exhortations of the Epistle are directed towards the true faith and towards walking in brotherly love; 'to walk in the light' consists in brotherly love (cf. 2^{9-11} $3^{11ff.}$ 4. 5). St. John's well-known definition of sin as 'transgression of the law,' 'lawlessness' (*ἀνομία* [1 Jn 3^4]), might seem to be of special interest for our present subject, but he does not further develop the thought, which is apparently only of a subsidiary character, to be compared with the references to the requirements of the Law with which on occasion St. Paul supports his admonitions (cf. Gal 5^{14}, Ro 13^{8-10}).

Finally, the Gospel of St. John shows its remoteness from the ecclesiastical conflict regarding the Law by the subordinate place which the idea of the *νόμος* occupies in it. This probably finds expression in the significant verse of the Prologue (1^{17}) in which St. John compares the Old and the New Dispensation: 'the law was given through Moses; grace and truth came through Jesus Christ.' The antithesis of law and grace is genuinely Pauline; that of law and truth reminds us above all of the Epistle to the Hebrews: the Law was only an imperfect revelation of the nature of God, which has at length been declared by the only begotten Son (Jn 1^{18}), 'full of grace and truth' (v.^{14}). Moreover, the references to the Law in the body of the Gospel are not so much meant, as in Mt., to interpret its requirements; here, in fact, the Law, or the Scripture, is adduced rather for purposes of argument (cf. $5^{39.\ 45-47}$ with 7^{19-24} $10^{34f.}$ ['your law'=Scripture, Ps 82^6]; cf. 12^{34} ['the law' =Ps 110^4, Is 9^7, Dn 7^{14}]). It is true that the law of the Sabbath is referred to in a special way, inasmuch as Jesus was on two occasions charged with violating the day, and vindicated His action ($5^{9b-13.\ 16-18}$ 7^{22-24}; cf. $9^{14ff.}$) by appealing to the example of God His Father, who 'worketh even until now' (5^{17}), and to the practice of circumcising on the Sabbath (7^{22}). A passage like $7^{19ff.}$, however, and still more decidedly 10^{34} ('in your law'), seems to indicate a certain detachment from the standpoint of the Law generally. And the superiority of the Christian point of view, as contrasted with the Law, or with the legal worship, finds expression above all in the great utterance of Jesus regarding the true worship ($4^{21.\ 24}$): 'the hour cometh when neither in this mountain nor in Jerusalem shall ye worship the Father. . . . God is spirit: and they

that worship him must worship in spirit and truth.' The ethic of St. John's Gospel is most impressively brought to a focus in the new commandment of brotherly love (13[34] 15[12. 13. 17]). While the discourses of Jesus in the first part of the Gospel, in which He addresses the people ('the world'), demand faith in His name, those in the second part (13–17), where He speaks to the disciples (those who have that faith, believers), all converge in the commandment of mutual love; here, accordingly, we have the same two-fold requirement which we found so simply expressed in the First Epistle of John (3[23]). In the Gospel, no doubt, Jesus speaks not only of His commandment, but also of His commandments; by these, however, He must have meant, not the commandments of the OT, but in all likelihood simply the special aspects of the law of love.

1 John tends to set faith and love side by side (cf. Rev 14[12]: faith and the 'commandments of God'), and the Fourth Gospel shows the same collocation. In this point, accordingly, St. John differs from St. Paul, who indicated the subordination of love to faith in the phrase 'faith working through love' (Gal 5[6]). In point of fact, however, St. John too has recognized the dependence of love upon faith, since, as just indicated, the first part of his Gospel is occupied with the preaching of faith (1–12), while in the second part (13 ff.) brotherly love is regarded as being based upon the true foundation of discipleship, *i.e.* upon faith. Through faith comes life in the name of Jesus Christ (20[31]; cf. 1 Jn 5[13]). No room is left, therefore, for legal merit or self-righteousness. Thus St. John homologates the Pauline conception of the gospel, but expresses his view in a manner much more simple, and therefore less precise.

7. The Law in the sub-apostolic writings.—In the post-apostolic writings of the 1st cent. the Law, as signifying the Mosaic legislation, plays no part at all. In the so-called *First Epistle of Clement* the term occurs but once (i. 3), and there in the plural form: 'Ye walked in the laws of God'—an utterance which, both according to the context and in view of the persons addressed (Gentile Christians in Corinth), can have no reference to the OT Law in the specific sense. It was in the writings of the Apostolic Fathers of the 2nd cent.—as, *e.g.*, the *Shepherd of Hermas* and the *Epistle of Barnabas*—that Christianity came to be regarded as 'the new Law.' Barnabas says that God abolished the Jewish sacrifices in order that the new Law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of compulsion, should involve no sacrificial gift, as that is but the work of man (ii. 6)—an idea that partly recalls St. James's phrase, 'the perfect law of liberty' (Ja 1[25]; cf. 2[12]). Hermas, again, speaks of Christ as the one who gave to the people (of God) the Law that He received from His Father, but also as the one who is Himself the Law; the Law is the Son of God, who was preached to the ends of the earth (*Sim.* viii. 3. 2)—*i.e.* the gospel has taken the place of the ancient Law, or, otherwise expressed, Christ in His example and His commandments has been constituted the sole moral authority of Christians. What distinguishes this sub-apostolic view from that of St. Paul, however, is that the idea of 'the new Law' not only verbally but also materially implies a moralism that was quite foreign to the Apostolic Age, inasmuch as the idea of Law has coloured the conception of the gospel.

When the strain between Law and gospel had at length been relieved, legalism gradually once more found its way indirectly into the Church. We can already trace the process in the Ancient Catholic Church, and still more distinctly in the Mediæval Church. At the Reformation, however, the primitive-Christian, Pauline solution of the problem of the Law was vindicated once more, and legalism and antinomianism were alike surmounted. The theology of the Reformation, in its interpretation of grace and faith, showed, with St. Paul as its guide, not only that, but also how, the Christian is constrained to do good works, and thus fulfil the Law of God (*Augsburg Confession* [1530], xx. 36, 'Apol.' [1531] iii. 15).

LITERATURE.—The text-books of NT Theology by B. Weiss (Eng. tr. of 3rd ed., Edinburgh, 1882–83), H. J. Holtzmann (²Tübingen, 1911), A. Schlatter (Calw, 1909–10), P. Feine (Leipzig, 1910), H. Weinel (Tübingen, 1911); C. v. Weizsäcker, *Das apostolische Zeitalter der christlichen Kirche*², Freiburg, 1892 (*passim*); E. Grafe, *Die paulinische Lehre vom Gesetz nach den vier Hauptbriefen*, do. 1893; Lyder Brun, *Paulus's lære om loven*, Christiania, 1894; A. Zahn, *Das Gesetz Gottes nach der Lehre und der Erfahrung des Apostel Paulus*², Halle, 1892; P. Feine, *Das gesetzesfreie Evangelium des Paulus*, Leipzig, 1899; G. B. Stevens, *Theology of the NT*, 1899, p. 17; A. E. Garvie, *Studies of Paul and his Gospel*, 1911, p. 192; E. P. Gould, *Biblical Theology of the NT*, 1900, p. 27. See also the accounts of Paulinism by E. Renan (Eng. tr., London, 1869), F. W. Farrar (do. 1879), O. Pfleiderer (Leipzig, 1873, Eng. tr., London, 1877), A. Sabatier (³Paris, 1896, Eng. tr.⁶, London, 1906), and treatises on the subject of 'Jesus and St. Paul.'

OLAF MOE.

LAWYER.—In Israel the activities of the lawyer were limited by the Torah, or Law of Moses. His functions were three-fold: to study and interpret the Law (and the traditions arising from it), to hand it down by teaching, and to apply it in the Courts of Justice. The lawyers played an important part in the proceedings of the Sanhedrin, not only voting, but also speaking, if they saw fit, on either side of a case, though in criminal charges solely on behalf of the accused (Mishn. *Sanhedrin*, iv. 1). The Roman lawyers were more secular in their interests, and applied themselves more directly to the practical aspects of jurisprudence. Their work in the law-courts covered a wide range. The most general representative of law was the *cognitor*, or attorney, whose place (in Gaius's time) was partially filled by the *procurator litis*, or legal agent; but in court the case was pleaded by the *patronus* or *orator*, the skilled counsel of whom Cicero is so illustrious an example, often assisted by the *advocatus*, or legal adviser. The opinion of *jurisconsulti*, or professional students of law, could also be laid before the judges. See TRIAL-AT-LAW.

In the NT lawyers appear as νομικοί, 'jurists' (freq. in Lk., but elsewhere only in Mt 22[35] and Tit 3[13]), or νομοδιδάσκαλοι, 'doctors of the law' (only in Lk 5[17], Ac 5[34], and 1 Ti 1[7]); but they are clearly identical with the γραμματεῖς, 'scribes,' who are mentioned so often in the Gospels and Acts. These lawyers are all of the Jewish type. The Roman lawyer appears, however, in the ῥήτωρ or 'orator' Tertullus, who pleaded the cause of St. Paul's prosecutors before the Roman governor Felix (Ac 24[1ff.])—in order, no doubt, that the proper technicalities might be observed, and the case presented in the way most likely to win over the trained Roman mind. See TERTULLUS.

LITERATURE.—On Jewish lawyers cf. D. Eaton in *HDB* iii. 83 ff., with references; and on Roman jurists and orators see A. H. J. Greenidge, *Legal Procedure of Cicero's Time*, 1901, p. 148 ff.; H. J. Roby, *Roman Private Law in the Times of Cicero and of the Antonines*, 1902, ii. 407 ff.; and other authorities cited in art. TRIAL-AT-LAW.

A. R. GORDON.

LAYING ON OF HANDS.—See ORDINATION.

LEAVEN (from *levare*, 'to raise'; ζύμη, ζυμοῦν; *fermentum*).—Leaven is a substance which produces fermentation, especially in the making of bread. It is properly a piece of already fermented dough, which is mixed with other dough in order to repeat the process. In the warm climate of Syria the fermentation is completed in 24 hours. The commandment against the use of raised bread during

the Passover week (Ex 12^{17} 13^{7}, etc.) was no doubt a survival from Israel's nomadic period, when (as among the nomads of to-day) all bread was unleavened. Fermentation was supposed to represent the process of corruption in the mass of the bread—an idea found in Plutarch, who says: 'Now leaven is itself the offspring of corruption, and corrupts the mass (τὸ φύραμα) with which it is mixed' (*Quæs. Rom.* 109). Bread with the taint of putrefaction was regarded as unfit for use in religious ceremonies (see W. R. Smith, *RS*^{2}, 1894, p. 220). On the eve of the first day of the Passover—the 14th Nisan—the Jews, in accordance with their immemorial custom, still carefully remove every trace of leaven which can be found in their houses. Fresh dough kneaded with pure water is used in the preparation of the cakes of unleavened bread which are to be eaten during the holy week.

As a figure of speech, 'leaven' is applied to any element, influence, or agency which effects a subtle and secret change either for the better or for the worse. On the one hand, the Kingdom of Heaven is a leaven which is destined to penetrate, and assimilate to itself, the whole of humanity (Mt 13^{33}, Lk $13^{20f.}$). On the other, even an apparently insignificant sin, if tolerated and unchecked in a community, has great power of corruption, and St. Paul twice quotes the popular saying, 'A little leaven leavens the whole lump' (ὅλον τὸ φύραμα, 1 Co 5^{6}, Gal 5^{9}). The followers of Christ are already unleavened (ἄζυμοι); virtually and ideally—in the purpose of God and in their own passionate desire—they are completely purged from the leaven of iniquity; but the ideal has still to be realized. They are therefore exhorted to set about and carry through their Passover cleansing of the soul—to rid themselves of all infected and infectious remains of their pre-Christian state—that they may keep not a seven-days' but a life-long feast with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth (1 Co 5^{6-8}).

JAMES STRAHAN.

LEAVES.—See TREE OF LIFE.

LEOPARD (πάρδαλις).—The Greek word seems to have been used indiscriminately by the classical writers to designate 'leopard,' 'panther,' or 'ounce.' The only NT reference to the 'leopard' is in Rev 13^{2}, where it occurs in the description of 'the Wild Beast from the sea'—'the beast which I saw was like unto a leopard.' The concrete reality, of which the Wild Beast was the abstract emblem, was of course the Roman Empire. To the mind of the Seer, the attitude adopted by Rome towards the early Christian Church was that of a leopard. She exhibited the same agility (cf. Hab 1^{8}) and cunning (cf. Hos 13^{7}), as well as the same ruthless cruelty, as that much-dreaded inhabitant of Palestine and the East.

The leopard (*Felis pardus*, Arab. *nimr*, Heb. *nāmēr*) is still found round the Dead Sea, in Gilead and Bashan, and also occasionally in Lebanon and the wooded districts of the west; but, judging from the numerous allusions in the OT and the occurrence of the word in place-names (*e.g.* 'Beth-Nimrah' or 'Nimrah'), it is reasonable to suppose that it was more common in early times. It usually lurks near wells or watering-places (cf. 'waters of Nimrim,' Is 15^{6}, Jer 48^{34}), and in the outskirts of villages (cf. Jer 5^{6}), to pounce at night upon cattle and dogs. The beautifully spotted skins are often sold in the markets and are used as rugs and saddle-covers, while sometimes they are worn as an article of clothing.

The *Felis pardus* is found over the whole of Africa, S. Asia, China, Japan, and the islands of the Malay Archipelago.

Another animal of the leopard tribe, the well-known cheeta or hunting-leopard of India (*Felis jubatus*), is sometimes found in the hills of Galilee and in the neighbourhood of Tabor, but its occurrence is rare. It is much tamer than the *Felis pardus*, and in India it is often domesticated and kept for hunting antelopes and other animals.

LITERATURE.—H. B. Tristram, *SWP* vii. (1884), p. 18 f., *The Natural History of the Bible*^{10}, 1911, pp. 111–114; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*^{2}, 1907, p. 162; *SDB* 540 f.; *HDB* iii. 95; *EBi* iii. 2762 f.; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1864, p. 444 f.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

LETTER.—The distinction between the 'true letter' and the 'epistle' was dealt with in the art. EPISTLE. In the Christian literature of the Apostolic Age till the end of the 1st cent. we have, besides Ac 15^{23-29} and 23^{25-30}, sixteen letters in the proper sense of the term—viz. the ten Epistles of St. Paul that may reasonably be regarded as authentic; the three Pastoral Epistles, which, if authentic, are undoubtedly real letters, and, if spurious, are at all events based upon genuine letters from the Apostle's hand; the Second and Third Epistles of St. John, both of which could at once be characterized rather as something like short private missives; and, finally, the First Epistle of Clement. Of the genuine Pauline letters, Romans comes nearest in character to the 'epistle,' though the fact that it is less personal and intimate in its tone and more suggestive of the treatise is quite well accounted for by certain psychological considerations—as, *e.g.*, that the writer was not personally known to the community which he was addressing; we should not therefore be justified in saying that the letter-form is a mere artifice. On the other hand, the so-called First Epistle of Clement, which is written in the name of one entire community to another, is a peculiar composite of 'letter' and 'epistle'; it was certainly meant to be a true letter, arising out of the actual circumstances of the writer's own church at Rome, and having in view the actual circumstances of the church in Corinth, but it is quite clear that Clement was working upon a tradition of Christian letters and epistles, so that—especially in regard to the length of his message—he does not altogether succeed in maintaining the characteristics of a true letter. The Christian writers of the Apostolic Age, in fact, had not yet become proficient in such literary forms as the treatise, the dialogue, or the controversial pamphlet, and this explains why they had recourse to the letter as the simplest literary vehicle, and yet at the same time burst the trammels of its form. A comparison of the true letters of the Apostolic Age with true letters from approximately the same period of the heathen world shows that, while the similarities in style and diction are manifold and by no means insignificant, yet the former class display a very remarkable independence in their use of the traditional form.

LITERATURE.—Cf. the works cited in art. EPISTLE; on the true letters of the ancients cf. esp. L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken, *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde*, 2 vols., Leipzig, 1912; also H. Lietzmann, *Griechische Papyri*^{2}, Bonn, 1910; G. A. Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*^{2}, 1909 (Eng. tr.^{2}, 1911), and the well-known edd. of Oxyrhynchus papyri, etc. On 'true letters' from the Christian sphere, cf. the present writer's *Gesch. der altchristl. Literatur*, Leipzig, 1911.

H. JORDAN.

LEVI.—See TRIBES, PRIEST, AARON.

LEVITE.—According to the view represented in the OT by the so-called 'Priests' Code,' the Levites were originally the clan whose members were qualified for the priestly office. In the course of time a distinction arose, and the Levites became the principal attendants upon the priests, entrusted with minor sacerdotal duties but not competent to

succeed to the full status. In the NT, outside the Gospels, the term occurs but once or twice. Barnabas of Cyprus, where there were numerous Jews and Christians (1 Mac 15^{23}, Ac 11^{19}), was a landowner, though a Levite (Ac 4^{36}), the old ordinance (Nu 18^{24}) against the possession of real estate having long before fallen into abeyance, and probably having never been meant to apply to land outside Palestine. In He 7^{11} the writer coins a word to enable him to write of 'the Levitical priesthood,' as though the hallowing of the tribe were concentrated in 'the order of Aaron' (so Westcott, *ad loc.*), or with a view to indicating the provisional character of all parts of the earlier sacrificial service and not merely of its central acts. The priestly tribe with all its privileges passes away; and another—the royal tribe (He 7^{14})—yields Him who is able really to save, and to 'save to the uttermost' (7^{25}). In later times an assumed parallel between the historical and the true Israel was pushed, until the relation of deacons to bishops and presbyters was based upon that of Levites to priests. The theory has proved useful since the days of Cyprian, and may conceivably have originated in some of the Ebionitic Christian communities of our period; but the functions of the two classes, Levites and deacons, were quite distinct, and any analogy between them is artificial and an afterthought.

R. W. Moss.

LEWD, LEWDNESS (Ac 17^{5} 18^{14}).—The English word occurs twice in the NT, once as an adjective (Gr. *πονηρός*, Ac 17^{5}) and once as a substantive (*ῥᾳδιούργημα*, Ac 18^{14}). In neither of these cases has it anything to do with sexual passion—the sense in which the word is now used; it just means 'vulgar,' 'worthless.'

1. Ac 17^{5}.—The word *πονηρός* (AV 'lewd,' RV 'vile') is used to characterize the *ἀγόραιοι* or loafers in the market-place whom the unbelieving Jews in Thessalonica incited to an act of popular insurrection against St. Paul. They were so far successful as to prevail on the politarchs to exact bail from Jason for peaceful behaviour, with the consequence that St. Paul and Silas had to escape to Berœa by night.

'Owing to the dishonour in which manual pursuits were held in ancient days, every large city had a superfluous population of worthless idlers—clients who lived on the doles of the wealthy, flatterers who fawned at the feet of the influential, the lazzaroni of streets, mere loafers and loiterers, the hangers-on of forum, the claqueurs of law-courts, the scum that gathered about the shallowest outmost waves of civilisation' (F. W. Farrar, *St. Paul*, 1883, p. 370).

This class is well described by the adjective *πονηρός*. Aristotle distinguishes the wicked man (*πονηρός*) from the *ἀκρατής*, the weak man who sins though he does not mean to do so and who is unrighteous without premeditation (*Eth. Nic.* vii. 10). The wicked man sins with the full consent of his will. He is positively malignant and injurious to others. Nearly akin in meaning are *φαῦλος* and *κακός*, but as Trench says (*NT Synonyms*[8], p. 304), in *πονηρός* 'the positive activity of evil comes far more decidedly out than in *κακός*.' Perhaps Knox's phrase—'the rascal multitude'—is as accurate a translation as we can get.

While the *χρηστός* is one who diligently follows his occupation and maintains himself by lawful work, the *πονηρός* or *κακός* indicates the man who is wicked in behaviour or in character. The words, however, in Greek are often used with the same latitude as we allow ourselves in English, when we use similar terms. The ordinary speech of the NT is not logically exact.

W. M. Ramsay discusses the question whether the reference to Satan in 1 Th 2^{18}—'and Satan hindered us (from coming)'—is to be taken as referring to the hostility of the multitude. He concludes, however, that the reference is to the attitude of the politarchs, who, by exacting security for good behaviour from Jason, prevented the return of St. Paul to the city (*St. Paul the Traveller*, 1895, p. 230 f.).

Wetstein supplies parallels which throw light on the class denoted by *ἀγόραιοι* (*in loco*).

2. Ac 18^{14}.—Here the word 'lewdness' translates the Greek *ῥᾳδιούργημα*. The RV has 'villainy.' The word is associated with *ἀδίκημα*. The usual distinction between them is said to be that *ἀδίκημα* refers to illegality—something done contrary to the laws—whereas *ῥᾳδιούργημα* indicates moral delinquency. The distinction is probably to be maintained here, as Gallio is speaking judicially with reference to a definite charge. St. Paul is guilty neither of the one nor of the other, but according to Gallio the question is a mere dispute about words—a Jewish squabble.

ῥᾳδιούργημα occurs only here in the NT, nor is it found in the classics or in the LXX, but it occurs in Plutarch, *Pyrrh.* 6, and the allied term *ῥᾳδιουργία* occurs in Ac 13^{10} of Elymas. The latter word occurs in papyri in the sense of 'theft' (see J. H. Moulton and George Milligan in *Expositor*, 8th ser. i. [1911] 477). It is not likely, however, that the term in Ac 18^{14} is used in this restricted sense.

Literature.—J. R. Lumby, *The Acts of the Apostles* (Cambridge Bible, 1886), p. 217; *HDB*, art. 'Lewdness'; R. J. Knowling, in *EGT*, 'The Acts of the Apostles,' 1900, *in loco.* (where literature is given); T. E. Page, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1900, p. 201; Grimm-Thayer, *Lexicon*, *s.v.* *ῥᾳδιούργημα*; E. Hatch, *Essays in Biblical Greek*, 1889, pp. 77–82; T. K. Abbott, *Essays*, 1891, p. 97; R. C. Trench, *Synonyms of the NT*[9], 1876, p. 36 ff.

Donald Mackenzie.

LIBERTINES.—Both the construction and the contents of Ac 6^{9} are difficult. It consists, as Hort says, of 'a long compound phrase,' the Greek of which is 'not smooth and correct on any interpretation' (*Judaistic Christianity*, p. 50). An expositor can, therefore, lay claim to no more than a reasonable probability for his exegesis of the verse. St. Luke's statement is generally believed to have been derived from a written source. Thus, Harnack, although he argues persuasively in favour of St. Luke's having obtained a large part of the knowledge he committed to writing in Ac 1–12 from St. Philip at Cæsarea (cf. Ac $21^{8.\ 9}$), yet thinks that he had a written (Antiochean) source for his narrative of St. Stephen's trial, speech, and death (*The Acts of the Apostles*, pp. 175, 188, 245). And Ramsay, writing on the 'Forms of Classification in Acts' (*Expositor*, 5th ser. ii. 35), explains the exceptional form of the list in Ac 6^{9} as 'due to Luke's being here dependent on an authority whose expression he either transcribed *verbatim* or did not fully understand.' But it appears to the present writer possible that the form of the list is due to its having come to St. Luke in the way of oral communication. Its style may be termed colloquial: it looks as if the narrator were quoting from memory, or reporting the very words of a speaker with whom he had been conversing. May not the speaker have been St. Paul? The mention made of Cilicia in the list is in favour of this conjecture. Was there a synagogue in Jerusalem of which it is more likely that Saul of Tarsus had been a member or a leader than that which Cilician Jews frequented? The Apostle had, in the days of his unbelief, been one of the bitterest opponents of the Christian movement, and the part he had taken in St. Stephen's death was a subject of life-long self-reproach (Ac 22^{20}). The depth of his feeling may have prevented him from referring to this often in preaching or otherwise, but would not have debarred him from doing so in conversation with a trusted friend like St. Luke.

Should this conjecture be well founded, it would help to settle the vexed question of whether five synagogues are specified in the list, or two, or only

one. The present writer agrees with Hort (*loc. cit.*; cf. Swete, *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*, 114) that only one synagogue is mentioned, that of the Libertines, and that the following names are simply descriptive of origin, the members of the synagogue being partly from Cyrene and Alexandria, partly from Cilicia and Proconsular Asia. Possibly St. Stephen and St. Paul both belonged to this synagogue, but of this we cannot be sure.

The synagogue of the Λιβερτῖνοι doubtless consisted, at least in the first instance, of Jews who had been prisoners of war, and had afterwards been set free and admitted to Roman citizenship (Chrysostom, *Hom. on Acts*: οἱ Ῥωμαίων ἀπελεύθεροι). Philo tells us (*Leg. ad Caium*, 23) that most of the Jews of Rome were enfranchised captives, and the passages usually quoted from Tacitus (*Ann.* ii. 85) and Suetonius (*Tiberius*, 36) agree with this. Those freedmen who had returned to Palestine, and their descendants, must have formed a synagogue to which they gave their name, and most probably Jews from other parts of the world came in time to be affiliated to them. Although this statement is not supported by independent historical evidence, it may be regarded as a just inference from the text, when conjoined with other known facts. A large part of the population of Jerusalem consisted of foreign Jews, who had come to reside permanently there, that they might be near the Temple, and might be buried in the land of their fathers. Others came for their education, like St. Paul. Those Jews were most zealous in fulfilling their ritual obligations, and attached themselves to 'the straitest sect' of the Jews of Palestine (Ac 26^5, Gal 1^{14}; cf. Zahn, *Introduction to the NT*, i. 39 f., 60 f.; J. Moffatt in *EBi* iv. 4788; J. Patrick in *HDB* iii. 110). The first accusation brought against our Lord was based upon a misrepresentation of words of His about the Temple (Jn 2^{19}, Mk 14^{58}), and in Ac $6^{13.\ 14}$ $7^{48\text{-}50}$ we see that St. Stephen had not kept off this dangerous ground.

It is uncertain whether we should read τῆς λεγομένης (TR) or τῶν λεγομένων (Tisch.) in Ac 6^9; but, whichever reading be preferred, the sense is not affected. The absence of various readings in the substance of the text bars the way to any attempt to reconstruct it. Certain Armenian VSS and Syriac commentaries seem to have read Λιβύων (cf. the unique NT reference to Libya, Ac 2^{10}), and this paved the way for the most famous conjectural emendation—that of Λιβυστίνων for Λιβερτίνων. J. Rendel Harris, in his art. in the *Expositor*, 6th ser. vi. 378 f., has traced the history of this emendation in an interesting manner from Beza (1559) to Blass (1898). From Beza's *Annotationes* he quotes the following sentence, in which the main difficulty of the text is well stated: 'Neque enim video qua ratione Lucas istos [Libertinos] appellet ex conditione, cæteros vero ex gente ac patria.' Blass, in his *Philology of the Gospels*, 69 f., was not aware that the emendation had been proposed by anyone before himself, and he expressed his certainty that Λιβυστίνων was the true reading. This word, which is used by Catullus (lx. 1, *montibus Libystinis*), would have been quite suitable for designating the towns lying westwards from Cyrene, had it been supported by good MS authority (cf. *EBi* iii. 2793, 2794; *ExpT* ix. 437[b]). The derivation of *Libertini* from a town Libertum in N. Africa is much less plausible, as no town of that name seems to have been known in the 1st century.

Among the older expositors, Bengel (*Gnomon of NT*) strongly maintains that the whole description of Ac 6^9 is that of one flourishing synagogue, composed of Europeans, Africans, and Asiatics, to which Saul belonged. His note is still worth reading.

LITERATURE.—J. A. Bengel, *Gnomon of NT*, ed. Berlin, 1860, p. 287; Th. Beza, *Annotationes*, 1559; Fr. Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, London, 1898, p. 69 f.; *HDB*, art. 'Libertines' (J. Patrick); *EBi*, artt. 'Libertines,' 'Libya' (W. J. Woodhouse), 'Stephen' (J. Moffatt); *Expositor*, 5th ser. ii. [1895] (W. M. Ramsay), 6th ser. vi. [1902] (J. Rendel Harris); *ExpT* ix. [1897-98] 437[b]; Grimm-Thayer[2], 1890, *s.v.* Λιβερτῖνος; A. Harnack, *Luke the Physician*, Eng. tr., London and New York, 1907, p. 153, *The Acts of the Apostles*, Eng. tr., do. 1909, pp. xxxiv, 70, 71 n., 120, 175, 188, 192, 196, 219, 245; F. J. A. Hort, *Judaistic Christianity*, London, 1894, p. 50; H. A. W. Meyer, *Com. on Acts*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1877, i. 173 f.; E. Schürer, *HJP*, Eng. tr., II. ii. [do. 1885] 276; H. B. Swete, *The Appearances of our Lord after the Passion*, London, 1907, p. 114; Th. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1909, i. 39 f., 60 ff.

JAMES DONALD.

LIBERTY.—Liberty (ἐλευθερία) occupies a prominent place in the thought of NT writers and appears in a variety of significations.—

1. In the political sense.—As denoting the status of a free citizen and in direct contrast with the state of slavery, the word figures in one of the great dichotomies used by the apostolic writers in classifying men from the standpoint of their age (Col 3^{11}—'bondman, freeman'). We have no means of knowing even approximately in what proportions the churches of the apostolic and subapostolic times were made up of freemen and of slaves. Everything certainly goes to show that many of the latter class became Christians; in all probability, too, they usually formed the majority. It is precarious, however, to find positive evidence of this, as A. Deissmann does with regard to the Colossian Church, in the mere fact that (Col 3^{18}–4^1) counsels addressed to slaves are given in ampler terms, those to masters quite briefly (*St. Paul*, Eng. tr., 1912, p. 216). Similar reasoning might argue from 1 P $3^{1\text{-}6,\ 7}$ that wives were in a majority and husbands in a minority!

The fact that St. Paul, a native of Tarsus, was a Roman citizen is treated as a matter of importance in Acts. It was the Roman Emperors who gave the people of the provinces power to enjoy the rights of citizenship. There is a dramatic turning of tables in Ac 22^{28} when St. Paul is able to say quite simply (yet with a touch of pride), 'But I am a Roman born,' and Claudius, the captain, turns out to be but a *parvenu* who had had to spend a lot of money, somehow or other, to acquire the citizenship. The same status is claimed for Silas as well as St. Paul in Ac 16^{37}.

Not a few of those who are mentioned by name in St. Paul's Epistles (*e.g.* Philemon, Gaius, Erastus, Aquila, Phœbe, etc.) must have been of the citizen class. The number of such increased as time went on. In the Ignatian Epistles (*e.g. Smyrn.* xii. and *Polyc.* viii.) we find similar references to devoted Christians (Tavias, Alce, Daphnus, 'the wife of Epitropus' [or 'of the governor'], Attalus, etc.) of the same rank. But Christianity had gained access to the palaces of the aristocracy before the 1st cent. was out, and had won adherents there who suffered for their faith—witness the well-known cases of T. Flavius Clemens, the consul, and his wife, Domitilla. And for the same period we have the evidence of an outsider in Pliny's famous *Epistle to Trajan* (x. 97), wherein he tells us that he found in his province large numbers of Christians 'of all classes' (*omnis ordinis*). What was true of Bithynia was most probably true of other parts of the Empire.

Citizenship and wealth, of course, did not necessarily go together. In the class of freemen were included people of all ranks, from artisans and labourers up to the wealthiest aristocrats. Unfortunately many citizens were but idle loafers, depending on the Imperial *largesse*. The existence of the huge, overgrown system of slavery had a sinister effect on the great mass of citizens, inasmuch as 'paid labour was thought unworthy

of any freeborn man' (C. Bigg, *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, Oxford, 1905, p. 114). The poor, hired labourers, however, of Ja 5^4 were not technically δοῦλοι. The same Epistle shows us how soon the Apostolic Church experienced the evils too possibly attendant upon the appearance of the rich man within the circle of the Christian society (chs. 2 and 5).

Though civic freedom is quite evidently valued, we find little or nothing in the apostolic writings bearing on political questions. Lofty moral teaching and profound theology abound, but there is no feeling manifest that political freedom was a thing worth seeking for its own sake. It may indeed be said that in the 1st cent. 'the prevailing notions of freedom were imperfect, and the endeavours to realise them were wide of the mark' (Lord Acton, *The History of Freedom*, London, 1907, p. 16). See, further, art. SLAVE, SLAVERY.

2. In the sense of freedom of conscience.—'Liberty' is used in the NT to denote a man's freedom to decide what is right or wrong for himself, especially in relation to matters enjoined upon him by some form of external authority. The development of such a notion naturally followed upon the development of the notion of conscience itself, which in turn was bound up with the growing sense of human individuality and personal responsibility. In pre-Christian lines of philosophical and religious teaching (as *e.g.* in Stoicism) we mark in this respect a *præparatio evangelica*. As the ancient conception of man as merely a component unit in tribe or nation faded and gave way to the sense of his value for himself as well as for the community, and of his responsibility for himself, such consequences were bound to follow. So far from morality consisting simply in compliance with commands embodying the will of the community of which the man is a part (which commands may also be conceived as Divinely originated), when man realizes his individual responsibility to God, conscience emerges, and, criticizing those very commands, may disapprove as well as approve, whilst it may also find a whole area of moral interests which the injunctions of external authority do not touch and in which it must decide for itself.

To the rise of Christianity we very specially owe an advanced conception of conscience and its corollary, the claim to freedom to act in accord with the behests of conscience. 'Am I not free?' cries St. Paul (1 Co 9^1); whilst 'Peter and the apostles' (Ac 5^{29}) are heard declaring 'We must obey God rather than men.' These sayings might serve as watchwords of the new era as viewed from this standpoint (Judaism itself, it should be noted in passing, exhibited in course of time a similar development in its ethical teaching). And the clash between the new order and the old necessarily brought with it abundant scope for the outcrop of cases of conscience such as St. Paul handles in 1 Co 8 ff. and Ro 14 f.

Freedom of this kind can be properly claimed and used only by the conscientious man—the man who is above all else concerned for harmony between the laws and customs he is called to observe and the inward regulative principle, and who departs from such laws only when an enlightened conscience imperatively demands it. For another important pre-requisite is that the exercise of this freedom shall be based on intelligent judgment. 'Let each man be fully assured in his own mind' (Ro 14^5) is a Pauline *dictum* of the first importance. Cf. the deeply significant *logion* ascribed to our Lord in Cod. D (Lk 6^5) wherein He says to a man found working on the Sabbath, 'If thou *knowest* what thou art doing, blessed art thou; but if thou knowest not, thou art accurst and a transgressor of the law.' A man cannot justifiably set at nought a positive commandment or institution unless he has sight of some higher principle which determines his course of action. The freedom an enlightened man asks is freedom to do what he sees he *ought* to do, and to do what he *may* do without injury to others.

For St. Paul very emphatically insists on the necessity of qualifying the exercise of one's own liberty by regard for the claims of others. It must not involve harm to others or an infringement of their liberty. Self-limitation for the sake of others is, indeed, an example of the truest exercise of freedom.

3. As a description of the Christian life and experience.—Social conditions being what they were in the 1st cent., it was most natural that the life resulting from faith in Christ, as that is presented in the NT, should be described in the apostolic writings by a cycle of metaphors centring in the word 'redemption' (Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 149). This is specially characteristic of St. Paul.

The Christian life is represented as (*a*) *freedom from the bondage of law.*—St. Paul's treatment of this topic (found mainly in the Epistles to Romans and Galatians) is not easy to follow and is doubtless coloured by his own vivid personal experience. We do not find quite the same line taken in other early apostolic writings that have been preserved to us. By general consent, it is true, it came to be held that Jewish and Gentile Christians alike were free from obligation to observe the Jewish Law in its peculiar institutions and ceremonial rules. The old sacrificial system was abolished 'that the new law of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is without the yoke of necessity, might have a human oblation' (*i.e.* the dedication of the man himself) (*Epistle of Barnabas*, ii.; so also Epistle to the Hebrews, and *Epistle to Diognetus*, iv. [regarding Sabbath, circumcision, 'kosher' foods, and the like]). But St. Paul has far more than this in view. He is thinking of all law as the expression of God's will for man's life and the severe revealer of man's sin as he departs from it: law that has only condemnation for the sinner (see the autobiographical Ro 7).

That the Apostle countenances an antinomian freedom he himself indignantly denies. Nor did he lack the true Jew's veneration for the Torah. With him law assumes the form of 'an imperious principle opposed to grace and liberty only when it is viewed *as the condition of justification*, the means of attaining to righteousness before God through the merit of good works.' As the expression of God's will and the guide of human obedience it is 'holy, just, and good' (Ro 7^{12}; see E. H. Gifford, *Romans* [in Speaker's Commentary, 1881, p. 48]). Torah comes to its own in the new life which springs from Christian faith and the *unio mystica* between the Christian and his Lord. And if other early Christian writers present this life as lived under law (see Epistle of James, especially the happy expression, 'law of liberty,' ch 1^{25}; also 1 Jn $3^{22ff.}$), St. Paul likewise lays stress on 'the law of Christ' (Gal 6^2) and gives us the far-reaching aphorism: 'Love is the fulfilment of law' (Ro 13^{10}).

(*b*) *Freedom from the bondage of sin.*—Sin is here personified as a tyrannical master (see especially the line of treatment in Ro 6; cf. Jn 8^{34}). An interesting parallel is furnished in the *Discourses* of Epictetus (IV. i.), where it is laid down that 'no wicked man is free.'

(*c*) *Freedom from the bondage of idolatry.*—See Gal $4^{8ff.}$—a point of material importance to the Gentile world in apostolic days.

(*d*) *Freedom from the bondage of corruption*

(Ro 8[21]).—This rather belongs to the hope for the world at large which contemplates the social state wherein the new life is perfectly realized. 'The glory of the children of God' is a liberty which all creation sighs to share.

It remains briefly to point out that not only does the term 'redemption' (applied to the work of Christ in opening to men this new experience of life) derive from the social state in the midst of which Christianity was born, but 'adoption' as used by St. Paul (Ro 8[15. 23], Gal 4[5]) similarly gains special significance as denoting entrance upon the life of liberty. Adoption, in a general way, was no uncommon phenomenon in the old world (see *υἱοθεσία* in Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., 1901, p. 239), but it was also one recognized way of giving freedom to a slave.

There is no inconsistency but only striking paradox when this experience which is described as freedom is also described as a servitude to God (cf. 1 P 2[16], *θεοῦ δοῦλοι*, and Ro 6[22], *δουλωθέντες τῷ θεῷ*). Here, too, it is of interest to recall that it was a Stoic doctrine of liberty that true freedom consists in obeying God, or, as Philo of Alexandria (see Tract, *Quod sit liber quisquis virtuti studet*) puts it, the following of God. Again, as the Christian is commonly described in the NT as a *δοῦλος Χριστοῦ*, the singular use of *ἀπελεύθερος* (=*libertus*, freedman) in 1 Co 7[22] noticeably introduces the notion of enfranchisement to describe the gaining of freedom in Christ. There may be here the underlying thought that the '*freedmen*' of Christ stand related to Him somewhat as the *liberti* stood to their patron, to whom they were bound to render, in the language of Roman Law, *obsequium et officium*.

4. In the philosophical sense.—See art. FREEDOM OF THE WILL.

LITERATURE.—See works referred to in art. SLAVERY, and in addition to works quoted in foregoing art., T. G. Tucker, *Life in the Roman World of Nero and St. Paul*, London, 1910; H. Wallon, *Histoire de l'esclavage dans l'antiquité*[2], Paris, 1879. J. S. CLEMENS.

LIBYA (Λιβύη, the country of the Λίβυες or *Lubim*). —Libya was the name given by the Greeks to the great undefined region lying to the west of Egypt. It was for a long time equivalent to Africa, a Roman term which did not embrace Egypt till the days of Ptolemy (2nd cent. A.D.). Libya was made known to Greece in the 7th cent. B.C. by the Dorian colonists who founded Cyrene. The beautiful and fertile country occupied and developed by them remained independent till it was annexed by the Macedonian conquerors of Egypt in 330 B.C. It finally (in 90 B.C.) came under the power of the Romans, who combined it with Crete to form a single province, Creta-Cyrene. Its original name was revived by Vespasian, who divided Cyrene into Libya Superior and Libya Inferior. This country attracted the Jews at an early period. Philo bears testimony to their diffusion in his time 'from the Katabathmos of Libya (*ἀπὸ τοῦ πρὸς Λιβύην καταβαθμοῦ*) to the borders of Ethiopia' (*in Flaccum*, 6). Jews from 'the parts of Libya about Cyrene' (*τὰ μέρη τῆς Λιβύης τῆς κατὰ Κυρήνην*) were in Jerusalem at the time of the first Christian Pentecost (Ac 2[10]). St. Luke's designation of Cyrenaïca closely resembles that of Josephus, *ἡ πρὸς Κυρήνην Λιβύη* (*Ant.* XVI. vi. 1), and that of Dio Cassius, *Λιβύη ἡ περὶ Κυρήνην* (liii. 12). The possession of this fertile region was the bone of contention between the Turks and Italians in 1912. JAMES STRAHAN.

LICTORS.—See SERJEANTS.

LIFE AND DEATH.—**1. Life.**—In a consideration of the subject of life as dealt with in the Acts and Epistles, three Gr. words—*βίος*, *ψυχή*, and *ζωή*—require to be distinguished.

(1) *βίος* denotes life in the outward and visible sense—its period or course (cf. 'the time past of our life,' 1 P 4[3]), its means of living (hence in 1 Jn 3[17] the RV renders 'goods'), the manner in which it is spent (cf. 'that we may lead a quiet and peaceable life,' 1 Ti 2[2]), its relation to worldly affairs (2 Ti 2[4]) and to the world's love of pomp and show (1 Jn 2[16]).

(2) *ψυχή* (fr. *ψύχω*, 'breathe') originally means the breath of life, and in such an expression as 'his life is in him' (Ac 20[10]) would quite adequately be rendered 'breath.' But, as breathing is the sign of the presence in the body of an animating vital force, *ψυχή* (cf. Lat. *anima*) comes to mean 'life' in the sense of the animal soul, and especially the life of the individual as distinguished from other individual lives. This is the life that may be injured or lost through a shipwreck (Ac 27[10. 22]), counted dear or willingly surrendered (20[24], Rev 12[11]); the life which Jesus Christ laid down for His people (1 Jn 3[16]), and which they should be prepared to lay down for Him (Ac 15[26]) or for one another (Ro 16[4], Ph 2[30], 1 Jn 3[16]). From meaning the animal soul or life (*anima*), however, *ψυχή* comes to be used for the individualized life in its moral and spiritual aspects, the 'soul' in the deeper significance of that word (Lat. *animus*), the part of man which thinks and feels and wills (Ac 2[27], Ro 2[9], 2 Co 1[23], etc). See, further, SOUL.

(3) But of the three words for life *ζωή* for the purposes of the present article is much the most important. Occasionally it is employed in a way that makes it practically equivalent to *βίος* (1 Co 15[19], 'If in this life only we have hoped in Christ'; cf. Lk 16[25], 'in thy lifetime' [*ἐν τῇ ζωῇ σου*]), and more frequently in connexions not far removed from those of *ψυχή* in the sense of the vital energy or animal soul (*e.g.* Ac 17[25], Ja 4[14]), though even in these cases it is noticeable that *ζωή* does not denote, like *ψυχή*, the life of the individual, but life in a sense that is general and distributed. Ordinarily, however, *ζωή* stands for a life which is not existence merely, but existence raised to its highest power; not a bare life, but 'life more abundantly' (Jn 10[10]), a life which St. Paul describes as 'the life which is life indeed' (*ἡ ὄντως ζωή*, 1 Ti 6[19]), a life, *i.e.*, which in its essential nature is full and overflowing, and in its moral and spiritual quality is perfect and complete. In this employment of it, *ζωή* is very frequently characterized as 'eternal (*αἰώνιος*) life'; but the epithet does not impart any real addition to the connotation of the word as elsewhere used without the adjective, much less restrict its reference to the life after death; it only expresses more explicitly the conception of that life as something so full and positive that from its very nature it is unconquerable by death, and consequently everlasting. See, further, ETERNAL, EVERLASTING.

(*a*) In the usage of the NT this *ζωή* or *ζωὴ αἰώνιος* is first of all *a Divine attribute*—a view of it which finds its most complete expression in the Johannine writings. It inheres in God and belongs to His essential nature. 'The Father hath life in himself' (Jn 5[26]), the life eternal is 'with the Father' (1 Jn 1[2]). The Father, however, imparts it to the Son, so that He also possesses 'life in himself' (Jn 5[26]), and possesses it in a manner so copious that this endowment with life is predicated of Him as if it were the most characteristic quality of His being (Jn 1[4]). Thereafter this life which Christ possesses is communicated by Him to those who are willing to receive it, the record being that God gave unto us the eternal life which is in His Son (1 Jn 5[11]), and that he that hath the Son, viz. by believing on His name, hath the life (v.[12f.]).

(*b*) The ζωή (αἰώνιος) thus becomes *a human possession* and quality; and it is with the manifestations in human character and experience of this life flowing from God through Christ that the apostolic writers are principally concerned in what they have to say about it. Their references bear chiefly upon the source from which it comes, the means by which it is obtained, its fruits or evidences, its present possession, and its completion in the world to come.

(*a*) As follows from the fact that this life inheres essentially in God, its primal *source* is God the Father, from whom it comes as a gift (Ro 6^{23}, 1 Jn 5^{11}) and a grace (1 P 3^{7}). But this gracious gift is manifested and mediated only by Christ (1 Jn 1^{2}, 1 Ti 2^{5}). According to St. John, the eternal life which men enjoy resides in God's Son (1 Jn 5^{11}), and that in so absolute a sense that 'he that hath the Son hath the life; he that hath not the Son of God hath not the life' (v.^{12}). Similarly St. Paul writes that it is through the Son that the gift of life is bestowed (Ro 6^{23}), describes Christ as 'our life' (Col 3^{4}), and declares that this life of ours 'is hid with Christ in God' (v.^{3}).

(*β*) But this gift of life is not bestowed arbitrarily or apart from the fulfilment of certain *conditions*. It is not thrust upon anyone, but needs to be laid hold of (1 Ti $6^{12.\ 19}$). In the symbolic language of the Apocalypse the fruition of the tree of life which is in the Paradise of God is promised to him that overcometh (Rev 2^{7}). Various energies and attitudes of the soul are mentioned as conditioning the attainment of life, *e.g.* patience in well-doing (Ro 2^{7}), endurance of temptation (Ja 1^{12}), sowing to the Spirit (Gal 6^{8}). But the fundamental conditions, on which all the others depend, are repentance (Ac 11^{18}) and faith (13^{48}, 1 Ti 1^{16}, 1 Jn $5^{10\text{-}12}$). The old life must be renounced if the new life is to begin; that is what is meant by the demand for repentance. And life cannot be self-generated, but can only be received from a living source; that is the explanation of the call for faith.

(*γ*) Among the *fruits* or evidences of the possession of life St. Paul includes freedom from the bondage of sin (Ro 6^{6}) and a way of walking in the world which is new (v.^{4}) and has God for its object (v.^{11}). Inwardly the life reveals its presence in a daily experience of renewal (2 Co 4^{16}), in the possession of a spiritual mind (Ro 8^{6}), in the consciousness of spiritual liberty (v.^{2}). Outwardly its fruits are seen in holy living (Ro 6^{22}) and its signature written even upon the mortal flesh (2 Co 4^{11}). To St. John the great evidence of life is love to the brethren (1 Jn 3^{14}). Everyone that loveth is born of God (4^{7}); but the love which is the proof of this Divine birth and consequent Divine life must flow out towards the visible brother as well as towards the invisible God if there is to be any assurance of its reality (vv.$^{12.\ 20}$). In the mystical language of the author of the Apocalypse life has the evidence of a written record. The names of those who possess it are written in a book which is called 'the book of life' (Rev 3^{5} 17^{8} 20^{12} 22^{19}), or more fully 'the Lamb's book of life' (13^{8} 21^{27}). With this may be compared St. Paul's use of the same figure in Ph 4^{3}. See BOOK OF LIFE.

(*δ*) To the apostolic writers life or eternal life is *a present possession*. While distinct from the ordinary forms of earthly existence, with which it is contrasted (1 Ti 6^{19}), it is not separated from them in time, but here and now interfused dynamically through them all. This is a conception which is especially characteristic of the Johannine writings. In the Fourth Gospel it occurs constantly (Jn 3^{36} 17^{3} etc.), and in the First Epistle we see it reappearing, as when the writer declares that he that hath the Son hath the life (1 Jn 5^{12}), and that those who possess eternal life may know that they possess it (3^{14} 5^{13}). But it is evident that St. Paul also conceives of life as a present reality when he proclaims that Christ is our life (Col 3^{4}), and that our life is hid with Christ in God (v.^{3}), when he makes our baptism into Christ's Death, and resurrection in His likeness, determinative of our present walk in newness of life (Ro 6^{4}), and declares that to be spiritually-minded is life and peace (8^{6}).

(*ε*) And yet this life, though it is a present experience, is *not realized in its totality in the present world*. The promise given to godliness in 1 Ti 4^{8} is said to be for the life that now is and that which is to come. Similarly it is in 'the time to come' that 'the life which is life indeed' arrives at its completion (6^{19}). St. Paul gives especial prominence to this future aspect of the life in Christ. He anticipates a time when what is mortal shall be swallowed up of life (2 Co 5^{4}), co-ordinates eternal life with immortality (Ro 2^{7}; cf. 2 Ti 1^{10}), and places it in direct antithesis with death (Ro 6^{23}) and corruption (Gal 6^{8}). And yet, though life for its completeness must wait for the full revelation of the powers of the world to come, which are only tasted here (He 6^{5}), the present and the future life are essentially one and the same. It is because the Christian life is hid with Christ in God that it carries the assurance of immortality within itself. As, in St. Peter's language, it was not possible that Christ should be holden of death (Ac 2^{24}), so it is impossible that those whose very life Christ is (Col 3^{4}) should not be sharers in His victory over death's pains and powers. To all who abide in the Son and through Him in the Father there belongs this promise which He promised us, even the life eternal (1 Jn $2^{24\text{f.}}$). And in this promise there lies enfolded the hope not only of the immortality of the soul but of the resurrection of the body. It is the frailty and imperfection of the earthly body, its domination by the law of sin and death, that hinder the full enjoyment of eternal life in the present world (2 Co $5^{2.\ 4}$). But when mortality shall be swallowed up of life, Christ's people, instead of being 'unclothed,' shall be 'clothed upon' ($5^{2.\ 4}$). To the natural body will succeed a spiritual body (1 Co 15^{44}), to the body of death (Ro 7^{24}) a body instinct with the Lord's own life, to the house that must be dissolved a house not made with hands, eternal, in the heavens (2 Co 5^{1}).

2. Death (θάνατος, to which in its various senses correspond the vb. ἀποθνήσκω, 'die,' and the adj. νεκρός, 'dead'). — Death is frequently used in the apostolic literature in its ordinary, everyday meaning of the end of man's earthly course (βίος) or the extinction of his animal life (ψυχή) through the separation of the soul from the body (Ac 2^{24}, 1 Co 3^{22}, Ph 2^{27}). Much more important than this purely physical employment of the word are its various theological uses, the chief of which may be distinguished as the punitive, the redemptive, the mystical, the spiritual and moral.

(1) For the NT writers, and above all for St. Paul, death has a *punitive* significance as the judicial sentence pronounced by God upon sin. When St. Paul writes, 'The wages of sin is death' (Ro 6^{23}), or 'Through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all sinned' (5^{12}); or when the author of Hebrews links together the facts of death and the judgment and relates them to the Death and redeeming Sacrifice of Christ (He $9^{26\text{-}28}$); or when St. James says, 'He which converteth a sinner from the error of his way shall save a soul from death and shall cover a multitude of sins' (Ja 5^{20}), death is used to denote the punitive consequences of sin and the state in which man lies as condemned on account of it. For, just as ζωή in the NT means not the earthly existence but the

larger life of the Christian salvation, so *θάνατος* means not the end of the earthly existence merely but the loss of life in the full Christian conception of the word—the whole of the miserable results that flow from sin and constitute its penalty. Among these penal consequences certainly physical death is included, as passages like Ro 5[12. 14] and 1 Co 15[21f.] make perfectly clear. More than this, the death of the body is treated as 'the point of the punitive sentence, about which all the other elements in that sentence are grouped' (H. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex.*[3], 1880, p. 284). Death is the wages of sin (Ro 6[22]), it is the recompense received by the servants of sin (v.[16]). Sin reigns in death (5[21]); it is the sting of death (1 Co 15[56]). The saving significance of the Death of Christ is due to this same punitive relation between death and sin. He died for our sins (1 Co 15[3]); *He* bare our sins in His body upon the tree (1 P 2[24]). And it is through the Death of His Son that we are reconciled to God (Ro 5[10]). In including physical death among the penalties of sin, however, the apostolic writers are not to be held as meaning either that man was naturally immortal or that until he fell there was no natural law of death in the physical world. In neither the OT nor the NT is the assertion ever made that death entered into the natural world in consequence of the sin of man (the 'world' in Ro 5[12] is the *moral* world, as the context shows). And when man became liable to death because of sin (Ro 5[12.14]; cf. Gn 2[17]), this does not imply that he was not created mortal (cf. Gn 3[19]). But it does imply that, mortal as he was, he differed from the rest of the animal world in a potentiality of exemption from the law of decay and death, owing to the fact that he was a spiritual being made in God's image; and that by his transgression he lost God's proffered gift of physical immortality (Ro 5[14], 1 Co 15[21f.]).

But, while physical death is the point of the punitive sentence, the sentence of death stretches far beyond it. Just as *ζωή* has a future and otherworldly as well as a present reference, so is it with *θάνατος*. Sometimes it plainly refers to a death that is not an earthly experience but a future state of misery which awaits the wicked in the world to come (Ro 1[32], 1 Jn 3[14] 5[16]). In Rev 2[11] 20[6. 14] 21[8] this future condition of woe is called 'the second death,' in contrast, viz., with the first death by which the life on earth is ended (see PUNISHMENT).

(2) At the other extreme from this punitive sense of death is the use of the word with a *redemptive* meaning. When St. Paul declares in Romans that we died to sin (6[2]), that we were buried through baptism into death (v.[4]), that he that hath died is justified from sin (v.[11]); or when in Galatians he says of himself, 'For I through the law died unto the law' (2[19]), the death he speaks of, as the last passage shows, is a legal or judicial death which carries with it a deliverance from the state of condemnation into which the sinner has been brought by his sin (Ro 6[7]). And when he speaks of this death as a dying with Christ (v.[8]), and explains more fully that all died because one died for all (2 Co 5[14]), he reminds us that this redemptive death is possible for Christians only because a punitive Death was endured by Christ on their behalf. If they can reckon themselves to be dead unto sin (Ro 6[11]), it is because 'Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures' (1 Co 15[3]).

(3) Side by side with this redemptive death in Christ—a death to the penalty of sin—St. Paul sets a *mystical* dying—a dying to its power. The Christian's union with Christ in His redeeming Death is not only the ground of his justification but the secret source and spring of his sanctification. If the transition from the one to the other is not very clearly marked, the reason is that for St. Paul the two were inseparably joined together. He passes at a bound, and as it were unconsciously, from the legal aspect of the Christian's death in Christ to its mystical aspect, from a death in the eyes of the law against sin to a death to the principle of sin itself (2 Co 5[14f.]). Baptism into Jesus Christ is the symbol and seal of a baptism into His Death, which means not only a dying to the retribution of the offended law but a crucifixion of the old man, a destruction of 'the body of sin,' so that we should no longer be in bondage to sin's power (Ro 6[2-7]; cf. Gal 2[12]). It may be that St. Paul's view of the body, not indeed as essentially sinful, but as the invariable seat and source of sin in fallen humanity (see art. BODY) helped him to think of the Crucifixion of Christ as carrying with it a destruction of the polluted flesh (cf. Ro 8[3]) through which the way was opened for a new life of holiness. But in any case death to the law meant life unto God, because crucifixion with Christ meant the death of the former self and the substitution for it of a life of faith in the Son of God (Gal 2[19f.]). Nor is it only to sin that the Christian died in Christ, but to the world (6[14]), to the world's doctrines and precepts (Col 2[20f.]), to the attitude and affections of the mind that is set on earthly things (3[2]). 'For ye died,' the Apostle writes, 'and your life is hid with Christ in God' (v.[3]). And in this case, at least, it is plain that the death of which he thinks is not the judicial but the mystical dying, the dying which is at the same time the birth to a new life (cf. Jn 12[24f.]) that carries with it a putting to death of all that is earthly and evil in the natures of those whom Christ has redeemed (Col 3[5]).

(4) Once more, death is used to denote the *spiritual* atrophy and *moral* inability of fallen man in his unregenerate condition. This is the sense that belongs to it in the expression 'dead in trespasses and sins' (Eph 2[1]; cf. Col 2[13]), in the summons to the spiritual sleeper to awake and arise from the dead (Eph 5[14]), in the description of true believers as those that are alive from the dead (Ro 6[13]) and of false professors as having a name that they are living when they are really dead (Rev 3[1]), in the statements that the mind of the flesh is death (Ro 8[6]) and that the woman who lives in pleasure is dead while she liveth (1 Ti 5[6]). This, especially on the side of moral inability, is the death which St. Paul describes so powerfully in Ro 7[14ff.], from which, conscious of his helplessness, he cries to be delivered (v.[24]), and from which he recognizes that no deliverance is possible except through the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus (8[2]).

LITERATURE.—I. LIFE.—S. D. F. Salmond, *The Christian Doctrine of Immortality*[3], 1895, p. 487 ff.; E. White, *Life in Christ*, 1878; E. von Schrenck, *Die johan. Auffassung von 'Leben,'* 1898; the NT Theologies of B. Weiss (Eng. tr., 1882-83, 2 vols.) and W. Beyschlag (Eng. tr., 1895, 2 vols.), *passim*; J. R. Illingworth, *Sermons preached in a College Chapel*, 1882, p. 60; J. Macpherson, in *Expositor*, 1st. ser. v. [1877] 72 ff.; J. Massie, in do., 2nd ser. iv. [1882] 380 ff. II. DEATH.—J. Laidlaw, *The Bible Doctrine of Man*, 1895, p. 233 ff.; J. Müller, *The Christian Doctrine of Sin*, Eng. tr., ii. [1885] 286 ff.; H. Martensen, *Christian Dogmatics*, Eng. tr., 1866, p. 209 ff.; J. Orr, *The Christian View of God and the World*, 1893, p. 228 ff.; G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the NT*[2], 1906, p. 423; J. R. Illingworth, *Sermons preached in a College Chapel*, 1882, p. 1; G. Matheson, in *Expositor*, 2nd ser. v. [1883] 40 ff.

J. C. LAMBERT.

LIFE, BOOK OF.—See BOOK OF LIFE.

LIGHT AND DARKNESS.—Apart from the literal and ordinary uses of the words 'light' (*φῶς*) and 'darkness' (*σκότος, σκοτία*), they are frequently employed in metaphorical senses, and especially either in express combination and contrast or with a reference to each other that is latent but implied. This figurative use of the terms is an inheritance

from the OT. There 'light' (אוֹר = LXX *φῶς*) often denotes a state of happiness and well-being (Job 33[28. 30], Ps 56[13]), but more particularly the salvation which comes from God, and God Himself as the giver of salvation and blessing to His people (Ps 4[6] 27[1] 36[9] 43[3], Is 10[17], Mic 7[8]). 'Darkness' (חֹשֶׁךְ = LXX *σκότος*), on the other hand, stands for ignorance, misery, and death (Job 10[21] 19[8], Ps 18[28] 107[10. 14], Ec 2[14], Is 5[30] 9[2], etc.), and generally for everything that is opposed to light as a symbol of life, happiness, and moral purity. The metaphors are very natural, and are by no means peculiar to the biblical literature. Reference may be made to the Babylonian Creation narrative with its struggle between Marduk, the god of light, and Tiâmat, the god of darkness; to the Skr. name for deity—*deva*, 'a shining one' (cf. *θεός* and *deus*); to the Gr. conception of Olympus as a place where a bright radiance is diffused (cf. λευκὴ δ' ἐπιδέδρομεν αἴγλη, *Od.* vi. 45), and of the nether regions as a world of gloomy shades occupied by 'infernal' or subterranean deities; to the Zoroastrian antithesis—hardened into a definite dualism—between Ormazd, the god of light and life, and Ahriman, the evil power of death and darkness. But as we find them in the NT, and especially in the Johannine and Pauline writings, the figures of light and darkness have been developed on Christian lines which impart a deeper and fuller meaning to each of the conceptions, and bring them into an opposition that is stronger than any known to the older religions, because it is more spiritual. The material relevant to the present art. may be conveniently treated as it bears upon the doctrines of (1) God, (2) Christ, (3) salvation and the Christian life.

1. God.—The fundamental passage here is 1 Jn 1[5], 'God is light, and in him is no darkness at all.' The conception of God as *light* is familiar, as has been seen, not only to the OT but to all ancient religious thought. But in the Christian view the physical conceptions of light and darkness which cling to the ethnic and even to the Hebrew theologies entirely disappear, and purely spiritual conceptions take their place. In this passage, as the context shows (cf. vv.[6-10]), 'light' stands for holiness and 'darkness' for sin. In 1 Ti 6[16], again, where God is represented as dwelling in the light which no man can approach unto, the metaphor of light is transferred from God Himself to His dwelling-place, with reference probably to Ex 33[18-23]; but the idea conveyed is that of a holiness that is absolute in its separateness from all human imperfection (cf. vv.[9-14]). In Ja 1[17] God is called 'the Father of lights, with whom can be no variation, neither shadow that is cast by turning.' And here also the idea of this light without shadow or eclipse is used to emphasize the fact, previously referred to, of the essential holiness of One who cannot be tempted with evil and who Himself tempteth no man (v.[13]).

The *darkness* against which God's holy light shines is sometimes represented impersonally (Eph 5[8], 1 Th 5[5], 1 P 2[9]). But in Col 1[13] St. Paul gives thanks to the Father 'who delivered us out of the power of darkness' (cf. Lk 22[53]); and the word for power (*ἐξουσία*) suggests the tyranny of an alien authority. This is confirmed when in Eph 6[12] we find the Apostle speaking of the 'world-rulers of this darkness, the spiritual hosts of wickedness in the heavenly places.' When we read in 2 Co 11[14], 'Even Satan fashioneth himself into an angel of light,' the evident suggestion is that Satan's true form is that of a prince of darkness, not an angel of light. In Ac 26[18] there is a significant parallelism between darkness and the power of Satan on the one hand, and light and the redeeming grace of God on the other; and in 2 Co 6[14f.] there is a similar parallel between light and darkness and Christ and Belial.

2. Christ.—As applied to God, the metaphor of light points to His essential nature; as applied to Christ, it denotes His special function as the revealer of God to man. In the one case the light is considered in its intrinsic glory; in the other, as shining forth upon the souls of men. It is in the Fourth Gospel that this conception of Christ as the light of men—a light by which they are at once illumined and judged—is fully worked out (cf. for the illumination Jn 1[4. 9] 8[12] 12[46], and for the judgment 1[5] 3[19-21]). But in 2 Co 4[6] St. Paul declares that God has revealed the light of the knowledge of His glory in the face of Jesus Christ, and in Eph 5[8] he says of those who were once in darkness that they are now 'light in the Lord.' Similarly in 1 Jn 2[8], where the revelation of Jesus Christ and His 'new commandment' are in view, the author declares: 'The darkness is passing away, and the true light already shineth.' In these passages the reference is to Christ's function as mediating the gracious Divine light to men and thus bringing them knowledge and salvation. But in 1 Co 4[5] Christ appears as a Judge, who by His coming 'will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and make manifest the counsels of the hearts.' In this case, however, the penetrating judicial light of Christ is eschatologically conceived, and is not, as in the Fourth Gospel, a light by which men are already judged when they love the darkness rather than the light.

3. Salvation and the Christian life.—It is in this connexion that the metaphors of light and darkness most frequently occur in the relevant NT literature. (1) Christian *soteriology* has to do with sin and grace; and these two contrasted moments of human experience find fitting representation in terms of darkness and light. Salvation is frequently described as a transition from darkness to light. St. Paul was sent to the Gentiles 'to open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light' (Ac 26[18]; cf. 13[47]); he says of his converts: 'Ye were once darkness, but are now light in the Lord' (Eph 5[8]); and so elsewhere he addresses them as 'sons of light and sons of the day,' who 'are not of the night nor of darkness' (1 Th 5[5]). In 2 Co 4[6] he compares the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, as it shines into the heart in the face of Jesus Christ, to the creative light shining at God's word out of the darkness. St. Peter contrasts the marvellous light into which God has called His people with the darkness in which they lived formerly (1 P 2[9]); while St. John, with a stronger sense perhaps of the progressive nature of the work of sanctification, reminds his 'little children' that the darkness is passing away before the shining of the true light (1 Jn 2[8]). The author of Hebrews uses the expression 'enlightened' (*φωτισθέντες*) to denote those who have had experience of the Christian salvation (6[4] 10[32]), by which he implies that before tasting of the heavenly gift they were in a condition of spiritual darkness.

(2) In Col 1[12f.] soteriology passes into *eschatology*. Christians have been already delivered from the power of darkness and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son; but 'the inheritance of the saints in light,' of which the Father has made them meet to be partakers, has clearly a future as well as a present reference (cf. Ro 13[12], 'the night is far spent, the day is at hand'). In the world to come the inheritance of the saints in light has its counterpart in 'the blackness of darkness' spoken of in 2 P 2[17], Jude[13]. For those who reject the light of the Divine grace, because they prefer the darkness to the light, there is reserved a deeper and impenetrable darkness.

(3) But salvation has a human and *ethical* side as well as one that is transcendent and Divine; and this also is set forth under the imagery of light and darkness. When St. Paul declares that 'the fruit of the light is in all goodness and righteousness and truth' (Eph 5^9 [RV]), and contrasts that shining fruit with 'the unfruitful works of darkness' (v.[11]), he is giving to light and darkness a plain moral content. When he asks in another Epistle, 'What communion hath light with darkness?' (2 Co 6^{14}), the words that precede show that it is the antithesis between righteousness and unrighteousness that is in his thoughts. And when, after comparing the world as it exists at present with the night, and the approaching Parousia with the day, he adds, 'Let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light' (Ro 13^{12}; cf. 1 Th $5^{7.8}$), he is summoning his readers to that deliberate and strenuous choice and effort of the will in which all morality consists. Those who in the soteriological sense are already 'sons of light and sons of the day,' and accordingly 'are not of the night nor of darkness' (1 Th 5^5), are not on that account exempt from the dangers of the encompassing moral and spiritual gloom or from the duties to which those dangers point. On the contrary, just because they are sons of the light they must gird on the armour of light, and because they are not of the darkness they must watch and be sober (vv.[6-8]). Similarly in 1 Jn $1^{6f.}$ the writer calls upon his readers to 'walk in the light as Christ is in the light,' and brands as false those who profess to have fellowship with Him and yet continue to walk in darkness. And if they should ask for a definite test by which the moral life may be judged and its relationship to light or darkness determined, he refers them to the new commandment which the Lord has given ($2^{7f.}$; cf. Jn 13^{34}). 'He that loveth his brother abideth in the light' (2^{10}). 'But he that hateth his brother is in darkness, and walketh in darkness' (v.[11]).

LITERATURE.—H. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*[3], 1880; B. Weiss, *Bib. Theol. of the NT*, Eng. tr., 1882–88; G. B. Stevens, *The Theology of the NT*[2], Edinburgh, 1906, p. 370; *PRE*[3], art. 'Erleuchtung'; art. 'Light' in *EBi* and *DCG*.

J. C. LAMBERT.

LIGHTNING (ἀστραπή).—Lightning, the visible discharge of atmospheric electricity from one cloud to another, or from a cloud to the earth, is now known to be essentially the same as the electric flashes produced in the laboratory. To the ancients it seemed supernatural. Terrible in its dazzling beauty and power to destroy, it was associated with theophanies (Ex 19^{16} 20^{18}, Ezk $1^{13.14}$), and became one of the categories of Jewish and Christian apocalyptic (Rev 4^5 8^5 11^{19} 16^{18}). See THUNDER.

JAMES STRAHAN.

LIKENESS.—See FORM.

LINEN (βύσσος, from שֵׁשׁ, adj. βύσσινος, λίνον).—Linen was a characteristic product of Egypt, where the arts of spinning and weaving were carried to great perfection. Both in that land and in other lands to which it was imported it was the material used for priestly vestments. According to Herodotus (ii. 37), the Egyptian priests 'wear linen garments, constantly fresh washed, and they pay particular attention to this. . . . The priests wear linen only.' The Hebrew usage is indicated by the phrase 'the linen garments, even the holy garments' (Lv 16^{32}); and Vergil (*Æn.* xii. 120) speaks of Roman priests as 'Velati lino, et verbena tempora vincti.' Linen—at least the best kind of it (βύσσος, or 'fine linen')—was too expensive for ordinary wear. It was the clothing of kings and their ministers (Gn 41^{42}), of women of quality (Pr 31^{22}), of ideal Israel in her royal estate (Ezk $16^{10.13}$).

These facts explain the references to linen in the imagery of the Revelation. (1) The seven angelic messengers who come out of the heavenly temple are 'arrayed in linen, pure and bright' (15^6). In spite of good MS authority (AC) and the dubious parallel in Ezk 28^{13}, the reading 'arrayed with precious stones' (RV)—λίθον for λίνον—is extremely unlikely, and ℵ has λίνους. It is true that λίνον was commonly applied to the flax-plant, but it was also used of linen cloth and garments (*Il.* ix. 661, Æsch. *Supp.* 121, 132). (2) Fine linen was part of the merchandise of Imperial Rome (Rev 18^{12}); the city was arrayed in it (v.[16]), the old republican simplicity having given place to a wide-spread luxury. (3) It is befitting that the bride of the Lamb arrays herself in fine linen, bright and pure (19^8). The added words, 'for the fine linen is the righteous acts (δικαιώματα) of the saints' is perhaps a gloss. It is a happy inspiration that makes 'fine linen,' the clothing of priests and princes, the uniform of the armies in heaven that follow Him who is the Faithful and True (v.[14]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

LINUS (Λίνος).—This is a name which holds a large place in the history of the early Church. We first find mention of it in 2 Ti 4^{21}, where St. Paul, writing from his Roman prison, conveys to his friend the greetings of Eubulus, Pudens, Linus, and Claudia. Linus was thus a friend of Paul and Timothy in the closing years of the Apostle's life. In the *Apostolic Constitutions* (vii. 46) he is regarded as the son of Claudia of 2 Ti 4^{21} (Λίνος ὁ Κλαυδίας), which is perhaps doubtful (see art. CLAUDIA). But the name Linus is found both in Irenæus (*c. Hær.* III. iii. 3) and in Eusebius (*HE* III. ii., iv. 9, xiii.), where he is regarded as the successor of St. Peter and the first bishop of Rome after the Apostles, although Tertullian (*de Præscr.* 32) assigns this dignity to Clement. No details of any kind are given regarding the episcopate of Linus, and the date of his tenure of office is uncertain. Although Eusebius regards Clement as the successor of Linus, and Tertullian reverses the order, it is not improbable that both held office at the same time and that the episcopal power as wielded by them was of a very attenuated nature. Perhaps both held their position during the lifetime of St. Peter. According to Eusebius (*HE* III. xiii.) the episcopate of Linus lasted for a period of twelve years, but no dates can be fixed with any certainty. Harnack gives as probable A.D. 64–76. Linus has been regarded as the author of various works, but there is no evidence in support of this view. He is the reported author of (1) the Acts of St. Peter and St. Paul; (2) an account of St. Peter's controversy with Simon Magus; (3) certain decrees prohibiting women from appearing in church with uncovered heads. The Roman Breviary states that he was a native of Voltena in Etruria, and that he died as a martyr of the faith, being beheaded by order of Saturninus, whose daughter he had healed of demoniacal possession. His memory is honoured by the Western Church on 23 September, and the Greek Menæa regards him as one of the Seventy.

LITERATURE.—J. Pearson, *de Serie et Successione primorum Romæ Episcoporum*, London, 1688; A. Harnack, *Die Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur*, Leipzig, 1897; J. B. Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. i.[2], 1890.

W. F. BOYD.

LION.—With the possible exception of 1 P 5^8, the use of 'lion' in the NT from 2 Tim. onwards is dependent on the OT. An animal of great size and strength, of noble bearing as well as of extreme cruelty, he is a fitting symbol for moral and spiritual reference.

1. In 1 P 5^8, man's adversary, the devil, is represented as always roaming about in search of

prey, his very raging, which betrays his ravenous hunger, striking terror into the hearts of all.

2. In He 11[33], the reference is to the actual wild beast. Among the heroic deeds of the worthies of the OT recounted by the author of the Epistle is that they 'stopped the mouths of lions' (cf. Samson, Jg 14[5. 6]; David, 1 S 17[34-36]; Benaiah, 2 S 23[20]). More remotely the story of Daniel suggests this mighty achievement, yet here God and not Daniel is said to have shut the lions' mouths (Dn 6[22]).

3. St. Paul declares that he had 'escaped the mouth of the lion' (2 Ti 4[17]; cf. Ps 22[21], 1 Mac 2[60]). The allusion of the Apostle is to the punishment of being thrown to the lions. Some have indeed permitted a literal interpretation of 'lion' (A. Neander, *History of the Planting and Training of the Christian Church*, Eng. tr., i. [1880] 345). Since, however, he was a Roman citizen and could claim the right of being beheaded (see BEAST), the more probable explanation is that the reference is not to an actual lion. Concerning this, various conjectures have been advanced. 'Lion' has been interpreted as Nero (Chrysostom); calamity, which would result from cowardice and humiliation (N. J. D. White, in *EGT*, '1 and 2 Timothy and Titus,' 1910, p. 182; cf. Ps 21[22. 23] [LXX]); 'the immediate peril' (Conybeare-Howson, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, new ed., 1877, ii. 593), although the reference *may* be to St. Paul's having established his right as a Roman citizen not to be exposed to the wild beasts. If, however, the reference is to the lion's mouth, then Satan may be intended as a devouring adversary (cf. 1 P 5[8], above), from which St. Paul had escaped. The time, place, and occasion of this reference have been variously conceived. (*a*) 2 Ti 4[9. 11-18. 20. 21] is a fragment, written from Cæsarea, inserted in the Epistle, alluding to his address before the Sanhedrin (cf. Ac 22[30] 23[11]; B. W. Bacon, *The Story of St. Paul*, 1905, p. 198 ff.). (*b*) Writing from Rome in his first imprisonment, he says that, although the result of the preliminary hearing was a suspension of judgment, yet he had expectation that he would escape a final condemnation, and that too in the immediate future (A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897, p. 421). Writing from Rome in his second imprisonment, St. Paul says that at the close of his first imprisonment his pleading was so cogent and convincing that he was set at liberty (Eusebius, *HE* ii. 22, 1 Clem. 5; cf. T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, i. 441, ii. 1 ff.). (*c*) After his arrival in Rome the second time, the preliminary investigation had resulted in his remand; but the completion of the trial would not eventuate so favourably (Conybeare-Howson, *op. cit.* ch. xxvi.; N. J. D. White, *op. cit.* 181 ff.).

4. In the Apocalypse (5[5]) the Exalted Christ is presented under the guise of a lion, where the undoubted reference is to Gn 49[9]. He, who had overcome through death and the Resurrection, who had thus opened a way to God's sovereignty over men, and is therefore alone able to loose the seals of the Divine judgment, *i.e.* to carry history forward to its consummation, is symbolized by a being of the highest prowess and strength. Yet no sooner has this suggestion of overmastering might become effective than it is withdrawn to give place to another—its exact opposite—that of a lamb as though slain, a symbol of sacrifice and humiliation (see LAMB).

5. The same intimation of majesty and strength occurs in Rev 4[7], where the Seer is taken up into heaven, and beholds the four and twenty elders about the throne, with the four living creatures, having the likeness respectively of a lion, a calf, the face of a man, and a flying eagle (cf. Ezk 1[5ff.] [esp. v.[10]] 10[14]; also Is 6[1ff.]).

6. The remaining references in the Apocalypse revert to the terrorizing aspect of this king of beasts (9[8] [cf. Jl 1[6]] 9[17] 10[3] [cf. Is 5[29]] 13[2] [cf. Dn 7[4ff.]]).

C. A. BECKWITH.

LIPS.—See MOUTH.

LIVING.—**1.** Outside of the Gospels 'living' does not occur as a *noun* in the AV of the NT, but is found three times in the RV, viz. in 1 P 1[15], 2 P 3[11], where it denotes the manner of life (AV 'conversation,' Gr. *ἀναστροφή*), and in Rev 18[17], where 'gain their living (*i.e.* means of life) by sea' represents the AV 'trade by sea,' the RVm 'work the sea,' Gr. *τὴν θάλασσαν ἐργάζονται*.

2. 'Living' as a *verb* is found in both the AV and the RV of Col 2[20], 'living in the world,' where the Gr. is *ζῶντες*; and Tit 3[3], 'living in malice' (Gr. *διάγοντες*).

3. The *adj.* 'living' (Gr. *ζῶν*) occurs frequently and is used with various shades of meaning.—(1) In the ordinary sense of being alive in contrast with dead (Ro 12[1] 14[9], RV of Rev 1[18]). In Ac 10[42], 2 Ti 4[1], 1 P 4[5] both the AV and the RV translate *ζῶντες* by 'quick.' In the 'living soul' of 1 Co 15[45] and Rev 16[3] the word has the same meaning; in the latter passage, however, the literal rendering of the Gr. is 'soul of life' (RVm).—(2) The 'living creatures' (RV; AV 'beasts'; Gr. *ζῷα*, being the LXX equivalent of חַיּוֹת in Ezk 1[5], etc.) of Rev 4[6. 8], etc., are so called as being not alive merely, but instinct with life and activity (cf. Ezk 1[14]).—(3) With an intensified force the word is used of God, who is called 'the living God' (Ac 14[15], Ro 9[26], 2 Co 3[3] 6[16], 1 Th 1[9], 1 Ti 3[15] 4[10] 6[17] [AV], He 3[12] 9[14] 10[31] 12[22], Rev 7[2]) not only as being self-existent, but as possessing the fullness of life in absolute perfection.—(4) Figuratively, the expression is applied to the oracles given by God to Moses (Ac 7[38], AV 'lively'); to the word of God generally (He 4[12], AV 'quick'); to the way into the holy place which Jesus dedicated for us (10[20]); to the hope unto which God has begotten us by the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead (1 P 1[3], AV 'lively'); to the Stone rejected of men but with God elect, precious (2[4]), and the stones built up on that foundation into a spiritual house (v.[5], AV 'lively'); to the fountains of waters to which the Lamb shall lead His people (Rev 7[17] TR and AV; RV 'fountains of waters of life'). The precise force of 'living' in each of these cases is determined by the word to which it is attached and the context in which it is set. The word of God is living because, being God's, it is instinct with His own life; the way into the holy place because it is real and efficacious, as contrasted with the mere ceremony of entrance into the earthly sanctuary; the Christian hope because it is the result of a Divine begetting, and is therefore lasting and certain of fruition as human hopes are not; the heavenly fountains because they are ever 'springing up unto eternal life' (cf. Jn 4[10. 14]). The elect Stone and the stones built upon it are living stones because the persons whom they metaphorically represent are living persons—the One alive with the very life of God, the others sharing in that life through their union with Him.

J. C. LAMBERT.

LOCUST (*ἀκρίς*).—Apart from Mt 3[4], Mk 1[6], the only references to the locust in the NT are contained in the Apocalyptic Vision—'the Fifth Trumpet or the First Woe' (Rev 9[3. 7])—where a swarm of locusts is represented as emerging out of the smoke of the abyss. There is probably here an allusion to the plague of locusts in Ex 10[4f.] (cf. also Jl 1[4]), but both the power and the mission of these locusts are not that of the locust tribe. They have the power of 'scorpions,' the deadliness of whose sting was proverbial (cf. 1 K 12[11. 14], 2 Ch 10[11], Ezk 2[6], Lk 10[19] 11[12]), while in

contradistinction to the usual habits and tastes of locusts, they are commanded not to hurt 'the grass of the earth, neither any green thing, neither any tree.' Apparently the work of judgment on this part of creation had been sufficiently carried out by the hail which followed the First Trumpet (Rev 8^7). It is interesting in this connexion both to compare and to contrast the part played by locusts in Exodus. There too they follow the hail, but in Exodus (10^6) their mission is to 'eat the residue of that which is escaped, which remaineth unto you from the hail,' and to 'eat every tree which groweth for you out of the field,' whereas here they have a more important vocation—they are sent forth as the messengers of God's wrath upon 'those men which have not the seal of God on their foreheads' (Rev 9^4), whom they are to torment with 'the torment of a scorpion' for 'five months.'

The appearance of these particular locusts is as unusual and unexpected as their mission (9^{7-10}). 'The shapes of the locusts were like unto horses prepared unto battle': this part of the description would indeed be equally applicable to an ordinary swarm of locusts; it is borrowed from Jl 2^4, and is a metaphor 'chosen partly on account of their speed and compact array, but chiefly on account of a resemblance which has often been observed between the head of a locust and the head of a horse' (see Driver, *ad loc.*). The next two features are peculiar to the locusts of the vision; they had 'crowns' on their heads 'like unto gold,' and 'their faces were as men's faces.' The crowns are indicative of their power and authority, while their human faces testify to the wisdom and capacity with which they were imbued. Further, they had 'hair as the hair of women,' and it has been supposed that we have here a reference to the long *antennæ* of locusts.

The locust belongs to the same *genus* as the grass-hopper (*Acrididæ*). There is a number of different kinds, but the most destructive are the *Œdipoda migratoria* and the *Acridium peregrinum*, of which the latter apparently predominate. The history of their development is somewhat strange: after emerging from the egg, which is laid in April or May, they enter the *larva* state, during which period they have no wings; in the *pupa* state, germinal wings enclosed in cases appear; while about a month later, they cast the *pupa* skin, and, borne on their newly emancipated wings, they soar into the air. Their hind-wings are generally very bright-coloured, being yellow, green, blue, scarlet, crimson, or brown, according to the species. It is noteworthy that, unlike moths, they pass through no chrysalis period. They only appear in swarms periodically, and when they do, they literally darken the sky (cf. Ex 10^{15}), while the rattle of their wings is like a fall of rain (cf. Jl 2^5). In the drier parts of the country they are at all times abundant, and are a constant source of annoyance to the husbandmen, whose crops they sometimes entirely devour. The *larvæ* are responsible for most of the havoc wrought; as they are unable to fly, they hop over the land around which they were hatched and destroy grass, plants, and shrubs promiscuously. It is, on the other hand, easier to drive off full-grown locusts that can fly, as they are quickly frightened; but at all stages of their development they are extremely voracious.

They are used as an article of diet by the natives to-day, just as they were in NT times, the legs and wings being first removed, and the body stewed with butter or oil. They are said to taste somewhat like shrimps.

LITERATURE.—H. B. Tristram, *The Natural History of the Bible*[10], 1911, pp. 306 ff., 313; H. B. Swete, *The Apocalypse of St. John*, 1907, p. 115 ff., *The Gospel according to St. Mark*[2], 1902, p. 5 *f.*; *SDB* 549; *HDB* iii. 180 *f.*; *EBi* iii. 2807 ff.; and especially Driver's 'Excursus on Locusts' in his *Joel and Amos*, 1897, pp. 82–91, cf. also pp. 37–39, 48–53; W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1910 ed., p. 407 *f.*; J. C. Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1887, i. 79, 80, 142, 391–5, 402.

P. S. P. HANDCOCK.

LOIS (Gr. Λωΐς).—The word Lois is of Greek origin, related to λῴων and λῷστος, 'pleasant,' 'desirable.' Lois was a Christian believer of Lystra and the grandmother of Timothy. Her name is mentioned in 2 Ti 1^5 along with Eunice (*q.v.*), the mother of Timothy. Probably Lois was a Jewess and the mother of Eunice, who in Ac 16^1 is described as a believing Jewess who had married a Greek. It is, however, not impossible that Lois may have been the mother-in-law of Eunice and a Gentile, in which case we must assume that she had married a Jew. This theory would account for the fact that both Lois and Eunice are Greek names, and also for the description of Eunice as a Jewess. But it was not uncommon for Hellenistic Jews to bear purely Gentile names, and the supposition that Lois was the mother of Eunice is on the whole more probable.

The Apostle refers to her 'unfeigned faith,' by which he no doubt means that Lois had accepted Christian faith, and not merely that she cherished the ancient faith of Israel. As we find Eunice described as a 'Jewess who believed' on the occasion of St. Paul's second visit to Lystra, probably both she and Lois were converted on the Apostle's first visit to the town. Timothy's knowledge of the Hebrew Scriptures to which the Apostle refers (2 Ti 3^{15}) was probably due not only to his mother but also to Lois, whom we may regard as a faithful Jewish matron attached to the ancient hopes of Judaism, and who, influenced by her knowledge of the Scriptures, readily accepted St. Paul's message on his first visit to Lystra.

W. F. BOYD.

LONGSUFFERING.—The word 'longsuffering' occurs in the English NT in Lk 18^7 (RV only; AV 'bear long with'), Ro 2^4 9^{22}, 1 Co 13^4, 2 Co 6^6, Gal 5^{22}, Eph 4^2, Col 1^{11} 3^{12}, 1 Th 5^{14} (RV only; AV 'patient'), 1 Ti 1^{16}, 2 Ti 3^{10} 4^2, 1 P 3^{20}, 2 P $3^{9.15}$. The Greek words corresponding to this are μακρόθυμος, μακροθυμία, μακροθυμεῖν. These forms, however, occur in the original in a number of passages, where the English Bible (both AV and RV) has as their rendering 'patient,' 'patiently,' 'patience' (Mt 18^{26}, Ac 26^3, He $6^{12.15}$, Ja $5^{7.8.10}$). In the LXX the word occurs in the following passages: Ex 34^6, Nu 14^{18}, Neh 9^{17}, Ps 86^{15} 103^8 145^8, Pr 14^{29} 15^{18} 16^{32} 19^{11} 25^{15}, Ec 7^8, Jer 15^{15}, Jl 2^{13}, Jon 4^2, Nah 1^3. In all these passages the Hebrew has אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, or the noun-form of the same word. Besides these there are four instances where the LXX renders by μακροθυμία other Hebrew words, or is based on a different Hebrew text, so that the conception does not occur in the English Bible. These are Job 7^{16}, Pr 17^{27}, Is 57^{15}, Dn 4^{24}. μακροθυμία is a word belonging to the later Greek.

The Hebrew אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם and the Greek μακρόθυμος absolutely coincide in their verbal structure. None the less there is to be noted a difference in the basic figure underlying each, which will explain the difference in usage. The Hebrew אַפַּיִם specifically means 'anger,' 'wrath,' and accordingly the אֶרֶךְ אַ is one who is 'long,' in the sense of 'long-delaying' his anger; hence in many cases the word is rendered by 'slow to anger' in the English Bible. On the other hand, θυμός in μακρόθυμος does not specifically denote 'anger,' but has the general meaning of 'temper,' although it can also have the former specialized sense. A μακρόθυμος is therefore he who keeps his temper long, and this can be understood with reference to wilful provocation by man, in which case it will mean the exercise of restraint

from anger; or with reference to trying circumstances and persons, in which case it will mean the exercise of patience. The Greek term thus comes to have a double meaning, whilst the Hebrew equivalent has only one, never being used in the sense of 'patience.' Jer 15^{15} is no exception to this, for when the prophet here prays, "'Take me not away in thy longsuffering,' he relates the longsuffering to his persecutors, and expresses the fear that God's deferring their punishment may result in his own death.

μακροθυμία is in the NT employed in both senses —that of 'longsuffering' and that of 'patience'— with reference to both God and man. The only instance of the meaning 'patience' in its application to God seems to be Lk 18^{7}. Here it is said that God will 'avenge his elect that cry to him day and night (*καὶ μακροθυμεῖ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς*) although he is longsuffering over them.' The *αὐτοῖς* does not have for its antecedent the persecutors of the elect, but the elect themselves. The meaning is that God proceeds slowly and patiently in attending to their case (cf. 2 P 3^{9}: *βραδύνει*, 'the Lord is not slack concerning his promise'). In all other cases the word when used of God denotes specifically the restraint of His anger and the deferring of the execution thereof (=*ὀργή*); thus Ro 2^{4} 9^{22}, 1 Ti 1^{16}, 1 P 3^{20}.

This Divine longsuffering is exercised with a two-fold purpose: (*a*) to give its objects time for repentance (Ro 2^{4}, 2 P $3^{9.15}$); (*b*) to gain time and prepare the opportunity for the execution of His purpose in other respects (Ro 9^{22}; here the 'enduring with longsuffering of the vessels of wrath' is placed side by side with the purpose of God [*θέλειν*] to show His wrath, and the *μακροθυμία* does not imply a reversal or suspense of this purpose [so Weiss], but simply a delay in its execution, among other things for the reason stated in v.^{23}, 'that he might make known the riches of his glory upon vessels of mercy').

μακροθυμία as exercised by men towards men may be both 'longsuffering' and 'patience.' It is not always easy to tell with certainty which of the two is in the mind of the writer, but in a case like Col 1^{11}, where *ὑπομονή*, 'patience,' and *μακροθυμία*, 'longsuffering,' occur together, the meaning is plain. Trench (*NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 191) observes that *μακροθυμία* always refers to persons, never to things. This is not quite correct, for He $6^{12.15}$ proves that it can be used in respect to circumstances or things as well as to persons. Patience can be exercised with reference to trying persons as well as to trying circumstances; and, from the nature of the case, where the former happens the distinction between 'longsuffering' and 'patience' will become more or less a fleeting one and the line will be hard to draw (cf. Gal 5^{22}, Eph 4^{2}, Col 1^{11} 3^{12}, 1 Th 5^{14}, 2 Ti 3^{10}, 2 P 3^{15} on the one hand with Ja $5^{7.8.10}$ on the other).

μακροθυμία in the sense of 'longsuffering' has for its synonym *ἀνοχή*; in the sense of 'patience,' *ὑπομονή*. The difference between *μακροθυμία* and *ἀνοχή* (Ro 2^{4} 3^{26}) seems to be that in *ἀνοχή* the idea of the temporariness of the suspension of punishment is given with the word as such, whereas *μακροθυμία*, so far as the word is concerned, might be never exhausted. As to *ὑπομονή*, this differs from *μακροθυμία* in having an element of positive heroic endurance in it, whilst the patience called *μακροθυμία* is a more negative conception which denotes the absence of a spirit of resistance and rebellion. As stated above, *μακροθυμία* occurs of God at least once in the sense of 'patience'; *ὑπομονή* is nowhere ascribed to God. *θεὸς τῆς ὑπομονῆς* (Ro 15^{5}) is not 'the God who shows patience,' but 'the God who gives patience' (cf. Ro 15^{13}, He 13^{20}, 1 P 5^{10}). It is predicated of Jesus in 2 Th 3^{5}, He $12^{1.2}$.

GEERHARDUS VOS.

LORD.—In the AV the word 'lord' generally represents the Greek *κύριος*, with the exception of Ac 4^{24}, 2 P 2^{1}, Jude [4], and Rev 6^{10}, where it stands for *δεσπότης*. In the last three passages the RV renders 'master.' On the other hand, there are cases where *κύριος* is rendered 'master' both in the AV and the RV—*e.g.* Ac $16^{16.19}$, Eph $6^{5.9}$. As a common noun the word 'lord' is not of very frequent occurrence. It is used of the Roman Emperor (Ac 25^{26}); of a husband (1 P 3^{6}); of the heir of a property (Gal 4^{1}); and of the angelic powers (1 Co 8^{5}). But usually it is applied either to God or to Christ, and comes to be used almost as a proper name.

1. The name applied to God.—In the LXX *κύριος* is employed consistently to represent יְהוָה, which the Jews substituted in reading for the name יהוה, and hence it became the general designation of God. We meet with it frequently in the NT in this application, sometimes expanded into the title *κύριος ὁ θεός*, or even *κύριος ὁ θεὸς ὁ παντοκράτωρ* (Rev 4^{8} 11^{17}, etc.). God is addressed as *κύριος* in prayer (Ac 1^{24}). The title is used predicatively of Him in Ac 17^{24} ('Lord of heaven and earth'). In such phrases as 'even as the Lord gave' (1 Co 3^{5}), 'if the Lord will' (4^{19}; cf. Ro 1^{10} 15^{32}), 'chastened of the Lord' (1 Co 11^{32}), the reference is probably to God rather than to Christ. Naturally it is God who is referred to where the term occurs in quotations from the OT, as Ac 3^{22}, Ro 4^{8} $9^{28f.}$, 2 Co $6^{17f.}$; though, as we shall see, there are occasions where such quotations are interpreted as referring directly to Christ. The reference is likewise to God in various phrases which recall OT associations, such as 'the Spirit of the Lord' (Ac 5^{9}), 'the fear of the Lord' (9^{31}), 'the hand of the Lord' (11^{21}). In Rev., with one or two exceptions, the title refers to God—*e.g.* $4^{8.11}$ $11^{15.17}$ 19^{1}—though on occasions Christ, in contrast to the kings of the earth, is called 'King of kings and Lord of lords' (17^{14} 19^{16}). St. Peter, St. James, and Hebrews seem to use the term indifferently for God or Christ. In the Pauline Epistles the term usually designates Christ, but there are occasional exceptions, and we must determine from the context whether God or Christ is to be understood. Thus, *e.g.*, in the phrase 'the word of the Lord,' *i.e.* the gospel (1 Th 1^{8}), we should certainly expect 'the Lord' to refer to Christ, yet the phrase recurs in the following chapter in the form 'the word of God' (2^{13}). So 'the Lord of peace' (2 Th 3^{16}) corresponds to 'the very God of peace' (1 Th 5^{23}); and 1 Co 3^{5}, where some take *κύριος* to apply to Christ, is proved by v.^{9} to refer to God. But indeed it is difficult to say with certainty in many cases who is intended, and sometimes St. Paul ascribes the same function now to God and now to Christ (*e.g.* 1 Co 7^{17} compared with 2 Co 10^{13}). Some (*e.g.* Cremer and Godet) would lay down the rule that in the NT *κύριος* is to be understood as referring to God only in the OT quotations and references (so also Lietzmann, so far as St. Paul is concerned); but it is evident from some of the cases already quoted that such a canon cannot be consistently observed.

2. The name applied to Christ.—For the most part, however, the term is employed in the NT to designate Christ.

(1) *The subjection of the believer to Christ.*—The simplest instance of the use of the word 'Lord' for Christ is in the Gospels, where it describes the relationship of Jesus to the disciples. In this sense it occurs in Ac 1^{6} as a form of address of the Master, and in the phrase frequently recurring throughout the book—'the Lord Jesus,' *e.g.* 1^{21} 4^{33} 8^{16}. But such employment of the term is innocent of the doctrinal implication that attaches to it as generally employed in the NT. We meet with it in various forms—sometimes simply *κύριος* or *ὁ κύριος*,

sometimes ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, usually with the addition of Ἰησοῦς or Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. What is suggested by this title as assigned to Christ? The simplest answer is that it calls up the relation of king and subject, conceived in the Oriental spirit as that of lord and slave (cf. 1 K 17[32] 29[3] [LXX]), as typical of that which obtains between Christ and the believer. St. Paul frequently calls himself δοῦλος Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ (Ro 1[1], Gal 1[10], etc.); on one occasion he uses that term as a worthy designation of a faithful disciple (Col 4[12]), and reminds believers that such slavery is the condition into which they have surrendered themselves (1 Co 7[22]).

(2) *The majesty of Christ.*—The title κύριος as applied to Christ suggests something more than the relation of subjection in which the believer stands to Him. It is deliberately selected to assign a certain lofty dignity to Christ. It was the custom in the East to call gods by the title 'Lord' (Deissmann, *Licht vom Osten*, 253 ff.), and, as we have seen, the practice of the LXX had made this term the familiar one to the Jew for his God Jahweh. The title was deliberately transferred to Christ by the early Christians to signify that they worshipped Him as a Divine Being. In 1 Co 8[5f.] St. Paul defines the Christian attitude to Christ by contrasting it with that of the worshippers of false gods. They worship many so-called gods and lords, but the Christian has but the 'one God, the Father, of whom are all things and we unto him, and one Lord, Jesus Christ, through whom are all things, and we through him.' Here St. Paul places Christ alongside of God as entitled to Divine honour. How such a position is compatible with the strict monotheism of the 'one God, the Father,' he does not discuss. It may be, as Johannes Weiss (*Christus*, p. 26) suggests, that he selected the title 'Lord' for Christ here as predicating a dignity one rank lower than that of Supreme God, and so leaving room for that relation of subordination which the Apostle elsewhere assigns to Him (2 Co 1[3], Eph 1[17]). It was in virtue of the Resurrection that the Church came to invest Jesus with such unique dignity. This is the standpoint of Peter in Ac 2[32-36]. Jesus of Nazareth, 'a *man* approved of God' (v.[22]), has by the Resurrection and Exaltation been made by God 'both Lord and Christ.' So in Ro 1[4] St. Paul says that Jesus has been constituted (ὁρισθέντος) God's Son in power, according to the spirit of holiness, by the resurrection of the dead (cf. also Eph 1[20ff.]). And the well-known passage Ph 2[9-11] accounts for Jesus' investment with the title 'Lord' along the same lines. After the humiliation of the Cross 'God highly exalted him, and gave unto him the name which is above every name; that in the name of Jesus [*i.e.* whenever the name is invoked in prayer by oneself or sounded in one's ears by others (W. Heitmüller, *Im Namen Jesu*, 1903, p. 66 f.)] every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things on earth and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord, to the glory of God the Father.' There is difference of opinion as to whether 'the name which is above every name' is the title 'Lord.' In view of the confession of Lordship to which the passage leads up, it seems natural to adopt this interpretation. By exalting Jesus, God has raised Him to supreme honour. He has bestowed on Him that name which He had hitherto borne Himself. The passage becomes pregnant with meaning when taken (as Weiss suggests [*op. cit.* p. 27]) in connexion with the LXX of Is 42[8]: ἐγὼ κύριος ὁ θεός, τοῦτό μού ἐστι τὸ ὄνομα, τὴν δόξαν μου ἑτέρῳ οὐ δώσω. But this name and this glory God has given to another. He has invested Jesus with the Divine name; He has given Him supreme sovereignty. All beings in heaven and earth must bow the knee before Him. He virtually takes the place of God, the monotheistic position being safeguarded in that concluding phrase, 'to the glory of God the Father.'

The whole of the NT goes to corroborate the lofty estimate of the dignity of Christ suggested by this title. As Lord He comes in the mind of the Church to take His position alongside of God, to exercise such functions as had been attributed to God, and to receive such reverence as had been accorded to God alone—according to an interpretation of Ro 9[5] which is linguistically unexceptionable, He is even called θεός (cf. also 2 P 1[1]). Prayer is addressed to Him (Ac 7[60], Ro 10[12], 1 Co 1[2], 2 Co 12[8]). He is expected to judge the world (2 Co 5[10f.], 2 Ti 4[1. 8]), and is endowed with Divine omniscience (1 Co 4[5]). It is He who assigns their various lots to men (7[17]), who grants power of service and endows with grace (1 Ti 1[12. 14]), who stands by and strengthens in time of trouble (2 Ti 4[17]), and delivers out of persecutions (3[11]). All authority in the Church proceeds from Him (1 Co 5[4], 2 Co 10[8] 13[10]). The most frequent form of benediction invokes His grace. Baptism is performed in His name (Ac 8[16] 10[48]). That name is invoked when the sick are anointed with oil (Ja 5[14]); and not only on such formal occasions, but in every word and deed (Col 3[17]), for that appears to be the significance of the phrase, one is to 'do all in the name of the Lord' (Heitmüller, *op. cit.* p. 69). He is the Creator of all things (1 Co 8[5], Col 1[16]) and Lord over all beings (Ac 10[36], Ro 10[12]), our only Master and Lord (Jude[4]).

But perhaps the most striking instance of all of how Christ comes to have the value of God in the Christian consciousness is afforded by the fact that, repeatedly in the NT, quotations from the OT which manifestly refer to God are immediately applied to Christ. Thus, *e.g.*, the exhortation of the Psalmist to taste and see that the Lord is good (Ps 34[8]) is interpreted (1 P 2[3]) with reference to the experience of the believer of the salvation of Christ; and St. Paul finds an answer to the question of Is 40[13] (LXX), 'Who hath known the mind of the Lord?' in the triumphant declaration, 'But we have the mind of Christ' (1 Co 2[16]). Other instances of this practice will be found in Ro 10[13], 1 Co 1[31] 10[22], 2 Co 3[16. 18] 10[17], 1 P 3[15]. Such being the significance with which the title is invested, it is small wonder that St. Paul should have regarded acknowledgment of Christ's Lordship as the mark of the true believer (Col 2[6]). To confess Him as Lord with one's mouth, and to believe in one's heart that God has raised Him from the dead (observe the connexion between the Resurrection and Lordship), is to be assured of salvation (Ro 10[9]). In cases of ecstasy such confession was the infallible sign of the presence of the Holy Spirit (1 Co 12[3]). The proclamation of Christ's Lordship was the central theme of the Apostle's preaching (2 Co 4[5]), the universal recognition of that Lordship the consummation of the Divine purpose (Ph 2[11]).

(3) *The protest against Emperor-worship.*—There remains to be noted one other aspect of the assertion of Christ's Lordship—the protest implied against the worship of the Emperor under the same title. Deissmann has shown (*op. cit.* p. 255 ff.) that already in the time of St. Paul the title was current as a form of address of the Emperor (cf. Ac 25[26]), if not in Rome, at any rate in the East. Caligula had ordered his statue to be erected in the Temple at Jerusalem, and required that he should be worshipped as God. Domitian is called in official reports 'our Lord and God.' When such was the tendency that was abroad, it is possible that even in the mouth of a man who, like St. Paul, urged subjection to the higher

powers, the proclamation of the Lordship of Christ may have had a polemical *nuance*. In the middle of the 2nd cent. we find Polycarp laying down his life rather than say κύριος καῖσαρ (*Mart. Polyc.* viii. 2), and probably long before that time, on the lips of those who repeated it, if not by the men who first employed it, the formula 'our Lord Jesus Christ' was uttered with an emphasis on the word *our* which suggested repudiation of the claims made on behalf of the Emperor (Weinel, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, p. 19). St. Paul could say of the Christian, 'our state is in heaven' (Ph 3^{20}), and endeavour to keep his religion apart altogether from politics. But when politics invaded the sphere of religion and Cæsar laid claim to the things that are Christ's, it became the duty of the Christian to maintain the sovereignty of his Lord. Such passages as Ph 2^{9-11}, 1 Co $8^{5f.}$ cannot fail to have been interpreted as a protest against the growing tendency to ascribe to the Emperor the reverence which belonged to Christ alone. We hear the same protest in the claim of Jude [4], 'our only Master and Lord, Jesus Christ,' and in a milder form in the subtle distinction made in 1 P 2^{17}, '*Fear* God, *honour* the king,' *i.e.* the Emperor. In Rev. the references to the Emperor-worship become more explicit ($13^{8.\ 15}$ 14^{9} 20^{4}), and the protest against it finds freer utterance. Christ is proclaimed King of kings and Lord of lords (17^{14} 19^{16}), while the sovereignty of this world becomes the sovereignty of the Lord and of His anointed one, and He shall reign for ever and ever (11^{15}).

LITERATURE.—A. B. Bruce, *Apologetics*, 1892, bk. iii. ch. v.; H. Lietzmann, *Die Briefe des Apostels Paulus* (=*Handbuch zum NT*, iii. 1 [1910]), p. 53 ff.; A. Deissmann, *Die Urgeschichte des Christentums im Lichte der Sprachforschung*, 1910, *Licht vom Osten*, 1908; Joh. Weiss, *Christus*, 1909, *Das Urchristentum*, 1914, ch. ii. § 5, iv. § 3, vii. § 4; H. Weinel, *Die Stellung des Urchristentums zum Staat*, 1908; H. R. Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ*, 1912, bk. iii. ch. v.; W. Bousset, *Kyrios Christos*, 1913. G. WAUCHOPE STEWART.

LORD'S DAY.—1. Origin.—Before the apostolic period had wholly passed away 'the first day of the week' had become, or was well on the way to become, the stated weekly holy-day of the Christian Church, bearing the distinctive designation 'the Lord's Day' (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα). It is evident that this day was regarded as of special importance from the beginning, and was placed alongside of the Sabbath in the esteem of Jewish Christians. In the course of time it became a substitute for the Sabbath itself. How this was brought about cannot be exactly stated. We cannot point to any definite act of institution, any such impressive story and legislative sanction as the Pentateuch supplies with reference to the Jewish Sabbath. No authority of the Lord Himself can be cited for it; there is no 'Jesus said' to correspond to 'God spake all these words, saying' (Ex 20^{1}), or 'the Lord spake unto Moses, saying' (Lv 19^{1-3}).

The materials afforded us by the NT are scanty indeed. Two things, however, are clear.—(*a*) In the brief Resurrection stories, as found in all the Gospels, conspicuous emphasis is laid on 'the first day of the week' as the day on which Jesus rose from the dead. See Mk 16^{2}, Lk 24^{1}, Jn 20^{1} (τῇ μιᾷ τῶν σαββάτων), Mt 28^{1} (εἰς μίαν σαββάτων), the fragment Mk 16^{9-20} (πρώτῃ σαββάτου), Jn 20^{19} (τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ τῇ μιᾷ σαββάτων). Jn 20^{26}, with its 'after eight days' (the octave), is specially interesting, for it has the faint suggestion of a custom-germ, or reflects the early-established practice of a weekly meeting on that day. Th. Zahn calls attention to the particularity with which John notes the days connected with the Passion and Resurrection, and explains it as due to the Christian week-scheme already fully established among the churches of Asia Minor, with which the Fourth Gospel was so closely associated (*Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*, no. 5, p. 178).—(*b*) Early in the 2nd cent. the first day of the week appears as distinctively the sacred day of Christianity under the name of 'the Lord's Day.'

The connexion between (*a*) and (*b*) cannot be fortuitous. The tradition that the Lord rose again on the first day of the week naturally invested that day with special interest. Jesus' Resurrection from the first figured as a dominating fact concerning Him in early faith and evangelism. What wonder that that day should come to be regarded as *par excellence* the Lord's Day?

Those who deny the reality of the Resurrection as a unique event are hard pressed to account for the undeniable primitive association of the day with that occurrence. What is there convincing in the following suggestions? 'It is quite possible that the Christian Sunday was originally fixed—perhaps before the women's story was generally known—in some other way, *e.g.* by the events of the Day of Pentecost, or by the first appearance of the risen Christ in Galilee, or by the selection of the first available time after the Jewish Sabbath, and that the connexion of it with the date of the Resurrection was an afterthought' (J. M. Thompson, *Miracles in the NT*, London, 1911, p. 164). Later on the same author seems to treat the 'appearance' also as a fictitious afterthought grafted on to a Christian time-scheme of amazingly early development: 'Both the appearances take place on Sunday (Jn 20). This is another indication of the ecclesiastical and eucharistic atmosphere in which the Resurrection stories grew up' (p. 199; cf. A. Loisy, *Autour d'un petit livre*, Paris, 1903, p. 242f.).

The NT itself is not without evidence that this institution began its growth in apostolic times. The passages are few but familiar. In Ac 20^{7} the first day of the week is associated with a Christian assembly for religious purposes (συνηγμένων ἡμῶν κλάσαι ἄρτον). If a use of this kind had not already begun, what propriety or moment would there be in stating what day of the week it was? Again, at an earlier point in St. Paul's career we find him urging the Christians at Corinth to make weekly contributions towards the fund for the relief of the impoverished church at Jerusalem, and to do it on the first day of the week (1 Co 16^{2}). It has been pointed out, not unreasonably, that this contribution is not represented as an offering to be collected at some meeting for worship (Deissmann, art. 'Lord's Day' in *EBi*), that, rather, the expression παρ' ἑαυτῷ simply points to setting aside such a gift *at home*, and so the passage yields no positive evidence for the observance of the day as in later times. When, however, it is suggested, as an alternative explanation, that the first day of the week is named because probably this or the day before was the pay-day for working folk at Corinth, we need some definite evidence for this which is not forthcoming. And when, as Zahn observes (*op. cit.* p. 177), we find that in the 2nd cent. there was a wide-spread custom of laying charitable gifts for the poor on the church dish in connexion with public worship, it is difficult not to connect this with St. Paul's words here. May not his action in this particular instance, indeed, have directly led to the institution of a collection for the poor on the Lord's Day, and especially in association with 'the breaking of bread'? It may be added that, as St. Paul urges this course so 'that no collections be made when I come,' and as the whole work is described in v.[1] as a 'collection' (λογία), it is most natural to infer that there was not only a setting apart of gifts, but also a paying into a local fund week by week. This strengthens the view that 1 Co 16^{2} incidentally gives evidence of early movements towards the setting up of the Lord's Day as an institution, especially when taken along with Ac 20^{7}; for when could the contributions of the people be better collected in readiness for the Apostle than at their meetings on the special day of worship?

It is fair also to suggest (with Hessey, *Sunday*, p. 43) that the 'assembling' spoken of in He 10^{25} must have taken place at stated times and that the time is most likely to have been the first day of the week.

The mention of ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα in Rev 1^{10} calls for special notice, as this is the only instance in the NT of the use of the expression that subsequently became so established and familiar. But does it bear in this place the same significance as it came to possess and possesses still? Some have argued that what is meant is not 'the Lord's Day' as we understand it, but 'the Day of the Lord' in the sense in which the OT prophets employ the term, and as it figures in the eschatological outlook of the NT (*e.g.* 1 Th 5^2). Hort (*Apoc. of St. John, I.–III.*, London, 1908, *ad loc.*) inclines to this view, thinking it suits the context better, and seeing no reason for mentioning the day on which the seer had his vision. He suggests as a possible rendering: 'I became in the Spirit and so in the Day of the Lord.' It is not surprising that he only ventures on this 'with some doubt.' Deissmann (*loc. cit.*) also favours this view, identifying 'the Lord's Day' here with 'the day of Jahweh,' the day of judgment—in the LXX ἡ ἡμέρα τοῦ κυρίου (as also in St. Paul and elsewhere). But here we have an important point telling for the ordinary view. Neither in the LXX nor in the NT (nor in other early Christian writings) have we any instance of ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα (if not here) used as = 'the Day of the Lord.' The term with this meaning is ἡ ἡμέρα (τοῦ) κυρίου. If the two expressions were equivalent and interchangeable, how strange that the latter should occur so regularly and the former be found in but one solitary instance!

On the other hand, we have an undisputed early example of the use of ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα (in noteworthy abbreviation) as = 'Sunday' in *Didache*, xiv. 1 (κατὰ κυριακὴν δὲ κυρίου συναχθέντες κλάσατε ἄρτον; cf. Ac 20^7). The expression thus could not have been a new term *c.* A.D. 100, since κυριακή alone is used as = 'Lord's Day,' and particularly in the striking collocation κυριακὴ κυρίου. The relevance of this is unaffected even if Turner is right in regarding the *Didache* as simply a *réchauffé* of a purely Jewish manual, and the curious phrase 'the Lord's day of the Lord' as 'only the Christian substitute for the Jewish "Sabbath of the Lord"' (*Studies in Early Church History*, Oxford, 1912, p. 8). Cf. also Ignatius, *ad Magn.* ix. 1 'living in the observance of the Lord's Day' (κατὰ κυριακὴν ζῶντες). No difficulty in point of time emerges concerning the use of ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα in Rev., which is reasonably assigned to the reign of Domitian. And it is not used here as a newly-coined term. How much earlier than the time of Domitian it came into use none can say.

It is true we find the simple early name 'first day' or 'eighth day' continuing in use long after ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα emerges. Note particularly 'the eighth day, which is also the first,' used by Justin Martyr (*Dial.* xli., *Apol.* i. 67) and still later writers. But evidently there was in 'Lord's Day' an inherent suitability and felicity which caused it to outlive these primitive designations and become the permanent and characteristic Christian name of the day. It passed into Western use, not only figuring as *dies dominica* in the liturgical scheme of the week, but establishing itself in ordinary modern nomenclature (*e.g.* in French *dimanche* and Italian *domenica*).

2. The epithet κυριακή and its use.—We can hardly wonder that at one time κυριακός was regarded as a word 'coined by the apostles themselves' (Winer-Moulton, *Grammar of NT Greek*[9], Edinburgh, 1882, p. 296). In Wilke-Grimm's *Clavis Novi Testamenti*[3], Leipzig, 1888, it is described as 'vox solum biblica et ecclesiastica,' and in Grimm-Thayer[4], Edinburgh, 1892, this is reproduced, save that 'solum' is passed over. However, the papyri and inscriptions discovered more recently in Egypt and in Asia Minor abundantly prove that the word was in current use in the whole of the Greek-speaking world; *e.g.* κυριακὸς λόγος (= Imperial treasury) occurs in a government decree issued in A.D. 68, ὁ κύριος being a designation of the Emperor (cf. similar use of Lat. *dominicus*). For other examples see Deissmann, *Bible Studies*, Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1901, p. 217 f.

But from the fact that early Christians did not coin the term κυριακός, but found it ready to hand in the vocabulary of the day, it does not necessarily follow that they used it as the pagan world used it. They set it in a new connexion. In their use of it they gave it a specific and distinctive character. Thus we find it used in specific association (which became permanent) with the Supper (κυριακὸν δεῖπνον, 1 Co 11^{20}), with the Day (as here), with the Sayings of Jesus (λόγια κυριακά, Papias), with the House, the *domus ecclesiæ* (τὸ κυριακόν).

In this connexion the following note from *OED*, *s.v.* 'Church,' may be of use: 'The parallelism of Gr. κυριακόν, church, κυριακή, Sunday (in 11th cent. also 'church'), L. *dominicum*, church, *dominica*, *dies dominica*, Sunday, Irish *domhnach*, "church" and "Sunday," is instructive.'

Deissmann (*loc. cit.*) dissents from the view advanced by Holtzmann and others that our particular term (ἡ κυριακὴ ἡμέρα or ἡ κυριακή) 'is formed after the analogy of δεῖπνον κυριακόν.' He prefers (though, indeed, with a certain amount of caution) to regard this Christian mode of naming the first day of the week as analogous to the custom of the pagan world in Egypt and Asia Minor whereby the first day of each month was called Σεβαστή (= Imperial). Thus the Christian weekly 'Lord's Day' was the direct counterpart of a monthly 'Emperor's Day.' This, to say the least, is not self-evident; and Deissmann may well hesitate, as he does, to maintain that the Christians thus consciously copied the pagan use. We need not, indeed, argue a direct analogy to κυριακὸν δεῖπνον in particular. Perhaps we may more reasonably regard both these expressions and others given above as being independent but co-ordinate examples of the application of the epithet κυριακός. There could be no question from the first as to the κύριος it had reference to. Nor, again, need we suppose that Christians, in thus speaking of Jesus, were directly influenced by the use of ὁ κύριος or ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν as designating a deity or an emperor in the time of the Roman Empire. They had a sufficient precedent for this in the Jewish use of *'Adônāi* for God. At the same time the parallelism in such use among Jews, Christians, and pagans is a matter of some interest.

3. The relation of the Lord's Day to the Jewish Sabbath.—As shown by the few passages already noticed, the first day of the week evidently began from the earliest times to have a special value in the eyes of Christians. But, whatever the significance and use of that day, the day itself was not confounded with the Jewish Sabbath. Nor is there any sign that in apostolic times there was any thought of superseding the latter by the Lord's Day.

'L'idée de transporter au dimanche la solennité du sabbat, avec toutes ses exigences, est une idée étrangère au christianisme primitif' (Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*[4], p. 46). Similarly Zahn (*op. cit.* p. 188 f.) points out that no one belonging to the circle of Jewish Christians would think of relaxing one of Moses' commandments; and, even if already in apostolic times Sunday came to be observed, none could think that the Sabbath commandment would be fulfilled through a Sabbath-like observance of another day instead of the observance of the Sabbath itself.

For a considerable time the two existed side by

side. The Jewish Christian who met with his fellow-Christians on the Lord's Day still observed the Sabbath of his fathers. Nothing in the use of the first day of the week as a day for Christian reunions could have been intended as hostile to the old Jewish institution. Clear evidence as to the two-fold observance of both the days is furnished by Ignatius (*ad Magn.* ix. [longer recension]), who exhorts Christians to keep the Sabbath, 'but no longer after the Jewish manner.' 'And after the observance of the Sabbath, let every friend of Christ keep the Lord's Day as a festival, the resurrection-day, the queen and chief of all the days.' Similarly in the *Apost. Const.* ii. 59: 'Assemble yourselves together every day, morning and evening, singing psalms and praying in the Lord's House (*ἐν τοῖς κυριακοῖς*) . . . but principally on the Sabbath day; and on the day of our Lord's Resurrection, which is the Lord's Day, meet more diligently,' etc. We have an interesting memorial of this primitive double observance in the Lat. and Gr. liturgical names for Sunday (*dies dominica*, *κυριακή*) and Saturday (*sabbatum*, *σάββατον*), the whole liturgical scheme of the week having come down from early times when Christians discarded the use of day-names associated with pagan gods.

It is true that Justin Martyr in a well-known passage (*Apology*, i. 67) uses the name 'Sunday' (*τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ*); but the expression 'the day *called* the day of the sun' clearly indicates that whilst Christians might use the ordinary name in intercourse with non-Christians they did not use it among themselves. Similarly in the same chapter Justin uses 'day of Saturn' (Saturday) instead of 'Sabbath.' Zahn (*op. cit.* p. 357) marks this as the only instance he knows of in which a Christian writer uses the term 'Sunday' in pre-Constantine times (see also *ERE*, art. 'Festivals and Fasts [Christian]').

As Duchesne (*op. cit.* p. 396) and others have pointed out, the observance of Sunday is one of a number of elements which Christianity had in common with the religion of Mithras. In Mithraism this was directly connected with the worship of the sun. It was inevitable that some should argue from this a vital connexion between the two religions. This was the case in primitive times. Tertullian (*Apol.* xvi.) vigorously repudiates the charge that Christians worshipped the sun as their god.

In the course of time, the distinction between church and synagogue growing wider, the Sabbath inevitably became less and less important and eventually fell into complete neglect among Christians, whilst the Lord's Day survived as their special sacred day of the week. (No institution of like kind was known in paganism.) It must be remembered that St. Paul was opposed to the introduction of OT festivals (including the Sabbath) into the churches he founded among the Gentiles, 'declaring that by the adoption of them the Gentile believer forfeited the benefits of the gospel, since he chose to rest his salvation upon rites instead of upon Christ (Col 2^{16}; cf. Gal 4^{10}, Ro $14^{5f.}$)' (G. P. Fisher, *Beginnings of Christianity*, 1877, new ed., 1886, p. 561; cf. Zahn, p. 189). We may reasonably conclude, indeed, that St. Paul himself, being one of the 'strong' (Ro $14^{5f.}$), shared the view of those who esteemed 'every day alike,' and that all days were alike sacred in his eyes, whether Sabbaths, Lord's Days, or others.

But the observance of the Lord's Day must have been a very different thing from that of the Jewish Sabbath. The commemoration of the Resurrection of Christ alone would make a great difference. Whether or not the apostles saw what the issue would be when the first day of the week began to be thus observed (in however simple a way), they must have given the growing custom their approval and welcomed the association of acts of joyful worship and almsgiving with the day. St. Paul could have been no exception in this respect; but apparently he did not foresee that the Christian 'first day' might in time assume those very features of the Jewish 'seventh day' Sabbath which would even deprecate the introduction of this ancient institution among Gentile Christians (see also art. SABBATH).

4. Primitive modes of observing the Lord's Day.—The fact that for Christians the one *raison d'être* of the Lord's Day was the commemoration of the Lord's Resurrection made it a weekly festival to be kept with gladness.

Somewhat later on, it is true, other associations were claimed for it as if to enhance the dignity of the day. *E.g.* a connexion with the first day of Creation and even with the Ascension was assumed; though these were trifling compared with some mediæval developments. Between the 11th and the 15th centuries we meet with a wide-spread fiction of a 'Letter from Heaven' inculcating Sunday observance, wherein the largest claims are made for the day: how that on it the angels were created, the ark rested on Ararat, the Exodus took place, also the Baptism of Jesus, His great miracles, His Ascension, and the Charism of Pentecost (see *An English Miscellany*, in honour of Dr. Furnivall, Oxford, 1901).

(*a*) We are frequently reminded by early Christian writers that it was the primitive custom to stand for prayer on that day instead of kneeling as on other days. Tertullian, amongst others, dilates on this (*de Orat.* xxiii.). Canon 20 of the Council of Nicæa plainly reflects a very old custom, as it enjoins that 'seeing there are some who kneel on Sunday and in the days of Pentecost . . , men should offer their prayers to God standing.'

(*b*) Cessation from all work does not appear to have been required in primitive times as an element in the observance of the day. So long as there were meetings for religious worship, Christians were not expected to cease from manual labour. But so far as Jewish Christians were concerned, if they observed Sabbath in such a way, they would hardly be likely to observe the day immediately following in the same way as well. For the rest it may be questioned whether social conditions made it practicable. We can hardly argue back to apostolic times from customs obtaining in society nominally Christian under nominally Christian government. Old Roman laws in pre-Christian times provided for the suspension of business (particularly in the law courts) on all *feriæ* or festivals. It was the Emperor Constantine who at length ordered that the same rule should apply to the Lord's Day, thus bestowing honour on the day as a fixed weekly festival (see Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, bk. xx. ch. ii.). It is noticeable that in Ignatius (*ad Magn.* ix. [see above]) Christians are exhorted to keep Sabbath 'after a spiritual manner, rejoicing in meditation on the Law'; and abstention from work is expressly discountenanced, while rest from labour is not demanded for the observance of the Lord's Day. Later on the practice of using Sunday as a day of rest from work came into vogue; and then it served as a sign distinguishing Christian from Jew.

Considerable light on this point is incidentally gained from the 29th Canon of the Council of Laodicea (4th cent.)—light as to what had long been the practice of Christians who clung to Jewish antecedents, and as to the conditions then prevailing. It reads: 'That Christians must not act as Jews by refraining from work on the Sabbath, but must rather work on that day, and, *if they can*, as Christians they must cease work on the Lord's Day, so giving it the greater honour.'

(*c*) The assemblies connected with the Lord's Day were two: the vigil in the night between Saturday and Sunday, and the celebration of the Liturgy on Sunday morning. One reason for meeting at such times was most probably the need for precaution in times of persecution and difficulty. An interesting account of Sunday worship of Christians at Jerusalem in the 4th cent. is to be found in a letter written by a Gallic lady who went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The document, written in the vulgar Latin, is given by Duchesne in his *Origines du culte chrétien*, App. 5. No doubt the picture reflects in the main a usage which had existed from much earlier times. A

crowd of people ('all who could possibly be there') gathers at the church doors 'before cock-crow' when the doors are first opened, then streams into the church, which is lit up by a large number of lamps (*luminaria infinita*). (Not that such zest in church attendance was universal in the early centuries. In a *Homily on the Lord's Day* by Eusebius of Alexandria [5th cent. ?] the slackness of people in coming to church is humorously treated and rebuked.) The worship includes *inter alia* the recitation of three psalms, responses, prayers, and the reading of the gospel story of the Resurrection. Justin Martyr's account of worship on the Lord's Day is also well known (*Apol.* i. 65–67), while—to go still further back to the very fringe of the Apostolic Age—we have Pliny's famous letter to Trajan wherein he describes Christians meeting early in the morning to sing hymns to Christ and (*v.l.* 'as') God, and joining in a sacramental act and a common meal. This took place, he says, *stato die*, and no doubt that fixed day was the first day of the week.

(*d*) Very possibly the sacramental meal ('breaking of bread') was the earliest distinctive feature in the Christian observance of the Lord's Day, the other exercises of prayer, reading, etc., being added later. 'To the sacramental meal of apostolic times, understood as a foretaste and assurance of the "Messianic banquet" in the coming Parousia, there was soon prefixed a religious exercise—modelled perhaps on the common worship of the Synagogue—which implied just those preparatory acts of penance, purification, and desirous stretching out towards the Infinite, which precede in the experience of the growing soul the establishment of communion with the Spiritual World' (E. Underhill, *The Mystic Way*, London, 1913, p. 335).

5. Modern names for Lord's Day.—The varying names by which the day has been known in later times reflect the confusion which has attended the history of the Lord's Day as a Christian institution.

(*a*) To speak of the day as 'the Sabbath' (even the expression 'Christian Sabbath' is only admissible on the ground of analogy) is to use a *modus loquendi* that primitive Christians could never have used. Their distinction between Sabbath and Lord's Day was as clear as between the first and the seventh day. It arises from the mistaken identification of the weekly festival of the Resurrection of Christ with the Sabbath of the Jews and of the Fourth Commandment in the Decalogue. The sanctions for the observance of the Lord's Day were wrongly sought in OT prescriptions (see Richard Baxter's treatise on 'The Divine appointment of the Lord's Day proved, etc.,' in *Works*, ed. Orme, London, 1830, xiii. 363 ff.).

Less than ever is it of service now to appeal to the Fourth Commandment as an authority in urging the due maintenance of the Lord's Day; though, indeed, the Mosaic institution has its full value as a venerable exemplification of the naturally wise provision for a weekly release from daily business and toil. Christians must rely on other sanctions, and chiefly the definite association of the day with the Resurrection of our Lord, the true instinct by which with great spontaneity the first little Christian communities set the day apart, the continuous usage of the Church, the provision for the function of worship. Others who may be uninfluenced by specific religious considerations, and for whom the very term '*Lord's* Day' may have no significance, may yet very well recognize the value of the underlying natural principle of the 'day of rest.'

(*b*) Again, the persistence, or survival, of the pre-Christian and pagan designation 'Sunday' is a matter of interest, especially since, being tacitly denuded of its ancient associations with sun-worship, it has come to be invested to the Christian mind with all the meaning attached to 'Lord's Day,' and used interchangeably with that name. We have seen how careful primitive Christians were to distinguish between the pagan name and that which they took for their own particular use. But the old nomenclature held its ground in the civil calendar notwithstanding the spread of Christianity. When Constantine (A.D. 321) publicly honoured the Lord's Day by enacting that it should be kept as a day of rest, he spoke of it as *dies venerabilis solis*. In the latter part of the 4th cent., in one of the laws of Valentinian II., there occurs the phrase: 'On Sunday, which our forefathers usually and rightly called the Lord's Day (*Dominicum*)'—a further evidence as to the triumph of the ancient name. It is curious to see 'Lord's Day' referred to as an old name that had fallen into abeyance (see Bingham, *op. cit.* XX. ii. 1).

An interesting subject of inquiry presents itself in the fact that among the Teutonic nations of Western Christendom this old pagan name, 'day of the sun,' has established itself in the calendar, whilst the modern Latin nations employ as the universal name the early Christian term *dies dominica* in various forms. (The futile attempt of the Quakers to supersede both forms and revert to NT simplicity by using the colourless expression 'first day' is a matter of history.) In the light of this divergence Zahn's plea for the day as alike valuable for Christians and non-Christians has point only when addressed to the Teutonic peoples. The weekly festival, he urges, should be upheld as 'a "Lord's Day" only, of course, for those who call upon the risen Jesus as their Lord, but as a "Sunday" for all men, a day when God's sun shines benignantly upon the earth' (*op. cit. ad fin.*).

LITERATURE.—Art. 'Lord's Day' in *HDB* (N. J. D. White), *EBi* (Deissmann), Smith-Cheetham's *DCA* (A. Barry), art. 'Festivals and Fasts (Christian)' in *ERE* (J. G. Carleton), art. 'Sonntagsfeier' in *PRE*[3] (Zöckler); Bingham, *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, Oxford, 1855, bks. xx., xxi.; Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*[4], Paris, 1909 (Eng. tr., *Christian Worship*[4], London, 1912), also *Early History of the Christian Church*, vol. i., Eng. tr. from 4th ed., do. 1909; J. A. Hessey, Bampton Lecture on *Sunday*, London, 1860; Th. Zahn, *Skizzen aus dem Leben der alten Kirche*[2], Leipzig, 1898, no. 6: 'Geschichte des Sonntags vornehmlich in der alten Kirche.'

J. S. CLEMENS.

LORD'S SUPPER.—See EUCHARIST.

LOT (Λώτ).—Lot, the nephew, and for a time the companion, of Abraham, is thrice over called 'righteous' in 2 P 2[7. 8]. With all his faults, of which the spirit of compromise was the most conspicuous, he was relatively δίκαιος, *i.e.* in comparison with the citizens of Sodom among whom he made his abode. The Vulg. and Erasmus assume that in v.[8] he is designated 'just in seeing and hearing'—'aspectu et auditu justus'—but it is better to read, 'in seeing and hearing he vexed his righteous soul.' The active voice (ἐβασάνιζεν) implies that while he was no doubt continually vexed beyond measure by the conduct of the people around him, his troubles were ultimately of his own making. 'It was precisely his dwelling there, which was his own deliberate choice, that became an active torment to his soul' (H. von Soden in *Handkom. zum NT*, iii., Freiburg i. B., 1899, p. 203).

JAMES STRAHAN.

LOTS.—1. Definition.—The art. DIVINATION indicated how at an early period men felt it to be their duty and for their advantage to get into and maintain friendly relations with their divinities. There gradually grew up, on the one hand, methods by which the deities revealed their will to men; and on the other, methods by which men could learn the desire or decision of the deities. Among the latter, one of the most primitive and most widely diffused was *klēromancy* (κλῆρος + μαντεία),

divination by lot. While the efficacy of kleromancy in modern civilized life depends on the elimination of all possibility of human interference, in the lower culture it depends and depended on the certainty of Divine interference, the untrammelled exercise of the Divine will. This end was attained by (*a*) the use of certain things through which, according to tradition, the divinities could express their will. There were many such, as 'a rod' (*ῥάβδος*, מַקֵּל, hence *ῥαβδομαντεία*, 'rhabdomancy'), 'arrows' (*βέλος*, חֵץ; hence *βελομαντία*, 'belomancy'), knucklebones (*ἀστράγαλος*; hence *ἀστραγαλόμαντις*, 'astragalomant'), and many others, as pebbles (*ψῆφος*, גּוֹרָל), beans, etc.; (*b*) the reverent manipulation of sacred things through which the deity had indicated his pleasure to make known his will, a good example of which is the use by the Hebrew priests of 'the Urim and the Thummim'; (*c*) the selecting of a method by which the deity was perfectly free to express his will without human interference, a good example of which is seen in the action of Jonathan (1 S 14^{9-13}). This latter use approaches very closely to the omen or the ordeal and to some kinds of rhabdomancy.*

2. Diffusion.—Kleromancy is a universal religious practice. It was resorted to by the Romans† and Greeks.‡ It prevailed throughout the Semitic world. In the form of belomancy it was used by the Babylonians (Ezk $21^{21\ (26)}$); 'he shook the arrows to and fro.'§ It was employed by the sailors of the ship of Tarshish (Jon 1^{7}), by the Arabs,‖ and Assyrians (*HDB* iii. 152[b]), while the Persians resorted to it as a means of finding out lucky days (Est 3^{7} 9^{24-32}). It flourishes in China and Japan and in all uncivilized countries to-day. In every case it is in close connexion with the worship of the deities, and often takes place in their presence or in their temples, and always under their auspices.

'Among the Hebrews in the oldest times the typical form of divine decision was by the lot, or other such oracle at the sanctuary.'¶ Later on, kleromancy was largely and regularly employed with the sanction of Jahweh, so that, apart from all human influence, passion, bias, or trickery, He might be able to dictate His will: 'The lot גּוֹרָל יִפֹּל but the whole decision thereof comes from Jahweh' (Pr 16^{33}).** This means not 'that the actual disposal of affairs might be widely different from what . . . the lot . . . appeared to determine' (Fairbairn, *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, ii. 118), but the exact opposite; hence it was clearly established that 'the lot causeth contentions to cease, and parteth between the mighty' (Pr 18^{18}). We have a conspicuous example of rhabdomancy in the budding and fruit-bearing of Aaron's rod (Nu 17^{1-8} [16–23]),†† and the practice is also referred to in Hos 4^{12}, and probably in Is 17^{10}. We find kleromancy practised in the form of belomancy in 2 K 13^{15-19}.* Under the form known as the Urim and the Thummim it was or became a mode used only by the priests.† Kleromancy had, of course, its largest sphere in acts directly connected with Jahweh. The decision as to which goat should be for sacrifice to Jahweh and which to Azazel was determined by lot (Lv 16^{8-10}). A war was the war primarily not of Israel but of Jahweh, and that specially if it was for the punishment of wrongdoing; hence the members of a punitive expedition were chosen by lot (Jg 20^{9}), hence also the spoil taken in war (Jg 5^{30}), whether captives (2 S 8^{2}, Nah 3^{10}, Jl 3^{3}) or sections of a conquered city (Ob ^{11}). The services of the sanctuary were sacred; hence the priestly functions were assigned to the orders by lot (1 Ch 24^{5-7}, Lk 1^{9}), Shemaiah the scribe writing out the lots in the presence of a committee consisting of the king, the high priest, and other functionaries (1 Ch 24^{6-31}). The musicians (1 Ch 25^{8}), the custodians (1 Ch $26^{13, 14}$), and the persons who should bring the wood and other offerings to the temple (Neh 10^{34}), were all chosen by lot. So sacred was this procedure that a special official was entrusted with 'superintending the daily casting of the lots for determining the particular parts of the service that were to be apportioned to the various officiating priests' (E. Schürer, *HJP* II. i. 269, 293). It was even maintained by some Jews in later times that the high priest had been chosen by the same method (Jos. *BJ* IV. iii. 7, 8; *c. Ap.* ii. 24). As the king was the official representative of Jahweh, Saul was chosen by lot (1 S 10^{19-21}). Godless or indiscriminate work is where no lot is cast (Ezk 24^{6}). When the חֵרֶם or ban had been pronounced and violated, then the guilty person was detected whether the חֵרֶם was permanent (Jos 7^{14-18}) or temporary (1 S 14^{41-42}), in both cases presumably by the Urim and the Thummim.‡ As the Semites regarded the land inhabited by a nation as the possession of the god of the nation, Palestine belonged, as an allotment, to Jahweh (Dt 32^{9}); hence it was His right and duty to put His people into actual possession (Ps 105^{11}, 1 Ch 16^{18}), which He did (Ps 78^{55} 135^{12}, Ac 13^{19}), and to divide it up by kleromancy into allotments to the various tribes (Nu $26^{55, 56}$ 33^{54} 36^{2}).§ This accordingly was done in regard to the nine and a half tribes (Nu 34^{13}, Jos 14^{2} 15^{1} 16^{1} $17^{1, 14-17}$ Ps 78^{55}), to the conquered land, to the land still unconquered after the first great effort (Jos 18^{6-11} 19^{1-40}), and at the death of Joshua (Jos 13^{6}); also in regard to the towns for the Levites (Jos 21^{4}, 1 Ch 6^{54}; Jos 21^{5}, 1 Ch 6^{61}; Jos 21^{6}, 1 Ch 6^{62}; 1 Ch 6^{62}; Jos 21^{8}, 1 Ch 6^{65}). This was done 'before Jahweh' (Jos 18^{6}) and under the direction of a committee consisting of the high priest, the political chief, and the heads of the fathers' houses of the tribes (Jos 14^{1-2}).

In course of time the procedure which had been primarily and essentially sacred was applied to secular affairs such as the selection of people to inhabit and guard a city (Neh 11^{1}). A study of the Old Testament reveals how kleromancy coloured the thought and the theology of the Hebrew thinkers and poets.

* See James Sibree, 'Divination among the Malagasy,' *Folk-Lore*, iii. [1892] 193 ff.

† F. Granger, *The Worship of the Romans*, 1895, p. 180; Cicero, *de Divinatione*, ii. 86, etc.; W. Smith, *Dict. of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, 1875, artt. 'Oraculum,' 'Sortes'; Thomas Gataker, *Treatise of the Nature and Use of Lots*[2], 1627, and *A just Defence of certain Passages in [the preceding] Treatise*, 1623, p. 75.

‡ W. R. Halliday, *Greek Divination*, 1913, ch. x.; Smith, *loc. cit.*, art. 'Dicastes'; *The Martyrdom of Polycarp*, vi.

§ The Qur'ân (sura v. 4, Sale's *Prel. Disc.* v.) prohibits the procuring of a Divine sentence by drawing a lot at the sanctuary with headless arrows.

‖ W. Robertson Smith, 'Divination and Magic in Dt $18^{10, 11}$,' in *JPh* xiii. [1885] 277.

¶ W. Robertson Smith, *ib.*

** יִפֹּל may mean (*a*) 'cast into,' or (*β*) 'cast about in' (*HDB* iv. 840). חֵיק may mean the bosom *of* (*a*) a person; (*β*) a garment; (*γ*) a thing, as chariot or altar, hence might possibly mean an urn (Sm †) (*DB* ii. 146). The meaning is almost certainly that under (*β*).

†† W. R. Smith, *RS*[2], 1894, p. 196, and comment thereon by G. B. Gray in *Com. on Numbers* (*ICC*, 1903).

* See also Ps 915.

† As was the ephod (1 S 14^{18}); LXX and J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Israel*, 1885, p. 133; *HDB* iv. 838, with the literature there mentioned, and v. 662[b].

‡ 1 S $14^{41, 42}$ as amended from LXX by A. Kuenen, *The Religion of Israel*, i. [1874] 98; A. R. S. Kennedy, *HDB* iv. 839[b]; G. B. Gray, in *Mansfield College Essays*, 1909, p. 120; S. R. Driver, *Text of the Books of Samuel*, 1890.

§ Ezekiel's ideal division of the land was by lot (Ezk 47^{22} 48^{29}). It was the intention of Antiochus, after subduing Palestine, to plant colonies in the land, dividing it among them by lot (1 Mac 3^{36}). Josephus (*BJ* III. viii. 7) saved his life by inducing his soldiers to agree that the order in which they should kill each other should be decided by lot. He adds this comment, 'whether we must say it happened so by chance, or whether by the providence of God.'

3. In the New Testament.—At the Crucifixion of Jesus we see its secular and Roman use when the soldiers divided His upper garments among themselves by lot.

After the suicide of Judas it was decided that a successor should be appointed. The procedure (Ac 1[21-26]) was as follows. From the mass of the followers of Jesus, numbering about one hundred and twenty, those only were declared eligible who had proved their steadfastness by keeping in constant contact with Him from His baptism. From this short leet they appointed (*ἔστησαν*; not 'put forward') two. Neither the parties who did this nor the method of doing it are mentioned. Then prayer was offered to Jesus* for His decision. The next step is not quite certain. If the words *ἔδωκαν κλήρους αὐτοῖς*, which is the correct reading, mean 'they gave the lots to them,' then that indicates that to each of the two there was given to place in the proper receptacle a tablet with his name or mark, and he whose tablet was first shaken out was held to be Divinely elected. But the phrase is not the classical nor the NT expression for casting lots, and if rendered 'they gave lots for them,' a quite legitimate rendering, then, as Mosheim held,† the election was by ballot. This, of course, is not in harmony with Jewish practice, as seen in the selection of the goats (Lv 16[8]). From the result being indicated by the words 'the lot fell' and not 'the Lord chose,' it has been argued that the election was unwarranted and that the Divine intention was that St. Paul should fill the place of Judas. This is a piece of pure imagination. Nor is there a shadow of proof that the eleven were in any special manner led either to appoint a successor or to appoint him by this method. The fact that the election took place before Pentecost has no vital significance. The act, in the face of the enemies of the Church, was, like the auctioning of the camp of Hannibal by the Romans, a boldly prudent step, a declaration to all that the Church was neither cowed by the death of her Lord nor dejected by the suicide of the traitor, but was girding herself for a forward march. When St. James was martyred there was no occasion for such an act, and no successor was appointed. Hence this remains the only official use of the lot in the Apostolic Church.‡ Kleromancy has left its mark on the thought, and specially on the soteriology, of the Apostolic Age. *κλῆρος* is used in the secondary sense which it gradually gained as something assigned to man by a higher power. Judas had received *τὸν κλῆρον* in the ministry carried on by Jesus (cf. *Il.* xxiii. 862; Ac 1[17]), and his successor was to take not *τὸν κλῆρον* (ℵ C[3]E), but only his *τόπον*, 'place' (ABC*D; Ac 1[25]), while in it Simon Magus had neither *μερὶς οὐδὲ κλῆρος*, neither a share, a limited portion, nor an allotment (Ac 8[21]). The *πρεσβυτέροι* must not exercise lordly mastery (cf. Ps 9 [10][5]) over what is not theirs, but *τῶν κλήρων*, allotments made to them (1 P 5[3]). Ignatius prays for grace *εἰς τὸ τὸν κλῆρόν μου ἀνεμποδίστως ἀπολαβεῖν*, 'to cling to my lot without hindrance to the end' (*Epistle to the Romans*, i.). *κληρονομία* has its original sense of an allotment made by a higher power. Abraham went out from Ur into a *τόπον*, a district in which he was promised an allotment (He 11[8]), but in which he actually got none (Ac 7[5]), the allotment, and all its accompaniments, resting on nothing legal, but on a mere promise (Gal 3[18]). Similarly the called of God still receive only the promise of an allotment which is eternal (He 9[15]).

The transmission of an allotment was regulated by certain customs. A holder could convey it to another, as Isaac did to Jacob, and such transference could not be cancelled or altered (Gn 27[33], He 12[17]). It was recognized that the son of a female slave could not share an allotment with the son of a free-born wife (Gn 21[10], Gal 4[30]). Hence gradually the children, just because they were the children, of the possessor (Ro 8[17]) claimed the allotment on the death of the possessor as a thing to be divided among them (Lk 12[13]). Because a child came to be looked upon as the holder of the *κλῆρος*, and when he attained the proper age (Gal 4[1]) entered on possession, *κληρονόμος* (*κλῆρος* + *νέμομαι*, 'hold') came to mean what we call an 'heir' (He 1[2]).* In this sense the word is used proleptically in the expression, 'This is *ὁ κληρονόμος*, let us kill him and the *κληρονομία* will become ours' (Mt 21[38], Mk 12[7], Lk 20[14]). Similarly the higher things of life came to be looked upon as something the *κλῆρος* of which a man could hold. Noah became the holder of the *κλῆρος* of righteousness (He 11[7]). Very significant as attaching excellency to a name, as a condensed form of the whole personality, is the expression that the Eternal Son *διαφορώτερον κεκληρονόμηκεν ὄνομα*, had allotted to Him a more excellent name (He 1[4]), and thus became the One to whom all things were allotted (He 1[2]), *κληρονόμον πάντων*. Salvation, whether as promised or bestowed, is, in its ultimate eschatological form, something allotted. St. Paul's mission to the Gentiles was to open the eyes that they might receive *κλῆρον*, an allotment, a thing falling to their lot, among them that are sanctified (Ac 26[18]). God, who is able to give them a *κληρονομίαν* among all them that are sanctified (Ac 20[32]),† Himself causes them to become partakers *τοῦ κλήρου*, of the allotment of the saints in light (cf. Ps 15 [16][6], Col 1[12]), the *ἀρραβών*, the arles of the allotment, being the gift of the Holy Spirit (Eph 1[14]), and the ministry of the angels (He 1[14]). The promises of God are given as an allotment to those who exhibit faith and patience (He 6[12]), and Christian graciousness to others (1 P 3[9]); while to him who overcomes temptation there is given as an allotment the blessing that only God can give (Rev 21[7]), and to those who comport themselves rightly to the home circle there is given as a recompense the allotment (Col 3[24]). The saints in this way become, as Israel of old (Dt 4[20] 9[26, 29] 32[9]), the allotment which belongs to God (Eph 1[11]), *ἐν ᾧ καὶ ἐκληρώθημεν* (ℵ BKLP), and, being the riches of His glory (1[18]), are the heirs of all the promises (He 6[17]). Just as the earth is an allotment made to the meek (Mt 5[5]), and eternal life an allotment to those who have left houses, etc. (Mt 19[24], Mk 10[17], Lk 10[25] 18[18], Gal 5[21]), so there is a Kingdom in which the unrighteous (1 Co 6[9, 10]), in which flesh and blood (1 Co 15[50]), in which fornicators, etc. (Eph 5[5]), cannot receive an allotment; for it is an allotment prepared only for the blessed of the Father (Mt 25[34]). It is therefore a spiritual allotment, incorruptible, undefiled (1 P 1[4]). This possession passes to men not through force of a legal enactment, but through their showing themselves heirs to it by their ethical and spiritual conduct. Thus the allotment of this world, promised to Abraham, passes to those linked to him not by flesh and blood, but only by the righteousness of faith (Ro

* H. P. Liddon, *The Divinity of our Lord*[11], 1885, p. 375; A. Carr in *Expositor*, 6th ser. i. [1900] 389; and various Commentaries *in loco*.

† J. L. Mosheim, *Institutes of Ecclesiastical History*, 1868, p. 20, note 3.

‡ J. Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, 1840, iv. 1. 11; J. Cochrane, *Discourses on Difficult Texts of Scripture*, 1851, p. 297; J. B. Lightfoot, *Epistle to the Philippians*[2], 1870, p. 246; F. W. Robertson, *Sermons*, 4th ser., 1874, p. 117; F. Rendall, *Expositor*, 3rd ser. vii. [1888] 357; *HDB* iii. 305, and literature there mentioned. The *Didachē* (15) contains no reference to the method of electing bishops and deacons.

* Cf. the remarks on feudal tenure in J. Hill Burton, *The Scot Abroad*, 1898, p. 4.

† Cf. Polycarp, *Epistle to the Philippians*, xii: 'det vobis sortem et partem inter sanctos suos.'

4[13. 14]), and only those who are thus in Christ are Abraham's progeny, and κληρονόμοι according to the promise (Gal 3[29]). They are the heirs of eternal life, according to hope (Tit 3[7]), and because they have loved their Lord (Ja 2[5]). Hence it is that the Gentiles equally with the Jews are συνκληρονόμοι, fellow heirs (Eph 3[6]), and wives are συνκληρονόμοις, joint heirs of the grace of life (1 P 3[7]).* The conception of salvation as something allotted to mân may have tended to obscure the necessity for diligence and earnestness in the pursuit of the Christian ideal, and this again may account for the absence of the idea from the writings of the Apostolic Fathers. In actual life at least we are not unfamiliar with something similar.

While kleromancy, it is true, 'appeared to take the responsibility of decision out of the hands of man and vest it in the presiding deity,' † yet, in reality, its tendency is not to exalt the Divine will but to enervate the human mind. It thus tends to destroy our sense of responsibility, and the duty of patiently permitting God to enlighten our minds as to what is right. It thus robs us of the moral and spiritual discipline of acting according as conscience, enlightened by Him, dictates, and besides opens up infinite possibilities of trickery and fraud. Through the action of the eleven, and age-long influences, Jewish and pagan, kleromancy continued to be practised in the Church. Augustine held that divisory lots were lawful in common things but not in disposing of ecclesiastical offices and lives of men,‡ and similar views continued to prevail till near the end of the 17th century.§ Jeremy Taylor still thought it 'not improbable, and in most cases to be admitted, that God hath committed games of chance to the Devil's conduct.'‖ Wesley believed in Divine guidance being given by lot,¶ and in 1738 a journey to Bristol was finally decided on, after various appeals to the *Sortes Sanctorum*, by kleromancy.** Among the Moravians, whose first ministers were chosen by lot, in 1467, and whose church life was at first completely regulated by kleromancy, its sphere was steadily and gradually limited, and it is now scarcely recognized.†† Though down to the end of the 16th cent. it was frequently practised,‡‡ and the prevailing view was that 'lots may not be used, but with great reverence, because the disposition of them cometh immediately from God,' yet the arguments of Gataker §§ that such Divine interposition was 'indeed mere superstition,' and that 'lots were governed by purely natural laws,' gradually influenced educated men. Among the more illiterate sects kleromancy long lingered, and the scene in *Silas Marner* (ch. 1) was true to life. Pious but ignorant people still resort to it in one form or another. The rule that when a lower type of religion is absorbed or superseded by a higher the ceremonies of the former finally become games, and then children's games, is illustrated by the fact that the casting of lots, once sacred and solemn, is now totally confined to games.

LITERATURE.—This has been indicated in the foot-notes.

P. A. GORDON CLARK.

* Cf. the slave made co-heir (Hermas, ii.).

† J. E. Carpenter, *Comparative Religion*, 1913, p. 178.

‡ Bingham, xvi. 5. 3.

§ Bingham, iv. 1. 1. For the connexion between κλῆρος and 'clergy' see Lightfoot, p. 245, and E. de Pressensé, *Christian Life and Practice in the Early Church*, 1880, p. 52.

‖ *Doctor dubitantium*, 1660, iv. 1.

¶ *Life of Wesley*, by Robert Southey (Bohn's edition, 1864), pp. 80, 81, 110, 111, 119, note 27.

** *Journal of John Wesley* (Everyman's edition), i. [1906] 175.

†† *Primitive Church Government in the Practice of the Reformed in Bohemia*, with notes of John Amos Comenius, 1703, pp. viii, 23; H. Klinesmith, *Divine Providence, or Historical Records relating to the Moravian Church*, Irvine, 1831, p. 432.

‡‡ See, *e.g.*, Johnson's *Life of Cowley* (Nimmo's edition).

§§ Thomas Gataker, *Treatise of the Nature and Use of Lots*, pp. 91, 141.

LOVE.—**1. Linguistic usage.**—Two verbs are used by the NT to designate religious love—ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν. In the LXX a third term, ἐρᾶν, occurs, but only once *sensu bono*, viz. Pr 4[6] (love of wisdom), once in a neutral sense, viz. Est 2[17] (the king loved Esther), everywhere else as a figure of idolatry or political theocratic unfaithfulness (Jer 22[20. 22], La 1[19], Ezk 16[33. 36. 37] 23[5. 9. 22], Hos 2[7. 10. 12. 13]). That the NT does not employ ἐρᾶν at all is probably due to the sensual associations of the word. In regard to the difference between ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν the following should be noticed. The etymology of ἀγαπᾶν is uncertain, but it seems to be allied to roots expressing 'admiration,' 'taking pride in,' 'taking pleasure in.' This points to the conclusion that ἀγαπᾶν is the love of selection and complacency based on the perception of something in the object loved that attracts and pleases. This element of selective attachment shows itself in the fact that ἀγαπᾶν can mean 'to be contented with,' 'to acquiesce in,' 'to put up with,' and also in this, that ἀγαπᾶν is not used of the love of mere compassion. On the other hand, φιλεῖν seems to have as its fundamental root-meaning the intimacy of bodily touch, 'fondling,' 'caressing,' whence it can signify 'to kiss'; it therefore denotes the love of close association in the habitual relations of life—love between kindred, between husband and wife, between friends (Mt 6[5] 10[37] 23[6], Lk 20[46], Jn 11[3. 36] 12[25] 15[19], 1 Ti 6[10] [φιλαργυρία], 2 Ti 3[4] [φιληδόνος], Tit 2[4] [φιλανδρος], Ja 4[4] [φιλία τοῦ κόσμου]). In Latin *diligere* corresponds to ἀγαπᾶν, *amare* to φιλεῖν, except that *amare* covers a wider range, corresponding also to the Greek ἐρᾶν. From this distinctive and fundamental meaning the fact may be explained that in biblical Greek ἀγαπᾶν is used exclusively where man's love for God comes under consideration: it here implies the recognition of the adorable and lovable character of the Deity. φιλεῖν is never used of man's love for God as such, because the mental attitude of intimacy which the word implies would be out of place in the creature with reference to the Deity (it is different where the love of the disciples for Jesus is spoken of [Jn 16[27] 21[15. 16. 17], 1 Co 16[22]]). Scripture prefers the word which unambiguously puts human love in the religious sphere on a moral and spiritual basis, even if, in order to do so, it has to leave somewhat of the intensity of the religious affection unexpressed. As designations of the love extending from God to man both ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν may be used, the former in so far as God's love is not blind impulse or irrational sentiment, but a love of free self-determination, the latter because it is proper to God by a gracious condescension to enter into that close habitual friendship with man which the word connotes. As a matter of fact, however, φιλεῖν is but rarely used to describe the love of God towards man.

In extra-biblical Greek love as extending from the gods to man seems to be an unknown conception, for according to Aristotle and Dio Chrysostom both ἀγαπᾶν and φιλεῖν have place not in those who rule with reference to those they rule over, but only in the opposite direction: ἄτοπον φιλεῖν τὸν Δία (where Δία is the subject).

It is in keeping with the distinction above drawn that the specific term for brotherly love (see art. BROTHERLY LOVE) is φιλαδελφία, for the idea is derived from the family-relation, although, of course, ἀγαπᾶν here occurs with equal frequency. On the other hand, of the love for enemies enjoined in the NT φιλεῖν never occurs, being excluded by the nature of the case, whereas ἀγαπᾶν, involving a deliberate movement of the will, may apply to such a relation.

While it appears from what has been said that ἀγαπᾶν had by reason of its inherent signification

and classical use an antecedent fitness to express the biblical idea of religious love, this should not be construed to mean that the word carried already in extra-biblical Greek all the content of the Scriptural conception. In the profane usage the moral, spiritual element was yet lacking, although the elements of choice and rational attachment were given. Like so many other words which possessed an antecedent affinity for the biblical world of thought from a formal point of view, it needed the baptism of regeneration in order to become fit for incorporation into the vocabulary of Scripture.

The noun ἀγάπη seems to have been coined by the LXX to translate the OT conception of religious love. It is not found in classical Greek, nor even with Philo and Josephus. Perhaps the fact that the profane literature does not have the noun is significant. It can be explained on the principle that only through transference into the moral, spiritual sphere could the habitual character of the act of loving, which is inherent in the noun, originate. The noun in the Vulgate is *caritas*, from *carum habere*, which admirably expresses the specific character of the biblical conception. *Caritas* in turn gave rise to the 'charity' of the English Bible (AV), in most passages used of love towards fellow-Christians (cf., however, 1 Co 8^3, 1 Th 3^6, 2 Ti 2^{22} 3^{10}, where there is no reason so to restrict it). The RV substitutes 'love,' in all passages where the AV has 'charity' (26 times in all), for the reason that 'charity' has in modern usage become restricted to the love of beneficence or forbearance.

The following discussion confines itself to the love existing between God and man. For love as between man and man see art. BROTHERLY LOVE.

2. Love in the apostolic teaching.—Love is in the apostolic teaching a central and outstanding trait in the disposition of God towards man. In this respect the view taken by Jesus is fully adhered to. If in the witness of the early Church, as recorded in Acts, no direct affirmation of this principle is made, that can easily be explained from the apologetic purpose of this witness. In the fellowship of the first Christians among themselves the indirect operation of the new force introduced by Jesus into the hearts of His followers manifests itself clearly enough (Ac 2^{41-47} $4^{32ff.}$).

i. ST. PAUL.—With St. Paul love is explicitly placed in the foreground as the fundamental disposition in God from which salvation springs and as that which in the possession of God constitutes for the believer the supreme treasure of religion. God is the God of love (2 Co 13^{11}). In Gal 5^{22} love is named first among the fruits of the Spirit. It is associated with the Fatherhood of God (Eph 6^{23}). In the apostolic salutations it stands co-ordinated with the grace of Christ (2 Co 13^{14}, Eph 6^{23}, 2 Th 3^5). It is the greatest of the three fundamental graces of the Christian life, and the sole abiding one of these three (1 Co 13^{8-13}). This primacy love can claim even in comparison with faith. For, on the one hand, faith as well as hope is a grace made necessary by the provisional conditions of the present sinful world, and in both its aspects—that of mediate spiritual perception and that of trust—will be superseded by sight in the world to come (2 Co 5^7); on the other hand, faith as compared with love is instrumental, not an end in itself; it brings the Christian into that fundamental relation to God, wherein his religious faculties, foremost among which is love, can function normally (Gal 5^6). The prominence of faith in the Pauline teaching is not therefore indicative of its absolute and final preponderance in the Christian consciousness. It would, however, scarcely be in accordance with St. Paul's view to press the primacy of love to the extent of denying all independent significance to other religious states. There is an aspect in which faith in itself, and apart from its working through love, glorifies God (Ro 4^{20}), and whatever thus directly contributes to the Divine glory has inherent religious value. The same must be affirmed of the knowledge of God. The emphasis thrown throughout the NT on the value of truth cannot be wholly explained from its soteriological utility. It expresses the conviction that knowing and adoring God are in themselves a religious act, apart from all fructifying influence on the believer's life. When St. Paul includes 'knowledge' (1 Co 13^8) in the things that shall be done away, this applies only to the specific mode of knowledge in this life, the 'seeing in a mirror darkly,' the knowledge of a child, which will make place in the world to come for a full knowledge 'face to face,' analogous to the Divine knowledge of the believer (v.^{12}). 'Knowledge,' while of value, is not equal in value to love (1 Co 8^3).

(*a*) *The love of God.*—It has been alleged that in two respects the Apostle's teaching on the love of God marks a retrogression as compared with the gospel of Jesus: on the one hand, St. Paul restricts the love of God to the circle of believers, thus making sonship co-extensive with adoption = justification; on the other hand, he emphasizes, side by side with love, the working of sovereignty and justice as equally influential attributes in God, whence also the effectual communication of the Divine love to the sinner cannot, according to the Apostle, take place except as a result of the sovereign choice of God and after satisfaction to His justice. This charge, however, rests on a misunderstanding of the teaching of Jesus. Jesus, by way of correction to the prevailing commercial conception of God's attitude towards man in Judaism, brings forward the love of God. Nevertheless the specific Fatherly love and the corresponding state of sonship are in His gospel, no less than with St. Paul, redemptive conceptions, pertaining not to man as such, but to the disciples, the heirs of the kingdom. This may be seen most clearly from the fact that in its highest aspect sonship is an eschatological attainment (Mt 5^9, Lk 20^{36}; cf. Ro 8^{23}). It is true that a developed soteriology like St. Paul's, delimiting the mutual claims of the love and justice of God, is not found in our Lord's teaching. But this could not be expected before the supreme saving transaction—the Death of Christ—had actually taken place. The great principles on which the Atonement rests are enunciated with sufficient clearness (Mk 10^{45}). In comparisons between Jesus and St. Paul it is frequently overlooked that what corresponds to the Apostle's soteriology is the eschatological element in Jesus' teaching. As a matter of fact, St. Paul's doctrine of salvation was developed in the closest dependence on his eschatology. If the comparison be instituted with this in mind, it will be seen that in our Lord's eschatological utterances the sovereignty and justice of God occupy no less central a place than in the Pauline doctrine of salvation, and that the love of God in its eschatological setting is to Jesus as much a redemptive factor as it is in the Pauline gospel.

The phrase 'the love of God' occurs in the Pauline Epistles in Ro 5^5 8^{39}, 2 Co 13^{14}, 2 Th 3^5, Tit 3^4 (φιλανθρωπία); 'the love of Christ' occurs in Ro 8^{35} (variant reading 'love of God'), 2 Co 5^{14}, Eph 3^{19}; 'the love of God in Christ' in Ro 8^{39}. In all these cases the genitive is a subjective genitive. In 'the love of the Spirit' (Ro 15^{30}) the genitive seems to be that of origin (cf. Col 1^8). Some exegetes propose for Ro 5^5 and 2 Th 3^5 'love towards God.' In the former passage the context is decisive against this (cf. v.^{8}), and the fact that the consciousness of 'the love of God' furnishes the

basis for the certainty of the Christian hope). In 2 Th 3[5] the sense is determined by the parallel phrase, *ὑπομονὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ*; if this could mean the 'patient waiting for Christ' (AV), then *ἀγαπὴ τοῦ θεοῦ* would be 'love for God.' Such a rendering, however, seems to be linguistically improbable, and the ordinary interpretation of *ὑπομονή* as 'patience,' 'steadfastness,' requires *Χριστοῦ* as a subjective genitive. The meaning is not that the love of God and the patience of Christ are held up as models to the readers, but the Apostle prays that their hearts may be directed to a full reliance on the love of God and the steadfastness of Christ as the two mainsprings of their salvation. In 2 Co 5[14] *ἡ γὰρ ἀγαπὴ τοῦ Χριστοῦ συνέχει ἡμᾶς* is not to be explained on analogy with the preceding 'fear of the Lord' (v.[11]), nor in contrast to the knowledge of 'Christ after the flesh' (v.[16]), in the sense of St. Paul's love for Christ; but, in close agreement with the following 'One died for all,' it is meant of the love Christ showed by His Death.

To St. Paul the love of God is throughout a specifically redemptive love. Its manifestation is seldom sought in Nature and providence (Ro 8[28], 'all things'), but regularly in the work of salvation. Since this work culminates in the Death of Christ, the Cross is the crowning manifestation of the Divine love (Ro 5[8]). What thus finds supreme expression at its height underlies the entire process as its primordial source. The love of God is to St. Paul the fountain of redemption. It lies behind its objective part, what is theologically called 'the Atonement,' for St. Paul traces this in both its aspects of reconciliation and redemption to the one source. As regards reconciliation, the initiative of love is inherent in the conception itself, since God makes those who were objectively His enemies His friends, creating by the Death of Christ the possibility for His love to manifest itself (Ro 5[8. 10. 11], 2 Co 5[14. 18-21]). The idea of redemption has the same implications, for it emphasizes the self-sacrifice of love to which God was put in saving man (Ac 20[28], 1 Co 6[20] 7[23]). This love is unmerited love, hence its more specific name of *χάρις*, 'grace.' It is 'love,' not mere 'mercy' or 'pity,' which determines God's attitude towards the sinner. The mercy is enriched by the love (Eph 2[4]). The usual associations of *ἀγαπᾶν* apply to the love of God for sinners only in so far as it is a deliberate movement of the Divine will and purpose, not because there is something admirable or attractive in the spiritual and ethical condition of man which would explain its origin. For the very reason that it springs spontaneously from God without objective motivation, this Divine love is a mystery 'passing knowledge' (Eph 3[19]). Salvation on its subjective side is derived by St. Paul even more clearly from the love of God. The gift of the Spirit is a pledge of it to the believer; hence with the pouring forth of the Spirit into the heart, the love of God is poured out therein (Ro 5[5]). On the consciousness of this love rests the certainty of hope in the completion of salvation (Ro 5[4. 5]). St. Paul calls the love underlying the application of redemption *πρόγνωσις*, 'foreknowledge' (Ro 8[29]); the simple *γινώσκειν* in this specific sense occurs in 1 Co 8[3], Gal 4[9], 2 Ti 2[19]. This term denotes not an intellectual prescience; but, in dependence on the pregnant sense of the Hebrew יָדַע (Ex 2[25], Hos 13[5], Am 3[2]), it means that God sovereignly sets His affection upon a person. The absoluteness and unconditioned character of this *prognosis* are such that it can furnish proof for the proposition that all things work together for the good of believers. Hence it fixes as the destiny of believers ('predestination') eschatological likeness unto the image of the glorified Christ, and with infallible certainty moves forward through the two intermediate stages of vocation and justification to the goal of this glory (Ro 8[28-30]). The conception of *ἐκλογή*, *ἐκλέγεσθαι* (middle voice, 'to choose for one's self') has likewise for its correlate the sovereign love of God (Eph 1[4]). The association of the redemptive love of God with His prerogative of sovereign choice renders the word *ἀγαπᾶν* especially suitable for describing the relation involved. It is in the interest of emphasizing both the sovereign Divine initiative and the energy and richness of effectuation of redemptive love that St. Paul affirms its eternity (connoted also by the *προ-* in *προγιγνώσκειν* [Eph 1[4]]).

The love of God does not exclude for St. Paul the co-ordination of other attributes in God as jointly determinative of the Divine redemptive procedure. In the Cross of Christ is the great manifestation of love, but it is not the love of God alone that the Cross proclaims. It also demonstrates the *δικαιοσύνη* = the justice of God (Ro 3[25ff.]). The attempt of Ritschl (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*[2], ii. [1882–83], pp. 118, 218 ff.) and others to give to *δικαιοσύνη* in this context the sense of gracious righteousness, making it synonymous with the love of God, breaks down in view of the 'forbearance' of v.[25]. If it was 'forbearance' which postponed under the Old Covenant the demonstration of God's righteousness, then this righteousness is conceived as retributive.

(*b*) *The love of Christ.*—The love of Christ St. Paul views chiefly as manifested in His Death (2 Co 5[14f.]), or in His life as entered upon and lived with a view to and culminating in His Death (Ph 2[5ff.]). The Incarnation is an act of self-kenosis, not in the metaphysical, but in the metaphorical sense (AV 'made himself of no reputation'), hence is described in 2 Co 8[9] as a 'becoming poor.' It ought to be noticed that the love of Christ, as well as that of the believer, is in the first place a love for God, and after that a love for man, Christ lives unto God, even in the state of glory (Ro 6[10]), and gave Himself in the Atonement a sacrifice unto God (Eph 5[2]).

(*c*) *Love towards God.*—The references to the believer's love for God are not numerous in the Pauline Epistles. Explicit mention of it is made in Ro 8[28], 1 Co 2[9] 8[3]. From his anti-pietistic standpoint Ritschl would interpret this scarcity of reference in St. Paul and the NT generally (outside of St. Paul only Ja 1[12] 2[5]) as due to the feeling that love to God is something hardly within the religious reach of man. He observes that in 1 Co 2[9] the phrase 'them that love God' is a quotation, and surmises that the same quotation underlies all the other passages except 1 Co 8[3] (*op. cit.* ii. 100). But this is a mere surmise, and St. Paul has at least in one passage appropriated the thought for himself. Besides this the analogy of the love of Christ for God favours the ascription of love for God to the believer. The same 'living for God' which is predicated of Christ (Ro 6[10]) is elsewhere attributed to the Christian (Gal 2[19]). As Christ sacrificed Himself to God (Eph 5[2]), so the believer's life is a spiritual sacrifice (Ro 1[9] 12[1]). The Fatherhood of God and the sonship of the believer postulate the idea of a mutual love (Ro 8[15]). The idea is also implied in the fact that St. Paul places at the beginning of the Christian life a crucifixion and destruction of the love for self and the world (Ro 6[6], Gal 2[19] 6[14]), since under the Apostle's positive conception of the Christian life something else must take the place of the previous goals. The glorifying of God in all things has for its underlying motive the love of God (Ro 14[6], 1 Co 10[31], Eph 1[12]).

ii. PASTORAL EPISTLES.—In the Pastoral Epistles the universality of the love of God is emphasized. In the earlier Epistles the Apostle's universalism

is not deduced from the love of God but from other principles, and is distinctly of an international type. The Pastoral Epistles make of the love of God a universalizing principle and extend it to all men, not merely to men of every nation (1 Ti $2^{4.6}$ 4^{10} 6^{13}, Tit 2^{11} 3^{4}). In some of these passages the context clearly indicates that a reference of God's love to all *classes* of men is intended (cf. 1 Ti 2^{4} with vv.$^{1.2}$; Tit 2^{11} with vv.$^{2-10}$). But the emphasis and frequency with which the principle is brought forward render it probable that some specific motive underlies its assertion. So far as the inclusion of magistrates is concerned, there may be a protest against a form of Jewish particularism which deemed it unlawful to pray for pagan magistrates. In the main the passages cited will have to be interpreted as a warning against the dualistic trend of Gnosticism. Gnosticism distinguished between two classes of men, the πνευματικοί and the ὑλικοί, the latter by their very nature being unsusceptible to, and excluded from, salvation, the former carrying the potency of salvation by nature in themselves. Over against this the Pastorals emphasize that the love of God saves all men, that no man is by his subjective condition either sunk beneath the possibility or raised above the necessity of salvation. Hence the φιλανθρωπία of God in Tit 3^{4} is love for man as man, not for any aristocracy of the πνεῦμα. This philanthropy is not to be confounded with the classical conception of the same (cf. Ac 27^{3} 28^{2}), for the latter is not love towards man as such, but simply justice towards one's fellow-man in the several relations of life, and is conceived without regard to the internal disposition. Probably the choice of the word is in Tit 3^{4} determined by the preceding description of the conduct required of believers for which the Divine 'philanthropy' furnishes the model. But that its content goes far beyond general benevolence may be seen from this, that it communicates itself through the Christian redemption in the widest sense (vv.$^{5-7}$). In all this there is nothing either calculated or intended to weaken the Pauline doctrine of the specific elective love of God embracing believers. The Pastorals affirm this no less than the earlier Epistles.

iii. Epistle of James.—The Epistle of James by calling the commandment of love 'the royal law' (2^{8}) places love in the centre of religion. This love is not merely love for men but love to God (2^{5}). It chooses God and rejects the world, the love for God and the friendship of the world being mutually exclusive (4^{4}). It manifests itself in blessing God (3^{9}). Behind this love for God, however, St. James, no less than St. Paul and St. John, posits the love of God for the sinner. God is Father of believers (3^{9}). They that love God are chosen of God (2^{5}). The Divine love is a love of mercy; even in the Day of Judgment it retains the form of mercy (2^{13} 5^{20}). It is a jealous love, which requires the undivided affection of its object (4^{5}). An echo of the Synoptical preaching of Jesus may be found in this that St. James sees the love of God demonstrated in the gifts not merely of redemption, but likewise of providence (1^{17}).

iv. Epistles of Peter.—The Epistles of Peter dwell on the love of Christ rather than on that of God. Christ's love is a love of self-denial (1 P 2^{21}) and of benevolence for evil-doers (3^{18}). To it corresponds love for Christ in the heart of believers. St. Peter shows that this love is strong enough to assert and maintain itself in the face of the invisibleness of Christ (1^{8}; cf. 1 Jn $4^{20f.}$). The love for God and Christ is consistent with and accompanied by fear (1 P $1^{17.18}$). God's love is implied in the mercy which lies behind regeneration (1^{3}). God is the Father of believers (1^{17}); they are the flock of God (5^{2}); He (or Christ) is the Shepherd of their souls (2^{25}). The longsuffering of God, as a fruit of the Divine love, is mentioned in 2 P 3^{9}.

v. Hebrews.—The theme of the Epistle to the Hebrews—the perfect mediation of priestly approach unto God—coupled with the writer's vivid perception of the majesty of God brings it about that the love of God remains in the background. The Epistle emphasizes the fear of God even for believers ($4^{1.11-13}$ 12^{29}). Still believers are sons of God (2^{10} 12^{7}), brethren of Christ ($2^{11.12.17}$). God loves His children as the Father of Spirits (12^{6-10}). He is the God of His people in the pregnant sense (11^{16}). The subsumption of the greater part of the religious consciousness under faith brings it about that the love of Christians is less spoken of here than elsewhere in the NT. It is mentioned in 6^{10} as a love shown towards God's name, *i.e.* towards God, in the service of the brethren. The Epistle, on the other hand, makes much of the love of Christ for believers as it assumes the form of mercy. This mercy is, however, not motived by the mere suffering as such, but specifically by the moral aspect of the suffering. It is compassion with the moral weakness and danger arising from suffering, because suffering becomes a source of temptation. Christ can exercise this mercy because He Himself has experienced the tempting power of suffering (2^{18} 4^{15}).

vi. Johannine literature.—There still remains to be considered the Johannine literature including the Gospel, so far as the statements of the Evangelist himself are concerned. Both the Gospel and the First Epistle represent love as the ultimate source and the ultimate goal of Christianity. There is this difference, that what is in the Gospel related to Christ as love of Christ and love for Christ, is in the Epistle related to God in both directions. In the Apocalypse love to Jesus appears in 2^{4}, love of Jesus in 1^{5} 3^{9}. 'The love of God' is not uniformly, as in St. Paul, the love which God shows, but partly this (1 Jn 2^{5} $4^{9.12}$) and partly also the love cherished towards God (Jn 5^{42}, 1 Jn 2^{15} 3^{17} 5^{3}). Possibly the construction is meant as an inclusive one: 'the love which God has made known and which answers to His nature' (so B. F. Westcott, *The Epistles of St. John*, 1883, p. 49). Love is to St. John as to St. Paul a specifically Divine thing. Wherever it appears in man, it must be traced back to God, and particularly to God's love (1 Jn $4^{10.19}$). Its source lies in regeneration (4^{7}). The Divine primordial love is grace, not motived by the excellence of human qualities, for it expressed itself in giving Christ as a propitiation for sin ($4^{9.10}$). The supreme manifestation of God's love is the gift of Christ, and Christ's giving of His own life for man (3^{16} 4^{8}, Rev 3^{9}). Hence the Gospel characterizes the love which Jesus showed in His Death as an ἀγαπᾶν εἰς τέλος ('to the uttermost'). The giving of the Spirit of God is an act of love not merely because the Spirit is an inestimable gift, but because in the Spirit God communicates Himself; herein lies the essence of love (1 Jn 3^{23} 4^{13}). The highest embodiment of this redemptive love is the state of sonship (1 Jn 3^{1}). The Apocalypse uses for this, as extending to the Church collectively, the OT figure of the bride of God (Rev 19^{7} $21^{2.9}$). Sonship is not represented, as in St. Paul, as awaiting its eschatological consummation, but rather as issuing into a higher, yet unknown, state (1 Jn 3^{2}). The summing up of the Christian life in love is represented as 'a new commandment,' which is at the same time old ($2^{7.8}$ $3^{11.23}$). It is old in so far as it goes back to the creation ('from the beginning' [2^{7} 3^{11}, 2 Jn $^{5.6}$]); it is new in so far as through Jesus and His work it has now become an actuality in the life and experience of Christians; hence 'it is *true* in him and in you' (1 Jn 2^{8}). In both the Gospel and the First Epistle

'to know God' is used as synonymous with 'loving God.' 'To know' is taken in such connexions in the pregnant sense which implies intimacy of acquaintance and the fellowship of affection. At the same time there is in this an indirect protest against the unethical intellectualism of the false Gnosis (1 Jn $2^{3.4.13.14}$ $3^{1.6}$ $4^{6.7.8.16}$ 5^{20}).

Both the Gospel and the First Epistle emphasize the universalism of the love of God as demonstrated in the gift of Christ for the sin of 'the world.' In Jn 3^{16} 'the world' (ὁ κόσμος) seems to be rather qualitatively than quantitatively conceived; the greatness of God's love is seen in this, that He loves that which is sinful (cf. 1 Jn 2^{2}). Both the Gospel and the Epistle also lay stress on the primacy of love in the character of God (1 Jn $4^{8.16}$). That the universalism must not be understood as appropriating the love of God in its most pregnant sense to every man indiscriminately appears from such statements as Jn $6^{37.39.44}$ 13^{1} 15^{19} $17^{6.9.12}$. A predestinarian strand is traceable in St. John as well as in St. Paul. And that the clear statement about the primacy of love in God should not be construed to the exclusion of every other attribute or disposition in God appears plainly from the difference which both the Gospel and the Epistle make between God's and Christ's attitude towards the world and towards believers—a difference inconceivable were there in God no place for aught but love. The statement 'God is love' means to affirm that into His love God puts His entire being, all the strength of His character. In the Apocalypse it is most vividly brought out that in God, besides love for His own, there is wrath for His enemies (cf. even 'the wrath of the Lamb' [6^{16}]), although it is to be noticed that the Apocalypse speaks as little as the Gospel and the Epistle of God's hatred towards His enemies. The latter term is reserved for the description of the attitude of the world towards God and Christ and believers. The hatred of the world explains the righteous wrath of God and believers against the world (Jn 3^{20} 7^{7} $15^{18.23.24.25}$ 17^{14}, Rev 2^{6}).

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GEERHARDUS VOS.

LOVE-FEAST.—The history of the Agapæ or Love-Feasts of the Christian Church is beset with peculiar difficulties, and has given rise to grave differences of opinion among scholars. It has even been maintained by Batiffol* that they were absolutely non-existent in the Apostolic Age; and, though this view has not found general acceptance, it certainly deserves to be treated with respect. The name is indeed found only in the Epistle of Jude (v.[12]; cf. also 2 P 2^{13}), the date of which is quite uncertain; and it is probable that in the earliest days the name was unknown. Still there is reason to believe that the common meals, which afterwards gained the name of Agapæ, were held by Christians from the beginning. These common meals were an external expression of the sense of brotherhood which was characteristic of the primitive Christian churches, and they were no doubt suggested by similar institutions, which seem to have been common among both Jews and Gentiles. It is also probable that the recollection of the Last Supper of our Lord with His disciples was an additional cause of the holding of these meals.

1. In the Acts.—The Acts of the Apostles gives us a picture of the life of the primitive Church at Jerusalem.* In Ac 2^{42} we read that the converts 'continued stedfastly in the apostles' teaching and fellowship, in the breaking of bread and the prayers.' In v.[46] we read that 'day by day, continuing stedfastly with one accord in the temple, and breaking bread at home, they did take their food with gladness and singleness of heart.' These passages are patient of an interpretation which excludes anything like an Agape. 'Breaking bread' may refer only to the Eucharist; and the reference to the taking of food may be merely an expression denoting their joyous manner of life. So it is understood by Batiffol.† But the view of Leclercq‡ seems more probable—that the breaking of bread was accompanied by a meal. For we know that that was the case at Corinth, and it is exceedingly probable that the communism of the Church at Jerusalem would involve common meals. Indeed, something of the kind seems to be indicated by Ac 6^{1}. That this included the Eucharist there can be very little doubt, though it is unlikely that it was identical with the Eucharist. The 'breaking of the bread' is an unusual phrase, and as it seems clear that in Corinth the Eucharist took place during or at the end of a supper, so it probably did in Jerusalem. But the evidence is not sufficient to make any conclusion certain. In Ac 20^{7-11} we read that at Troas on the first day of the week the Christians were gathered together to break bread. St. Paul spoke to them till midnight, broke bread and tasted it. Here the object of the meeting was the breaking of bread. And the whole context points to its having been a religious rite. There is no hint of a meal in the ordinary sense. The word γευσάμενος certainly does not necessarily imply it. It is, however, possible, though it seems unlikely, that such a meal took place.

2. In 1 Corinthians.—We now come to the account given in 1 Co 11^{18-34} of the Eucharist at Corinth: 'When ye assemble yourselves together, it is not possible to eat the Lord's supper: for in your eating each one taketh before other his own supper; and one is hungry, and another is drunken. What? have ye not houses to eat and drink in? or despise ye the church of God, and put them to shame that have not? . . . When ye come together to eat, wait one for another. If any man is hungry, let him eat at home; that your coming together be not unto judgement.' The most probable interpretation of the passage is that St. Paul blames the Corinthians for misbehaviour at the supper, which should be the Lord's Supper, but cannot be so regarded in view of their behaviour. It seems that the rich men brought their own food, and immediately on arrival formed groups, and began to eat their supper without waiting to see whether there were any poor men present who had nothing to eat. St. Paul suggests that if they are hungry, they had better have something to eat before they come. The whole supper is the Lord's, for He is the host. And St. Paul reminds them of the significance of what takes place at the supper, namely the Eucharist—a real Communion with the Body and Blood of Christ, and a memorial of His Death.

Batiffol, on the other hand, maintains that St. Paul blames them for associating the Eucharist with a meal at all, and the same view was previously taken by John Lightfoot.§ It must be admitted that his language in v.[22], 'Have ye not houses to eat and to drink in?' seems logically to imply

* *Études d'histoire et de théologie positive*[5], Paris, 1907.

* See art. EUCHARIST.

† *Op. cit.* p. 285.

‡ Art. 'Agape' in Cabrol's *Dict. d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, vol. i., Paris, 1907.

§ *Works*, ed. Pitman, London, 1822–26, vol. vi. p. 232 ff.

that the assembly of Christians is not a suitable occasion for a meal. But his exhortation to them to 'wait one for another' seems to have no point unless there is to be a meal. While the considerations adduced by St. Paul no doubt were ultimately operative in bringing about a separation of the Eucharist from the Agape, yet it is highly probable that they were not carried to their logical conclusion at once, nor indeed intended to be so carried. There is no doubt that there was a supper at Corinth at the time when St. Paul wrote; that all the members of the Church came together to it, bringing their own contributions. This was apparently a sort of funeral memorial feast, sacred in its associations, but especially sacred because in the course of it the Eucharist was celebrated. This meal was desecrated by the Corinthians, who ignored its sacred character, making it no longer an expression of the brotherhood of the community, but an ordinary meal, and an occasion for display and gluttony.

3. In Jude and 2 Peter.—The writer of the Epistle of Jude speaks (v.[12]) of certain heretics who are 'hidden rocks in your love-feasts when they feast with you.' In the parallel passage in 2 P 2[13] the bulk of the MSS read *ἀπάταις* for *ἀγάπαις*. J. B. Lightfoot* regards *ἀπάταις* as an obvious error for *ἀγάπαις*, and Bigg† follows him in this view. The matter is of no importance for our purpose, as it is the opinion of the majority of scholars that 2 Peter is dependent on Jude, and there can be no reasonable doubt that in Jude *ἀγάπαις* is the right reading. Batiffol maintains that Jude is in the habit of using plurals instead of singulars, and understands him here to mean 'love' with no reference to the Agape. But this translation of the word does not seem possible; and we are clearly driven to the conclusion that, among the people to whom Jude wrote, the Agape was an established institution, and the name had already been given to it. But the destination of the Epistle is very doubtful. M. R. James‡ writes: 'We may place the community to which he writes very much where we please: Dr. Chase's conjecture§ that it was at or near the Syrian Antioch is as good as any.' There is nothing to indicate the relation of the Agape mentioned by Jude to the Eucharist. It seems most probable that, as in Corinth, the Eucharist took place at or near the end of the supper. St. Paul's words *μετὰ τὸ δειπνῆσαι* in 1 Co 11[25] make it fairly certain that Chrysostom is wrong in his statement that the Eucharist was followed by a meal. No doubt Chrysostom based his view on the customs of his own time, when fasting communion was the rule.

4. Analogies with Love-Feast.—A great deal of information has been collected by Leclercq‖ about the prevalence of funeral banquets all round the Mediterranean. These banquets were originally for the benefit of the dead, though later they became simply memorial meals. These supply us with an analogy to the Agape. But it is probable that even more operative was the example of the common meals of the various gilds which were a prominent feature of social life in Greek cities. It would be most natural that converts to Christianity should welcome a Christian common meal, on the lines of those to which they were accustomed. Parallels are also to be found among the Jews.¶ Unfortunately, our evidence is not sufficient to enable us to draw a clear picture of what the Christian Agape was like. It was not purely a charity-supper, though the evidence of the Corinthians shows us that it was intended that this characteristic should not be wholly absent. It seems to have been primarily an expression of the sense of brotherhood which Christians felt. The fact that the Eucharist was associated with it gave it a specially sacred character, and makes it certain that it must have been connected in the minds of those who took part in it with the Last Supper. But abuses arose in connexion with it both in Corinth and—apparently—among those to whom the Epistle of Jude was written. The evidence which we have suggests plenty of reasons for the separation of the Eucharist from the Agape, which seems to have taken place at an early date.

* LITERATURE.—Besides books and articles already mentioned, see J. F. Keating, *The Agape and the Eucharist*, London, 1901; A. J. Maclean, art. 'Agape' in *ERE*; J. B. Mayor, Appendix C in Hort and Mayor's *Clement of Alexandria, Seventh Book of the Stromateis*, London, 1902; also books and articles mentioned in art. EUCHARIST.

G. H. CLAYTON.

* *Apostolic Fathers*, pt. ii.[2] vol. ii., London, 1889, p. 313.
† *Com. on Epp. of Peter and Jude*[2] (*ICC*, Edinburgh, 1902).
‡ *Com. on 2 Peter and Jude* (Cambridge Greek Testament, Cambridge, 1912), p. xxxviii.
§ *HDB*, art. 'Jude, Epistle of.'
‖ *Loc. cit.*
¶ Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* XIV. x. 8; Jer 16[7].

LUCAS.—See LUKE.

LUCIUS.—Lucius of Cyrene was one of the prophets and teachers who presided in the Church at Antioch (Ac 13[1]). He seems to have belonged pretty certainly to the band of Cypriotes and Cyrenians by whom the Gentile Church at Antioch was founded (11[20]). Some commentators have rather absurdly identified him with St. Luke. The names are not identical or even very near one another, and there is no reason to think that St. Luke would have introduced himself in this haphazard way. He *may* be identified with the Lucius of Ro 16[21].

W. A. SPOONER.

LUKE.—I. *INFORMATION AS TO HIS HISTORY.*—**1. In the Pauline Epistles.**—The Pauline Epistles contain various references to a certain Luke, who is in tradition always identified with the author of the Acts and Third Gospel. These references are: (1) *ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητός* (Col 4[14]); (2) *ἀσπάζεταί σε . . . Λουκᾶς* (Philem 24); (3) *Λουκᾶς ἐστιν μόνος μετ' ἐμοῦ* (2 Ti 4[11]). From these scanty allusions we can gather that Luke was a companion of St. Paul at the time that Colossians (with its appendix Philemon) and 2 Timothy were written, and also that he was a physician. The trustworthiness of these statements may reasonably be regarded as falling short of the highest grade. The authenticity of Colossians (*q.v.*) is probable, but cannot be regarded as quite so certain as that of the earlier Epistles; there is a difference between the group Colossians-Ephesians and the group Corinthians-Galatians-Romans which extends to thought as well as to language, and raises the suggestion that the former group is either un-Pauline or has been much edited. It is on the whole perhaps probable that this doubt ought to be put aside on the ground that the theories of interpolation or pseudepigraphy cause more difficulties than they solve, but the point has not yet been sufficiently discussed by critics. In the same way and in somewhat greater measure the reference in 2 Timothy must be discounted, on the ground of doubts as to the authenticity of the Epistle. So long as these doubts exist, the possibility cannot be entirely excluded that the references to Luke ought to be regarded as the result of the tradition, rather than as the proof of its accuracy.

A similar element of doubt attaches to the question of the place in which Luke and St. Paul were working together (*συνεργοί μου* in Philem 24 covers Luke). There is no critical agreement as to whether the so-called Epistles of the Imprisonment were written from Cæsarea, from Rome, or (according to a more recent hypothesis) from Ephesus. It is, however, noticeable that as

Harnack points out (*Lukas der Arzt*, Leipzig, 1906, p. 2), Luke is not referred to as a 'fellow-prisoner,' and there is consequently a presumption that he had accompanied St. Paul in freedom and as a friend.

2. In tradition.—Very little is added by tradition to the information in the Pauline Epistles except (*a*) the constant attribution to Luke of the Third Gospel and Acts; (*b*) the statement that he was an Antiochene Greek; (*c*) somewhat less frequently, statements that he died in Bœotia, Bithynia, or Ephesus; (*d*) the statement, found only in late MSS, that the Gospel was written in Alexandria. The most important expressions of tradition are those of (1) Eusebius; (2) Jerome; (3) the Monarchian Prologues, found in Vulgate MSS, and possibly of Priscillianist origin; (4) notes appended to NT MSS.

(1) *Eusebius.*—

Λουκᾶς δὲ τὰ μὲν γένος ὢν τῶν ἀπ' Ἀντιοχείας, τὴν δὲ ἐπιστήμην ἰατρός, τὰ πλείστα συγγεγονὼς τῷ Παύλῳ, καὶ τοῖς λοιποῖς δὲ οὐ παρέργως τῶν ἀποστόλων ὡμιληκώς, ἧς ἀπὸ τούτων προσεκτήσατο ψυχῶν θεραπευτικῆς ἐν δυσὶν ἡμὶν ὑποδείγματα θεοπνεύστοις καταλέλοιπε βιβλίοις τῷ τε εὐαγγελίῳ, ὃ καὶ χαράξαι μαρτυρεῖται, καθὰ παρέδοντό αὐτῷ οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς αὐτόπται καὶ ὑπηρέται γενόμενοι τοῦ λόγου οἷς καὶ φησιν ἐπάνωθεν ἅπασι παρηκολουθηκέναι, καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἀποστόλων πράξεσιν ἃς οὐκέτι δι' ἀκοῆς ὀφθαλμοῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς παραλαβὼν συνετάξατο. Φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἄρα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐαγγελίου μνημονεύειν εἰωθεν ὁ Παῦλος ὁπηνίκα ὡς περὶ ἰδίου τινος εὐαγγελίων γράφων ἔλεγε· 'κατὰ τὸ εὐαγγέλιόν μου' (*HE* iii. 4, 6).

This, which is the basis of almost all later statements, shows no knowledge beyond what can be deduced from the Epistles, combined with (i.) the belief that the same Luke wrote Acts and Gospel; (ii.) the statements in the preface to the Gospel; (iii.) the (undoubtedly mistaken) view that St. Paul was referring to a book when he spoke of 'his gospel' (Ro 2^{16}, 2 Ti 2^{8}); (iv.) possibly the text in some MSS (which may belong to that *I* recension which, on von Soden's view, was familiar to Eusebius) of Ac $11^{27f.}$: ἐν ταύταις ταῖς ἡμέραις κατῆλθον ἀπὸ Ἰεροσολύμων προφῆται εἰς Ἀντιόχειαν· **συνεστραμμένων δὲ ἡμῶν** ἔφη εἷς ἐξ αὐτῶν ὀνόματι Ἄγαβος κτλ. (D p w Aug.); this is, however, by no means certain; and there is no proof that this text was known to Eusebius.

(2) *Jerome.*—

'Lucas medicus Antiochensis, ut eius scripta indicant, Græci sermonis non ignarus fuit, sectator apostoli Pauli et omnis peregrinationis eius comes scripsit evangelium, de quo idem Paulus: Misimus, inquit, cum illo fratrem cuius laus est in evangelio per omnes ecclesias; et ad Colossenses: Salutat vos Lucas, medicus carissimus; et ad Timotheum: Lucas est mecum solus. Aliud quoque edidit volumen egregium quod titulo *πράξεις ἀποστόλων* prænotatur: cuius historia usque ad biennium Romæ commorantis Pauli pervenit, id est, usque ad quartum Neronis annum. Ex quo intelligimus in eadem urbe librum esse compositum. Igitur *περιόδους* Pauli et Theclæ, et totam baptizati leonis fabulam, inter apocryphas scripturas computamus. [Then there follows the well-known passage about the Acts of Paul, quoting Tertullian (see ACTS [APOCRYPHAL])]. . . . Quidam suspicantur quotiescumque in epistolis suis Paulus dicit, Iuxta evangelium meum, de Lucæ significare volumine, et [? at] Lucam non solum ab apostolo Paulo didicisse evangelium, qui cum domino in carne non fuerat, sed a ceteris apostolis; quod ipse quoque in principio sui voluminis declarat, dicens: Sicut tradiderunt nobis qui a principio ipsi viderunt et ministri fuerunt sermonis. Igitur evangelium, sicut audierat, scripsit. Acta vero apostolorum sicut viderat ipse composuit. Vixit octoginta et quattuor annos, uxorem non habens. Sepultus est Constantinopoli, ad quam urbem vicesimo Constantii anno ossa eius cum reliquiis Andreæ apostoli translata sunt de Achaia' (*de Vir. Illustr.* vii.).

(3) *The Monarchian Prologues.*—

Lucas Syrus natione Antiochensis arte medicus, discipulus apostolorum, postea Paulum secutus usque ad confessionem eius, serviens deo sine crimine. Nam neque uxorem umquam habens neque filios LXXIIII annorum obiit in Bithynia plenus spiritu sancto—qui cum iam descripta essent evangelia per Matthæum quidem in Iudæa, per Marcum autem in Italia, sancto instigante spiritu in Achaiæ partibus hoc scripsit evangelium, significans etiam ipse in principio ante alia esse descripta. Cui extra ea quæ ordo evangelicæ dispositionis exposcit, ea maxime necessitatis laboris fuit, ut primum Græcis fidelibus omni perfectione venturi in carnem dei manifestata, ne Iudaicis fabulis intenti in solo legis desiderio tenerentur neque hereticis fabulis et stultis sollicitationibus seducti excederent a veritate, elaboraret, dehinc ut in principio evangelii Iohannis nativitate præsumpta cui evangelium scriberet et in quo electus scriberet, indicaret, contestans in se completa esse quæ essent ab aliis inchoata, cui ideo post baptismum filii dei a perfectione generationis in Christo inpletæ et repetendæ a principio nativitatis humanæ potestas permissa est ut requirentibus demonstraret, in quo adprehendens erat, per Nathan filium introitu recurrentis in deum generationis admisso indispartibilis dei, præducans in hominibus Christum suum perfecti opus hominis redire in se per filium facere, qui per David patrem venientibus iter præbebat in Christo. Cui Lucæ non inmerito etiam scribendorum apostolicorum actuum potestas in ministerio datur, ut deo in deum pleno ac filio proditionis extincto oratione ab apostolis facta sorte domini electionis numerus compleretur, sicque Paulus consummationem apostolicis actibus daret, quem diu contra stimulos recalcitrantem dominus elegisset. Quod legentibus ac requirentibus deum etsi per singula expediri a nobis utile fuerat, scientes tamen, quod operantem agricolam oporteat de fructibus suis edere, vitavimus publicam curiositatem, ne non tam volentibus deum videremur quam fastidientibus prodidisse' (the full text of the *Monarchian Prologues* is given in *Kleine Texte*, i., by H. Lietzmann, Bonn, 1902, and there is a full discussion by P. Corssen in *TU* xv. 1 [1896]).

(4) *Information in MSS of the Gospels.*—Almost all the later MSS contain statements at the beginnings or ends of the various books relating to their authors. They are of course important as representing ecclesiastical tradition rather than as containing historical evidence. The most complete list of the Greek ones, is given by von Soden in *Die Schriften des NT*, i., Berlin, 1902, p. 293 ff. The most important items referring to Luke are the following:

(i.) συνεγράφη τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον μετὰ χρόνους ιε̄ (15) τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως ἐν Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ Ἑλληνιστί. There is also a form of substantially the same note beginning: ἐξεδόθη πρὸς Θεόφιλον ἐπίσκοπον Ἀντιοχείας, πρὸς ὃν καὶ αἱ πράξεις. This form is found in many late MSS with a great number of textual variants. (ii.) A remarkable form is found in *e* 377: τὸ κατὰ Λουκᾶν εὐαγγέλιον καὶ τῶν ἁγίων ἀποστόλων αἱ πράξεις ὑπηγορεύθησαν ὑπὸ Πέτρου καὶ Παύλου, τῶν ἀποστόλων μετὰ χρόνους πέντε καὶ δέκα τῆς τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἀναλήψεως. Λουκᾶς δὲ ὁ ἰατρὸς συνέγραφε καὶ ἐκήρυξε καὶ ἐκοιμήθη ἐν Θηβαΐς ἐτῶν ὀγδοήκοντα τεσσάρων. (iii.) Further information confirming the Eusebian tradition that Luke was an Antiochene is found in some MSS, *e.g.* οὗτος ὁ εὐαγγελίστης Λουκᾶς ἦν μὲν Ἀντιοχεὺς ὀγδοήκοντα τεσσάρων (*e* 1156), and ὁ μακάριος Λουκᾶς ὁ εὐαγγελίστης γέγονε Σύρος (*e* 3006).

Added to these note may be made also of the famous pseudo-Dorotheus, and the longer Sophronius. The text of the former is sufficient to illustrate their character:

Λουκᾶς ὁ εὐαγγελίστης Ἀντιοχεὺς μὲν τὸ γένος ἦν, ἰατρὸς δὲ τὴν τεχνήν. συνεγράψατο δὲ τὸ μὲν εὐαγγέλιον κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν Πέτρου τοῦ ἀποστόλου, τὰς δὲ πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν Παύλου τοῦ ἀποστόλου. συναπεδήμησε γὰρ τοῖς ἀποστόλοις καὶ μάλιστα τῷ Παύλῳ, οὗ καὶ μνημονεύσας ὁ Παῦλος ἔγραψεν ἐν ἐπιστολῇ 'ἀσπάζεται ὑμᾶς Λουκᾶς ὁ ἰατρὸς ὁ ἀγαπητὸς ἐν κυρίῳ.' ἀπέθανε δὲ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ ἐτάφη ἐκεῖ. μετετέθη δὲ ὕστερον ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει μετὰ καὶ Ἀνδρέου καὶ Τιμοθέου τῶν ἀποστόλων κατὰ τοὺς καιροὺς Κωνσταντίου βασίλεως υἱοῦ Κωνσταντίνου τοῦ μεγάλου (the text, and that of Sophronius, are given in von Soden's *Die Schriften des NT*, i. 1, p. 306 ff.).

II. *'LUKE' AS AN AUTHOR.*—The foregoing paragraphs summarize all that is known as to the 'historic Luke.' It now remains to discuss (1) the internal evidence supplied mainly by the Acts for and against the tradition which identifies the 'historic Luke' of the Epistles with the 'literary Luke' who wrote the Gospel and Acts; (2) the sources used by the 'literary Luke'; (3) his literary methods. It would also have been desirable to discuss his theology, but this has already been done in art. ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.

1. The arguments for and against the Lucan authorship of the Third Gospel and Acts.—In favour of the Lucan authorship Harnack argues that the redactor of Acts, like Luke, was (1) a fellow-worker with St. Paul; (2) an Antiochene Greek; (3) a physician; (4) the writer of the 'we-sections.' The reasons for this argument are stated in his *Untersuchungen zu den Schriften des Lukas* (Leipzig, 1906–08) with great power, but with a certainty which is sometimes too great.

(1) It is of course abundantly evident that the Acts represents in the 'we-sections' the evidence of a companion of St. Paul, but until the linguistic argument has been accepted as convincing it does

not follow that the redactor of the whole was the author of the 'we-sections.'

(2) In the same way it is abundantly clear that a great part of the Acts is concerned with Antioch; but if, as Acts states, Antioch was really the centre of the Gentile Christian movement, this is really a sufficient explanation, and throws no necessary light on the provenance of the writer. If anyone were to write the history of economics in England in the 19th cent., he would constantly be speaking of Manchester, but it would not follow that he was a Mancunian: similarly, the writer of Acts constantly speaks of Antioch, but he need not have been an Antiochene. That Luke was a Greek rather than a Jew is possibly true, but the evidence is poor. Harnack says:

'Lukas war geborener Grieche—Evangelium und Acta zeigen, was eines Beweises nicht erst bedarf, dass sie nicht von einem geborenen Juden, sondern von einem Griechen verfasst sind,' and adds in a note: 'Ob der Verfasser bevor er Christ wurde jüdischer Proselyt gewesen ist, lässt sich nicht entscheiden. Seine Erwähnung der Proselyten in der Apostelgeschichte lässt keinen Schluss zu. Seine virtuose Kenntnis der griechischen Bibel kann er sich sehr wohl erst als Christ angeeignet haben. Für seinen griechischen Ursprung zeugt übrigens allein schon das οἱ βάρβαροι in c. 28, 2. 4' (*Lukas der Arzt*, eh. i. [Eng. tr., 1907, p. 12 f.]).

It may fairly be urged that Harnack does not sufficiently emphasize the complete absence of direct evidence that Luke was a Greek. The facts seem to be quite adequately covered if we suppose that Luke was a Hellenistic Jew.

(3) That Luke was a physician is argued by Harnack—following up and greatly improving on the methods of Hobart—on the ground of his use of medical language. The argument is of course cumulative, and cannot be epitomized. It is beyond doubt that Luke frequently employs language which can be illustrated from Galen and other medical writers. The weak point is that no sufficient account has been taken of the fact that much of this language can probably be shown from the pages of Lucian, Dion of Prusa, etc., to have been part of the vocabulary of any educated Greek. It is, for instance, too 'keen' when it is alleged that the Lucan phrase καὶ ἐπέστρεψεν τὸ πνεῦμα αὐτῆς καὶ ἀνέστη παραχρῆμα in Lk 8^{55} is a medical improvement on the Marcan καὶ εὐθὺς ἀνέστη τὸ κοράσιον (5^{42}). Could we stamp a writer as a physician at the present time because he spoke of 'bacilli,' or described a state of mind as 'pathological'? Yet it is doubtful whether there is anything so 'medical' in the Third Gospel or Acts as these expressions. The truth seems to be that, if we accept on the ground of tradition the view that the Gospel and Acts were written by a physician, there is a certain amount of corroborative detail in the language; but if we are not inclined to accept this view, the 'medical' language is insufficient to show that the writer was a physician, or used a more medical phraseology than an educated man might have been expected to possess.

(4) Far more important than these lines of argument, which seem to attempt to prove too much from too little evidence, is the thesis that linguistic argument shows that the writer of the 'we-sections' is identical with the redactor of the Third Gospel and the Acts. Here again the cumulative nature of the argument prohibits its complete reproduction. The pages of Harnack must be studied in detail. But the main outline is that, if we study the Third Gospel in comparison with Mark and any sort of reconstructed Q, we shall find out which idioms are especially Lucan, in the sense of belonging to the redaction of the Gospel. If then we find that the 'Lucan' phraseology is especially marked in the 'we-sections,' it follows that the writer of the 'we-sections' was the redactor of the whole. John C. Hawkins, in *Horæ Synopticæ* (Oxford, 1899, ^{2}1909), had already drawn attention to the fact that this line of research pointed to the unity of the Lucan writings and the identity of the scribe of the 'we-sections' with the redactor of the whole, and in *Lukas der Arzt* Harnack elaborates the argument very fully, and may be regarded as having proved his point, if it be granted that no redactor would have completely 'Lucanized' the 'we-sections' without altering the characteristic use of the first person. Unfortunately, this is a rather large assumption, and it is not impossible that the redactor kept the first person, because it implied that his source was here that of an eye-witness. It is clear from the preface to the Gospel that he attached importance to the evidence of eye-witnesses.

The arguments against the Lucan authorship of Acts (and the Third Gospel goes with them) have been given at length in dealing with Acts. In summary they are that a comparison between the Acts and the Epistles shows that, wherever Luke and St. Paul relate the same facts, they give discordant testimony, and that the Pauline and Lucan theology are evidently different (see ACTS). It is not impossible to give an explanation of these facts consistent with the Lucan authorship, but their obvious bearing is to render that theory improbable, so that the results of these two lines of investigation, the linguistic and the historical and theological, do not point in quite the same direction. The linguistic argument as stated by Harnack goes a long way towards proving that the redactor of the Third Gospel and Acts is identical with the author of the 'we-sections' and the narratives immediately cohering with them. This conclusion is not seriously impaired if it be granted that in telling his story the writer often makes use of *clichés* relating to miraculous episodes found in the literary work of this or a slightly later period, *e.g.* in Philostratus,* and perhaps in the lost writings of Apollonius of Tyana. On the other hand, the historical and theological arguments support the contention that the author can scarcely have been a companion of St. Paul. Whenever it is possible to compare Acts and Epistles, discrepancies of varying seriousness are to be found, and the Acts shows very few or no signs of acquaintance with the Atonement-theology or the Christology of the Epistles.

Two ways may be suggested of combining these conflicting results. On the one hand, it is possible that the *prima facie* evidence of the linguistic facts is fallacious. The central point of Harnack's argument is that the same linguistic characteristics are to be found throughout the whole work as in the 'we-sections.' It is assumed that the latter and the cohering narratives may be taken as normative, and that they have been unchanged. But if this assumption be challenged, the argument falls to the ground. Suppose that the redactor found a source relating the greater part of St. Paul's life, and in places claiming that the writer was an eye-witness by the use of the first person, it would be not unnatural for the redactor carefully to preserve these important indications of the value of his source, while at the same time rewriting or touching up the rest of the language. It would then present all those signs of identity of literary style with the rest of the book which Harnack has emphasized. This theory circumvents the literary argument, and enables us to accept easily the historical and theological results which render doubtful the view that the redactor was a companion of St. Paul.

* This seems to be the most important result of E. Norden's *Agnostos Theos* (Leipzig, 1913); he does not really prove that the story of St. Paul at Athens or similar incidents are free literary compositions, and void of all historical foundation, but does show that a considerable use was made of literary *clichés* in setting out, illustrating, and adorning a narrative.

On the other hand, it may be that we are demanding too high a standard of accuracy in the Acts: after all, the inaccuracies and mistakes—for they can scarcely be anything less—are chiefly found in the earlier parts of Acts, and Luke may have been a companion of St. Paul, and yet never have thought of making very careful inquiry from him as to the events of his early career. This would be especially probable if, as the suggested use of Josephus implies, Luke wrote his two treatises for Theophilus late in life (*c.* A.D. 90). The theological difficulty is more serious: it is very difficult to understand how a companion of St. Paul can have had a theology and Christology which are on the whole more archaic than those of the Epistles. To some extent, no doubt, this can be explained by the different objects of the works. To some extent also it is no doubt true that we have gone altogether too far in reconstructing a 'Pauline theology' out of the Epistles; these were St. Paul's answers to controversial points, not statements of his central teaching. Probably the preaching of St. Paul was much more like the Acts than systems of *Paulinismus* reconstructed out of the Epistles. At the same time, it is doubtful whether these considerations really carry us all the way. The theology of Acts—not linguistic characteristics or historical inaccuracies—is the greatest difficulty which faces those who accept the authorship of the Third Gospel and Acts by a companion of St. Paul. At present the matter is *sub judice*, and Harnack's powerful advocacy has turned the current of feeling in favour of the traditional view, but he has really dealt adequately with only one side of the question and dismissed the theological and (to a somewhat less extent) the historical difficulty too easily. It will not be surprising if a reaction follows when these points have been more adequately studied and expounded.

2. Luke's sources.—In the complete absence of any definite statements as to the sources used by Luke, with the exception of the preface to the Gospel, internal evidence can alone be used, and the results of its study are necessarily only tentative.

In the preface to the Gospel Luke tells us that he was acquainted with many previous attempts to give a *διήγησιν τῶν πεπληροφορημένων ἐν ἡμῖν πραγμάτων*—a difficult phrase, which, however, much more probably means 'the things accomplished among us' than the 'things most surely believed among us'—in accordance with the tradition of the original eye-witnesses, and that he also had decided to write an account of them because he was *παρηκολουθηκότι ἄνωθεν πᾶσιν*. From this passage it has sometimes been concluded that Luke disapproved of the previous efforts, and regarded himself as altogether superior to his predecessors. This, however, is not the natural meaning of the Greek; Luke says: 'Inasmuch as many . . . it seemed good to me *also*' (*κἀμοί*), and the force of the 'also' is to class him with and not above his predecessors. A more serious problem is provided by the exact exegesis of *πᾶσι* in 1^3. Does it refer to the *πολλοί* of 1^2, or to the *πραγμάτων* of the same verse, or to the *αὐτόπται* of 1^2? No decision is possible; the probability is rather in favour of a reference to *πολλοί*, as carrying on and explaining the *ἐπειδήπερ πολλοί* of the opening words, but the other alternatives are possible. In any case, the main object of Luke was to provide Theophilus with the proof (*ἵνα ἐπιγνῷς . . . τὴν ἀσφάλειαν*) of the *λόγοι* in which he had received oral instruction (*κατηχήθης*). Luke is therefore writing history with the object of giving the historical basis of the statements (presumably theological) which were current in the oral instruction given to converts.

(*a*) *The written sources used by Luke.*—In the Gospel at least two written sources can be detected. (1) Mark, either exactly in the form now extant, or in one only slightly differing from it, was certainly used by Luke. This is one of the most secure results of the criticism of the Synoptic Gospels. (2) Besides Mark, Luke used a document commonly called Q (*Quelle*), which was also used by Matthew, and, according to some scholars (not, the present writer thinks, correctly), by Mark. The exact contents of Q cannot be defined. Nor can we say with certainty whether Q represents one or many documents. These points are at present among the most warmly debated and most intently studied problems in the Synoptic question. If, however, Q be used to cover all the material common to Matthew and Luke, and it be assumed that Q is only one document, it must have been Greek, not Aramaic, as the agreement between Matthew and Luke is often too close to admit the possibility that the two narratives represent two translations of a single Aramaic document. In the same way the Mark used by Matthew and Luke must have been Greek; it is, however, possible, though no sufficient proof has been given even by Wellhausen, that behind the Greek Mark and the Greek Q there were originally Aramaic texts. (3) It is doubtful whether Luke used other written sources in his Gospel. It is possible that the Peræan section 9^{51}–18^{1} may have had a written source, and the same may be said of the 'Jerusalem narrative' of the Passion and Resurrection; but it is also possible that their peculiarly Lucan passages rest on oral tradition. (4) In the Acts much depends on the view taken of the critical questions, but in any case the 'we-sections' must be referred to a written source, even though their source may have been a diary of the editor of the whole book. Whether the 'Antiochene' source was a written document is doubtful, and the same may be said of source B in the Jerusalem-Cæsaræan tradition. It is, however, as probable as any point which is supported merely by literary evidence can be that source A (containing Ac 3–4, probably 8^{5-40}, and possibly also ch. 5) depends from a written Greek source (see art. ACTS for the fuller treatment of the question of the sources of Acts).

(*b*) *The use of the LXX.*—It remains a question which criticism has as yet found no means of solving whether Luke used, besides the foregoing sources, an Aramaic document for his narrative of the Nativity in the Gospel, or gave his version of a tradition which he had heard, casting it into a form based on the LXX. It is in any case certain that the LXX, and not the Hebrew, was the form of the OT which he habitually used, and his diction seems to have been greatly influenced by it.

(*c*) *The use of other writings.*—No other books seem to have been certainly used by Luke, with the possible (or, in the present writer's opinion, probable) exception of Josephus. The facts relating to Josephus in connexion with Theudas seem to point very strongly to a knowledge of the *Antiquities* (see art. ACTS).

(*d*) *The use of the Epistles.*—There is no reason to suppose that Luke was acquainted with any of the Pauline Epistles. There is nothing in the Acts which resembles a quotation, and in relating facts alluded to in the Epistles there is more often difference than agreement, even though it be true that the difference is not always very serious.

3. Luke's methods. — In using his materials Luke's methods are in the main those of other writers of the same period. They are quite unlike those of modern writers. A writer of the present day seeks to tell his story in his own words and his own way, giving references to, and, if

necessary, quotations from, his sources, but carefully avoiding all confusion between traditional fact and critical inference, and certainly never altering the direct statement of the earlier documents without expressly mentioning the fact. The method of antiquity was as a rule almost the reverse. The author of a book based on earlier materials strung together a series of extracts into a more or less coherent whole, giving no indication of his sources, and modifying them freely in order to harmonize them. Sometimes he would select between several narratives, sometimes he would combine, sometimes he would give them successively, and by a few editorial comments make a single narrative of apparently several events out of several narratives of a single event. As a method this is obviously inferior to modern procedure, but even an inferior method can be well or badly used. That Luke used this method is clear from a comparison of the Third Gospel with Matthew and Mark, but on the whole he seems to have used it well, especially if it be remembered that his avowed object was not to 'write history' but to provide the historical evidence for the Christian instruction which Theophilus had received. The crucial evidence for this view is the use made of Mark, which we can fortunately control. A comparison of Mark with Luke shows that Luke has been on the whole loyal to his source, though he has consistently polished the language. At the same time, it must be admitted that he had no objection to deserting it, or to changing its meaning. Two examples must suffice. (1) In Mark the call of Peter precedes the healing of his mother-in-law; in Luke a different account of Peter's call is given the preference over the Marcan one, and the healing of his mother-in-law is placed before it, apparently to afford a motive for the obedience of Peter to the call. (2) In the narrative of the Passion and Resurrection Luke obviously prefers an alternative narrative to that of Mark. This narrative is different in the essential point that it places all the appearances of the Risen Christ in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, whereas Mark in 14^{28}, etc., is clearly leading up to appearances in Galilee. But the story of the woman at the tomb seems to be taken from Mark, and this includes the message of the young man to the women to tell the disciples to go to Galilee, where they will see Jesus. This is inconsistent with the 'Jerusalem narrative,' and is changed by Luke into 'Remember how he spoke to you while he was still in Galilee,' and the whole narrative is freely re-written. If this were quite certain, it would show that Luke cannot be depended upon not to change the whole meaning of his sources. It is, however, possible that his modification is based on some other source; if so, this source can hardly have been originally independent of Mark. A detailed examination of the Lucan changes in the Marcan material, which has never yet been sufficiently thoroughly undertaken, is likely to give valuable evidence as to Luke's methods in dealing with his sources and the extent to which his statements may be trusted as really representing the earliest tradition, or discounted as being editorial alterations. It may be suggested that a study of the Lucan parallels to Mk 13 is especially needed; a superficial examination suggests that it will show that he was inclined to remove eschatological sayings or explain them in some other sense.

Another characteristic—or what at first sight appears to be one—is a tendency to separate and give to definite historical circumstances sayings which in Matthew are brought together. From this contrast between Matthew and Luke it has been assumed that Luke made special endeavours to find out the exact circumstances under which each saying was uttered. But this conclusion is more than the facts warrant. All that can really be said is that a comparison between Matthew and Luke shows either that Luke separated, or that Matthew combined, or that each did a little of both; but, as we do not know what was the arrangement of the material in the source, we cannot decide between these possibilities. It is sometimes overlooked that reconstructions of Q such as Harnack's or Wellhausen's, though otherwise admirable, are useless for this purpose, as they necessarily assume an answer to the question at issue. It is perhaps worth notice that the only safe guide which we have is Luke's treatment of the Marcan source. Here we find no trace of the supposed separation of sayings, nor do we find any traces in Matthew of the supposed combination of sayings. The logical deduction is that Luke and Matthew did not use the same edition of Q, if indeed there ever was a single document Q. Of course it is hazardous to press this point, but insufficient attention has hitherto been given to the value of Luke's treatment of Mark as the only objective standard which exists for deciding what his methods probably were in dealing with other sources.

LITERATURE.—Besides the works already quoted in the body of the article see B. Weiss, *Die Quellen des Lukasevangeliums*, Stuttgart, 1907; J. Moffatt, *LNT*, Edinburgh, 1911; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos*, Leipzig, 1913; R. Reitzenstein, *Hellenistische Wundererzählungen*, do. 1906; E. C. Selwyn, *St. Luke the Prophet*, London, 1901; H. McLachlan, *St. Luke—Evangelist and Historian*, London and Manchester, 1912; W. M. Ramsay, *Luke the Physician and other Studies in the History of Religion*, London, 1908; Th. Zahn, *Introduction to the New Testament*. Eng. tr., Edinburgh, 1909. K. LAKE.

LUKEWARM.—The word occurs only in Rev 3^{16}—'because thou art lukewarm (χλιαρός), and neither hot nor cold, I will spew thee out of my mouth.' As tepid water causes nausea, so lifeless religious profession leads to Divine disgust and rejection (cf. *Ecce Homo*[11], 1873, ch. xiii.). There is greater promise in men who are outside the pale of the Church than in those whose nominal allegiance to religion has created a false confidence, dulled all sense of need, and checked all spiritual growth (v.[15]). The following verses (vv.[17. 18], for the local references of which see art. 'Laodicea' in *HDB*) suggest that this condition of tepid religion in Laodicea had been fostered by an excess of material prosperity. The Laodiceans had become so comfortable as not to need God, nor ought God to expect much more than patronage from so consequential a community. He must, in human fashion, be on good terms with a church with so satisfactory a worldly status, not inquiring too closely about their spiritual zeal. For an analysis of this lukewarmness see also F. W. Faber, *Growth in Holiness*, 1854, ch. xxv. H. BULCOCK.

LUST.—1. Linguistic usage.—(1) *The English word 'lust.'*—The word 'lust,' which, in modern English, is restricted to sexual desire, had originally a wider application and could be used *de neutro* and *de bono* as well as *de malo* of desire in general, and, as Trench says, was 'once harmless enough' (*NT Synonyms*[8], 1876, p. 313). The German *Lust* is still used in this wide sense.

There is no instance in the NT where the English word 'lust' is used *de bono* in the AV unless we supply the word in Gal 5^{17}—'the flesh lusteth (ἐπιθυμεῖ) against the Spirit and the Spirit (lusteth) against the flesh.' The verb is absent in the Greek as in the English. Lightfoot (on Gal 5^{17}) thinks that ἐπιθυμεῖ cannot be supplied, as it would be unsuitable to describe the activity of the Spirit by this term. But Rendall is probably right in saying that the word ἐπιθυμεῖ here is neutral and equally applicable to the good desires of the Spirit and the evil lusts of the flesh (*EGT*, 'Galatians,' 1903, *in*

loc.). The English word 'lust,' however, is scarcely neutral in the AV, and yet, because there is no possibility of misunderstanding, no other verb is supplied to describe the action of the Spirit. Even the RV has not supplied a different verb in the second clause. This is not to say that the Revisers would consider 'lust' a fit word to describe the working of the Spirit.

It is true also that the passage in Ja 4^5—'the Spirit that dwelleth in us lusteth to envy'—is now generally understood of the Indwelling Spirit of God, but it was not so understood by the AV translators. To them it was the evil, envious spirit of man. The Greek verb used here is *ἐπιποθεῖν*, which is frequently used in the NT, and always in a good sense. St. Paul uses it of his great longing to see his converts (1 Th 3^6, 2 Co $7^{7.11}$, 2 Ti 1^4, Ph 1^8; cf. also Ro 1^{11} 15^{23}). They are to him *ἐπιπόθητοι*. It expresses the longing of Epaphroditus for the Philippians, and of the Judæan Christians for the Corinthians who had liberally helped them. St. Paul uses it also to express his longing for heaven (2 Co 5^2), and St. Peter exhorts his readers to 'desire' the sincere (?) milk of the word (1 P 2^2). The LXX uses it of the soul's longing for God (Ps 41^2 [EV 42^2]). Analogy would thus lead us to suppose that St. James used the word in a good sense. The quotation in which the word occurs cannot be located in the OT with certainty (cf. 1 Co 2^9, Eph 5^{14}); otherwise the sense of the word would be beyond dispute. Some suppose that St. James is here quoting St. Paul (1 Co 3^{16}, Gal 5^{17}). The most likely meaning of the passage is: 'The Spirit which he caused to dwell in us yearneth (for us) unto jealousy.' The Spirit of God has such a longing desire to possess the whole Christian personality that its passion may well be called holy jealousy. If this be the meaning, the rendering 'lust' is erroneous. The RV is not decided on the interpretation, and has substituted 'long' for 'lust.' RVm is probably correct.

There is no passage, then, in the NT where the English word 'lust' is used *de bono*.

(2) *The Greek word ἐπιθυμεῖν and its cognates.*—(*a*) The Greek word *ἐπιθυμεῖν* with its cognates, although as a rule used *de malo*, is not always so used. It occasionally takes the place of *ἐπιποθεῖν* (1 Th 2^{17}, Ph 1^{23}, 1 Ti 3^1, He 6^{11}), which seems always to be used in a good sense. It is used of the desires of the prophets to see the deeds of the Messianic Age (Mt 13^{17}; cf. also Lk 17^{22}), of the desire of Lazarus to eat of the crumbs falling from the rich man's table (cf. Lk 16^{21} 15^{16}; perhaps the desire for food or drink or the sexual desire is the ordinary meaning of the word). It is used by the Saviour to express His desire to eat the Paschal feast with His disciples (Lk 22^{15}), by St. Paul of the desire for the office of a bishop (1 Ti 3^1), by St. Peter of the holy desires of the angels (1 P 1^{12}), and, in the substantive form, St. Paul uses it of his desire to depart and be with Christ, which is far better (Ph 1^{23}), and of his longing to see his Thessalonian converts (1 Th 2^{17}). The LXX also uses it in a good sense (Ps 102^5 [EV 103^5], Pr 10^{24}). In all these cases we have *ἐπιθυμεῖν* translated by the word 'desire.' The word *ἐπιθυμεῖν* in the Gr. NT is thus much wider than the word 'lust' in the Eng. NT, and even 'lust' itself in the AV is not to be restricted to 'sexual desire' but is used of unlawful desire in general, the context determining its specific application.

We find the same large-[illegible] of the word *ἐπιθυμία* in Plato. Generally with him it mea[illegible] appetite' in the narrow sense—the motive element in the lowest part of man—yet he uses it also of the other higher de[illegible]tments of the personality. Even the rational soul has its [illegible]n and lofty desires (*Rep.*, bks. iv. and ix.).

(*b*) When the word is used without an object it generally refers to evil longings (cf. Ro 7^7 13^9 [from Ex 20^{14}], Ja 4^2, 1 Co 10^6), not, however, in the restricted usage of sexual lust. The moral colouring is as a rule supplied by the context, either by the mention of the object desired, as in Mk 4^{19}, 1 Co 10^6, which is the ordinary classical usage, or by the mention of the source of the desire (commonly in the NT) or by a descriptive epithet (Col 3^5). This transference of moral colouring from the object desired to the subject desiring is significant. It is in harmony with the NT moral standpoint. Here the stress is laid on the inwardness of morality, and the object of moral judgment is the character (*καρδία*), rather than bare outward actions, or the consequences of actions. In the NT the desire is morally judged according to its origin, *i.e.* the originative personality as a whole is dealt with rather than the desire *per se*. The NT is thus more concerned with change of character than with the reformation by parts of the individual.

'Scripture and reason alike require that we should turn entirely *to* God, that we should obey the whole law. And hard as this may seem at first, there is a witness within us which pleads that it is possible. . . . "Easier to change many things than one," is the common saying. Easier, we may add, in religion and morality to change the whole than the part. . . . Many a person will tease himself by counting minutes and providing small rules for his life who would have found the task an easier and a nobler one had he viewed it in its whole extent and gone to God in a "large and liberal" spirit to offer up his life to Him' (B. Jowett, *Interpretation of Scripture and other Essays*, London, n.d., p. 321).

The NT, however, does not hesitate to pass judgment on desires *per se* and on their consequences. We find such expressions as 'the corruption that is in the world through lust' spoken of (2 P 1^4)—where corruption is the consequence of evil desire. We find the phrase 'polluting desires' (2 P 2^{10}). We find pleasures (*ἡδοναί*) regarded as a turbulence of the soul (Ja 4^1), as if desires destroyed the balance of the soul (cf. 1 Ti 6^9, 1 P 2^{11}, Ro 7^{23}). The NT has no meticulous fear in passing judgment on evil desires and on their consequences. It does not take up the immaculate, fastidious attitude of 'virtue for virtue's sake,' but its point of view is the whole personality, and on this is moral judgment for good or evil passed.

(*c*) Thrice in the NT we find the word *ἐπιθυμία* translated by 'concupiscence.' This term is a dogmatic one, which has played a large part in theological controversy. It means the natural inclinations of man before these have passed into overt acts. It is different from *consilium*, which is the 'deliberata assentio voluntatis' (so Calvin, *Institutes*, bk. ii. ch. viii. 49). Two questions of importance arise in connexion with this concupiscence: (i.) What is its origin and nature? and (ii.) What is its relation to responsibility and redemption? The Pelagian theologian tends to identify it with man's nature as appetitive and in itself morally neutral. What makes the moral difference is the exercise of the will, and the will is free. It may be that there is weakness in man due to the removal of 'original righteousness' which Adam had before he sinned, but this removal does not impair human nature and it does not make virtue impossible. To this class of theologians free-will is the important matter. Sin is only conscious sinful actions. This is, generally speaking, the position of Abelard, Arminius, and the Tridentine Council. To Augustine and the Reformers, however, this concupiscence was prior to the individual's evil volition and in a sense caused it. Free-will was not sufficient to cope with it. The redemption of man was a radical affair, cleansing the whole personality, the will included. Concupiscence is not simply a *defectus* (morally indifferent) but an *affectus* of the soul resulting in a positive *nisus* towards sin in man's nature. The soul as a whole is deflected from its true centre—God. As regards responsibility for

concupiscence, this school distinctly teaches it while the other side denies it. The Reformers did not regard 'desire' viewed as a part of man's ideal nature as 'evil'; but, as a matter of fact, in actual experience the desires are found to be evil.

'All the desires of men we teach to be evil, . . . not in so far as they are natural, but because they are inordinate, and they are inordinate because they flow from a corrupt nature' (Calvin, *Institutes*, bk. iii. ch. iii. 12).

During the Middle Ages and in Aquinas concupiscence was identified with man's sensuous nature. The difference between flesh and spirit was physical. So concupiscence was supremely manifested in the lusts of the flesh interpreted in a sensual fashion.

The NT does not directly deal with these aspects of desire, but its spirit is more in harmony with the deeper analysis of Augustine. As regards responsibility and redemption in relation to concupiscence the Augustinian position is the Pauline. The word 'concupiscence' has been omitted altogether by the RV. In Ro 7[8] ἐπιθυμία is translated 'coveting.' It means illicit inclinations to follow one's own will as against God's law. With the arrival of self-consciousness there is already found in the personality the strong bias to sin which comes to light as man is brought face to face with law. Sin is regarded in a semi-personal fashion as receiving a basis of operation in this bias. The word ἐπιθυμία is thus well translated 'concupiscence' in the theological sense of the term. In Col 3[5] the English 'desire' is sufficient to express the thought, because it is as vague as the original.

(*d*) In 1 Th 4[5] the word ἐπιθυμία is used, as the context shows, of 'sexual lust.' The use of the term in Jude [16] approximates to this but seems to be wider. The same letter (v.[18]) ascribes it to impiety. The passage 1 P 2[11] approximates closely to this meaning. In 2 P 2[18] it means 'lust' in our restricted sense. It is equated with σάρκος ἀσελγείαις. See also *Apostol. Church Order* (ed. Schaff, *The Oldest Church Manual*, 1885, p. 242), where it is said that ἐπιθυμία leads to fornication.

ἐπιθυμία, then, when used *de malo* of illicit desires is not wholly restricted to sexual depravity (exc. in 1 Th 4[5] and 2 P 2[18]; cf. Jude [16]), although that is included, and owing to its obtrusiveness could not fail to be included. It means 'the whole world of active lusts and desires' (Trench, *NT Syn.*[8], p. 312).

(3) *Other Greek words.*—(*a*) The Greek word πάθος is also translated 'lust' in 1 Th 4[5], and ἐπιθυμία is subordinated to it as species to genus. This is the usage of Aristotle, who regards 'lust,' anger, fear, etc., as species of πάθος. It is usually maintained that the difference between the two is that πάθος refers to evil on its passive and ἐπιθυμία on its more active side. It is impossible, however, to prove this distinction from the NT, although in Gal 5[24], where παθήματα and ἐπιθυμίαι are found side by side, this distinction makes excellent sense. The words are used in a loose popular sense and not as the exact terminology of an ethical system.

(*b*) The same is true of the usage of ἡδοναί (Ja 4[1]), which is translated 'lusts.' It refers to pleasures in general; though sexual pleasures are included, and perhaps form the chief element, eating and drinking would also be meant. 'All men are by nature weak and inclined to pleasures,' and so injustice and avarice follow (Swete, *Introduction to OT in Greek*, 1900, p. 567).

(*c*) Similarly ὄρεξις (Ro 1[27])—a word used sometimes in classical writers of the highest desires—is used by St. Paul of the unnatural sexual lust of heathenism (see Trench, *NT Syn.*[8], p. 314).

2. Genesis, growth and goal of lust.—(1) *Genesis of lust.*—We do not find any attempt to deal psychologically with this problem. What we find is various suggestions and incidental allusions. In Jn 8[44] the lusts of murder and deceit are traced back to the *devil*. The idea is the Jewish one that the devil tempted Cain to murder his brother Abel, and that the serpent deceived Eve (cf. 1 Jn 3[8ff.]). This view that the devil is the originator of lust took various forms in Jewish thought (Sir 25[23ff.], 2 Es 4[30] 8[35]), and there are echoes of these in the NT. St. Paul (1 Co 11[10]) seems to regard the wicked angels as moved to sensual lust by unveiled women. The existence of an evil tendency (*yezer hara*) in human nature was a problem for Judaism. Sometimes it was simply referred to the fall of Adam (Wis 2[23ff.]; cf. Ro 5[12ff.], 1 Co 15[21ff.]), sometimes it was ascribed to the devil, and sometimes to God. The last view is not found in the NT except to be refuted (Ja 1[13-17]). The good tendency (*yezer hatob*) was without difficulty ascribed to God, but the evil tendency could not be so treated. St. Paul (Ro 7[15-24]) simply states these two tendencies and connects the evil with the fall of Adam. Yet there is nothing to encourage the view that man is not responsible. In truth, where St. John mentions the devil (1 Jn 3[8]) as the originator of evil desires, he is opposing the Gnostic view that the 'spiritual' man is not responsible for sensual sins. Yet it is certain that the problem of evil is not solved on NT principles by any atomistic view of human personality, and that the redemption of Christ has its cosmic as well as its personal aspects. St. Paul's teaching in Ro 7[15-24] was open to misunderstanding, but in principle it is the very opposite of libertinism.

Again, the origin of lust is ascribed to the *cosmos* (1 Jn 2[15-17]). It is whatever is opposed to the will of God. So in Tit 2[12] we read of 'worldly lusts' (cf. 2 P 1[4]). The world is the 'lust of the flesh,' the 'lust of the eyes,' and the 'pride of life.' It is the kingdom of evil as organized in customs and tendencies in human society and human hearts, including also evil spirits. It is found in man as the desires of the 'flesh and mind' (Eph 2[3]), and specifically called the lusts of men (1 P 4[2]). It might appear as if this ascription of lust to the 'world' destroyed personal responsibility, but such is never the case. The law of God recognized by man as good, *i.e.* as the law of his own conscience (Ro 7[7ff.]), is against such lust, and the Christian command is to love God and do His will. The fact of responsibility is not proportional to ability in the NT, and so redemption is always regarded as primarily of grace.

Similarly, and characteristically, the origin of lust is ascribed to the *flesh*, *i.e.* the sinful personality as apart from God. The 'lusts of the flesh' mean much more than sensuality. 'It was not the corruptible flesh that made the soul sinful, but the sinful soul that made the flesh corrupt' (Aug., *de Civ. Dei*, xiv. 2, 3). It is true that the body (σῶμα) with its desires (Ro 6[12]) was a sort of armoury where sin got its weapons, but the body as such is not the originative seat of evil; otherwise St. Paul's view of the Resurrection would be meaningless. Platonism looked on the body as the tomb of the soul and as pressing down the soul (cf. 1 Co 9[27]), but Rothe is scarcely warranted in making the sensuous nature the primary root of evil (*Theol. Ethik*[2], 1870, ii. 181–7).

Again, the *heart* is viewed as the origin of evil desires (Ro 1[24]; cf. Sir 5[2]). This centres the origin in man's personality as a whole, not in any one part of the personality. But it is the personality apart from God. So we read in Jude not only 'their own desires,' but also (v.[18]) 'their own desires of impieties,' *i.e.* evil desires originating in their impious state. A similar thought is found in Ro 1[26ff.] (cf. Tit 2[12]). Evil tendencies develop *pari passu* with God's judicial withdrawal.

It might thus appear that those who make *selfishness* (φιλαυτία) the root of sinful desires are nearest the truth. Philo does so and Plato. 'The truth is that the cause of all sins in every person and every instance is excessive self-love' (*Laws*, v. 731); but in the NT the 'self' is not an entity that can be understood apart from the redemption of Christ, and the Christian personality is so complex that we cannot safely limit to any single strand the origin of sin. What the NT is concerned with is not the origin—an insoluble problem—but the abolition of evil desires. Man himself is the moral origin, and the great question is how to redeem sinful man. In other words, these questions are discussed not from the point of view of genetic psychology but from the point of view of redemption.

(2) *Growth and goal of lust.*—St. James gives a graphic picture of how ἐπιθυμία develops. She is pictured as a harlot enticing man. Like the fisherman she baits her hook, and traps her prey as the hunter does. Then sin is produced, and sin completed brings forth death. It is clearly stated that 'lust' is not of God. It is man's own, and the inference is that man can resist it. There is no mention of God's grace in the specific Christian sense, although in v.[18] we seem to have this strongly emphasized. Perhaps the writer loosely holds both the Jewish notion of free-will as itself sufficient to resist desire, and the Christian sense of God's grace. It is possible to restrict the whole passage (1[15-18]) to sexual lust, but the wider sense is probable.

Clement of Rome (*Ep. ad Cor.* iii.) gives a long list of evil desires leading to death, but to him strife and envy are characteristically causative of this result, as in the case of Cain (iv.). In the *Apostol. Church Order* (ed. Schaff, p. 242), lust is pictured as a female demon. It leads to fornication, and it darkens the soul so that it cannot see the truth clearly (cf. Ro 1[26ff.]).

St. Peter associates lust with ignorance (1 P 1[14]) and St. Paul with deceit, the opposite of 'truth' (Eph 4[22]). Since the time of Plato desire has been regarded by philosophers as aiming at a good (true or false). The end is always viewed *sub specie boni*. This is an aspect which the NT does not emphasize. But it does say that evil desires leave the soul unsatisfied and produce disorder (Ja 4[2]). It is possible to be always seeking some new thing and never coming to the knowledge of the truth (2 Ti 3[6ff.]). Knowledge alone is not sufficient, however, for St. Paul regards the law as both revealing desire and intensifying it (Ro 7[7]). Redemption is necessary to cope with evil desires.

The desiring of evil things St. Paul regards as the moral ground of all sinful acts (1 Co 10)—of sensuality both as fornication and idolatry—of unbelief in its varied forms. This desiring does not work *in vacuo*; it is active in an atmosphere already tainted with idolatry, sensuality, and devilry (1 Co 10[15ff.], 1 Th 3[5], Eph 6[10ff.]). God allows this testing of men, but He also affords a way of escape from it, so that men with this hope can bear up under temptations. The consequence of following one's own lust is regarded both subjectively and objectively. It produces corruption of the personality, ending in complete φθόρα (Eph 4[22]; cf. 2 P 1[4], where φθόρα is said to be the fruit of lust), whereas the will of God leads to righteousness and holiness. The man who sets his heart on riches falls into many foolish and hurtful desires, and these bring him to the depth of destruction (ὄλεθρος and ἀπώλεια are the inevitable consequences). Lust is also said to pollute the soul (2 P 2[10]). Besides this, lust brings one face to face with God's destructive anger against sin (cf. 1 Co 10 and Dt 32[22ff.]).

It is not possible, however, from the NT to arrange in psychological order the stages in the development of lust. The progress is as varied as life itself. Catalogues of sins are given because these sins are closely connected in actual experience, and in experience the cause is often the effect and the effect the cause.

St. John (1 Jn 2[15-17]) is not to be taken as making the 'lust of the flesh' the origin of the 'lust of the eyes' and of the 'pride of possession,' nor are these a complete summary of sin. They are comprehensive and characteristic, but not necessarily exhaustive. The genitives in this passage are of course subjective, *i.e.* 'the lust springing from the flesh,' etc. Here again the 'flesh' is the origin of evil desire—not the body as such, but the sinful personality (Law [*Tests of Life*[3], 1914, p. 149] explains 'flesh' otherwise here, but the very fact that the 'flesh' is regarded as causing desire is against him). To St. John also the issue of sinful desire is destruction, as it is contrary to the abiding will of God.

To the NT, then, evil desires contaminate, corrupt, and destroy the soul itself and bring upon it God's punishment. These desires, however, are already proofs of a personality out of order, and to set the desires right the personality must be set right. This is done by the new gracious creation of God through His mercy which operates through Christ. Thus man is made God's πλήρωμα by the Spirit. To walk in the Spirit is the privilege of the new creature (Eph 2[3ff.]), and in this way he can overcome the desires of the 'flesh' (Ro 13[14]), and learn to do the will of God.

LITERATURE.—See Grimm-Thayer, under the various Greek words translated 'Lust'; H. Cremer, *Bib.-Theol. Lex. of NT Greek*, 1872, pp. 273–278. For the general teaching see C. Clemen, *Christl. Lehre von der Sünde*, Göttingen, 1897; J. Müller, *Chris. Doct. of Sin*, Eng. tr., 1877–85, i. 157. For the Jewish *Yezer Hara* see F. C. Porter in *Bib. and Sem. Studies*, New York, 1901; W. O. E. Oesterley, in *EGT*: 'St. James,' 1910, pp. 408–413. For Concupiscence see I. A. Dorner, *System of Christian Doctrine*, Eng. tr., 1880–82, Index, *s.v.* 'Concupiscentia.' See also Literature under art. FLESH. The various Commentaries are indispensable: Mayor (³1910) and Carr (Camb. Gr. Test., 1896) on *St. James* in relevant places, and Plummer on *St. John* (Camb. Gr. Test., 1886), pp. 154–156. See further artt. 'Lust' in *HDB* and 'Desire' in *DCG*.

DONALD MACKENZIE.

LYCAONIA (Λυκαονία). — Lycaonia, the country of the Lycaones, who spoke Λυκαονιστί ('in the speech of Lycaonia,' Ac 14[11]), was a vast elevated plain, often called 'The Treeless' (τὸ ἄξυλον), in the centre of Asia Minor. It was bounded on the N. and E. by Galatia and Cappadocia, on the W. and S. by Phrygia, Pisidia, and Isauria; but its limits were very uncertain and liable to change, especially in the N. and S. Its physical character is described by Strabo (XII. vi. 1):

'The places around the mountainous plane of Lycaonia are cold and bare, affording pasture only for wild asses; there is a great scarcity of water, and wherever it is found the wells are very deep. . . . Although the country is ill supplied with water, it is suprisingly well adapted for feeding sheep. . . . Some persons have acquired great wealth by these flocks alone. Amyntas had above 300 flocks of sheep in these parts.'

Having no opportunity and perhaps little capacity for self-government, the Lycaonians had no history of their own. Driven eastward by the Phrygians, they were always under the sway of some stronger power, which cut and carved their territory without ever asking their leave. In the 3rd cent. Lycaonia belonged to the empire of the Seleucids, who more or less hellenized its larger towns, such as Iconium, Lystra, and Derbe. After the Roman victory over Antiochus the Great at Magnesia (190 B.C.), it was given to the Attalids of Pergamos; but as they never effectively occupied it, the northern part of it was claimed by the Galatians, while the eastern was added to Cappadocia. When Pompey re-organized Asia Minor after the defeat of Mithridates (64 B.C.), he left northern Lycaonia (somewhat curtailed) to the Galatians, and eastern Lycaonia (also dimin-

ished) to Cappadocia, while he attached south-western Lycaonia (considerably increased) to the province of Cilicia. Mark Antony gave the last part, including Iconium and Lystra, to Polemon in 39 B.C., but transferred it in 36 to King Amyntas of Pisidia, who at the same time became king of all Galatia. Soon afterwards this brilliant soldier—the most interesting of Asiatic Gaels—overthrew Antipater of Derbe, with the result that the whole of Lycaonia, except the so-called Eleventh Strategia (which about this time was given to King Antiochus of Commagene, to be henceforth called Lycaonia Antiochiana) was now included in the Galatian realm. After the untimely death of Amyntas in 25 B.C., his kingdom was converted into the Roman province of Galatia. This arrangement lasted for nearly a century, except that Claudius apparently presented the S.E. corner of Lycaonia, including the important city of Laranda, to the king of Commagene.

When St. Paul brought Christianity to Lycaonia, he confined his mission to that part of it which was in the province of Galatia. On reaching the frontier city of Derbe, he retraced his steps. Laranda, in Antiochian Lycaonia, was beyond his sphere. If the S. Galatian theory is to be accepted, he passed through Galatic Lycaonia four times (Ac $14^{6.\ 21}$ 16^{1} 18^{23}); he addressed the mixed population of its cities—Lycaonians, Greeks, and Jews—as all alike 'Galatians'; and the Christians of Lycaonian and Phrygian Galatia, not the inhabitants of Galatia proper, are the 'foolish Galatians' (Gal 3^{1}) about whom he was so 'perplexed' (Gal 4^{20}). But see GALATIANS.

Nothing remains of the Lycaonian language except some place-names; but the Christian inscriptions found in Lycaonia are very numerous, and show how widely diffused the new religion was in the 3rd cent. throughout this country which was evangelized by St. Paul in the 1st.

LITERATURE.—**W. M. Ramsay,** *Hist. Geog. of Asia Minor*, 1890, also *Hist. Com. on Galatians*, 1899; **J. R. S. Sterrett,** *Wolfe Expedition in Asia Minor*, 1888; **C. Wilson,** in Murray's *Handbook to Asia Minor*, 1895.

JAMES STRAHAN.

LYCIA (Λυκία, *Eth.* Λύκιος).—Lycia was a secluded mountain-land in the S.W. of Asia Minor, bounded on the W. by Caria, on the N. by Phrygia and Pisidia, on the N.E. by Pamphilia, and on the S. by the Lycian Sea. It was 'beyond the Taurus' (ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου). The ribs of that huge backbone of the country extended from N. to S. (in some places over 10,000 ft. in height), and between them were well-watered and fertile valleys, the homes of a highly civilized race, who in their love of peace and freedom resembled the Swiss. They were not Greek by race, but they were early hellenized. They had many overlords—Persians, Seleucids, Ptolemys, Romans—but for the most part their autonomy was undisturbed, and they had one of the finest constitutions in ancient times.

As the Lycians were suspected of favouring the Imperial party in the Civil Wars of Rome, Brutus and Cassius almost annihilated the beautiful city of Xanthus (43 B.C.), and the country never recovered its old prosperity. Pliny says that in his time the cities of Lycia, formerly 70 in number, had been reduced to 36 (*HN* v. 28). In A.D. 43 it was made a Roman province, and in A.D. 74 Vespasian formed the united province of Lycia-Pamphylia. Lycia is named in 1 Mac 15^{23} as one of the Free States to which the Romans sent letters in favour of the Jewish settlers. Two of its principal seaports—Patara and Myra—are mentioned in Acts (21^{1} 27^{5}). But it appears to have been one of the last parts of Asia Minor to accept Christianity. Among the provinces addressed in 1 P 1^{1} as having been partly evangelized, neither Lycia nor Pamphylia—both south of the Taurus—finds a place.

LITERATURE.—**C. Fellows,** *Discoveries in Lycia during 2nd Excursion in Asia Minor*, 1841; **T. A. B. Spratt** and **E. Forbes,** *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis*, 1847; **Benndorf-Niemann,** *Reisen in südwestl. Kleinasien*, i.: 'Reisen in Lykien und Karien,' 1884. JAMES STRAHAN.

LYDDA (Λύδδα, Heb. *Lôd*, Ar. *Ludd*).—Lydda was a town about 10 miles S.E. of Joppa, on the line where the Maritime Plain of Palestine merges into the Shephēlah or Lowlands of Judæa. Its importance was largely due to its position at the intersection of two highways of intercourse and traffic—the road from Joppa up to Jerusalem by the Vale of Ajalon, and the caravan route from Egypt to Syria and Babylon. Re-occupied by the Jews after the Exile (Neh 11^{35}), it was nevertheless governed by the Samaritans till the time of Jonathan Maccabæus, when the Syrian king Demetrius II. made it over to Judæa (1 Mac 11^{34}). In the time of Christ it was the capital of one of the eleven toparchies 'of which the royal city of Jerusalem was the supreme' (Jos. *BJ* III. iii. 5). During the civil strife of the Romans (*c.* 45 B.C.) Cassius sold the inhabitants of Lydda into slavery for refusing the sinews of war, but Antony gave them back their liberty (*Ant.* XIV. xi. 2, xii. 2–5). Lydda was visited by St. Peter, whose preaching, aided by the miraculous healing of Æneas, is said, 'in a popular hyperbolical manner' (Meyer on Ac 9^{35}), to have resulted in a general conversion of the Jewish population to Jesus as the Messiah. From this town the Apostle was called to Joppa on behalf of Dorcas (9^{36}). In the Jewish Wars Lydda was a centre of strong national feeling. It was captured and burned by the Syrian governor, Cestius Gallus, on his march to Jerusalem (A.D. 65), and it surrendered without a struggle to Vespasian in 68 (*BJ* II. xix. 1, IV. viii. 1). After the fall of the holy city it became one of the refuges of Rabbinical learning. Later, it was known as Diospolis, though its old name was never displaced, and it became the seat of a bishop. At the Council of Diospolis in A.D. 415 the heresiarch Pelagius was tried, but managed to procure his acquittal. By this time Lydda had begun to have a wide fame as the reputed burial-place of a Christian soldier named Georgios, who in Nicomedia had torn down Diocletian's edict against Christianity and welcomed martyrdom. His relics were taken to Lydda, and round his name was gradually woven a tissue of legend, in which the Greek myth of Perseus and Andromeda (see JOPPA), the Moslem idea of Elijah (or alternatively of Jesus) as the destined destroyer of the Impostor (*al-dajjāl*) or Antichrist, and the old Hebrew story of the fall of Dagon before the ark, were all inextricably intertwined, till Lydda became the shrine of St. George the Slayer of the Dragon, whom the English Crusaders made the patron-saint of their native land.

Lydda is now 'a flourishing little town, embosomed in noble orchards of olive, fig, pomegranate, mulberry, sycamore, and other trees, and surrounded every way by a very fertile neighbourhood.' The ruins of the Crusaders' Church of St. George, have 'a certain air of grandeur' (W. M. Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, 1910, p. 523). The town has a station on the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway.

LITERATURE.—**E. Robinson,** *Biblical Researches*, 1841, iii. 49–55; **C. Clermont-Ganneau,** *Horus et Saint Georges*, 1877; **G. A. Smith,** *HGHL*, 1897, p. 160*f.* JAMES STRAHAN.

LYDIA.—The woman who bears this name in Ac $16^{14ff.}$ is described as 'a seller of purple, of the city of Thyatira, one who worshipped God.' The implication is that Lydia was more or less closely

attached to the Jewish religion—a 'proselyte of the gate,' in later Rabbinic phraseology. We are told that she was found by St. Paul on his visit to Philippi at a small Jewish meeting for prayer held at the river-side on the Sabbath day. On hearing the message of the Apostle, she was converted and baptized along with the members of her household, and thereupon entreated the missionary to lodge in her house during his stay in the town. As a seller of purple garments—among the most expensive articles of ancient commerce—Lydia was no doubt a woman of considerable wealth. Probably she was a widow carrying on the business of her dead husband, and her position at the head of a wealthy establishment shows the comparative freedom enjoyed by women both in Asia Minor and in Macedonia. Her generous disposition, manifested in her pressing offer of hospitality to the Apostle, may perhaps be reflected in the frequency and liberality with which the Philippian Church contributed to the Apostle's wants (Ph $4^{15, 16}$). She holds the distinction of being the first convert to Christianity in Europe, and her household formed the nucleus of the Church of Philippi, to which St. Paul addressed the most affectionate and joyous of all his Epistles.

The fact that the Apostle Paul does not mention her by name in the Epistle has given rise to two different suggestions. Some have thought that shortly after her conversion Lydia may have either died or returned to her home in Thyatira (as Milligan in *HDB*, art. 'Lydia'). Others have put forward the idea that Lydia was not the personal name of the convert, but a description of her nationality as a native of Thyatira in the province of Lydia—'*the* Lydian'; and further, that the Apostle may refer to her either as Euodia or Syntache (Ph 4^2). Renan takes this latter view of the name, and suggests also that Lydia became the wife of the Apostle and bore the expenses of his trial in Philippi (*St. Paul*, p. 148). Ramsay (*HDB*, art. 'Lydia') regards the name as a familiar name (nickname), used instead of the personal proper name and meaning 'the Lydian' (so Zahn, *Introd. to NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, i. 533). Others, however, point to the frequency with which the name is found applied to women in Horace (*Od.* i. 8, iii. 9, iv. 30), and regard it as a proper name.

LITERATURE.—E. Renan, *St. Paul*, 1869, p. 148; *HDB*, art. 'Lydia'; R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 345; Commentaries of Holtzmann and Zeller *in loc.*

W. F. BOYD.

LYDIA (Λυδία).—Lydia, the fairest and richest country of western Asia Minor, was bounded by Mysia in the N., Phrygia in the E., Caria in the S., and the Ægean Sea in the W. Long mountain chains, extending westward from the central plateau, divided it into broad alluvial valleys. The regions between the ranges of Messogis, Tmolus, and Temnus, watered by the Cayster and the Hermus, were among the most fertile in the world. The trade and commerce of Lydia contributed more to its immense wealth than the mines of Tmolus or the golden sand of Pactolus. In the time of Alyattes and Crœsus, who reigned in splendour at Sardis, the kingdom of Lydia embraced almost the whole of Asia Minor west of the Halys, but Cyrus subdued it about 546 B.C., and a succession of satraps did their best to crush the spirit of the race. After the triumphal progress of Alexander the Great, Lydia was held for a time by Antigonus, and then by the Seleucids. After Magnesia (190 B.C.) the Romans presented it to their ally Eumenes, king of Pergamos (1 Mac 8^8). From 133 onwards it formed part of the Roman province of Asia. Before the time of Strabo (XIII. iv. 17) the Lydian language had been entirely displaced by the Greek.

The religion of the Lydians—the cult of Cybele—was a sensuous Nature-worship, perhaps originally Hittite; their music—'soft Lydian airs'—was voluptuous; and the prostitution at their temples, whereby their daughters obtained dowries (Herod. i. 93), made 'Lydian' a term of contempt among the Greeks. Many Jewish families were settled in Lydia (Jos. *Ant.* XII. iii. 4), and it is probable that in the great centres of population not a few Gentiles turned to them in search of a higher faith and a purer morality. Among these was the purple-seller of Thyatira, who was St. Paul's first convert in Europe (Ac $16^{14, 40}$). 'Lydia' was most probably not her real name, but a familiar ethnic appellation. She was 'the Lydian' to all her Philippian friends (E. Renan, *St. Paul*, 1869, p. 146; T. Zahn, *Introd. to the NT*, Eng. tr., 1909, i. 523, 533). See preceding article.

In Ezk 30^5 the RV has changed Lydia into Lud, and the country Lydia is never mentioned in the NT. The Roman provincial system created a nomenclature which most of the writers of the Apostolic Age habitually employ. Like many other geographical and ethnological names, Lydia ceased to have any political significance. St. Paul, the Roman citizen, uses the provincial name Asia, and never Lydia. John writes to five Lydian churches, along with one in Mysian Pergamos and one in Phrygian Laodicea, but all the seven are 'churches which are in Asia' (Rev $1^{4, 11}$). It is contended, indeed, by Zahn (*op. cit.* i. 187) that the Grecian Luke, to whom the unofficial terminology would come naturally, uses Asia in the popular non-Roman sense as synonymous with Lydia, to which F. Blass (*Acta Apostolorum*, 1895, p. 176) would add Mysia and Caria. J. B. Lightfoot, however, states good reasons for maintaining that 'Asia in the New Testament is always Proconsular Asia' (*Galatians*[5], 1876, p. 19 n.), and W. M. Ramsay strongly supports this view, refusing now to admit an exception (as he formerly did [*The Church in the Roman Empire*, 1893, p. 150]) even in the case of Ac 2^9.

JAMES STRAHAN.

LYING (ψεύδεσθαι, 'to lie'; ψεῦδος, ψεῦσμα, 'a lie'; ψευδής, 'false'; ψεύστης, 'a deceiver').—**1.** It is the glory of Christianity that this religion reveals 'the God who cannot lie,' ὁ ἀψευδὴς θεός (Tit 1^2), *qui non mentitur Deus* (Vulg.). He is true in both senses of the word—ἀληθινός and ἀληθής, *verus* and *verax*. He cannot be false to His own nature, just as men, made in His image, cannot lie without being untrue to themselves. It is likewise impossible to imagine His Revealer departing from the truth in word or deed. While Hermes, the so-called messenger of the gods, was often admired for his dexterous lying, Christ is loved because He is the Truth (Jn 14^6), the faithful and true Witness (Rev 3^{14}), through whom men are able, amid all earthly changes and illusions, to lay hold on eternal realities.

2. The detection and exposure of imposture was an urgent duty of the early Church. The speedy appearance of false teachers was one of the most remarkable features of the Apostolic Age, and the Church was enjoined not to believe every spirit, but to try the spirits (1 Jn 4^1). There were ψευδάδελφοι (Gal 2^4), ψευδαπόστολοι (2 Co 11^{13}), ψευδοπροφῆται (Ac 13^6, 2 P 2^1, 1 Jn 4^1, Rev 16^{13} 19^{20} 20^{10}), ψευδολόγοι (1 Ti 4^2), ψευδοδιδάσκαλοι (2 P 2^1). These deceivers were as the shadows which always accompany the light. To the apostolic founders of Christianity the bare thought of being ever found false witnesses of God (ψευδομάρτυρες τοῦ θεοῦ, 1 Co 15^{15}) was intolerable. St. Paul often protests, and solemnly calls God to witness, that he does not lie (Ro 9^1, 2 Co 11^{31}, Gal 1^{20}, 1 Ti 2^7). The Church of Ephesus was praised because she had tried *soi-*

disant apostles and found them false (ψευδεῖς, Rev 2[2]). If there were false teachers, there were also false disciples, who claimed the Christian name without having Christ's spirit, and John had to formulate some clear and simple tests by which 'the liar' (ὁ ψεύστης) could be known (1 Jn 2[24. 22] 4[20]).

3. The same writer emphasizes the gravity of certain moral and intellectual errors—the denial of personal sin (1 Jn 1[10]), the rejection of the historical Christ (5[10]). He brands them as blasphemous assertions that God (whose Word calls all men sinners, and whose Spirit inwardly witnesses to the truth of the gospel) is a liar.

4. Christians must not lie one to another (Col 3[9]). In the pagan, *e.g.* the Cretan (Tit 1[12]), lying is bad; in the Jew (Rev 2[9]) it is worse; in the Christian it should be impossible. The Law was made for the repression of liars (1 Ti 1[10]); the gospel gives every believer the spirit of truth (1 Jn 4[6]). 'All liars,' 'every one that loveth and maketh a lie,' end the black list of the condemned (Rev 21[8] 22[15]), who shall not in any wise enter the City of God (21[27]).

JAMES STRAHAN.

LYSIAS.—Claudius Lysias was the chiliarch, the tribune, in command of the Roman troops stationed at the Tower of Antonia at the time of St. Paul's last visit to Jerusalem. The conjecture is probable that he was by birth a Greek, and that he adopted the name Claudius when 'with a great sum' he obtained the station of a Roman citizen (Ac 22[28]; see R. J. Knowling, *EGT*, 'Acts,' 1900, p. 463; cf. Ac 21[37]). The Tower of Antonia communicated by a stairway with the cloisters of the Temple (see G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem*, 1898, ii. 495 f., and art. JERUSALEM for the position of the tower), and care was taken to have soldiers there in readiness for any emergency, especially at the time of the Jewish festivals (Jos. *BJ* v. 5. 8), like that of Pentecost, which St. Paul was attending. News was quickly brought up to the Tower of the riotous attack made upon the Apostle in the Temple at the instigation of 'Jews from Asia' (21[27ff.]). It was suggested to Lysias, or the idea occurred spontaneously to him, that the object of the fury of the mob might be a man whom he was anxious to apprehend—viz. the leader of a recent seditious movement, who had managed to escape when the procurator Felix fell upon him and the crowd of his followers (Jos. *Ant.* xx. 8. 6, and *BJ* ii. 13. 5). Hence the surprise with which the chiliarch turns to St. Paul, so soon as he had been snatched from his assailants, with the question: 'You are not, then, the Egyptian . . .?' (Ac 21[38]). After allowing St. Paul to address the people from 'the stairs,' Lysias had him taken within the Tower, and had given orders that he should be examined by scourging, when he was made aware that his prisoner was a Roman citizen, whom 'it was illegal to subject to such treatment' (22[25ff.]). Seeking to obtain the information he desired by other means, Lysias convened a meeting of the Jewish Council on the following day, 'and brought St. Paul down and set him before them' (v.[30]). The tumult that arose on St. Paul's statement that he was a Pharisee, and was called in question 'touching the hope and resurrection of the dead,' was so great that he had to be rescued by the soldiers, who took him again to the Tower. Then followed the 'plot of certain of the Jews to kill St. Paul,' if the chiliarch could be induced to bring him again before the Council. News of this was carried to Lysias by 'Paul's sister's son.' Thereupon the resolution was taken to send the Apostle for greater safety to Cæsarea (23[16ff.]). With the escort, Lysias sent a letter to the Governor Felix (v.[24ff.]). In writing, he forgot the misconception about 'the Egyptian' under which he had first apprehended St. Paul. Uppermost in his mind was the fact that he had been the means of rescuing 'a Roman' from the mad fury of the Jews. Not unnaturally it is that fact he emphasized when writing to the Governor. No further trace of Lysias is forthcoming. G. P. GOULD.

LYSTRA (Λύστρα, which is fem. sing. in Ac 14[6. 21] 16[1], and neut. pl. in Ac 14[8] 16[2], 2 Ti 3[11]).—Lystra was a Roman garrison town of southern Galatia, built on an isolated hill in a secluded valley at the S. edge of the vast upland plain of Lycaonia, about 18 miles S.S.W. of Iconium. Itself 3,780 ft. above sea-level, it had behind it the gigantic Taurus range, whose fastnesses were the haunts of wild mountaineers living on plunder and blackmail. It was the necessity of stamping out this social pest that raised the obscure town of Lystra into temporary importance. In 6 B.C. Augustus made it an outpost of civilization, one of 'a series of colonies of Roman veterans evidently intended to acquire this district for peaceful settlement' (T. Mommsen, *The Provinces of the Roman Empire*, Eng. tr., 1909, i. 337). The others were Antioch, Parlais, Cremna, Comama, and Olbasa. In all these cities the military *coloni* formed an aristocracy among the *incolæ* or native inhabitants. Latin was the official language, and Greek that of culture, but the Lystrans used among themselves 'the speech of Lycaonia' (Ac 14[11]), of which no trace is left, except that 'Lystra'—which the Romans liked to write 'Lustra,' on account of its resemblance to *lustrum*—is, like 'Ilistra' and 'Kilistra,' which are also found in the country, doubtless a native place-name. The site and colonial rank of Lystra were alike unknown till 1885, when J. R. S. Sterrett's discovery of a pedestal *in situ*, with an inscription containing the words *Colonia Iulia Felix Gemina Lustra*, settled both these points. Coins bearing the same legend have since been found.

Lying some distance westward from the great trade-route which went through Derbe and Iconium, Lystra can never have been an important seat of commerce. Still it was prosperous enough to attract some civilians as well as soldiers to its pleasant valley. Its blending of Greek and Jewish elements is strikingly illustrated by the mixed parentage of Timothy, whom St. Paul circumcised 'because of the Jews that were in those parts' (Ac 16[1. 4]). No mention, however, is made of a synagogue in Lystra, and probably the Jewish colony was small. Some measure of Greek culture among the Lystran natives is *prima facie* suggested by the existence of a temple of Zeus 'before the city' (πρὸ τῆς πόλεως, Ac 14[13])—cf. *S. Paolo fuori le Mura* at Rome—as well as by the naïve identification of Barnabas and St. Paul with Zeus and Hermes. But these facts prove nothing as to the real character of the Lystran worship, for the arbitrary bestowal of classical names upon Anatolian gods—an act of homage to the dominant civilization—had but little effect upon the deep-rooted native religious feeling. The motive of the priest who wished to sacrifice to the supposed celestial visitants (v.[13]) does not lie on the surface. That he acted in good faith, being thrilled with awe before superhuman miracle-workers, is more probable than that, knowing better, he cleverly used a wave of religious excitement to serve his own base ends. All the Lystrans were probably familiar with the legend—told by Ovid, *Met.* viii. 626 ff.—that Zeus and Hermes once visited Phrygia in the disguise of mortals, and found no one willing to give them hospitality, till they came to the hut of an aged couple, Philemon and Baucis, whose kindness Zeus rewarded by taking them to a place of safety before all the neighbourhood was suddenly

flooded, and thereafter metamorphosing their cottage into a magnificent temple, of which they became the priests.

It is stated (Ac 14[19]) that, during St. Paul's sojourn in Lystra, Jews came thither from Antioch (130 miles) and Iconium (18 miles), but whether in the ordinary course of trade, or on set purpose to persecute the Apostle, is not made quite clear. The close connexion between Antioch and Lystra is proved by a Greek inscription on the base of a statue which Lystra presented in the 2nd cent.: 'The very brilliant sister Colonia of the Antiochians is honoured by the very brilliant colony of the Lystrans with the Statue of Concord' (J. R. S. Sterrett, *Wolfe Expedition in Asia Minor*, 1888, p. 352). Lystra was more closely associated with its Phrygian neighbour Iconium than with the more distant Derbe, though the latter was, like itself, Lycaonian (Ac 16[2]). At Lystra the apostles had experience of the swift changes of the native popular feeling, as well as of the malice of their own race. First they were worshipped as gods come down to bring healing and blessing; then St. Paul was stoned as a criminal not fit to live (cf. 2 Co 11[25]). Timothy was an eye-witness of the cruel assault of the rabble (2 Ti 3[11]). The Apostle re-visited Lystra in the homeward part of his first missionary tour (Ac 14[21]); again in his second journey (16[1]); and, if the South-Galatian theory is correct, once more during the third journey (18[23]). Little is known of the later secular or sacred history of Lystra. The veterans whom Augustus planted there 'notably restricted the field of the free inhabitants of the mountains, and general peace must at length have made its triumphal entrance also here' (Mommsen, *op. cit.*). Having thus completed the work of a border fortress, the colony of Lystra lost its *raison d'être*, and the town sank back into its original insignificance.

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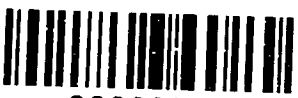
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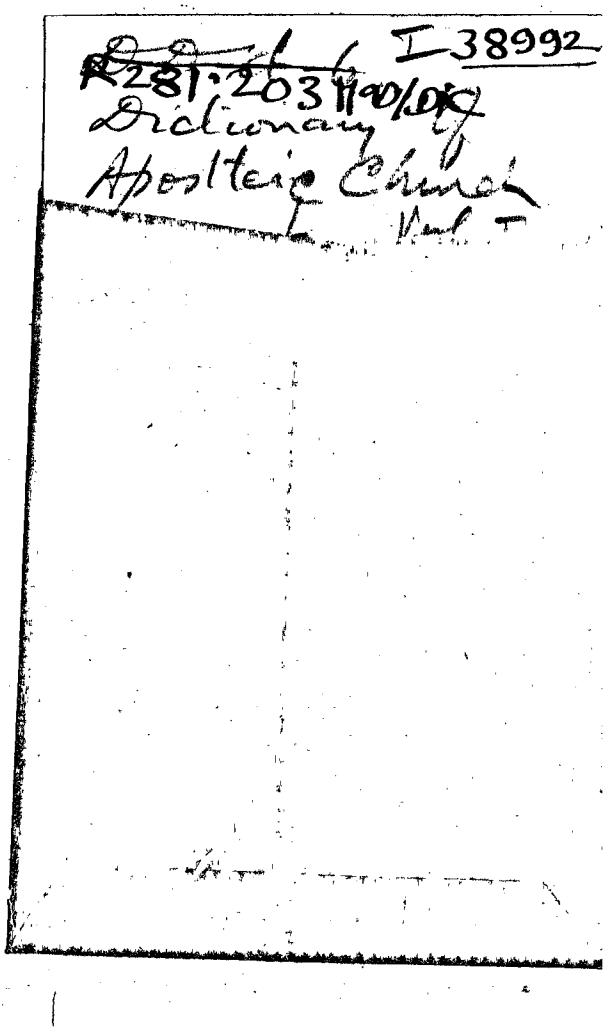

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